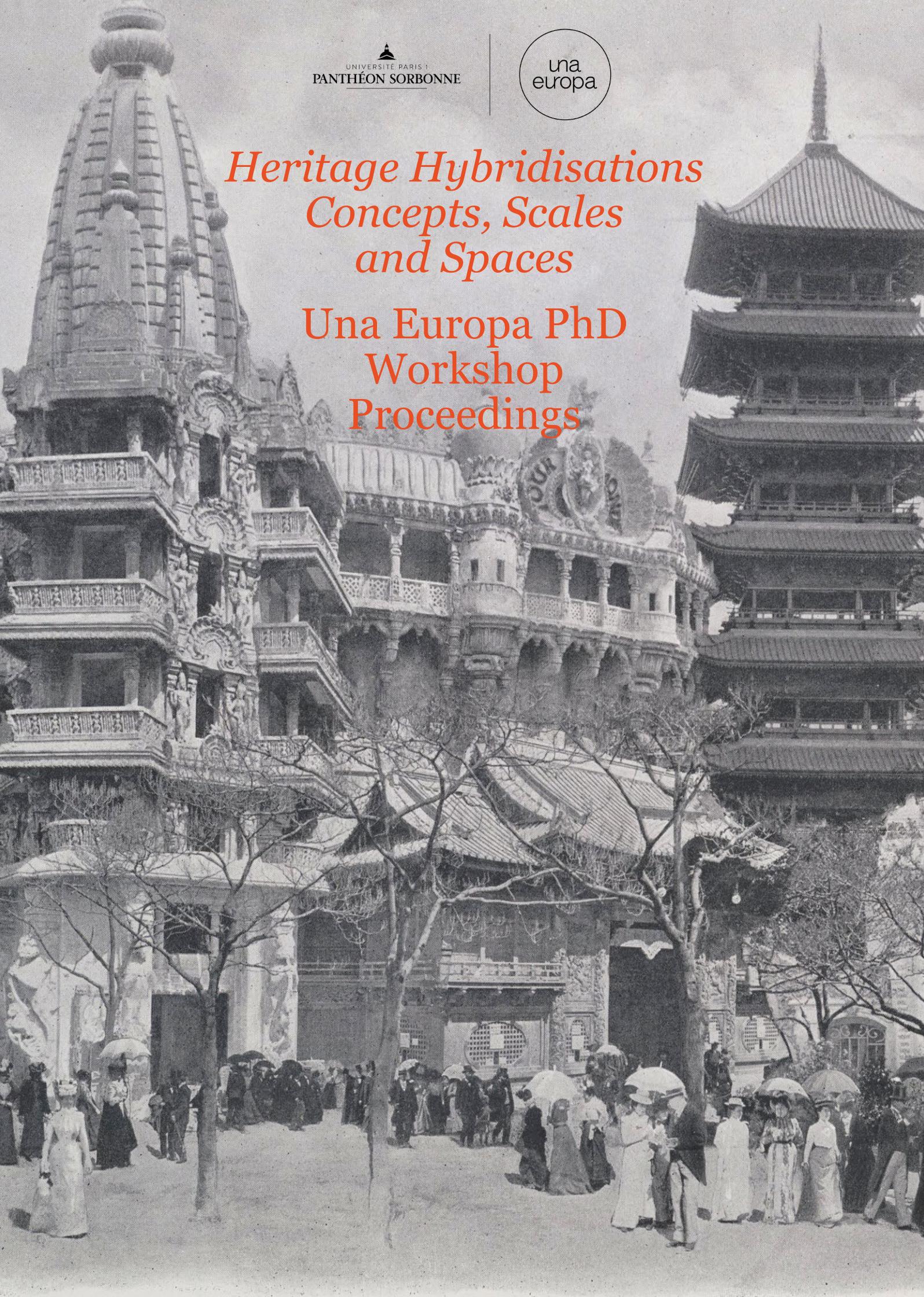


*Heritage Hybridisations
Concepts, Scales
and Spaces*

Una Europa PhD
Workshop
Proceedings



Heritage Hybridizations Concepts, Scales and Spaces

Una Europa PhD Workshop
Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

May 10-12, 2021

Una Europa:
Freie Universität Berlin
Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna
Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie
University of Edinburgh
Helsingin Yliopisto
KU Leuven
Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

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Explaining the Framework

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Members of the Cultural Heritage Self-Steering Committee, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Una Europa, a European university alliance, brings together eight major European universities: Freie Universität Berlin, Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna, Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie, University of Edinburgh, Helsingin Yliopisto, KU Leuven, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, and Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. Una Europa is among the first European universities funded by the European Commission (*1Europe project*, 2019-2022). Una Europa's goal is to form a truly European university environment, where excellence in interdisciplinary research is closely connected to transnational learning and to innovative problem-solving. Due to their importance for European research, but also for facing contemporary European challenges and responding to pressing societal needs, Una Europa has defined 5 focus areas, including Cultural Heritage (CH), for the development of international mobility, educational and research projects.

The Cultural Heritage focus area is supervised by a Self-Steering Committee (SSC) formed by academics from eight universities and coordinated by Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. The SSC of CH develops, implements and tests four main "Joint Innovative Formats" (JIFs) for education and mobility: Joint PhD, Joint PhD Workshops, Lifelong Learning Certificates and CH Chairs. The JIFs aim at developing long-lasting collaborations not only between partner universities, but also with leading public, private and civil society stakeholders.

During the preparation of the Joint PhD in Cultural Heritage it became clear that it was necessary to move beyond a simple curriculum, in order to create a place of exchange and regular interaction – a transdisciplinary, transnational and trans-sectoral ecosystem in Cultural Heritage, consisting of PIs from Una Europa universities, PhD candidates and heritage professionals. This ecosystem will also serve as a basis for future projects and collaborations in the field.

Joint PhD Workshops in Cultural Heritage

Within this context, Una Europa PhD Workshops in Cultural Heritage have been elaborated as a component of the future Una Europa PhD in Cultural Heritage. Five PhD Workshops on currently important topics in cultural heritage studies are planned during the length of the *1Europe project*, to be offered to PhD candidates from the eight Una Europa universities. These are, namely:

1. *Heritage Hybridisations: Concept, Scales and Spaces* – organised by Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne as a virtual event between May 2020 and May 2021
2. *Dissonant Heritage: Concepts, Critiques, Cases* – organised by Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna and Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie on November 16-20, 2021
3. *The Politics of Cultural Heritage, Commemoration and Remembering* – organised by KU Leuven in 2022
4. *Inclusion, innovation and reach: researching digital cultural heritage futures* – organised by University of Edinburgh and Helsingin Yliopisto in 2022
5. *Transnational Heritage* – organised by Freie Universität Berlin in Fall 2022

The PhD Workshops in Cultural Heritage are designed as hybrid activities. The involvement of PhD candidates is intended not only during the physical event, but also before and after it, in order to contribute to the workshop's main objectives:

- experiment with innovative approaches to doctoral education
- offer PhD students insights from different schools of thought

- contribute to their education through a deliberately transdisciplinary, transnational and trans-sectoral approach
- create a transnational community of young researchers in Cultural Heritage across our eight universities
- offer a platform for academic discussions and exchange.

First Una Europa PhD Workshop on “Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts, Scales and Spaces”, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

In April 2020, we launched a call for our first Una Europa Workshop in Cultural Heritage, to be organized on October 19-21, 2020 in Paris, on the topic of “Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts, Scales and Spaces”. The Workshop Scientific Committee, consisting of one member of the SSC CH from each university, selected 43 PhD candidates from all eight universities and from different disciplines to participate in the event.

In order to contribute to the Workshop’s main objectives, and especially, to create debates and exchanges between participating PhD candidates and the members of the SSC, we wanted to avoid a program based on a series of individual presentations and to focus on a more interactive approach. We particularly had in mind the importance of transdisciplinarity for our Una Europa Cultural Heritage focus area and the fact that all of our participating PhD candidates came from different disciplinary contexts.

The PhD candidates took the lead in the organization of the three thematic sessions of the Workshop:

1. *Political, transnational and community negotiations and heritage hybridisation*
2. *Hybridisations of heritage narratives*
3. *Heritage(s) between high and popular culture*

A call was launched to interested PhD candidates to coordinate each theme. There were invited to organize two sessions each, according to a global approach privileging exchanges, dialogue and debate. PhD candidates organized several online meetings in order to deepen their understanding of each other’s work and the potential commonalities. They worked on the basis of the preparatory material they sent in their application – an abstract, a thesis summary, as well as a short text on their approach to heritage and hybridisation and on their methodology.

In order to facilitate the exchanges, apart from ZOOM, we also introduced *Basecamp*, a project management workspace. Several subpages were created within the workspace – for each group, for all the participating students, as well as for all the SSC’s CH professors and students together.

Due to the pandemic and strict travel regulations in the partner countries, the SSC CH along with the *1Europe* project management committee decided to postpone the physical event to May 10-12, 2021. However, we also took the decision:

1. To organize an online event on the dates initially planned for the Workshop (October 19-21, 2020), consisting of a keynote on heritage hybridizations, and a presentation of sessions’ draft program of each student group, which the SSC’s CH professors would comment.
2. To organize a series of online lectures and events over the months until the Workshop.
3. To invite PhD candidates to organize and moderate themselves lectures and events, with the help of the members of the SSC CH.

Thus, from the first keynote in October 2020 until the end of April 2021, ten open lectures and an internal round table, tackling different aspects of heritage and hybridisation, were organized:

By the members of the SSC CH

- *Conservation in Conversation. Hybridity, Entanglement, and the Material Life of Things*, lecture by Professor Noémie Etienne (University of Bern) – on October 19, 2020
- *Building Stories, Memory palaces, and other adventures in fabulating heritage*, lecture by Professor Edward Hollis (University of Edinburgh) – on November 24, 2020
- *Polarisation or hybridisation? Disputes over heritage sites and “national sacred”*, lecture by Associate Professor Anna Niedźwiedz (Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie) – on February 5, 2021
- *Heritagization of the Marais Neighborhood in Paris: Interplay between Public Policies,*

Urban Changes and Civil Society Initiatives, lecture by Post-doctoral Researcher Isidora Stanković (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne) – on March 2, 2021

- *The Ethics of Dust*, lecture by Professor Jorge Otero-Pailos (Columbia University) – on March 25, 2021
- *Hybrid cultural heritage and rural revitalization in Japan: The commodification of intangible cultural property and “traditional” local crafts*, lecture by Professor Cornelia Reiher (Freie Universität Berlin) – on April 27, 2021

By PhD students:

- *Constructing and governing cultural heritage and its “European dimension” in EU heritage policy*, lecture by Associate Professor, Tuuli Lähdesmäki (University of Jyväskylä, Finland) – on March 12, 2021
- *From ruins to rubble. On heritage and destruction*, lecture by Researcher, Alfredo González-Ruibal (Institute of Heritage Sciences, Spain) – on March 12, 2021
- *Political modalities and implications in managing hybrid heritage: the case of Hagia Sophia*, round-table with Lecturer Isabelle Anatole-Gabriel (Ecole du Louvre – Poitiers University), former Professor Antonia Moropoulou (National Technical University of Athens), Associate Professor Elias Kolovos (University of Crete) and Lecturer Panagiotis Poulos (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens) – on March 15, 2021
- *Displacements*, lecture by Project Director at Factum Foundation, Carlos Bayod Lucini – on March 19, 2021
- *Hybrid Heritage*, lecture by Professor Elizabeth Sikiaridi and Professor Frans Vogelaar (Hybrid Space Lab) – on March 31, 2021.

In parallel to these online activities, PhD candidates continued working on the program of their sessions for the Workshop in May. Sadly, once again due to the pandemic and the new lockdowns across Europe, we finally decided to organize an online event, whose program is attached after these introductory remarks. Aside from four keynotes and student sessions, some other events animated by students will be organized: a 3 Minute Thesis Competition, several Streaming Parties of the video materials used in their research, and an informal online networking.

Since the student sessions were based on the commonalities between their conceptual, theoretical and methodological approaches, we thought it would also be important to provide them a place for presenting their individual work. This is the aim of this publication.

Finally, we would like to thank the colleagues who made this first Una Europa PhD Workshop in Cultural Heritage possible: the SSC CH, the Una Europa and *1Europe* representatives from different universities, the members of the Organization Committee from Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, as well as our administrative colleagues and audio-visual department, and of course all the guest lecturers.

Above all, we would like to thank all our PhD candidates participating in this creative and inspiring pilot. Although the pandemic impacted our plans and prevented us to meet in person in Paris, it also gave us a possibility to step towards the creation of a first cohort of Una Europa students in CH. Despite the difficult pandemic circumstances, we were delighted to see how PhD candidates initiated collaborations with each other and with Una Europa professors, how they organized and moderated the lectures and a round table with the participation of outstanding academics and professionals, and how they progressed in their proposals from their initial application to the papers presented in these proceedings.

Thank you all for making us look forward even more to the next steps of the creation of our Una Europa ecosystem in Cultural Heritage.

Heritage Hybridizations

Maria Gravari-Barbas and Dominique Poulot
Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sobonne

February 2020

Defining heritage hybridisation is not an easy task. Traditional conceptions of heritage are often associated with a single cultural period (e.g. the Baroque period) or a defined political or cultural entity (e.g. a national monument). But, at the same time, heritage is also the result of accumulated layers of different temporalities and socio-cultural interventions. In this sense “the concept of cultural heritage itself is historically constructed as a hybrid social product” (Hernandez I Marti 2006, 91).

Hybridisation enables us to focus on the interconnection of different domains, temporalities and actors at different levels, overcoming and rejecting hierarchies, and grand narratives (Lyotard 1979). The emergence of the “trans”, the plural and the augmented enables us to frame critical perspectives on heritage constructs (Gwiazdzinski 2016).

Originating from the language of biology, the term “hybridisation” refers to the natural or artificial crossbreeding of two different species, breeds or varieties of plants or animals (see e.g. Schwenk, Brede and Streit 2008). It has been used figuratively by researchers in different fields to express the state of something that has a disparate and surprising composition. In the social sciences literature, for example, “hybridisation” is commonly associated with a reflection on modern or postmodern conditions and expressions (Hernandez I Marti 2006; Boutinet 2016; Gwiazdzinski 2016) and is used to shed light on new forms of culture and identity (Canclini 1990; Pieterse 1994; Rubdy and Alsagoff 2013; Appadurai 2014).

In the field of geography, Claval (2016) referred to the term to describe epistemic changes in science of territory since the 1990s; and Vanier (2016) used the term in the sense of an innovative process that helps individuals overcome traditional rules and critical situations. Hybridization becomes part of a territory’s characteristic, contributing to its own particular identity.

Heritage hybridisation can be understood in this sense. From an ethical perspective, it can be associated with the emergent conditions of new heritage governance regimes (Paquette 2012), such as the opening up of the expertise process to local know-how.

Moreover, heritage’s specific position at the intersection of an imaginary past and a reinvented present generates the conditions required for hybridisation. Heritage hybridisation is thus linked to social and cultural practices, knowledge exchanges and the functions, values and meanings that heritage conveys.

Heritage hybridisation has often been associated with postcolonial perspectives and the works of postcolonialist theorists, such as Saïd (2004) and Bhabha (1997). Further, hybridity has been perceived by several schools of thought as one of the main weapons against colonialism (Andrade 2013).

Five main strands may be interesting to explore in the relationship between heritage and hybridization:

1. Political, transnational and community negotiations and heritage hybridisation

Classical Heritage process preserves the past by preserving its material traces: valorising rather than criticizing. Its ideal is the sharing of common values, contributing to community continuity and posterity. Heritage status confirms a judgement of value.

More recently, sustained by classic frames (monuments, museums or archives) but also by contemporary media, it plays a role of unprecedented importance in the public sphere, fuelled by new memorial obligations. Communities or nation-states are asked to deal with multiple demands for recognition in relation to the representation of minorities, traumas, or difficult pasts.

How does hybrid heritage result from these negotiations for institutional and political recognition on

a specific territory or in a transnational context? Who are the actors and what are their processes of negotiation?

2. Hybridisations of heritage narratives

Cultural heritage has always been caught in a tension between the display of a positive collective self-presentation, and the embarrassment of collective failure. Heritage may represent images of shame as well as glory, provoking various emotions, and exposing them to a contestation of values.

David Lowenthal (2015) has described heritage conscience as the representation of a past appropriated by a community for exclusively instrumental ends, dedicated to promoting local or identity-driven stories that are more devoted to the glorification of mythicized than “authenticity” or “truth”. Historians or curators have often been instrumental in this (re)invention of tradition or “authorized discourse” (Smith, 2006).

However, as Jay Winter argues, “the ways that sites of memory and the public commemorations surrounding them have the potential for dominated groups to contest their subordinate status in public”.

Can heritage hybridisation be also understood as a means of, and a challenge to, social appropriation?

3. Heritage(s) between high and popular culture

Over the past two decades, the recognition and rise of material culture and consumption studies, the anthropology of the material world and the material history of art have focused on the ways in which objects mediate social relationships.

Aleida Assmann (2010) uses a classical division between two separate functions of cultural heritage: “the presentation of a narrow selection of sacred texts, artistic masterpieces, or historic key events in a timeless framework; and the storing of documents and artefacts of the past”. According to her, there is no strict separation between passive cultural memory and the construction/curation of memorial places or spaces.

What are the processes of (hybrid) heritage production as a “contact zone” between high and popular culture?

4. Heritage rescaling and hybridisations

In Europe and elsewhere, the ownership of heritage is increasingly subject to publicly debated restitution claims. The passage of property between different owners and through different types of collections offers fertile ground for analysis, in terms of both the different conception of private and public property in different countries, and also in terms of antagonistic values or representations of identity. Judicial cases concerning contested objects can relate to contexts of colonial appropriation and post-colonial claims, to processes of secularisation, to situations of war and plunder, to archaeological findings in territories where national frontiers have changed or are disputed.

How do international debates, diplomacy and NGO movements tackle heritage rescaling and hybridisation?

5. Hybridisation of heritage concepts and doctrines

Western conceptions of heritage have been globally dominant for two centuries. Material-based authenticity has dominated approaches to conservation, restoration and display. However, those approaches are increasingly challenged by a “Southern” turn. The circulation of norms, doctrines, practices and savoirs-faire, due to mobility, the work of NGOs such as UNESCO, or the creation of international conservation and restoration bodies (such as the ICC – International Conservation Committee in Angkor bringing together international experts and many governments) tends to blur existing doctrines. Contemporary conservation and restoration projects are the result of intercultural negotiated approaches, tending to relativize the supremacy of material authenticity, and encouraging, for example in architecture, monumental restorations or anastyloses about which Western experts are often squeamish.

What new hybridisations are emerging within global conceptions of heritage conservation and display?

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Inaugural Lecture

Conservation, Conversation, and Conflict.

Unpacking Hybridity and the Making of Heritage

Noémie Étienne
Professor, University of Bern

The burning of the Notre-Dame cathedral in April 2019 has been a very dramatic and very media-saturated moment, in France and beyond. After the first shock, a debate emerged about the appropriate way to re-build the cathedral. Should one use new technologies and materials, as was done for the cathedral of Reims? Should one rebuild it with the original material in its 14th century state? Or should it be redone as it was just before the fire, including all the layers of previous restoration? When he restored the cathedral in the 19th century, the French architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc faced actually quite similar questions. Indeed, as with many historical buildings, Notre-Dame has witnessed multiple transformations. At the end of the 1850's, Viollet-le-Duc decided to enhance the roof with a spire, the proper "flèche" (spier) that so spectacularly burned. Historical accuracy was not Viollet-le-Duc's concern. Or to put it otherwise, the French architect had a rather creative comprehension of historical truth. Indeed, his definition of restoration in the *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française*, published between 1854 and 1869, has become famous: "To restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair, or to rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of completeness that could have never existed in any given time."¹

This brief example leads me to ask some general questions connecting heritage and hybridity: Is heritage hybrid by nature? How should we position ourselves today towards this hybridity? A first necessary (yet risky) step is to propose a definition of such terms. Heritage, I would suggest, is the fabricated connection between an (immaterial or material) object, a territory and an identity. As Critical Heritage Scholars have shown, heritage doesn't exist *per se*, but is the result of processes connecting an immaterial or material object, a territory, and an identity². These processes encompass being put on the UNESCO preservation list, for instance or to be preserved or restored. "Hybridity" is also a term that needs a definition. I propose to envision it as the result of a mixing process shaping things across time and space. However, the term has been strongly criticized in the last decades, and for good reasons. First, because it suggests that something could actually be "pure" (non-hybrid), and that the "hybrid" would be an exception, almost a contamination. Second, because it does not give any clear agency to anyone, suggesting that hybridity happens almost naturally. This lack of agency is also a lack of politics, according to the archeologist John Huthnyk: "Syncretism and Hybridity are academic conceptual tools providing an alibi for lack of attention to politics³."

Thus, one could ask: Sure, heritage is hybrid, and so what? In this paper, I will suggest that hybridity, when unpacked, can also be the location of politics. I will consider briefly three cases where physical manipulations on objects embodies political decisions at different levels: the spoliation of artworks during the French Revolution; the translation of Japanese fragment into a European furniture Europe; the conservation of a European statue currently in Hawaii. All my cases include questions about the mobility of things between places and spaces. They shed light on the changing materiality of things. Altogether, they invite to interpret the transformations of material culture as a way for researchers to grasp tacit agendas and embedded values.

¹ Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel. "Restoration," from the *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI au XVIe siècle* (1854-1868). English edition *On Restoration*, (London, 1971), pp. 9. See MF Heran, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc. Readings and Commentary*, 1990, pp. 269-290.

² Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production." *Museum International*, 56 1-2 (2004): 52-63. See as well: Smith, Laurajane (ed.). *Cultural Heritage. Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, 4 vols. London: Routledge, 2006.

³ Huthnyk, John. "Hybridity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 28, No. 1, January 2005, p. 92. And: Stephen W. Silliman, "A requiem for hybridity? The problem with Frankensteins, purées, and mules." *Journal of Social Archeology*, 2015, vol. 15 (3), 277-298.



Fig. 1. Raphael, *Madonna of Foligno*, 1512, oil on wood transferred to canvas, 308 x 198 cm, Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana. © Wikipedia

Paintings and Places: The Scales of Hybridity

In France, at the end of the 18th century, the revolutionary and later Napoleonic troops spoliated many paintings and brought them to Paris. This seizure happened in cities, such as Berlin, Vienna, Florence or Rome. Indeed, spoliated artworks were coming from all over Europe to Paris to be gathered into the future Louvre Museum (open as Museum central des arts in 1793).⁴ According to the discourse promoted by the French administration, the stolen artworks were legitimately in the country where they actually belonged: France, the country of Freedom, the homeland and guardian of all masterpieces. In this context, radical manipulations of the artworks were sometimes undertaken⁵. The Italian artworks, often painted on soft wood panels, were removed from their original support. One painting by Raphael in particular, the *Madona of Foligno*, was transported from wood to canvas with great publicity. The motivation behind the transfer from wood to canvas was certainly conservation, as many sources of time attest. Indeed, the French believed that the paintings would last longer once transported to a more stable and stronger support.

But conservation was also used as part of a rhetoric legitimating the presence of paintings in Paris. Furthermore, transport from wood to canvas was also a way to inscribe the painting in their new country, to partly get rid of their Italian origin, and to make them from “French.” The conservation of paintings was a topic of concern as well as propaganda: restoration practices, and transfer in particular, had to be made visible in order to legitimate the translocation of such artworks to Paris. After the congress of Vienna, most of the artworks were sent back to Italy, Austria, or Germany. Once back, they were closely examined. In this context, the Italians and the Spanish complained about the transport of their paintings from wood to canvas. Thus, these interventions raised criticism. In 1805 already, the German Art Historian Fiorillo criticized the transfer of paintings while stating the conception of a painting as material whole had been already clearly stated by who was very much aware of French intervention: “Nothing is independent in an artwork: each singular part is taken into a coherent whole, and this unity and internal constitution implies that it forms a whole. If one part is destroyed, then there is only a fragment left, and the work can never regain its uniqueness.”⁶

Here, the original “wholeness” of the painting has been destroyed. Its current hybridity is the result of a process made on the object itself. The creation of a half French-half Italian painting is due to political effort to make the artworks more French and to relocate it on its pseudo-original homeland. In doing so, the French administration and conservation team transform their provenance and identity, relocating

⁴ See, among others, Savoy, Bénédicte. *Patrimoine annexé. Les biens culturels saisis par la France et l'Allemagne autour de 1800*, Paris, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2003.

⁵ For the following paragraphs, please see Étienne, Noémie. *The Restoration of Paintings in Paris, 1750-1815: Practice, Discourse, Materiality*, Los Angeles, Getty Conservation Institut, 2017.

⁶ Fiorillo, Johann Dominik. *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste*, Göttingen: Johan Friedrich Römer, 1805, p. 405.

them geographically and also physically – in depth, creating hybrid artworks. In this context, paintings appear not only as images, but almost as monuments, whose materiality has been reworked. The displacement of artworks happened here on two different scales. First, the relocation of artworks to Paris; and second, another physical movement, almost invisible, yet very predominant and invasive: their relocation to a new, French, modern canvas support.

The concept of “wholeness” is interesting, because it refers both to the integrity of the canvas, but also to a broader, almost ecological dimension: the wholeness can be understood as the larger context to which the painting do organically belong, as the French Architect Antoine Quatremère de Quincy will argue a couple of years later⁷. The spoliation of paintings everywhere in Europe also implied their dislocation from their earlier setting, and the removal of their physical location – which can be associated, as Fiorillo and later Quatremère claim, to their destruction. Thus, the political impact of cross-cultural conservation is both visible and invisible: the objects are taken away from their original wholeness at a geographical and physical level. Depending on the perspective, conservation is at the border(?) of vandalism.

Becoming French: Stories of a Japanese Fragment

At the exact same time, a partly comparable practice with objects circulating in-between continents also happened at a more global scale and in a less polemical way. Many lacquer panels were exported from China and Japan to Europe since at least the 17th century, in particular through the major commercial companies from France, England, or the Netherland. They were sold in cities like Amsterdam, London, and Paris. European cabinet makers known as Ebenists dismantled cabinets, which were sometimes broken but not always, and re-assembled them in European furniture. The lacquer panel was inserted into the newly produced French furniture. Its supports had been reduced and the lacquer itself ended up to be only a thin, malleable piece that could be curved following the rococo style of the object. I had the opportunity to discuss similar pieces with the conservators and the curators at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. In this context, a close and collective examination revealed that original lacquer itself had been modified⁸.

For instance, a hen has been added by the French craftspeople. This insertion has several functions: on the one hand, the (French) hen recalls the original iconography (a rooster) of the panel at the left end of the dresser. The artisans thus chose to add an animal of the same species to complete the scene. On the other hand, the hen participates in giving more symmetry to the panel on which it was added: it fills what has been considered as an empty space by the French craftsman, but had originally been intentionally left so by his Japanese colleague. Finally, the new hen introduces an element of narration and a form of perspective. Indeed, the bird looks at the mountain as if it was falling on his head; this addition thus gives a narrative function to the landscape and also produces a sensation of perspective and depth, which was absent from the original Japanese scene.

In fact, almost all Japanese panels inserted into such pieces of furniture have been reworked in different ways. The majority of such interventions serve typically to balance the representation and visually fill the gaps. While imitating the technique and the style of the Japanese artisans, the addition corrected a depiction that was considered empty, adding a horizon and creating a perspective. In doing so, artisans adapted the fragment to its new framework, and make it fit even better in a European interior and European aesthetic framework.

How do we make sense of such manipulations? What is an object of this sort telling us? Even if they didn't leave any explicit documentation about their position, looking at this objects suggests that the Europeans apprehended this void as a problem that needed to be solved. In this context, the lack of symmetry, narration and subject in the eyes of Westerners was corrected. Thus, to study such manipulations allow us grasp how they were seen – and how they wanted to see them. In this example, the process of circulation, re-location, and hybridization appears at different levels: the fragment is integrated into a piece of furniture that, almost like a reliquary, both preserves, displays, and overcomes the original fragment. Again, the fragment is materially updated and the original support is removed in order to adapt it to its new shape and function. Furthermore, the surface of the objects is updated in order to fit new aesthetical requirements.

In my view, hybridity here is not only the result of a negotiation process but also somehow a source for the scholar who is able to read it and reconstruct, even if speculatively, what is at stake behind it; yet

⁷ Quatremère de Quincy, A. C. *Letters to Miranda and Canova on the Abduction of Antiquities from Rome and Athens* (1790-1800), translated by Chris Miller and David Gilks, Introduction by Dominique Poulot, Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2012.

⁸ For more, see Étienne, Noémie. “Les objets retouchés. Adam Weisweiler et la vie des laques asiatiques en Europe,” in Ariane Fennetaux, Anne-Marie Miller Blaise, Nancy Oddo (eds.), *Objets Nomades: Circulations matérielles, appropriations et formation des identités à l'ère de la première mondialisation (16^e-18^e siècles)*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2021, pp. 180-193.

as we look closely and identify exactly what comes from where, we might be able to trace the better the gestures made on the objects themselves. Indeed, the craftspeople involved left no written record of their intention. What is left is their work, which is only understandable through close reading and observation with conservators and curators. Unpacking the reconfiguration of material culture in a global world is therefore possible through a collaborative work also with curators and conservators: using artefacts and traces as sources allow scholars to follow their trajectory and transformation.



Fig. 2. Adam Weisweiler, Paris, 1790, Commode à vantaux. Oak veneered with ebony, amaranth, holly; Japanese and French lacquer panels; gilt-bronze mounts, brocatelle marble top (not original); steel springs; morocco leather (not original). © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

It is interesting to note that such furniture are today preserved in museum galleries of European art, be it at the Getty Museum in Los Angeles or the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, for instance. The furniture has overcome the fragment, whose original appearance is barely recognizable. The Japanese part is now integrated into the furniture and part of Europe's legacy. In order to achieve this, the fragment had to be hybridized and integrated into a bigger ensemble. More largely, and beside this particular case, foreign material culture can be integrated in another nation's cultural heritage through such a process of translation. Coming from another continent, the fragments are materially, visually, and also symbolically transformed, in order to be integrated into a new location.

Cleaning the Skin Color: The Politics of Hybridity

Finally, I would like to propose a jump forward in time and consider a more contemporary example. It is the example of the conservation project lead by the conservator and professor of art history at UCLA Glenn Wharton. His project concerned a sculpture of Kamehameha, the Hawaiian leader who unified the islands at the end of the 18th century⁹. This neo-classical artwork was made by the Boston-born sculptor Thomas Gould who used to live in Florence. He designed the sculpture in 1878. It was then cast in Paris in 1880 and sent to Hawaii, North Kohala, the same year. The conservator Glenn Wharton was sent to Hawaii by the US government in the early 2000's, and asked to bring the sculpture back to its original state. When he started working, however, he encountered some troubles. One of the sensitive moments occurred when he started cleaning the sculpture: people were puzzled by the fact that Kamehameha might look at the end whiter— or, conversely, darker. This change of color challenged their beliefs of racial standards for Hawaiian people at the end of the 18th century. After some discussion, the conservator decided to implement a system of community consultation. He finally organized a vote about the skin color of the statue.

In his context, Wharton chose to perceive the sculpture not only as an artwork that should be brought back to its original state. He also approached it as a community object whose significance was connected to the population repainting it for more than a hundred years. The solution that is put into place will be to put into place a consultative committee, made with different experts and including the Indigenous people of Hawaii. This is probably the future of conservation in a global world, as a practice based on many

⁹ See: Wharton, Glenn. *The Painting King: Art, Activism, and Authenticity in Hawai'i*. Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2012.



Fig. 3. Thomas Ridgeway Gould, Kamehameha I, 1880-1883, Cast brass, painting. Restored by Glenn Wharton from 2001. ©Wikipedia.

experts(?). The result of this intervention can probably be called a hybrid, but it is also more precisely the result of a conflict resolved through a negotiation process accommodating different expectations and agendas.

Altogether, these cases raise questions that are key for the future of cultural heritage studies. The first one is the question of expertise: who is authorized to make a decision, and what is the basis of such? The second question concerns what is embedded in conservation practices. How is historical knowledge, esthetical expectations, or political ideology embedded in heritage management practices? The third one concerns the notion of ownership. Who owns what and what does this ownership allow you to do? Can conservation create a form of ownership? One of my conclusions is that conservation is precisely an activity that establishes property over an artefact or a site. Conservation in its broadest sense can “nationalize” material culture, be it French or Hawaiian.

To conclude, I would like to come back to my initial question about heritage being hybrid by nature. To qualify something as “hybrid” is only the very first step of a research process that should unpack this hybridity, contextualize it, and potentially criticize it. Can hybridity be more an alibi for ignoring politics? Can hybridity, once unpacked, be the place of politics? I would argue that politics is sometimes in the details and that hybridity could be considered at different scales, from the object itself to the place that contains it. Material culture studies allows for the focus on the social life of things at a smaller scale and to unpack the so-called and more or less visible “hybridity” of a thing, in order to understand how it is created, by whom, why, and in which context. If one wants to unfold hybridity, manipulations on objects, and restoration and conservation among them, perhaps this is one of the ways in which we can understand how heritage is created. Heritage is by definition hybrid because it is almost unthinkable without all the manipulations I briefly covered in the talk, such as restoring, relocating, cleaning, etc. Furthermore, heritage is created at the intersection between narratives and practices. The changing materiality of things is deeply interwoven with the discourses that surround them. The making of heritage lies there: in the interconnection of things, people, stories, and places.

Papers of PhD Candidates

(i) Political, transnational
and community
negotiations and heritage
hybridisation

Far-right Populist PEGIDA and Dresden's Cultural Heritage: Politics, Ideology, and Hybridization

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Cultural heritage plays a key role in the political culture of the populist far right in contemporary Europe: For some decades already, European far-right populist political actors claim to be the true heirs and safeguards of national and transnational culture and tradition (De Cesari and Kaya 2020). Against this backdrop, my doctoral research aims to contribute to the scholarly understanding of the meaning of heritage in and for far-right populist discourse and mobilization. At the example of the eastern German far-right populist movement 'Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident' ('PEGIDA'), my research showcases the hybridization of heritage across time, space, and ideological boundaries. Specifically, my semiotic approach to (political) culture gives insights into how political actors engage in meaning-making practices in the public space in the context of broader political, transnational, and community negotiations regarding the interpretation of heritage.

This essay develops my take on cultural heritage and processes of hybridization, drawing from semiotic (or: cultural/anthropological) approaches to political science. In a first step, I engage in a theoretical discussion of the concepts of heritage and hybridization, and point to the uses of heritage for political purposes in far-right political arenas. Second, I further illustrate my understanding of heritage hybridization in the context of my own empirical research by carrying out an exemplary interpretive analysis based on a photograph of a public protest event organized by the far-right populist movement at the core of my dissertation project. Specifically, I look at how the PEGIDA movement inscribes its protest into the urban space of the city of Dresden, thereby engaging in interpretive processes of the meaning of specific buildings and squares. In addition, still based on the photograph, I discuss how PEGIDA (re-) constructs and (re-)performs the meaning of instances of so-called intangible heritage such as national and regional political symbolism. The interpretive analysis is preceded and complemented by a brief excursus into my own positionality as a researcher in the field.

Heritage, Politics, and Hybridization

In contrast to traditional perspectives which understand cultural heritage as static throughout time and space, my doctoral research highlights the constructed, dynamic, and explicitly *political* character of heritage. Building upon a constructivist ontology and interpretive epistemology within political science, my research takes interest in the meaning(s) of political 'objects' and the processes of their meaning-making (Wedeen 2002), including the meaning(s) and meaning-making regarding heritage in politics. In other words, I apply an *actor-centered, discursive-performative approach to politics in general and heritage in particular*. Based on the notion that language is not only descriptive, but constructs the meaning of the world and constitutes objects as such (Austin 1962; Butler 1990), this constructivist stance proposes that meaning is not natural and inherent in objects. Rather, meaning emerges in processes of interaction between social actors, and is purposefully constructed through social performance (Goffman 1956). My doctoral research thus approaches cultural heritage as a social construction of the past which is always processual (Rampley 2012). Specifically, in line with my methodological approach to studying the social world, namely ethnography and participant observation, I understand heritage as constructions of the past which can be conceptualized and operationalized as discourses and/or performances (Waterton and Watson 2015).

My approach to heritage as a socially contested, and therefore political construction of the past ties in with the scholarly concept and the debates on heritage 'hybridizations'. I argue that the hybrid character of heritage can only be captured through a constructivist (or: non-essentialist) lens, as this lens allows to study the *processes* of meaning-making rather than taking meaning *as a given*. By studying processes, constructivist scholarship and research findings necessarily unveil the hybrid layering of meaning of heritage. My own doctoral research showcases a particular case of heritage hybridization in a given

societal context, by focusing on how the contemporary social and political contestation of heritage contributes to the co-existence and competition of different, layered constructions of imaginary pasts and reinvented presents. Specifically, by zooming in on the concrete practices of different social and political actors at various levels of organization, ranging from bottom-up to institutional actors, my research sheds light on the production of meaning in action.

Looking at heritage in politics, my research moreover highlights how political actors give meaning to the past in agreement with their present political goals (Smith 2006), as well as the power games implied in the contestation of heritage as a possession of a particular social group (Macdonald 2013). In particular, again in line with my underlying methodological approach, I am interested in the political performances which actors stage to communicate meanings of heritage to an audience (Rai 2014). Such political performances typically take place in the public space, and are highly mediatized (Moffitt and Tormey 2014). In the context of far-right politics, actors typically construct and perform heritage as essentialized, static, and non-hybrid: Notions such as 'culture', 'heritage', and 'tradition' are used to define communities as homogeneous monoliths which persist largely unchanged across time and space. For instance, a common tenet of European far-right discourses is the ambiguous idea of Europe as a cultural community and/or civilization which does have hybrid roots in Greek and Roman Antiquity, Christianity, and Enlightenment, but which ought to stay static and unchanged in contemporary times (De Cesari and Kaya 2020; Volk 2019). Also, populist discourses construct their core tenet, 'the people', as essentialized, non-pluralist, morally 'pure' social entities, discarding the inherent internal pluralism of social groups (Canovan 2005; Mudde 2007).

Hybrid Heritage in the Context of PEGIDA

The further illustration of my take on cultural heritage is based on (preliminary) insights from my own empirical research and original data. At the core of my empirical work is the analysis of the so-called PEGIDA movement, a small-scale far-right populist organization from Dresden, eastern Germany, which is active since 2014. PEGIDA's primary protest repertoire is the demonstration that take place in the center of Dresden at about fortnightly rhythm. During approx. six months of physical fieldwork in Dresden (2019-2020) as well as another six months of virtual fieldwork on PEGIDA's web pages, social media accounts, etc. (2020), I have been able to observe meaning-making in action in the context of PEGIDA's public events as well as in the so-called counter-protests regularly set up in physical proximity. Specifically, this and the next sections draw from the exemplary analysis of a photograph (Fig. 1).

Excursus: Positionality in the Field

As the photograph reveals as much about the PEGIDA movement as it does about me and my research, and in the quest to render my research results as transparently and honestly as possible, I start the analysis with an excursus into my positionality in the field (Amit 2000; Bellè 2016; Blee 2002). I took this picture myself from the very center of a demonstration organized by PEGIDA in Dresden on 20 October 2019, celebrating the movement's five-year anniversary. The rally took place on the New Market Square in the center of Dresden, featuring the famous reconstructed 'Church of Our Lady' (*Frauenkirche*), here on the left of the photograph. My physical position is in the middle of the crowd in the center of the square, and I had to reach up my arms in order to take this picture, aiming to capture: PEGIDA's stage, the *Frauenkirche* in the background, and some impressions from the demonstrating crowd, namely the demonstrators (or: the backs of their heads in order not to breach privacy rights/get into trouble), and the flags that they show, in this picture specifically the German flag in the right part of the picture with the slogan *Wir sind das Volk* ('We are the people') written on it. I had to take several shots in order to capture the imprint on the flag as the wind was blowing.

My physical position as expressed in this photograph is representative of my bodily positionality on the square: I mostly assumed the role of the observing participant, meaning that I would be part of the crowd, but as an individual rather than in a smaller group, and have comparatively little interaction with the other participants. Indeed, considering the hostility which my research subjects, namely activists of the German far-right PEGIDA movement, have shown towards researchers and journalists in the past, the safeguarding of my personal safety and wellbeing required to have a lower rather than higher degree of involvement, leaning more towards the observing than the participating extreme of the observation-participation continuum (Gold 1957; Junker 1960). Yet, as the photograph also expresses, I was nevertheless close to the demonstrators. In fact, on the crowded, busy, and noisy square, my own physical positioning turned out to be much less salient than I expected it to be. My own 'being there' remained largely unnoticed or at least not commented upon as long as I would stay in the role of the



Figure 1 PEGIDA's five-year anniversary event, Dresden, 20 October 2019. Source: Sabine Volk.

observer and silent participant – even though I clearly differed from the average participant due to my age, gender, and behaviors (e.g. note taking, photographing).

In addition, the photograph discloses my positionality as a critical heritage researcher, notably my interest in historical symbolism and heritage in the PEGIDA movement due to its framing focused on *Frauenkirche* and German flag carrying the imprint *Wir sind das Volk*. At the same time, it also unveils some of the ethically intricate implications of my research and how they affect not only my methodology and reasoning, but even my disciplinary choices: Besides church building and 'We are the people' slogan, the photograph captures typical far-right symbolism such as a torch imprinted on a black flag, or the black *lambda* on yellow ground, the symbol of the so-called Identitarian Movement. However, these are not the symbols my research questions and analysis focuses on, and my main scholarly contribution is also not to scholarship on the extreme right. Why? Ironically, before and during my field research, different interlocutors within academia had suggested that I could possibly be too biased against as well as in favor of PEGIDA. Therefore, I was very careful not to frame my research questions in normative terms, for instance asking if PEGIDA belongs to the extreme right or not. Due to my differing, often even opposed views on politics and society, I decided not to engage in political-ideological or ethical-moral discussions about the contents displayed throughout the demonstrations – neither with the participants nor with myself. Instead, I set out to study much more 'value-neutral' questions such as "how is culture (ritual, memory, symbolism, ...) used as a resource in the demonstration?" – without seeking to evaluate the legitimacy of this use of culture in far-right politics.

Reflexive Analysis of PEGIDA

As indicated by the perspective of the photograph, PEGIDA inscribes its protest into the famously 'beautiful' city center of Dresden, especially in relation to the much praised neo-Baroque style Church of our Lady. Indeed, since 2014, the rallies have been taking place in the city center of Dresden, typically on one of the iconic squares which host the most famous buildings such as churches, the opera, and the castle. Moreover, Dresden's Baroque and classicist skyline features repeatedly on PEGIDA's online publications, in propaganda videos, etc. Speakers regularly refer to the beauty of Dresden writ-large as well as some specific buildings, notably the Church of Our Lady. By claiming the urban space as a stage for its protest events, PEGIDA does not only create highly photogenic scenes: It also aims to explain and legitimize its protest by appealing to the tradition of peace movements which have been mobilizing at the same spots.

In addition, PEGIDA's practice to organize protests on the most iconic squares of Dresden, and to claim famous buildings as a visually impressive backdrop for their political messages, inscribes the movement into a long history of public negotiation and ideological contestation regarding the architecture and planning of the city center of Dresden. Indeed, the historical center of Dresden is not politically neutral territory: As the former capital of the kingdom of Saxony and residence of a number of outstanding museums and art collections, Dresden acquired symbolic value for German nationalist and imperialist

aspirations during the Third Reich, and turned into an object of intense propaganda by both the Nazi and the socialist totalitarian regimes after its large-scale destruction towards the end of the Second World War. After German reunification in 1990, the center continued to be subjected to ideological disputes regarding the modalities of the reconstruction of the Church of Our Lady and other destroyed buildings. In the course of the past decades, Dresden has become a multifaceted *chiffre* for past royal glory, the horrors of war and violent destruction, and successful reconstruction through transnational European efforts (Rader 2005). Today, reconstructed Dresden often appears in popular rankings as 'the most beautiful' city in Germany.¹

PEGIDA further contributes to hybridization processes regarding Dresden as cultural heritage. The advent of far-right populist protest in the same urban context adds another layer of meaning to the city space: Besides serving as a symbol for war-time violence and European solidarity, the Church of Our Lady turns into a stage for anti-immigration and anti-establishment discourse and symbolism. At the same time, however, the political backlash against PEGIDA's public activism furthermore transforms the city center into a site of ideological clashes and immediate political contestation over space.

Hybrid Intangible Heritage in PEGIDA

Beyond hybridizations of the meaning of Dresden's architectural heritage and public space in the course of PEGIDA's activism, the movement's discourse also draws from so-called intangible heritage to sustain its activism. Fig. 1 displays some instances of intangible cultural heritage. My main interpretive interest concerns the slogan "WIR SIND DAS VOLK", in English "We are the people", which is displayed written on a German flag (on the right of the photograph). This slogan stems from the 1989 Peaceful Revolution originating in Leipzig, Germany, which contributed to the demise of socialism in the German Democratic Republic (GDR, 'East Germany'). As Fig. 1 reveals, the slogan has traveled from the 1989 Monday Demonstrations in Leipzig right to the center of far-right populist protest in contemporary eastern Germany. Hence, I moreover trace the processes of heritage hybridization by examining how PEGIDA's political uses of the heritage of the 1989 Peaceful Revolution (re-)construct ambiguous new meanings of this slogan in public protest events on the streets of Dresden.

First and foremost, PEGIDA layers geopolitical meanings through the use of various political flags in combination with the slogan. The combination of different instances of cultural and political heritage thus generates new meanings of 'the people'. Most importantly, PEGIDA gives the slogan a nationalist meaning by printing it on a German national flag, thus providing hints to who the demonstrators believe to be 'the people'. Indeed, populist rhetoric commonly draws from nationalist imaginations of community to sustain its references to 'the people' (De Cleen 2017). At the same time, however, the slogan acquires a regionalist symbolic value through the simultaneous display of the white-green flag of the historic region and contemporary eastern German state of Saxony (in the center of the photograph).

In addition, PEGIDA uses the slogan in combination with other instances of regional and national politico-historical heritage to construct the movement as a heir of former periods of anti-totalitarian resistance. Indeed, PEGIDA brings the slogan from the 1989 Peaceful Revolution into a dialogue with other pieces of heritage, for instance the so-called Wirmer-flag, a flag with a cross in German national colors (on the right of the photograph). The Wirmer-flag was designed in the 1940's as a symbol for the German resistance against Nazism. By bringing these two instances of heritage together, PEGIDA constructs a so-called 'master frame' which gives meaning to the public protest events and the political context in which they take place. PEGIDA's master frame constructs the narrative that PEGIDA is a force of resistance against oppressive regimes, and that the contemporary German democratic system resembles the dictatorships of socialist East Germany and Hitler's Third Reich.

Concluding Remarks

This essay's brief discussion and exemplary analysis of processes of heritage hybridization illustrates that the meaning of cultural heritage is not static, but contested among political actors with differing ideological attitudes and political goals. By shedding light on the various material and symbolic ways in which PEGIDA evokes both the tangible and intangible heritage of the city of Dresden and the region in its protest events, my research showcases that social memories cannot be pinned down to fixed places, historical moments, actors, and meanings. Rather, the meaning of '1989' transforms according to the social and political actors involved in its interpretation. In this context, PEGIDA's activism exposes the role of a far-right populist street movement in the process of societal and communal negotiations of

¹ Brandmeyer Markenberatung, "Deutschlands Städte in der Wahrnehmung der Bevölkerung," Brandmeyer Stadtmarken-Monitor (Hamburg, September 2015), 26.

Germany's difficult recent past, both at the local and national level. Instead of condemning the populist far right for appropriating positively associated national and regional political symbolism, I suggest to further inquire into the mechanisms of meaning-making on the ground. In particular, I suggest that interpretations of political negotiations over heritage in eastern Germany and Central and Eastern Europe more broadly need to consider the impact of the symbolic disruption following the demise of socialism after 1989-1990.

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Presenting the national history of Lebanon after a civil conflict: a heritage hybridisation?

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On 13 April 1975, at the climax of tensions in Lebanon, the attack of a Palestinian bus in Beirut degenerated into a lasting conflict. The arrival of the first Palestinians following the Arab-Israeli war of 1948-1949 created debates and rekindled the divisions within a multicultural Lebanon. Faced with this issue and the gradual loss of its sovereignty, other regional powers such as Syria introduced themselves into the Lebanese political debates. In 1975, after years of tensions between Palestinians, pro-Palestinian Lebanese, Lebanese against their presence and Syrians, political struggles took up arms in the Cedars country. What started primarily as a war over Palestine became in 1975 a conflict over coexistence between various Lebanese groups¹. This war is also a civil war².

Barricades were quickly set up in the districts of the Lebanese capital. The city was divided in two by a demarcation line. The national museum of Beirut bordered this line and became a nerve center of the conflict. It was one of the few passages between the east and west Beirut. Therefore, it was a very strategic point to control for the armed forces in place and the theatre of kidnappings, bombings and shootings. Located in the heart of the fighting, the museum was subject to bombardments, military occupations and lootings. Its doors remained closed for more than 15 years. During the Lebanese civil war, nearly one man in thirty joined a militia³. Each side of the conflict attacked civilians. As Elizabeth Picard pointed out:

“violence also targets civilians intentionally, in a desire for revenge inspired by tribal justice (Jamous, 2004), in a strategy of terror and deterrence of the adversary (Gilsenan, 1996) in a process of instrumentalization of the construction of identity (Picard, 1994b), so that the war in Lebanon causes ten times more civilian victims than military victims.”

In 1990, the conflict ended with no victor, no vanquished and it was time to rebuild for a society that had spent the last decades tearing itself apart. In the aftermath of the civil conflict, the rehabilitation of the national museum generated debates. The end of the conflict and the public silence over the events of the last 15 years questioned the relationship of the Lebanese people to the national past. The Lebanese government prevented the building of public civil war memorials or the establishment of a national cemetery for the fallen⁸. Some proposed to turn the national museum building into a memorial⁹ since the it was a highly symbolic location during the conflict. Thus, in a country where the public space does not allow an exchange on the traumas of the civil war, what is the role of the national museum? How did the national museum cope with the pressure of the population wanting to talk about the civil war and the official institutions wanting to erase it from the national memory? To what extent do museum teams question the national history presented in the museum after a civil conflict? How to display a national history after a civil war which instrumentalized the construction of identity?

According to the museologist André Gob, this study aims to understand via a multidisciplinary approach

¹ Theodore Hanf, *Coexistence in Wartime Lebanon*, London, 1993. On the Lebanese war see also Ahmad Beydoum, *Itinéraire dans une guerre incivile*, Beirut, 1993 ; Annie Laurent, Antoine Basbous, *Guerres secrètes au Liban*, Paris, 1987 ; Farid Al-Khazen, *The Breakdown of the state in Lebanon, 1967–1976*, London, 2000 ; Georges Corm, *Le Liban contemporain : Histoire et société*, Paris, 2003.

² Marwa El Boujemi, « La guerre civile libanaise : conflit civil ou guerre par procuration ? 1970-1982 », *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n° 43, Paris, 2016, p. 147-158.

³ Elizabeth Picard, « La guerre civile au Liban », *online Encyclopedia of mass violence*, Paris, 2012, consulté le 21 janvier 2018 sur https://histoire.ac-versailles.fr/IMG/pdf/dafpa_e_picard_texte.pdf

⁴ Raymond Jamous, « Le théâtre des passions politiques », *Terrain*, n°43, Paris, 2004, p. 141-156.

⁵ Michael Gilsenan, *Lords of the Lebanese Marches. Violence and Narrative in an Arab Society*, London, 1996.

⁶ Elizabeth Picard, « De la domination du groupe à l'invention de son identité : milices libanaises et paramilitaires nord-irlandais », in D.-C. Martin (dir.), *Comment dit-on « nous » en politique*, Paris, 1994.

⁷ *Op. Cit.*, 2012, p. 2.

⁸ Lucia Volk, « When memory repeats itself the politics of heritage in post-civil war Lebanon », *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, n°40, Cambridge, 2008, p. 293.

⁹ Lamia Joreige, « Under-Writing Beirut-Mathaf », *The Drama Review*, vol. 59, n°3, Beyrouth, 2015, p. 7.

“how the museum lives and fits into the crises of history constituted by armed conflicts. (...) these moments of crisis exacerbate facts, and both the behavior (...) of museum staff [and] the attitude of external society towards them are amplified, exacerbated but not fundamentally altered¹⁰”. This research, like museology, is at the crossroads between the historical, sociological or even neurobiological approach to the study of the public.

Based on a museographic analysis of the museum comparing the presentation of the collections before and after the conflict this paper analyzes the evolution of the museum discourse on national history. To do so, I used the former museum guide¹¹ published right before the war by the director at the time, Maurice Chéhab¹². Apart from the museum guide, there is little testimony to the presentation of the rooms of the Beirut Museum. To date, one can count the chronicles of the Bulletin du musée national and two articles, one by René Huyghe published in 1931¹³ and the other by Maurice Chéhab in 1937¹⁴. There are very few photographs of the museum’s rooms before the conflict. Most of them come from private archives. This paper is also based on a critical analysis of the museum, government institutions and national newspapers archives¹⁵. Finally, the results obtained were compared with a survey using the REMIND¹⁶ method to determine what nowadays visitors were picking up from the museum’s discourse.

This paper questions the references made to the conflict in the museum’s rooms and the intention of overcoming the trauma without denying it but also the influence of the conflict on the museum narrative. As a national museum, the museum of Beirut has been caught in a tension between restoring the past of the cedar country and address the trauma of the last 15 years. The national museum had a hybrid approach to this reconstruction issue in a way that they decided to erase almost all traces of the conflict on the museum building (tags, bullet holes etc...) while mentioning it in the museum’s rooms. Thus, the national museum of Beirut is the only governmental institution that mentions the Lebanese conflict even though this period is not taught in schools.

In the aftermath of the conflict, the national museum in Beirut was considerably damaged. As described by Suzy Hakimian, then head of the museum department at the DGA, “the roof is pierced, the windows are broken, the columns of the main façade are damaged. Many walls have been tagged¹⁷”. In a post-conflict context, it was decided to wipe out the damaged building and also the past. However, it did not mean that Lebanese had no interest in their heritage. In September 1991, the announcement of the destruction of 85%¹⁸ of the old buildings of Beirut lead to a heritage outburst. In this line, it was decided to keep the museum in its original building and to restore it entirely. The bullet holes were filled in and smoothed out, the tags erased and the roof repaired. At the end of the restoration, the building returned to its pre-war state.

On the contrary, the exhibition rooms were redesigned in a soberer and airier museography. Although its museography and the cartels have been refreshed, the museum has retained its general discourse. The collections of the Bronze Age¹⁹ period are largely dominant and reaffirms the Phoenician national myth. While this period elapsed before Christianity and Islam, it was largely appropriated by the Christian right during the civil conflict²⁰. In comparison, the medieval period that is included by law²¹ in the national museum’s collection is largely under-represented. This period goes from the Arab conquest to the Mamluk period 635 AD. - 1516 AD and was largely appropriated by other part of the civil conflict.

¹⁰ André Gob, « Musées en guerre », *Museology and History: A Field of Knowledge*, ICOFOM, Hildegard K. Viereg, Mónica Risnicoff de Gorgas, Regina Schiller, Martha Troncoso, Córdoba, 2007, p. 247.

¹¹ Maurice Chéhab, *Le musée national*, Beyrouth, 1974.

¹² He studied with the Jesuits at Saint Joseph University where he completed his humanities studies. He continued his studies in France at the Ecole du Louvre and the Ecole des Hautes Études. Back in Lebanon, he became curator at the National Museum between 1928 and 1937 before becoming head of the Antiquities Department. He was then appointed head of the General Directorate of Antiquities in 1959. He remained in post throughout the civil conflict before being replaced after 1982 by Camille Asmar.

¹³ René Huyghe, « Musée national d’antiquités et des Beaux-Arts à Beyrouth », *L’Architecture*, vol. 44, n°2, Paris, 1931, p. 41-48.

¹⁴ Articles published in the Bulletin du musée national, « Avertissement », Beyrouth, 1937, p. 2.

¹⁵ Direction générale des Antiquités, Institut français du Proche-Orient, Louvre Museum, L’Orient-le Jour, An-nahar etc.

¹⁶ Daniel Schmitt, Olivier Aubert, « REMIND : une méthode pour comprendre la micro-dynamique de l’expérience des visiteurs de musées », *Revue des Interactions Humaines Médiatisées (RIHM)*, vol 17, n° 2, Paris, 2017, p. 43-70.

¹⁷ Suzy Hakimian, « The Beirut National Museum and Collective Memory: Sanctuary, Repository, or Interactive Space? », *Near Eastern Archaeology*, vol. 73, n° 2, p. 182-188 consulté le 5 janvier 2018 sur <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25754047>

¹⁸ Liliane Baraka, « Le Liban ou l’Odyssée d’un patrimoine », dans Maria Gravari-Barbas et Sylvie Guichard-Anguis (dir.), *Regards croisés sur le patrimoine dans le monde à l’aube du XXIe siècle*, Paris, 2003, p. 489.

¹⁹ Bronze age: 3200 BC - 1200 BC (dates indicated in the museum exhibition rooms)

²⁰ Thomas Richard, *Mythologies politiques et identitaires dans les conflits au Moyen-Orient à l’heure de la mondialisation*, PhD in political sciences, Auvergne University, 2014, p. 112.

²¹ Arrêté n° 166-LR, chap 1, art. 1: “are considered as antiquities all the products of human activity, to whatever civilization they belong, prior to the year 1700 (year 1107 of the Hegira).”



Colossus in limestone from Byblos, 2019
© Zoé Vannier



Mosaic of the Good Shepherd, 5th BC, 2019
© Zoé Vannier

When the museum reopened, “the majority of the visitors, regardless of their age, would be visiting the museum for the first time, many were not even aware that a museum existed on the museum crossing²²”. The museum team insisted on the social and educational role of the institution. This is why the Minister of Tourism described the museum as “a symbol of reunification of the two Beiruts, our ambition would be to make it not only a meeting place for the different civilizations that have flourished in our homeland, but also, a link between the past and the future as well as a pilot cultural centre in the Middle East²³”. In order to fulfil its social mission, the museum compromised in presenting some traces of the conflict within the rooms.

These objects are hybrid in a sense they refer, at the same time, to Lebanon ancient history and to the recent events of the civil war. Behind the colossus, the DGA indicated the date 1995 accompanied by a photograph. In front of this sculpture, the public survey revealed that visitors think that the picture shows the context in which the statue was excavated. It is actually a photograph taken during the rediscovery of the collections after the Lebanese war. The artefacts that could not be moved were protected with reinforced concrete blocks. With this display the museum presents a positive image of its history by presenting the protection techniques used. It is the same for the mosaic of the good shepherd pierced by a maverick. The texts, without giving any information on the tragic events of the conflict in this very dangerous district, rather highlight the emblematic figure of the museum director, Maurice Chéhab. Thus, the new museum team in the 1990s focused on the traces of the conflict in order to highlight the action taken during the war to protect the collection.

However, this system does not give any information on the real impact of the conflict on the collection as in the case of the black traces visible on the colossus and on the tribune²⁴. These traces bear witness to the fires made by the soldiers occupying the museum. Presumably, they burnt the wooden planks originally installed to protect the works for warmth²⁵.

Going further, one may wonder why the most frontal references to the conflict are located just after the medieval and Ottoman periods, while references valuing the museum’s efforts to protect its works are presented next to the Bronze Age and Greco-Roman works. Indeed, on the first floor, just after the Ottoman showcases i.e. in a corner at the end of the corridor, are exhibited artefacts “damaged during the Lebanese war (1975-1991)²⁶”. The text next to the objects mentions that they are “the result of high temperatures reached during a fire cause by the shelling of a storage area²⁷”. Without further details, the visitors regularly supposed that they are objects from the medieval age or the Ottoman period. The Lebanese civil conflict saw a withdrawal in identity and the appropriation of certain historical periods according to the communities. It turns out that the Christian populations, to which the museum’s management belongs, favored the periods of the Bronze Age (founding myth of Phoenicia) and Greco-

²² Amélie Beyhum, « Mounting “ the National Museum past and future, an uprooted heritage”, exhibition at the National Museum of Beirut”, in ICOM, proceeding of the encounter, *Museums, Civilization and development*, Amman, 26-30 April 1994, p. 213.

²³ L’Orient-le jour, « Une association des amis du musée de Beyrouth », 22 août 1991, p. 6.

²⁴ Interview with Isabelle Skaf, director of the Museum laboratory.

²⁵ Camille Asmar, “The protection of heritage in a country at war”, in ICOM, proceeding of the encounter, *Museums, Civilization and development*, Amman, 26-30 April 1994, p. 204.

²⁶ Title of the text presenting the artifacts.

²⁷ Extract of the text presenting the artifacts.

Roman (proving strong links with Europe) while the Muslim communities favor the medieval periods emphasizing the Arabity of Lebanon²⁸.

These hybrid objects are accompanied by the presentation of a film at the entrance of the museum every hour. This film depicts the rebirth of the national museum. It illustrates the efforts made by the DGA teams to rehabilitate the museum. However, very few visitors decide to interrupt their visit to go to the film viewing room. Therefore, the majority of the visitor is not familiar with it.

Within the Museum, the aim is not to explain the conflict but just to display the efforts made by the DGA to remedy these traces. The national museum of Beirut is then a place of negotiation between the will of the civil society to learn about the history of the conflict in a desire for justice but also for healing and a government blocked because it is composed of former warlords. Thus, in the 1990s, it was difficult to create an effort to compile the various “war memoirs” as defined by Dominique Poulot. There were no commemorations around the civil war.

In the aftermath of the Lebanese conflict, the National Museum is a hybrid place. It is both a museum and a symbolic high place of the conflict. This is why demonstrations related to the memory of the conflict begin or end in front of its gates. As a visitor stated “the national museum of Beirut has itself become a museum piece”. The museum’s response to its own hybrid nature is one of compromise. In a context of reconstruction and a desire for reunification, the stigmata of the conflict are no longer visible in the structure of the building, although some traces are preserved in the collections. The national museum in Beirut is almost the only public institution to mention and acknowledge the Lebanese conflict. However, it does not participate to explain or display the impact of the conflict on the collection nor the society. In the current context of economic and security crisis with the Lebanese revolution, showing the fragility of heritage in the face of fighting, based on the experience of the Beirut national museum collection during the civil war, could increase visitors’ awareness on the need to safeguard heritage. The over-representation of certain historical periods over others after a conflict characterized by a withdrawal and an instrumentalization of identity raises the question of whether the national museum unites or divides communities.

In this sense, the national museum of Kabul, located at the other end of the silk road, which has also experienced the ravages of war in a plural society, highlights all historical periods and encourages visitors to reflect on the presentation of the collections and their interpretation. This invitation to a reflective visit would allow visitors to the Beirut museum to better understand the challenges facing museum professionals as “without this, they (the visitors) might misinterpret or overlook the historical background and meaning of what they are seeing²⁹”. In this case, national museum would help to reunite a post-conflict society and avoid any future political instrumentalization of heritage.

²⁸ Franck Salameh, *Language, memory, and identity in the Middle East: the case for Lebanon*, Plymouth 2010.

²⁹ “Educational significance, Buddhists sites as a source of Knowledge”, text presented in the Buddhism room at the national museum of Afghanistan, Kabul, 2020.

Prospected heritage manifested through translation criticism – the case of *Rocznik Literacki* [The Literary Annual] 1932-1938

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Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie

The aim of my presentation is to identify and unpack ideological strategies manifested through translation criticism in a Polish literary review *Rocznik Literacki* [the Literary Annual] published in the years 1932-38. The research undertaken in the UNA EUROPA framework is a part of my doctoral project devoted to translation policies in the interwar Poland. With the help of the interdisciplinary toolbox from Translation Studies and Heritage Studies, I will seek for possible answers to the following question: how did the translation (as a process, and as a product) function in interwar Poland. In the case of Translation Studies, the sociology of translation (especially: Translator Studies) and translation history will be used. Also, the complex relationship between translation and heritage will be traced. On the part of Heritage Studies, I will employ Laurajane Smith's definition of 'heritage', which is a broad concept of ultimate identity-making cultural practice, a "multilayered performance" (Smith 2006: 4). By this token, heritage is not "a physical thing left over from the past", but rather "an actively constructed understanding, a discourse about the past which is ever in fluctuation" (Moody 2015: 113).

This hybrid quality of heritage-making in the present seemed to be particularly evident in the case of the period of the journal's operation in Poland. It was undoubtedly an important time for the formation of Poland's cultural identity as a modern and independent state after 123 years of foreign rule. From regaining independence in 1918 up to WW II, Poland was a dynamic, multilingual, and multinational society, even though it also had to face the shadow of Fascist ideology escalating throughout Europe. The state was trying to recreate coherence on the administrative, economic and cultural level. Language and language policies (can) have a unifying power for the nation's restoration. Being aware of this potential, Stefan Żeromski – one of the leading writers concerned of this literary period, put forward a project for the Polish Academy of Literature. For him, only the institutional support for writers could effectively invigorate the literary market in Poland and lead societal progress. It was important to focus on modernist, contemporary literature translated from various languages. Thanks to Żeromski's effort, the Polish PEN was established in 1925; together with the Polish Academy of Literature, it supported translator training, production of translations, and theoretical approaches to translation – not only as a linguistic, but also as a social and cultural phenomenon (Bukowski Heydel 2019: 1-2).

Eight respective issues of the annual published by the Literary Institute in Warszawa present the urge of editors to classify the entire literary production – both original and translated. As it was overtly stated in the introductory essay for the first issue of the periodical, which was written by its editor and literary historian Zygmunt Szweykowski, the aim of the publication was the ample presentation and unbiased evaluation of literary phenomena in Poland in the 1930s (Szweykowski 1933: 5-6). The annual was aimed at reaching wide and diversified audiences consisting of common readers, translators and publishers. The hybridization of content and poetics of the annual were conditioned by two factors: first of them concerns the varied recipients with different interests, knowledge, and needs; whereas the second - the questions of diversified authorship. In the latter case: editors of the annual invited a group of eminent individuals, literary historians, translators and philologists to create their own subsections, i.e. Leon Piwiński, Karol Irzykowski, Waclaw Borowy, and many others. Respective issues varied in categories and volume, but always included: the bibliography of works written in Polish (divided into majors: Poetry, Drama, Prose and reprints), works translated from various languages, reviews of travel books, diaries, children's books, essays on current trends in literature studies, philosophy, and the report on the press market.

The very first glimpse at the table of contents of the first and the last issue might be a proof of the fluctuation of the content of the annual over time. In both cases, the most extended section was the

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Figure 1.: Tables of contents of *Rocznik Literacki*: years 1932 and 1938.

translated literature [*przekłady*] divided into subsections of source languages¹; in the course of journal's operation these include: English, Spanish, Literature of Yugoslavia (later called: Slavic), French, Russian, German, Hungarian, Italian, Romanian, Scandinavian Literature (comprised of Norwegian, Danish and Swedish), Latin and Greek, Yiddish, Dutch and Lithuanian. Some of them appeared regularly (every year or every other year), others - only once. The very division into languages (or: national literatures) was arbitrary, and it has changed throughout the years of journal's operation, too. Not only does it reflect the political changes, but it also illustrates the hybridity of the very translation: especially questions of the original, its relation to translation(s), and the degree to which the process of translation is based on difference, repetition, representation, and mimicry².

The approach of each reviewer, scholar and/or translator himself³, varied depending on the source language. These shifts demonstrate particular strategies of criticism and reception undertaken by each individual, and, in a broader context, relationships between European states and their cultures. Many experts ran their subsections for years, trying to trace more general tendencies in a wider timeframe. Considered as authorities, reviewers could praise or condemn particular translators, publishers, or authors; provide the wide audience with the context and/or reception of the original; ignore particular translation; promote it; or even suggest their own rendition of the original text. What they all shared was the belief in the missionary character of their work in order to stop the random, chaotic, or - what they considered as the lack of - , translation policy. As a consequence, they aimed at raising the awareness of the general audience, by simultaneously ameliorating the linguistic level of translations, and, in result, professionalizing the occupation of the translator. Here, the role of cultural policies comes to play: translation is subjected to cultural norms, political negotiations and social hierarchy. Interrelation of status, economics and ideology was identified by André Lefevere as *patronage*, understood as "the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of the literature" (Lefevere 1992: 15). Thus, essays in the annual were not a mere recapitulation of the literary production for the given year, but rather a negotiation of norms of the actual and prospected heritage between patrons and other individuals responsible for the circulation and reception of translations. The efforts and the power of the particular individuals described under the umbrella term "translation sociology" (Chesterman 2009: 16) was not entirely recognized by the contemporaries. By this token, professional reviewers of the annual, who focused on the essays devoted to original Polish literature, usually ignored, sometimes even overtly attacked wide representation of translation; they argued that there is no point in such a detailed representation of a foreign literature. This, so to speak, mildly enthusiastic approach towards translation criticism in the annual does not neglect, however, the power of translation in the heritage-making process. The editors of the annual in 1934 decided to add a short note introducing significant changes in the content of the annual in the future: overall cuts to the translation section (some of the subsections became less frequent), while expanding the subsection of translations from Greek

¹ The distinction was not always obvious and clear-cut: the best proof of the arbitrariness was the fact, that in the first issue of the annual, English-language literature was divided into the UK and the US, considered as different cultures and traditions – later a unified English-language section divided into smaller subsections of a literature from the UK, the US, and Canada was added [See: *fig 1*].

² In this respect, it is worth mentioning Rebecca Walkowitz's notion of a "born translated" novel; see: R. Walkowitz, *Born Translated: The Contemporary Novel in an Age of World Literature*, Columbia University Press 2015.

³ The gender factor is also worth mentioning, and it needs further investigation. The overwhelming majority of reviewers were male with only 11 female authors throughout 8 years of the operation of the annual.

and Latin. This shift towards antiquity, very significant in relation to heritage, stresses the urge to inscribe Polish literary tradition into the tradition of Hellenism and Roman Empire, both of which are considered common European roots. As it was stated by Smith:

Heritage is not necessarily about the stasis of cultural values and meanings, but may equally be about cultural change. It may, for instance, be about reworking the meanings of the past as the cultural, social and political needs of the present change and develop, or it may be about challenging the ways in which groups and communities are perceived and classified by others. Heritage is about negotiation – about using the past, and collective or individual memories, to negotiate new ways of being and expressing identity (Smith 2006: 4).

The affirmation of the “universal” past was an attempt to establish a leading narrative of the Polish state in the 1930s – period of social divisions and political crises. The nation was searching for its identity, questioning the present, re-inventing the past, and imagining the future. Reviewers aimed directly at bringing Polish literature and literary market closer to what they called a “civilized Europe” (Chwalewik 1935: 136). Thus, the willingness to put Polish heritage in a historical perspective and stress its great ancestors was strong.

On the other hand, the re-invented tradition socially excluded minorities, and “silenced” them in the table of contents. The most prominent example of this kind of exclusion was the annual’s relation to the Jewish culture. Before WW II, the Jewish community was the most prominent minority in Poland. The last and short subsection in the translation part of the annual devoted to “Jewish literature”, and it appeared only in the first four issues. It discussed probably works written in Yiddish and it referred only vaguely to the general aspects of the original books, suggesting the hermetic quality of the literature. In 1936, the subsection was erased, however, the *Jewish Question* appeared in the 1937 issue of the annual – this time, in the section devoted to literary life in Poland. The turmoil at the 1937 PEN Congress in Paris, where members of the Polish PEN were accused of connivance at the antisemitism in Poland, was recalled⁴. What followed was a complex political and press debate on the Jewish participation in the formation of contemporary Polish culture, and all of the sudden political questions were raised in the seemingly literary essay. The two negotiations within translation show that “heritage may be used to regulate, legitimize and justify the maintenance of national narratives and social hierarchies. While heritage is shown to be an affirmation of identity and a sense of belonging, that identity may also nonetheless be one that is governed or regulated by wider social forces and narratives” (Smith 2006: 6-7).

This intuition is in line with the polysystem theory established by Itamar Even-Zohar. He traced the dynamics of literary systems and power relations between cultures. In his work Even-Zohar shows that translation, at the stage of selection of texts and choice of translation strategies, occupies the position in the recipient culture that depends on the relationship between the status of translation, and the prevailing norms. On the one hand, well-established literatures with a long tradition and strong position leave translated texts at the periphery of their literary system. On the other hand, young and “undeveloped” systems easily implement (new) traditions and norms via translation (Even-Zohar 1990: 46-47). One of the most eminent translation historians, Christopher Rundle, reflected on that principle while investigating translation in Fascist Italy, where translation was perceived as an indicator of the weakness of a nation:

[...] these attitudes towards translation resulted not from the potential impact of the texts themselves, or from perceived changes within Italian literature, but instead from of the symbolic value that the regime attached to translations as a cultural phenomenon - a value first defined by a notion of culture as an arena in which different nations vied for dominance, and then by the notion of culture as the nation’s spiritual lifeblood, in which translations circulated as a form of corruption or contamination (Rundle 2012: 238-239).

In this vein, the need for translation from other languages is seen as a lack of power and prestige. General strategies towards translation presented in the annual were in line with Rundle’s observations: Polish reviewers were interested in wider literary production in Polish, so that the Polish audience did not need foreign books. On the contrary: it was the Polish culture that was considered eligible for translation into further languages. In order not to “contaminate” the language, and not to “spoil” the audience, translation choices should be made very carefully: works worth translating were chosen with respect to the novel aesthetical trends they introduced, or – when they addressed contemporary and universal issues delivered in a purist Polish language. The contradictory, “hybrid” quality of nationalistic aesthetics needed the balance between “the old” and “the new”: in the interwar Poland, the patriotic content was often presented in an avant-garde poetics (Schmid 2014: 382-386). Here, translation can be seen as a source of pioneering ideas and novelties compensated by the strict, traditional standard version of the Polish language. Reviewers attacked not only poor translations, but also low-quality

⁴ For the more detailed recapitulation of the discussion during the 1937 PEN Congress in Paris see: *Jules Romains, Pen-Club, etc.*, “Prosto z mostu” (1938) 24 p. 8.

original books that were either difficult to understand, or lacking artistic values. In the first case, they usually personally attacked translators, in the latter – the publishers. Only in the children's books section the implementation of Western (especially English) patterns through translation was acceptable. As reviewers of the annual believed, only by establishing political relations between Poland and Western European countries, sensible cultural policies could be implemented, and Polish literature could be translated into other languages – especially English, seen as both: the prestigious *lingua franca*, and the language of possible political allies. At the same time, there was an evident lack of ideas on how exactly the contemporary Polish literature, that might attract Western states, should look like.

Rocznik Literacki was created with the hope for developing regulations and norms for literature and translation in order to stop the chaotic and random moves within the literary market in Poland. Editors of the annual believed that they can shape future heritage not only by evaluating existing strategies, but also by suggesting possible directions for the development of Polish culture reflected in the eyes of other nations. Thus, the annual should not be considered a summary, but instead – a projection based on the aspiration of the Polish state to be a part of the West. The young state tried to establish its position in Europe through the literary market. The analysis of the translation policies in *Rocznik Literacki* helps to understand the ideological underpinnings of the creation of Poland's cultural heritage, both in relation to its past, and its future. It seems to be particularly important nowadays, as Poland is recovering its multiple traditions and rethinking its complex heritage.

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Terroir as heritage: protected geographical indications and anchoring the Intangible in the race for authenticity

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The growing movement towards culinary heritage offers a highly relevant example of the contemporary hybridization of heritage, not only in terms of academic study, but also in terms of practice and cultural valorization at personal, regional, national, and international levels alike. In terms of culinary cultural heritage, recent years have seen a 'heritage turn'¹ wherein both culinary practices and products are increasingly positioned in terms of their unique cultural value and local specificity. An important element of this heritage turn is the 'quest for authenticity'² for regional products and practices, which seek to validate their uniqueness in the face of global economic competition, changing social landscapes, and the standardization of food production. For French culinary products, the concept of *terroir* adds the irreplaceable elements of locality and specificity, while the concept of *savoir-faire* adds the elements of tradition and heritage. The sense of pride surrounding products such as wines, cured meats, or cheeses, functions as an important aspect of identity for the inhabitants of these regions. Economically, products of origin with 'protected geographical indications' (for instance Bordeaux wine or Comté cheese) boost market competition and promote tourism in their namesake regions. Furthermore, protected products of origin also figure into a wider cultural context. For example, the Gastronomic Meal of the French, which was added to UNESCO's list for Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2010, places importance on the selection of products for elaborating this meal, thus placing as much emphasis on the actual foods and wines chosen, as the ceremony of mealtime itself.³ I propose to examine the cultural functions of protected geographical indications in France, and how they lend tangibility to the national intangible cultural heritage surrounding gastronomy. At the same time I will question the policy-making behind the labeling and valorization of products, and discuss these implications in wider terms of culinary cultural heritage movements, including the resulting momentum in other European countries to seek labels of authenticity.

In terms of reputation, France currently leads the movement for culinary valorization, perhaps owing to the fact that the country was first to establish a labeling system for its wines and other regional products with what we know today as AOC (*appellation d'origine contrôlée*) or AOP (*appellation d'origine protégée*) certifications. The strong association between French cuisine and high quality standards has enabled France to remain the forerunner in artisanal food products. Much of this prestige is owed to a combination of geography, marketing, and mythologizing, which results in the concept of *terroir*. As historian Thomas Parker points out, the public understanding and use of the concept of *terroir* has changed greatly over time, after "a long, varied evolution" eventually arriving to our contemporary conception, which includes cultural aspects at its core.⁴ Although Parker argues the significance of *terroir* preceded the AOC system, (p.155) the integration of tradition and quality introduced by the label helped assimilate regional products as representative cultural signs. A strong emphasis today on *savoir-faire*, as indicated by culinary researcher Laurence Bérard, is a principle factor in determining a quality product.⁵ Incidentally, this concept is well-adapted to the growing emphasis on locality and artisanal products in environmentalist and 'green' movements. But how do the actual traditional practices of producing a culinary product concretely appear as cultural factors with representative value and identity?

According to the INAO, protected products display "*Origine et savoir-faire, des leviers de qualité conjugués pour identifier les produits liés à leur terroir.*"⁶ While very specific regulations exist to assure consistency of typical characteristics of a product such as flavors, color, even acidity and sugar levels in wines, collectively known as *typicité*, the adding of human practices and tradition adds an intangible

¹ Geyzen, Anneke. 'Food Studies and the Heritage Turn: A Conceptual Repertoire', in: *Food & History*, 12, 2 (2014) 67-96.

² Demossier, Marion. "The Quest for Identities: Consumption of Wine in France." *Anthropology of Food*, S1. Web.

³ <https://ich.unesco.org/fr/RL/le-repas-gastronomique-des-francais-00437>

⁴ Thomas Parker. *Tasting French terroir: The History of an idea*. p. 163. 2015 University of California Press.

⁵ Section 4.3 Terroir, AOC et Culture Locale. *Le Repas Gastronomique des Français*. Gallimard. 2015. Pp 65-73

⁶ 'Les Signes Officiel de l'origine et de la qualité.' <https://www.inao.gouv.fr/>

element to these certifications, which transforms food products into a cultural heritage that can be consumed.

EVOLUTION OF LABELS AND POLICIES FOR PRODUCTS OF ORIGIN ⁷		
Dates	Regulation/Policy	Qualification/examples
1905	First laws to protect wines against fraud in terms of production and import/export	Establishment of regions of production such as Champagne
1935	Introduction of the first label of origin to protect wines (precursor to AOC) and some culinary products	Wine regions of France established and further specified. Roquefort cheese is protected
1947	Creation of the INAO. Listing of regulation criteria such as alcohol levels and acidity	Delineation of geographic zones, use of specific grape varieties
1955	Cheese varieties added under AOC framework	Comté, Munster, Langres, etc.
1990-1992	AOP is created at the European level to certify products of origin, other food items are added	This label enables market recognition for export goods
2012	At the EU level, all products should only be classified as AOP, as numerous countries seek certification and recognition.	Other certified EU food and beverage products share the same labelling system

As the chart above indicates, the labelling system in France set the standard upon which the EU framework now operates under the AOP system for protecting products of origin. Today, an increasing number of countries apply for label certification for their traditional products. This can be seen as belonging to the heritagization push for culinary practices and the increasing recognition of intangible heritage, but it can also be seen as a widespread push to safeguard local economies against the competition brought on by globalization and standardization. Seen below, are the labels which are now EU recognized, each indicating a different qualification and specificity. The AOP label, for instance, must originate from a specific locality, while the IGP label indicates that at least one step in the production took place in a specific place. On the other hand, the label certifying organic agriculture overlaps with the contemporary appeal of terroir in the 'green' and 'locavore' movements.

These certification labels provide an economic bolster, especially for wines or products coming from prestigious regions, such as Burgundy or Bordeaux in France, as they help distinguish from other less official certifications. Labels also help legitimize the cultural aspects of practices which are strong elements of identity for the regions in which they are produced. Beyond the labels however, these products hold real cultural value and can become crucial aspects of a regions' heritage. Through complex networks of



tradition, valorization, and marketing, some products have become integral in the wider culinary culture of their regions.

Beaujolais wines, hailing from the northern Rhône valley of France, can provide a comprehensive example of the cultural value of terroir-as-heritage. As mentioned above, the creation of the AOC system, which designate the origin, quality, and *typicité* (*terroir*) of wines throughout France, sought to safeguard these wines from counterfeit and fraud. Today, in the production and promotion of Beaujolais wines, we see the convergence of marketing and tradition with cultural heritage events, creating a living heritage hybridization of Beaujolais wines. For example, after a marketing campaign led by former INAO director

⁷Table information drawn from INAO website and section 4.3 of *Le Repas Gastronomique des Français*. 2015.

general, Louis Orizet (who created the slogan “le Beaujolais nouveau est arrive!”⁸) the region enjoyed renewed fame and market success for its wines. In nearby Lyon and surrounding regions, ‘Beaujolais Day’ ceremonies take place each November when winemakers roll out barrels through the old town and city island, which comprised the historic neighborhood of the silk trade.

From those who make the wine to those who simply consume it, the festivity has become a celebrated element of the cultural heritage of the region, built around this product and its associated traditions. Furthermore, since the boom of the silk trade in Lyon in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the traditional restaurants of Lyon, the bouchons, served these local wines, thus strengthening the link between consuming terroir (both in food and wine) and partaking in a culinary heritage. The bouchons of Lyon, in turn, have undergone their own process of patrimonialization in efforts to certify and safeguard “authentic bouchons” in a time of changing tastes and practices. The narrative of authenticity is highly linked to the concept of terroir, as the restaurants are also furnished with regional products, many of them holding AOP labels as well. A ‘true’ bouchon is obliged to serve Beaujolais wine, thus the wine becomes valorized into a symbol of timelessness, signifies belonging, reflects regional identity, and promotes cultural pride. Policy shifts within UNESCO have influenced this tendency towards ‘visitable’ cultural heritage as seen in culinary heritage events, as the organization sought to broaden the scope of heritage to render their initiatives more inclusive. Given this, we see similar events celebrating intangible heritage related to culinary practices throughout France and across Europe, pushed forward by local governing bodies, cultural boards, and tourism boards alike. The hybrid nature of these cultural, historical, and economic elements of heritagization is exemplary of a further trend in culinary heritage in France today, but it also raises questions about the narratives being employed to promote terroir, and the motivations behind the marketing of authenticity.

Here we see this ‘urge to preserve’ and ‘quest for authenticity’ which poses recurring questions for cultural heritage: What is the motivation for valorization, what purpose does it serve, and where can we identify the delineation between ‘authentic’ cultural heritage preservation and economic exploitation? The overwhelming push for preservation concerning both material and immaterial heritage in recent decades marks the field of heritage studies as no longer focused largely on museum collections and monuments, but as a complex inter-working of policy, social circumstances, cultural values, and economic factors. Just as labels for certification of authenticity of origin (often encompassing traditional production practices) in France globalized the concept of terroir and prompted other countries to seek certification as well, the recognition of the Gastronomic Meal of the French at the onset of UNESCO’s recognition of intangible cultural heritage sparked a proliferation of culinary heritage movements and events to bolster identity in relation to food across Europe. As each recognition of authenticity is awarded, however, the push for certification grows to a level where the symbol of recognition is a base requisite, at once diminishing the accolade overall, and implying that countries or products without labels of authenticity, are lacking in quality. This conundrum is further complicated by the impact of tourism boards aiming to market culinary cultural heritage towards visitors, thus sometimes failing to represent the products or people of the region, instead opting for symbols and trends which appeal to the touristic clientele.

Therefore, this push for certification and reliance on the concept of terroir to anchor a product or practice to a specific place can be linked to several motivating factors linked to globalization: This trend can be seen as symptomatic of increased market competition due to standardization and the growth of large supermarkets, as a unifying and stabilizing effort for communities as their social fabric changes, as a response to heritage policies which are focused on the intangible and prompt a race towards authenticity, stimulating further competition among the same types of certifications and movements among EU countries especially.

Methodological note:

Given the nature of the thematic aim of hybridization, as well as the character of Cultural Studies, my research field, my methodological approach is necessarily mixed. As the concept of heritage spans many disciplines, it follows that an open exchange and interdisciplinary line of inquiry is necessary to yield wholistic views of social phenomena. Additionally, a hybrid concept of exchange between disciplines, methodological approaches, and international universities opens the possibilities of impact-driven research, which has hitherto been largely associated with the hard sciences. In my current research on food and culture, I use an approach which is rooted in critical heritage studies, policy analysis, and social theory, investigating the potential roots and outcomes of contemporary cultural phenomena related to food and identity. I explore the organizations, key interested parties, and socio-political factors impacting policies and their impact on the cultures or nations they serve. Important in this perspective,

⁸ <https://www.academie-sabl-dijon.org/celebration/naissance-de-louis-orizet-inspecteur-inao-et-journaliste/>

is a critical aim to identify the confluence of and dissonance between populations and organizations in terms of representation (and exclusion). To achieve these research goals, my methodology consists of two main approaches, within the field of cultural studies: Textual criticism and the historical method. For Textual Criticism, I examine texts of semiotic and social theory, literature in the field of food studies, and policy documents. In applying the Historical Method, I perform diachronic analysis of the historical developments of aspects of food and identity, political circumstances and events, as well as policy changes and practices. Finally, these two approaches somewhat converge and can be conceived in the wider frame of a Synoptic Method, which for my research involves examining how the phenomenon of food and identity in France has developed and evolved, particularly in relation to contemporary socio-economic issues.

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“Nos Ancêtres les Aztèques”

Representations of the Pre-Columbian past and hybrid national and heritage narratives in 19th century Parisian World Fairs

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Following the independence of the Spanish and Portuguese American colonies in the early 19th century, European imperial powers to-be had the impression that a ‘veil’ (Prévost Urkidi, 2009) had been lifted and that they were discovering the Americas anew. Interest in these now independent nations was chiefly economic and political, but there was also growing interest for the ancient history of the New World and its material remains. At the same time, for some of the new Latin-American nations - such as Mexico - the construction of a national identity with roots in a Pre-Columbian, pre-Colonial past, was instrumental in the process of crafting a modern nation.¹ In this text, I take a closer look at two different *mise en scène* of the Pre-Conquest past and its instrumentalization, focusing on Mexican and French narratives about Mexican antiquity in 19th century Parisian World Fairs.

The relations between France and Mexico during this period were marked by both strong anti-French sentiments and francophilia. Mexico was attractive for its natural resources and economic potential, and a large community of French industrialists and businessman had settled in Mexico during the first half of the century. There was also growing interest amongst French scholars for the Americas and its antiquity. However, the Second French Intervention in Mexico² quickly put an end to cordial relations between the two countries until the late 1870s. The Porfiriato’s administration (from the 1870s to the 1910s) on the other hand, was admiring of the French Third Republic, which was seen as the triumph of modern, liberal, republican values, and actively sought to attract French investors and immigration.

Why look at World Fairs? World Fairs incarnated, at the scale of a microcosmos, the ideals of progress, modernity and nationhood that were at the core of 19th century Western identity. At the same time, they also exposed its contradictions. World Fairs were spaces of national representation and international competition, this inherent tension solved by a narrative of universal cosmopolitanism and economic imperialism. World Fairs embodied the believe in positive politics, and of (infinite) scientific progress.³ Finally, World Fairs were spaces of magnificent spectacle, where modernity was celebrated alongside the exotic and the ancient, and the lines between high culture and mass entertainment blurred (Griener, 2017, pp. 57–95). For Western powers such as England and France, World Fairs were a stage on which to show their economic and political superiority, while for Mexico and other impoverished or marginal nations, they were “a continual, tiresome, expensive, hopeless, and yet unavoidable attempt (...) to take part of the cosmopolitan concert of nations” (Tenorio-Trillo, 1996, p. 12).

It is against this – albeit very synthetised – background, that Mexico and its past were put on show at Parisian World Fairs, not only by the Mexican government, but also by French institutions and private actors. In the next pages, I present a short overview of such two instances, and discuss some of the new, hybrid, and sometimes surprising discourses about the Mexican past that they produced.

The ‘Mexican Gods’ at the 1867 World Fair, between spectacle and science

Mexico’s first official participation in an international exhibition was in 1876, at the Philadelphia World Fair. However, a decade earlier, visitors of the 1867 World Fair could, for a small fee, climb the steps of the ‘Xochicalco Pyramid’ (fig. 1), enjoy some panoramic views of Mexico, and wander amongst the casts of famous Aztec monuments, such as the Sun Stone and the Coatlicue monolith, before having some

¹ See for example Achim, 2017, Florescano, 2005.

² The invasion began as a joint military effort with the United Kingdom and Spain to ensure debt repayments from Mexico (Convention of London of 1861). France also aimed to crown Maximilian von Habsbourg as Emperor of Mexico, thus installing a more favourable regime to French economic interests in Mexico and counterbalance the growing influence of the United States in Latin America.

³ Tenorio-Trillo, 1996, pp. 1–14, offers a very articulated overview of the values of 19th century ‘modernity’ as incarnated in World Fairs.

"sweet water" served by Mexicans in "national garb" on their way out (Dupleisi 1867). For the first time, visitors could 'experience' the wonders of ancient Mexico in Paris.

The Xochicalco pyramid rose ten meters into the sky, in the so-called 'English quarter' of the World Fair grounds at the Champs-de-Mars. It was the fanciful creation of Léon Méhédin (1828-1905), a photographer and amateur archaeologist who had documented Emperor Napoleon III military campaigns in Crimea and Italy and followed the French armies during the Mexican war (Gerber, Nicaise and Robichon, 1992). Upon returning to Paris, Méhédin jumped at the opportunity to contribute to the project of a 'Mexican pavilion' for the World Fair. The pavilion was intended to celebrate Napoléon III's war in Mexico and the grandeur of French imperial science, exhibiting both natural samples and archaeological artefacts gathered during the intervention. However, as the opening of the World Fair drew closer, the project of the pavilion stalled, as the commission in charge fought endlessly about the budget and the design. The *coup de grâce* came when the French withdrew in disgrace from Mexico in late 1866. The defeat was considered a personal embarrassment by Napoléon III, and all mention of the campaign was frowned upon by his government.

Méhédin however, took it upon himself to finish the project, building the pyramid at his own expenses. Here, I will only highlight two aspects of Méhédin's pavilion, as pertaining to some of the rationale of 'hybridisations' of this workshop: how he played upon the idea of 'authenticity', and how he successfully marketed his exhibit to the popular masses by relying on the legitimizing power of archaeology.⁴

Méhédin's building was a composite and synthesising image of 'Mexican antiquity', a concept he did not particularly care to define, whether in terms of culture or of chronology. The complexity of Mesoamerican Pre-Conquest cultures was still largely unknown, especially to European audiences, and thus Méhédin presented Xochicalco interchangeably as an 'Aztec' or as an 'ancient Mexican' temple. At the same time, the so-called "authentic Indians" (Dupleisi 1867) were dressed in contemporary *charro* costumes. Méhédin was combining elements of the 'ancient' and of the 'contemporary exotic' without particular problem, in order to create a picturesque experience for his visitors.

Méhédin also combined archaeological rigour and fantastical showmanship in his conception of the pavilion. The general structure was based on the Temple of the Feathered Serpent at Xochicalco, which Méhédin had carefully excavated and made casts of during the Franco-Mexican war. The interior, however, was colourfully decorated with scenes inspired from Pre-Conquest and Colonial codices, but rearranged according to Méhédin's taste, to also frame his photographs from his travels in Egypt and Italy. And although the casts of the monuments exhibited were of exceptional quality, the pieces were arranged with dramatic effect to exploit the public's fascination with human sacrifice, one of the few Aztec cultural practices popular audiences were familiar with. Visitors spoke of the "vampire-like" statue of Coatlicue, surrounded by obsidian knives and bloody sacrificial wheels.⁵ Others describe the feather curtains, burning torches, and rows of skulls that decorated the pyramid (Duval 1867, Ducuing 1867, Lyden 1867). And yet, despite all the theatrical antics, visitors could also help themselves to copies of studies of Mesoamerican sites and monuments by Basseur de Bourbourg, an eminent scholar specialising in Pre-Conquest antiquity. Méhédin also presented himself as an archaeologist and as an agent of the 'Comission scientifique' that had accompanied the French troops in Mexico, further legitimising his project in the eyes of the public.

The pavilion was an undisputed success and visitors of the Xochicalco Pyramid felt they were being 'transported' into the past. A chronicler even wrote that the "the empire of Montezuma" had once again "come to life" (Duval 1867). And indeed, the press often insisted on the authenticity of the pyramid and praised Méhédin for organising the exhibit with both "taste" and "science", creating a "new museum" for Mexico in Paris (Ducuing 1867, Duval 1867). Despite its fancifulness, and its clear pandering to the most gruesome aspects of Aztec culture, Méhédin's hybrid experiment of mass culture entertainment and archaeological museum also contributed to making more real the historical dimension of Pre-Conquest Americas.

The Essence of Modern Mexico: the 'Aztec Palace' at the 1889 World Fair

The stakes were different at the 1889 World Fair. After much debate, the French republican government announced that the fair's theme would be the celebration of the centennial of the French Revolution, prompting several European monarchies to boycott the event. Mexico, however, was eager to participate in its first French international exhibition in an official capacity. For the Porfiriato, the 1889 World Fair was a unique opportunity to show that Mexico belonged amongst the other modern, liberal, and industrial nations. The Mexican pavilion for the fair once again borrowed from Pre-Conquest architecture and

⁴ For a more detailed analysis of the pyramid project: Christine Demeulenaere-Douyère, 2012.

⁵ A *temalacatl*, a stone platform used in sacrificial contexts.

imagery, but this time the past was put to a different use: communicating that Mexico had a glorious past of its own, different from that of Europe, but that it was ready to adjust to the international standards of political and economic modernity. In this last section, I will discuss the selective uses of the past by the Porfiriato Mexican elites for the design of the pavilion, and its role in constructing a new idea of nationhood for Mexico. As it had been the case with Méhédin's interpretation of the Mexican past, the idea of 'authenticity' and the authority granted by archaeology played key roles in the process.

The Porfiriato invested an unprecedented amount of human and monetary resources: some five million French francs went into preparing for the event, a sum vastly superior to that of any of the other participants (Tenorio-Trillo, 1996, p. 50). The main challenge was to show Mexico as cosmopolitan and modern but also as unique. Thus, the project focused on the one hand on its industrial and agricultural riches to attract foreign investment and immigration, and on the other hand, in showing Mexico's 'national character'. This meant to somehow combine the values of modernity and universality and Mexico's indigenous and colonial identities.⁶

There were two proposals for the design of the Mexican pavilion, reflecting two different possibilities when selecting elements from the past and weaving them into a new national narrative.⁷ Interestingly, both drew from earlier European – mostly French and English – studies and representations of Mexican and Mesoamerican ruins, as well as from contemporary Mexican scholarship. The first project was submitted by Luis Salazar, an engineer, and Vicente Reyes and José Maria Alvan, both architects. The authors proposed to combine Pre-Colonial architectural elements and monuments from different cultures and present them, synthesized, in one building. This composite past would act as the stylistic antecedent for a modern Mexican 'architectural style'. Interestingly, most of the monuments used were Maya, such as the base of the Xochicalco temple, and motifs from Mitla and Palenque.

The second project by historian Antonio Peñafiel and engineer Antonio de Anza was inspired by a different philosophy. It did not aim to create an ideal, 'precursor' style from different Pre-Conquest cultures, but rather to show the essential and authentic characteristics of the 'real' Pre-Columbian past at the roots of the (modern) Mexican nation. For Peñafiel, the Aztecs were the true ancestors of Mexico, a view that was also preponderant amongst the official historiography of the Porfiriato's elite (Florescano, 2005). Peñafiel and de Anza's project design was a reproduction of a *teocallu*, a step-pyramid surmounted by a temple, and in their quest for 'authenticity' and of a 'pure' Aztec style, archaeological accuracy was paramount. Peñafiel, himself an amateur archaeologist, carried out extensive archaeological and documental research for the design. But to resolve the tension between the particular (read, unique) national characteristics of Mexico, and the universal inherent to the modern idea of nationhood, Peñafiel and de Anza's project needed to be adjusted to European expectations of the exotic and the ancient, as well as to 19th century architectural canon. The result was a new, hybrid conception and visual representation of architectural elements from the Mexican past. Thus, while the pavilion resembled a step-pyramid, it was not crowned by a temple – as would have been the case in a *teocalli* – and the steep access stairs were just for decoration, leading to a fake entrance (see fig. 1, bottom image). Two other examples of hybridisation in the design are the sculpted columns flanking the entrance - described as 'Toltec caryatides' - and the medallion that crowned them - a representation of the Aztec god Tonatiuh – reminiscent of pediments of Greek or Roman temples.

Both projects also needed to show Mexico's modernity, and this was done by privileging the use of glass, iron and steel, materials that had come to symbolize modernity. In the end, it was the 'Aztec Palace' designed by Peñafiel and de Anza that was selected (fig.1). The pavilion was 70m long by 14m high, and to enter, guests had to cross a parterre planted with *magueys*.⁸ The façade had no openings other than the door and was decorated with a series of reliefs and bronze sculptures by Jesus Contreras, representing the Aztec gods, heroes and kings that had become part of the new national Mexican myth, but depicted in a Western, Neoclassical style.

In contrast, the inside of the pavilion was resolutely modern, all steel and glass, and permanently illuminated with electric lamps (Diaz y de Ovando, 1990). A fine-arts exhibition by the highest-regarded contemporary Mexican artists served as a screen to showcase the industrial and agricultural riches of Mexico. Visitors were quite literally invited to follow Mexico's progress throughout time, first admiring the glorious heritage of the Aztec past in the external architecture of the *teocalli*, and then stepping right into the modern nation that was its inheritor.

Reception of the 'Aztec Palace' was mixed. The Mexican government succeeded in presenting the

⁶ Indeed, one of Mexico's great dilemmas was the conflict between the Indian and Spanish heritages, which in part was solved through the development and affirmation of the 'Criollo' identity.

⁷ Here I present only some aspects of the project as relating to the workshop, see Tenorio-Trillo, 1996 chapter 6 and 7 for a detailed analysis.

⁸ A type of agave used for different industries in Mexico since pre-Conquest times.

Aztecs as their ancestors and showing its 'national style' through the architecture of the pavilion. Indeed, the French press reviews agree that the pavilion was 'authentic', that there was no doubt that it was inspired by its 'ancient civilization' (always singular), and that the architecture successfully expressed the essence of 'Mexican character' (Dourde 1889, Anonymous 1889, Brincourt 1890). These elements, however, were judged in a rather negative light: the architectural style of the Aztecs was too cumbersome, massif, reminiscent of a water-reservoir (Brincourt 1890, Dourde 1889); instead of a glorious, noble past, the sculptures of the Aztec gods and kings evoked "a bloody empire" and "indescribable horror" (Dourde 1889). The Aztecs were not the same as the Greeks or the Romans, and Mexico's 'classical antiquity' was not the same as Europe's. For the 1900 World Fair, Mexico eschewed all allusions to its Pre-Conquest history and instead opted for a sober pavilion of neoclassical design, very much in line with contemporary official architectural taste.

A Brief Conclusion

Although Mexican antiquity made other appearances in 19th century Parisian world fairs, the two examples briefly discussed here show that narratives concerning the Mexican past were the product of different and creative - albeit ideologically laden - interests. These were complex process that borrowed elements from European ideas of nationhood, art and history, and Mexican choices regarding their past, identity and cultural heritage. The result was the creation of new discourses about the Mexican past and its material remains that were used differently on both sides of the Atlantic.

The implications of such uses and reuses of the past, and of the representations of Pre-Conquest and modern Mexico they generated, must also be considered within 19th century colonial and ideological narratives of the 'West' versus the 'Non-West' (or the 'Other').⁹ Lacking the space to adequately develop this complex question in this paper, I will nevertheless point out some of the ideas that will benefit from a hybridization framework approach. Firstly, although Méhédin's pyramid did have a pedagogical intent, it was first and foremost conceived as entertainment - and, hopefully, as a profitable venture for Méhédin -. That the pyramid was perceived as 'authentic' does not mean that it was scientifically or archaeologically accurate as we would understand it today, or that it cast 'ancient Mexicans' in a particularly positive light.¹⁰ So, despite making the historical dimension of Ancient Mexico more tangible to visitors, a more detailed study of the reception of the Xochicalco pyramid is needed to understand how Méhédin's project and the 'ancient exotic' Aztecs fit within contemporary Western narratives of cultural progress and civilizational hierarchies. Similarly, another path to explore is how the reception of the 1889 Aztec's Palace' exterior fit within the trend to 'ethnecise'¹¹ and identify the 'national characteristics' of non-Western cultures in late 19th century art history and architecture discourses, and how this, in turn, affected French judgement of Mexico's 'modernity' - or lack thereof -. I intend to keep looking at the bidirectional ideological, intellectual, and aesthetic transfers at work here, and see what this can bring to our discussions of the notion of heritage hybridisation.

Acknowledgements

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⁹ See Klein for an insightful reflection on how the academic institutionalization of the idea of 'Pre-Columbian' in archaeology and art history in particular played a role in the construction of the 'nonwest' in the late 19th and throughout the 20th century.

¹⁰ Bickham 2005 and Moser 2006 both discuss the importance of 'perceived authenticity' in late 18th and 19th centuries displays of antiquity and of 'ancient cultures' in museums but particularly in 'popular' exhibitions. Bickham focuses on North American Indians (see in particular Part I), while Moser looks at the case of Egyptian antiquities (see for ex. Chapter 4).

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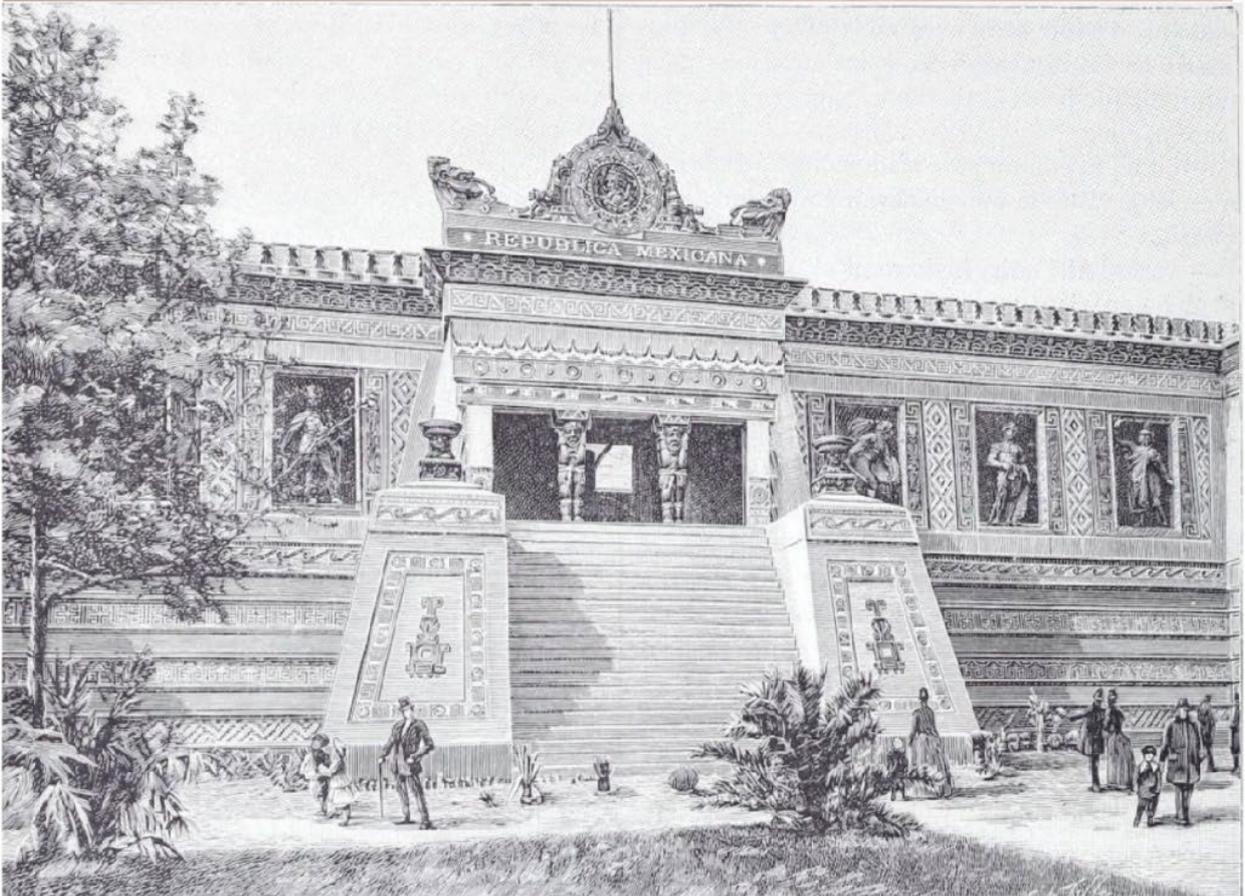
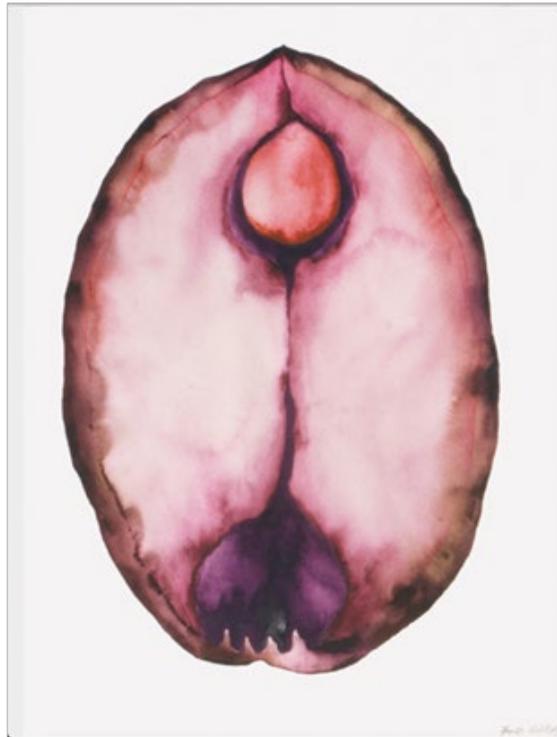


Fig.1 Top: Temple de Xochicalco élevé sur le Champ-de-Mars, photograph by Pierre Petit, 1867. Courtesy of : Archives Nationales de Paris, « Album du parc » vol. 2 F/12/11872/2. Bottom: Le Palais Aztèque, illustration from Le Magasin Pittoresque, 1889 p. 269

Archiving as Resistance: Remembering Feminist Heritage in the Feminist Art Program

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Faith Wilding, *Peach Cunt* (1971).

Many museums, archives, and other places of knowledge production in the West are dominated by representationalist, object-centered approaches of engaging with cultural heritage. Such strategies by focusing mainly on the outcomes of cultural processes, disconnect the cultural object, for example, a work of art, from its production process, substituting a representation for an action (Sayal-Bennett 2018). However, the increasing convergence of art, media, technology, and the digital network, but also university and museum, as well as the correlative production of comparatively immaterial art, require alternative methods of telling histories and learning practices (Walsh 2016, Lehmann 2018: 187) and thus new models of heritage. My doctoral research therefore revolves around practices that, as I argue, deal with a notion of heritage as a dynamic, active process of remembering and meaning making and allow alternative learning experiences beyond representationalist logics. Specifically, I am shedding light on artistic research activities by women educators at Bauhaus-related art institutions of the 20th century. I am thereby continuing an investigation on the role of women artists at the Bauhaus and beyond starting most recently with exhibition and research projects such as *bauhaus imaginista* (Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, 2019). Aiming to disrupt prevailing male-dominated and Western historiography of the Bauhaus, my PhD project focusses on the entanglements, e.g., with other cultural and artistic contexts, that brought the practices of these three women into being.

In this paper, I address the researching and archiving activities of the Feminist Art Program (FAP) at the California Institute of the Arts (CalArts) in the early 1970s. Following Laurajane Smith's definition (2006),

I argue that all heritage is hybrid, i.e. its meaning layered and processual, and show how this hybridization process is manifest in the FAP's engagement with heritage. In a first step, I introduce Smith's notion of heritage underpinning this paper. In a second step, I highlight how processes of hybridization come into play in the FAP's constitution of feminist heritage, particularly how the latter influenced the development of their artistic practices and imagery. Last but not least, I show how their heritagization activities can be considered a case of "strategic essentialism" and CalArts, the institution the program was embedded in, reacted to them. With this paper, I would like to contribute a feminist, art historical perspective to an ongoing discourse on the creation of cultural heritage in Postcolonial, Curatorial, and Heritage Studies. The methodological approach of this study can be described as a weaving together of a socio-historical analysis of the FAP's situatedness, an art historical close reading of case studies, and the evaluation of interviews and archival material by former protagonists of CalArts.

HERITAGE AS ACTS OF REMEMBERING

The dominating approach to heritage as manifesting in national and international heritage guidelines of the West (e.g., the Burra (1979, 1999) and Venice Charter (1964)) considers heritage as being passive, material-based, characterized by identifiable boundaries, and bearing an inherent cultural value, which is determined and conveyed by professional experts. Such an understanding of heritage goes back to the late 19th century and the development of European nationalism and the liberal education movement and has achieved universalizing dominance in the 21st century (Smith 2006: 17). The emerging narrative of nationalism called for physical representations of national identity, European taste and achievement to be cared for and educated by professionals, usually coming from the upper middle class, and museums as their repositories establishing a top-down relationship between expert and visitor (Smith 2006: 18, 34). The latter were conceptualized as well-educated and, moreover, empty vessels or passive consumers (Smith 2006: 31). Such an approach contradicts the FAP's creative engagement with heritage. Laurajane Smith's model, she elaborates in her 2006 publication *Uses of Heritage*, however, challenges such traditional concepts and therefore provides the theoretical framework for my research.

Smith shifts the focus from the material qualities of heritage to the process of passing on knowledge. Defining all heritage as intangible, the Heritage and Museum Studies scholar is rather concerned with its emotional, political, engendered, and cultural affect than the cultural object or event itself (Smith 2016: 56). Focusing on acts of remembering instead of objects or physical sites, brings to the fore the encounters heritage creates in present time and thus the reactions and active engagement of those dealing with it. As Smith elucidated: "If heritage is something that is done, and part of what is done is remembering, then a sense of embodied memory is useful: 'In the doing, moments of memory are recalled, reactivated [...], and thus, may be drawn upon in new combinations of signification.'" (Smith 2016: 65). The FAP's engagement with artworks by women of the past, similarly, did not focus on the preservation of their (object-centered) originality, but rather on their significance for their current situation as young women trying to establish an identity as artists in a male-dominated environment.

ARCHIVING IN THE FEMINIST ART PROGRAM

The FAP was founded in 1970 by Judy Chicago to challenge and provide an alternative to the male-dominated art discourse and education in Los Angeles. The difficulties women had to pursue professional artistic careers, according to the artist, were rooted in their socially conditioned behavior:

"Women have no legal identity, we are seen by society, and often see ourselves, as extensions of men and we only now have begun to have a sexual identity. Women also have neither a historical nor an artistic identity. And yet, under these circumstances, people ask why there are so few female artists?" (Chicago 1971: 24)

The FAP was initiated at Fresno State College and transferred to CalArts in 1971, where it was co-held with Miriam Schapiro until 1975. The program accepted only women and was held off-campus to create an autonomous space, allowing its participants to develop an understanding as artists and pursue their creative practices, away from the intimidating structures of the male-dominated institutions. According to Chicago, in the early 1970s "the tools of criticism and evaluation of art" and thus the dominating aesthetic values and forms were based on the social realities of men, "excluding a direct content or feeling orientation" (Chicago 1971: 25). In order to enable alternative experience-based modes of artmaking and evaluation systems to the prevailing focus on formalist and conceptual concerns, one of the main components of Chicago's pedagogical principles was the research into content that was related to the

participants' social realities as women¹. An art historical research project into art created by women artists of the past, besides challenging the prevailing art historical canon, should inspire them to find modes of expression that dealt with similar issues. The project was started at Fresno under the lead of student and teaching assistant Faith Wilding. Having great difficulties to find entries or even images of women artists' work in the commonly used art history books, they began to put together biographies and visual materials, establish a slide collection, and write articles, thus constituting a feminist heritage (Wilding 1971: 18; Wilding 1994: 38). Their archive was established at CalArts with the help of Schapiro and her assistant, becoming the first West Coast file on women artists' work.²

The archive did not include slides of just any artwork, containing by June 1971 no less than 300, but followed a certain agenda. The focus lay particularly on art that, according to the members of the FAP, dealt with the social realities of women and, amongst other things, employed forms, colors, and techniques that had been stereotypically and pejoratively considered "feminine" and therefore often not taken seriously as art. Recurring images they singled out in works by, amongst others, Georgia O'Keeffe, Marie Laurencin, and Lee Bontecou were what they considered "direct female symbols," such as flowers, eggs, crevasses, and abysses, which formed the basis for their creation of "Cunt Art" (Wilding 1971: 18, 19): A vulval or womb-like imagery, that the members of the FAP developed in response to their research and archiving project. Theorized by Chicago and Schapiro as "centralized-core imagery," describing the apparent tendency of women artists to employ images that are structured around a central core, to the members of the FAP such images signified an artistic exploration of their own female body and thus sexual identity through the eyes of women. As Wilding elucidates, "recuperating a term that traditionally had been used derogatorily and thereby opposing the phallic imagery developed by men [, w]e vied each other to come up with images of female sexual organs by making paintings, drawings, and constructions of bleeding slits, holes, and gashes, boxes, caves, or exquisite vulval jewel pillows" (Wilding, 1994: 35), manifesting in works such as *Peach Cunt* (1971).

Besides shedding light on forgotten or overseen artistic practices by women artists and thus revising the male-dominated art canon, the archiving processes of the FAP aimed at constituting a collective identity as women artists that was reflected in a shared vocabulary, resulting in the creation of a feminist artistic heritage. The hybrid nature of their heritagization activities becomes apparent through Jan Nederveen Pieterse's definition of the term: "[w]ith respect to cultural forms, hybridization is defined as 'the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices'" (Pieterse 2015: 86). In the FAP, the participants, similarly, focused on art produced by women in the past they read as feminist and singled out images, forms, or subjects, leaving aside other aspects and readings, which found entrance into their own artistic engagement, resulting in a new "female" language of form. The FAP's creation of heritage, thus, as I argue, was not only part of their art production process, but also of a larger resistance strategy against the oppressive structures of the hegemonic L.A. art world, which CalArts, the institution it was embedded in, was part of. In this sense, Gli-Manuel Hernández i Martí's definition of cultural heritage can be also applied to the constitution of feminist heritage in the FAP:

[The concept of cultural heritage] could be described as a social construction, understood as a symbolic, subjective, processual and reflexive selection of cultural elements (from the past) which are recycled, adapted, refunctionalized, revitalized, reconstructed or reinvented [...], transform themselves into a selective representation [...] which expresses the historical-cultural identity of a community" [...] [and] can be used for the legitimization of power structures and allows the reproduction of market mechanisms." (Hernández i Martí, 2006: 95)

Instead of legitimizing and reproducing existing power structures and market operations, the feminist heritage created in the FAP, however, was rather intended to empower the young students and form a collective identity of women (artists) to build a counterweight to and formation *against* their negative and objectified representation in or worse exclusion from the dominating patriarchal art establishment.

HERITAGIZATION AS RESISTANCE: STRATEGIC ESSENTIALISM AT CALARTS

The FAP's heritagization practice, particularly their assumption of a collective identity or consciousness of women artists, runs the risk of universalizing the experiences of women, reducing their identity to their gender and thus excluding the heterogeneous—sexual, ethnic, racial, national, economic, cultural—living realities expressed in their art. Particularly Chicago's and Schapiro's idea of a shared vulvar imagery

¹ The terms "woman" and "female" as applied in this article are particularly referring to the hegemonic definition of women, i.e. persons with a bodily anatomy considered as female. I am herewith adapting the perspective and the self-understanding of the feminists centralized in this study. It is thus an empirical and not a normative description that only makes sense in this historical-situational context.

² At CalArts, the FAP's archive consisted mainly of slides. Except a slide registry from 1972 in the collection of the Californian Institute of the Arts Archives no material traces of the FAP's archive are left.

was highly criticized as being essentialist by their contemporaries but also by successive generations of feminist artists. I, however, argue that their approach can be considered an example of “strategic essentialism.” The term was coined by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and means the provisional adoption of essentialist positions about identity categories (like woman, worker, or more generally subaltern) as a strategy to mobilize a collective consciousness in order to pursue chosen political ends (Spivak, 1990 (1984)). Strategic essentialism thus creates a collective identity, which allows social movements and groups to collectively represent themselves and thus makes them capable of political action in a form that is heard by hegemonic actors. What she particularly points out is the importance of constantly being self-conscious about the strategic use of these essentialist positions in order to avoid the reproduction of the exclusions these essentializations entail.

Chicago, Schapiro, and the FAP in Fresno, similarly took up hegemonic ascriptions, defining women through their anatomy and their sexuality and thus their most repressive category, in order to reassess and challenge them: “The way women have been oppressed has revolved around our sexuality, either by turning us into sexual objects altogether or by denying our independent sexuality” (Chicago 1974: 65). However, as Chicago and also Wilding particularly highlight, “Cunt Art” was not considered a universal form language intrinsically used by all women but rather a form chosen by some to explore their sexuality (Wilding 1994: 35; Chicago 1974: 64). The “Cunt Art” of the FAP, as a celebration of female sexuality, can thus rather be understood as “metaphoric emblems of women’s *independent* power and freedom from male dominance” (Broude and Garrard, 1994: 24). The FAP’s heritagization practice, the use of specific forms singled out during the process and the subsequent development of “Cunt Art” can thus be considered strategic, mobilizing a collective consciousness. Instead of creating a fixed universal language of form, however, they are rather one step in a longer educational and artistic exploration process and thus temporary.

Even though CalArts provided spatial, financial, and personnel support, the FAP was subjected to scathing criticism, hostile, and sexist behavior and even censorship (as in Wilding’s graduation show) by many members of the art school. The separatist approach of the FAP was thus reinforced by the reactions it provoked at the school, propelling the need to create an exclusionary safe space and thus the constitution of a feminist heritage. Chicago ultimately realized that “the program could not continue successfully in an institutional framework without [...] integrating a feminist discourse into every aspect of its structure and curriculum” (Wilding 1994: 46). In 1973, she decided to resign and, together with Arlene Raven and Sheila de Bretteville, found the Woman’s Building, one of the first independent feminist cultural institutions in Europe and North America, which was awarded the Historic Cultural Monument status by the Los Angeles City Council in 2018. It seems that also in the subsequent decades, the feminist practices at the school, especially the activities of the FAP, have not been given much value by the institution they were embedded in and apparently were not part of the collective memory of the art school. 20 years after the end of the program students at CalArts were unaware of the existence of the FAP until they found materials pertaining to it in the dumpsters of the art school’s library (Schor 2019, Chicago 2019). According to Chicago, it was not until the early 2010s, when the large-scale initiative *Pacific Standard Time: Art in L.A., 1945–1980* reminded of its existence as an important part of the history of the L.A. art scene, that one of the most significant projects of the FAP at CalArts, *Womanhouse*, was included into the institution’s official history (Chicago 2019).

CONCLUSION

At first sight, it seems that the efforts the FAP made to challenge the dominating canon, to integrate the legacy of women artists into the prevailing discourse, and to be permanently included and accepted in the institution’s structure and curriculum, for over 40 years have not been successful. Laying the foundation of the establishment of the Woman’s Building, which attracted women from all parts of the U.S. and also internationally had a huge influence on women to become feminist artists, it nonetheless constituted a feminist heritage that historically remains even though outside of the institution it originally was embedded in. Moreover, the FAP’s heritagization activities, which were not only part of its members’ artistic practice but also strategically employed to constitute a collective identity of women artists, questions hegemonic notions of heritage. Remembering the art of women of the past through their own artmaking, the participants of the FAP reactivated or rather reinvented their aesthetic forms, put them into a contemporary context, and adapted them for their present needs. Their active, dynamic, and collective approach to heritage offers alternative ways of engaging with the past that omit top-down-relationships between heritage expert and receiver and propose more democratic and practice-based modes of remembering. Particularly their transgressive practice, simultaneously taking on the roles of archivist, researcher, artist, and mediator, creating and conveying cultural heritage as well as incorporating it in their artistic practice at the same time, seems to meet the demands made on today’s

curators and exhibition makers. Remembering the FAP thus gives not only insights into a feminist example of heritage hybridization in an artistic context, but also triggers new impulses for hybridization practices in exhibition settings.

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The collection of pre-Columbian artefacts in the Public Museums of Argentina.

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Research has been carried out regarding the matter of pre-Columbian collections and the peculiarities of how these pieces were incorporated in museum collections. By studying the evolution of these collections one can achieve an understanding of the different conceptions surrounding these artifacts. These objects were placed in Cabinets of curiosity, Natural history museums, Ethnography museums and more recently, in Art museums. These changes embody a shift in the discussions and narratives around these pieces.

We can find several studies related to this topic which focus on museums in Europe and the United States, as well as some studies related with Latin American nations. In Argentina however, most of these type of studies appear to focus on the development of Ethnography and History collections. In this study we will focus, additionally, on the incorporation of such objects in the art sphere. We will research what was the process of incorporating these pieces in the art museums? Did the lack of pieces in the art museum mean a complete lack of aesthetic appreciation for such objects?

As well, we will study the changes in how these pieces are described and named. What words are chosen to describe these pieces? How the curatorial discourse and display in the exhibition of these objects changes along the history of these collections? What is the text that accompanies this exhibition? How these narratives relate to the construction of the “Myths of the Nations”? (Brennan; 1990)

As many Latin American nations, Argentina had along the years a complicated relation with the Native peoples that inhabited (and currently inhabit) their territory. The intention of this thesis is to explore an aspect of this relation: the collection of pre-Columbian pieces in public museum collections of Argentina.

Firstly, we will revise the creation process of the national museum by answering questions such as: How was their collection created? And what was the criteria to incorporate or ignore certain objects? What is the narrative surrounding these pieces? How are the Native Americans incorporated or excluded from the History of this nation? How are these elements incorporated or excluded from the cultural landscape of the nation? Does the inclusion of these objects in the collection includes or irrase the history of the Native American People?

Collection and Narratives.

Argentinian main History and ethnographic museums were founded during the end of the XIX century. This process was strongly influenced by the Europeans scientific approach. In fact, some of the first museum directors and collectors were indeed European. Their ideas were marked by a strong positivism, and the process of recollection related in many cases to the process of ethnographic scientific methodology that their European colleagues followed. This process was deeply marked by the scientific expeditions and Natives are usually describe as a thing from the past that is soon to be extinct. Justifying the recollection of these objects as an evidence or testimony of these cultures that will no longer exist.

This positivism was deeply rooted by the concepts of civilization and barbarism that marked the construction of the national identity and the processes of conquering of Southern regions from the natives. The collection of these objects could be read as a continuation of the colonial ideals of expansion and domination. Creating a complex relation with those objects that represented in their discourse the territories past. In the identity construction of this new nation, the native people were ‘the Others’, but at the same time their artifacts and the past they represented were included the nation’s National Museums. By locating these pieces in the museums, the natives were positioned in a historical frame. This denomination of the pieces of ‘Others’ entailed an act of violence by nominating and resignifying them, but also by defining their existence to a historically frozen past. Furthermore, the Nation-state

introduced these objects in a classification system that responds to European standards.

At the beginning of the XX century in Latin America, a network of artists and intellectuals gathered around the discussion about what makes particular Latin American national identities. These “americanistas” also had influence along the intellectuals of Argentina. The national identity was put under scrutiny. What was the truly unique character of the Argentinian nations? The topic of past territorial history was discussed in important works like *Eurindia* by Ricardo Rojas. This author proposed a fusion between the European and American roots. However, this combination is seen as a overcoming or development from the Native-American roots. In this line of discussion, the native is still seen as the other. We intend to analyze how this idea influenced the perception of the pre-Columbian objects. Did these theories influence the exhibition of these pieces and the text surrounding them?

The third pillar we would like to study is the process of inclusion of these pre-Columbian pieces in the collections of the art museums in the late XX century. Even though these pieces were included in art museums, this did not mean an immediate shift in the perception of such pieces. The first inclusion of pre-Columbian artifacts in the national arts museums was the result of a private donation and was not exposed to the public until much later.

These objects had a similar process of inclusion in Europe. However this type of collection in Latin American countries presented certain challenges. On one side, the peculiarity that part of the native population was still living between the borders of the nation. This characteristic allows us to talk about the hybridisation of the heritage. How these different cultural identities coexist and merged into one nation? Was this process an equal opportunity for all the involve parties? Or did it involve a form of violence to the minorities that were included in the national narrative?

On the other hand, the identity construction of the young nations that needed to fill a void in their patrimony. In this thesis I will investigate how and why these pieces were incorporated in the national patrimony. How this pieces that were considered representation of the Others are incorporated in the national patrimony.

The central narrative of Argentinian identity often portrayed natives as the *Other*. We can see examples of Internal Colonialism that occurred after the creation of the national State and how some of the structures and values of the Colonial period carried on to the creole culture. The collection of Native Americans' cultural heritage sheds a light on how these cultures were perceived, classified and curated by the nation-state. Even though there are different cultural groups among them, they were usually perceived by the nation-state as one: the indigenous. These collections usually refer to the Other as a culture of the past, choosing to ignore the current history of their People and imposing a value system. The elites of Argentinian society often looked up to Europe for an ideal of high culture, forgetting and even denying the existence of the diverse cultural heritage in their own territory. Even if there were members of these elites that praise the creole identity born of the union of different cultures, they will still regard European as the higher element in this equation.

The construction that resulted of this elite's aspirations are now been questioned with the emerge of new discussions regarding Native People's rights and their demands for recognition. New lines of communication have been opened between the museums and the Native People. We see today the national museums consulting Native Americans regarding objects in their collections and the curation of expositions.

In this thesis, we will analyze the history of three National institutions (Museo Etnografico, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes and Museo de La Plata) that collected these objects of the Otherness and analyze how the classification of these pieces works around this objects and if this categories endure the value system mentioned previously. With this purpose, we will focus on different cultural processes that occurred in Argentinian history and how this affected the discussion around the pre-Columbian objects and the Native Americans conceptions. Even if some of these movements follow the general global trends, we can analyze the particularities of the Argentinian identity construction.

As well we will analyze the images and painting that accompanies these collections. We will analise in this work as well the costumbrist paintings and ethnographic photographies that accompany the exhibition of these pieces. We will analyze if this objects follow as well the hibridity mentioned previously for the pre-columbian objects.

We will analyze the different naming strategies that follows these processes and how this relates to the local and global theories. As we advance in time the dicourses tend to be more inclusive, however we will like to question if this inchlussiveness and new concepts work in order to include or erase the other. This particular aspect raise the question if the hybrid discourse is a way to erase or to include the particularities of minorities identities and history by including them in the Nationstate's narrative.

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The emergence of a preservation framework for Ottoman architectural vestiges in interwar Greece. A case of “heritage hybridization”.

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Introduction

Stipulating the obligatory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey, the Lausanne Treaty (1923) put a definitive end to a centuries-long religious, linguistic and cultural coexistence in many regions around the Aegean. In the wake of this agreement, discussions about the monumentalization of architectural traces of the Ottoman Empire in Greece took a complex turn. Based on research in the Historical Archive of the Hellenic Archaeological Service (henceforth, DDEAM) this essay follows the major points of these discussions, tracing how political aspects of the Ottoman remnants' heritagization may highlight the condition and perception of “hybridization” for an emerging heritage object.

We will begin by tracing the theoretical approaches of “heritage hybridization” as these relate to the monumentalization of Ottoman architectural vestiges in the Greek case. We will then present the historical framework surrounding this process, and analyze the main lines of argumentation employed by the involved actors. Finally, we will discuss how the different discursive and material treatments applied to Ottoman architectural vestiges in this context may produce different aspects of “hybridization” for the architectural heritage in question, at different scales in space and time.

Ottoman heritage and “hybridization”

Writing on Ottoman legacies in the Balkans, M. Todorova (1997) hints at the constituting condition of their hybrid nature by analyzing them in terms of both “*continuity*” and retrospective “*perception*”: two paths with separate, albeit intertwined, temporalities, which manifest in different ways within different spheres of the public and private life. Such a viewpoint seems tuned with a shift from the notion of hybridity as a mere declaration of cultural syncretism into that of “hybridization” as a social practice, a process of continuous accumulation and negotiation of multiple meanings and functions (Silliman 2015). To the extent that we perceive heritage as a way to give form, meaning and a future to selected pasts, conditioned by political contingencies of the present (Hartog 2018), here we focus mainly on Todorova's aspect of “*perception*”. Tracing the construction of “Ottoman heritage” in that view also implies outgrowing hybridity as an amalgam of pure, pre-existing conditions (Hutnyk 2005), pointing at the effect of the nation-state in creating and popularizing essentialist taxonomic patterns in the building of historical narratives.

When it comes to architectural heritage, “hybridization” inexorably embeds the issue of materiality and intangibility. As R. Barthes (1997) reminds us, “*architecture is always dream and function, expression of a utopia and instrument of convenience*”, while H. Lefebvre (1974) has set the foundations of apprehending the configuration of space as a multilevel osmosis of material, ideological and empirical factors that reflects specific social correlations. Cultural geographers have since stressed the interrelations of space, memory and representation by treating landscape as structurally multi-natured and highlighting the multivocality of “places of memory” as an intrinsic quality (Jonhson 1994). Here again we move from hybridity as an ontological category to “hybridization” as an analytical tool, which helps dissect different levels of polysemy and multifunctionality of the architectural object and / or spatial feature, both concurrently and through time.

As illustrated by the example of Ottoman architectural remnants in Greece, one such level may refer to clashes between symbolic and utilitarian aspects of heritage, while another to the heritage making process per se: including, for example, different selection and appropriation strategies or divergences among envisioned and realized functions of the heritage object(s). A third level may refer to the geographical effect of the heritage object(s), as this may fluctuate at different spatial scales but also in time.

Population Exchange and the monumentalization of Muslim historic buildings

Between 1925 and 1939 the National Bank of Greece (NBG) was assigned the survey and divestiture of former Muslim realty so that revenues could be used for the compensation of Minor Asian refugees. In the light of that, the Archaeological Service asked the regional Ephorates to catalogue the “Turkish monuments” deemed worthy of preserving. This meant predominantly mosques, either constructed during the Ottoman times or converted pre-Ottoman churches. Being neither ancient nor byzantine, such “monuments” could be privately owned. The NBG opposed the produced catalogues arguing that a registration would make a building less attractive to prospective buyers, and pressed for the identification of monument registration with purchase by the state. The Service did not reject the idea but kept pressing for a direct grant, invoking lack of funds. Manifold conciliations developed with the NBG finally conceding, in 1935, to refrain from the sale of 7 mosques (out of initially discussed 38) until they could be bought by the Archaeological Service.

This negotiation began at a time when the Greek state had just nearly doubled in size and the refugee problem exerted acute pressures on its failing economy (Mazower 1991). The NBG’s persistence could be seen in the context of defending its role as a political catalyst, while state bodies led a fragmented, self-conflicting negotiation. The issue seems to outgrow conjunctural policies and relate to structural sectorial balances regarding spatial and monumental management. Exchangeable property posed a large-scale spatial problem and the solution of a debenture loan for the refugee compensations de-territorialized it, turning an immovable debt into monetary. Modified 18 times up to 1939, the state’s convention with the NBG made no reference to heritage-related laws, while it integrated planning legislation mainly with regard to applying street plans. In between 1925-1938, 19 decrees listing 51 possible exchangeable “monuments” were issued, perhaps as leverage in the negotiation, what exactly underpins the deficiencies of “monument registration” as a spatial policy tool. Introduced in 1920, it mainly marked a mode of drafting a symbolic corpus of historically important places, with no reference even to a delineation of the listed good. Besides, in what concerned spatial management in general the interwar state had opted for a roughly regulated, small to medium scale *laissez-faire* environment that allowed for greater flexibility in social integration (Leontidou 1990).

The monumentalization of Ottoman built remnants was thus largely condensed to a battle of ownership, where the NBG claimed them on behalf of the state while the state was shared, partly promoting their sale through the bank and partly claiming some on symbolic grounds, with little capacity to make good on that claim. Local reactions varied: the press may reflect certain wistfulness as to Ottoman-era constructions, yet most claims by local agents focused on the exploitation of the plot or the shell, attesting to certain cautiousness towards the NBG and conjunctural alliances with the Archaeological Service. The Service’s correspondence often reflects practices of selective summoning by local populations, who seem to treat the NBG as an aspiring grabber of a building stock that could serve their own needs, and try to induce a “monument registration” in favour of their own reuse proposals, believing that this would protect the building from being sold by the Bank.

Several of the negotiated buildings – either registered as monuments or not - were converted into orthodox churches or transformed, in the post-war years, into museums or cultural venues, with restoration programs emphasizing their pre-Ottoman phases. Others were finally sold, radically altered or demolished. Contingent on multi-level antagonisms on the urban land, the outcome was largely facultative and highlights different aspects of “hybridization” both at the building and the urban scale.

The multi-level making of a hybrid heritage

In claiming the registration of former mosques as “monuments”, three major lines of argumentation were used by the Archaeological Service and its supporters.

The first one connected negotiated buildings with historical, archaeological or cultural contents other than what implied their previous use as mosques. Most of such cases concerned buildings initially constructed as orthodox or catholic churches, converted during the Ottoman administration. The Archaeological Service but also the church, civil associations or local elites fiercely opposed the sale of numerous such buildings to private owners by the NBG, invoking their *original* Christian nature as the core reason for their preservation as “monuments”. There were also cases of buildings constructed as mosques whose conversion to Christian churches was claimed, or whose architecture was advertised as carrying “byzantine influences”. The argumentation called on the restoration of a symbolic order, seeking to validate *continuity* and *authenticity* and thereby the right to occupy specific spots in space. Usually it was combined with claims for religious conversion, not all of which were won. Yet both discourses - the religious and the monumental - conditioned future interventions on but also perceptions of the buildings



Saint Francis of the Franciscans (first mentioned 16th c.) / Yusuf Pasha Mosque in Chania, Crete. The building recurs in the negotiations with fluctuating evaluations as to its monumental value. In 1926 the religious association “Apostle Titos” claimed it for a library and a Sunday school, resenting the alleged transformation of the “church”, as they called it, into a theater. They won the support of both locals and refugees, of the Archaeological Service and the political office of the Prime Minister, but not the case. In between 1963 - 2021, the building hosted the town’s Archaeological Museum.

- thus, today we may encounter (registered) orthodox churches hosted in 19th c. mosques or carrying a minaret along with their (reconstructed) bell tower, just as we encounter highly praised “Venetian churches” purified from their subsequent Ottoman links.

The second argument refers to a recurring concept in the negotiations, a network of archaeological or local museums hosted in mosques proposed to be registered as “historic monuments”. A practical solution to pressing problems of storing antiquities, this idea resonates with early 1930s - unsuccessful - legal initiatives promoting a decentralized museum policy (Sakka 2012). The proposals do not rest on architectural or geographical differences. *“Only such a use could be allowed by their status as declared monuments”* stresses the minister,¹ and the widespread consensus of central and local officials points at an ambience that transcends the apparatus. This vision was only partially realized, yet it is interesting that in its persistence, it reflects a perceptive framework that works, *ipso facto*, on the national scale: divested from their architectural materiality, former mosques are raised to historical markers of a projected, common Ottoman phase throughout the new territory, and are envisioned inscribed in a national geography defined by the cultural contents and practices of the new state.

Finally, in exceptional cases local services propose showcasing Ottoman constructions as monuments in their own right. The Curator of Antiquities of Western Crete describes Küçük Hasan Mosque in Chania as a *“beautiful and eccentric Muslim temple [...] admittedly a fine specimen of Muslim religious architecture [that] should as such be registered as a historic monument”*.² Veli Pasha Mosque in Rethymno, Crete, is distinguished as *“not a plain, glassy monument meant to trigger only historical curiosity”* but as holding *“a different value and power [...] a particular atmosphere”* containing *“a live part of the old Turkish life”*.³ Such cases are selected due to their distinct architecture but also as symbols of the Greek nation’s ordeals and endurance. As the Curator of the Archaeological Museum of Chania remarks: *“[Küçük Hasan] holds a special historical significance as it incessantly reminds, especially to the future generations, of the ultimate perils that our religion and freedom have faced, and the struggles made for delivering this precious good.”*⁴ Here again a new, self-referential meaning is ascribed to forms perceived

¹ Letter of the Minister of Education and Religious Affairs to the NBG (30/11/1927). DDEAM Historical Archive

² Letter to the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs (3/7/37), DDEAM Historical Archive

³ Letter of the Curator of Antiquities of Western Crete to the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs (11/8/27), DDEAM Historical Archive

⁴ Letter to the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs (22/10/28), DDEAM Historical Archive

as foreign to the core of national representations, but the argument of continuity cannot be evoked so purification passes through aesthetic praise but also their didactic potential in national terms. The aspect of aestheticization may reveal one more layer of hybridization, as it lets emerge a broadened perception of the “monument” that includes emotional and sensory qualities, apart from the symbolic. However, it should be stressed that those buildings are not necessarily envisioned as musealized mosques per se; the argumentation only refers to the values ascribed to a preservable shell, which is supposed to host a function (in the case of Küçük Hasan, for example, it is that of a museum).

Discussion and concluding remarks

The above – significantly condensed – account highlights different paths along which the discursive and material treatment of Ottoman architectural vestiges by multiple actors in interwar Greece has contributed to the creation of a “hybrid heritage”.

The first path relates to the processes and criteria for selecting the Ottoman vestiges to be preserved. The period right after the Population Exchange gathers a multiplicity of actors with varied agendas, promoting the preservation of different buildings based on both selective readings of the past and individualized aspirations for the future. In this context, the Archaeological Service tries to combine the symbolic and utilitarian aspects of the negotiated constructions, while the NBG sees them as structurally contradictory notions. Local societies, on their part, interchange, highlighting a social pragmatism towards the institutional management of the past but also a fragmented concern over how to see the Ottoman past and how to best use its remnants for the future.

Another path to “hybridization” relates to divergences between form and function of the negotiated Ottoman architectural heritage. Mosques converted into Christian churches; aestheticized markers of a historic cultural alterity; religious monuments transformed into museums, after selective purification of historical phases: both their initial claim as “monuments” and subsequent restoration measures underpin a trend of re-instating a Greek-orthodox urban geography, but also the dominant cultural hierarchizations guiding the making of the urban historic landscape at different moments.

Thus, these negotiated buildings can be seen as hybrid heritage objects not solely due to incongruities between their current naming / function and form, but also due to the way in which they have been appointed as heritage in the public discourse: a selective attribution of meanings that seeks to override materiality, spinning the form from what is seen as foreign into what validates dominant local identities and reinforces their integration in the national one. Either as bearers of sidelined continuity, or of victorious endurance, such monuments are thought to underscore the link among the different provinces united under the umbrella of the Greek state, and are thus subdued and at the same time verify the dominant central chrono-cultural taxonomy.

If we approach the above debates as reflecting practices of organized oblivion (Connerton 1989) of a multiplicity of local experiences in favour of one central narrative, we can discern two temporalities at which such practices may work. At the time of its appointment, renaming presupposes recollection (Connerton 1989): changing the function of an Ottoman mosque works as a political statement to the extent that people can identify its previous function and meanings. Yet architectural modifications envision to condition future experiences in a continuous way. It is then left to archaeological techniques - in a broad sense, involving the “unearthing” and re-interpreting of material traces, images and narratives past - to revive the memory of the old experience. But such techniques are also selective and creative: restoration practices in Greece for Ottoman-era built remnants were for the most part of the 20th c. guided by ideological goals (Stefanidou 2009). Such trends may create a second-grade hybridization that outgrows the appointment of the heritage object per se, seeping into its future mediation (Gravari – Barbas et al. 2020).

It so seems that the management of former Muslim realty after the Population Exchange affected the hybridization of Ottoman architectural heritage in Greece, as it was entangled with the efforts to monumentalize built traces of the Ottoman era on Greek soil. Relevant negotiations oscillated between the commercial standardization of all exchangeable property, which would absorb architectural landmarks and former public functions within a private real estate market, and the integration of selected cases in the national monumental canon, which would absorb architectural and geographical particularities into a common system of cultural renaming. Both precepts were confronted with the concrete conditions on the field, and the tripartite conflicts that arose fuelled the flourishing of manifold forms of hybrid heritage, at different scales and temporalities. Approaching the interwar monumentalization of Ottoman remnants as part of an operation of constructing a homogenized national landscape over the newly configured Greek territory opens up further research paths on heritage hybridization, notably with regard to relevant social stances. If we apprehend landscapes of state power as constantly negotiated spaces, shaped

through interaction within and among institutions and the social arena (Till 2004), understanding the concrete role of heritage making within such interactions underpins the relevance of the analytical lens of “hybridization”.

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Oromo Women in the Afterlives of Empire; Hybrid Resistance

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Introduction

The Oromo people of the Horn of Africa have been engaged in a struggle for liberation and justice since their colonization by the Abyssinian Empire in the 1880s (Hassen 2002). The Oromo are Indigenous to the Horn of Africa, and their ethnic homeland stretches across Ethiopia into Sudan, Kenya, and Somalia, cut off in parts by the imposition of post-imperial borders. Under the reign of Haile Selassie, from 1930-1974, Oromo cultural and religious practices were outlawed, their language was banned, and the very notion of pro-Oromo sentiment was met with death and imprisonment, as Emperor Selassie sought to establish Ethiopia as a settler colonial nation-state. The Emperor was deposed in 1974 leading to the emergence and swift rise of the Dergue regime, rulers who sought to replace settler colonialism with pseudo-socialist collectivization demarcated by mass resettlement, displacement, and state-sponsored violence.

The second half of this decade changed the nature of the Oromo struggle within and beyond Ethiopia's borders. The new form of state violence left some interstitial spaces for organized resistance, while changing geopolitics facilitated a rise in migrants, refugees, and the emergence of a global Oromo diaspora. Hubs of Oromo people in North America and Europe engaged in the struggle from abroad, and sought to inform the world at large about the condition of the Oromo. Oromo women living in these diasporas, active in organized movements since their onset, faced (and continue to face) complex and intersecting forms of violence. As Indigenous peoples displaced from their homeland they navigated and reimagined relationships to land, place, space, and kinship; as Black people in a white supremacist society they navigated through forms of corporeal, cultural, and societal discrimination; as women, they navigated sexism and harmful gender norms; as migrants and refugees in a foreign land they had to navigate bureaucracy, cultural convergence, and feelings of Othering. These complex and often hierarchical relationships and the forms of harm they brought were reflected in and at times challenged by the Oromo diaspora's cultural productions.

Within the afterlives (after Saidiya Hartman 2007) of the Abyssinian Empire, Oromo women work against threats to their language, religion, culture, and the erasure of their shared inheritances and practices as Indigenous peoples. Despite, beyond, and against this narrative violence, Oromo women re-present themselves, creating futurities and hybrid spaces with alternative stories of Oromo life. These alterities exist in organizational literature, poetry, and in their oral expressions of resistance, intersecting with and transforming the myriad systems of power that work to oppress them. For this presentation, I seek to understand resistance practices of Oromo women and their relationships with space and place through an exploration of archival documents from the 1970s-1990s. I read these sources as sites of negotiation which give further insight into the nature of imperial culture, while also elucidating marginalized peoples' decolonial engagements in the post-empire. This data and the narratives that emerge form what Katherine McKittrick calls *black geography*; the terrain of the struggle (2006). Taking an Oromo-centric approach, I use the Oromo word for black, *guraacha*, which has significant historical cultural meanings, to activate and search for *geography guraacha*. This reading practice makes clear the overlapping and intersecting tactics of violence that continue to structure the lives and afterlives of Oromo women in the wake of the Abyssinian Empire, while also highlighting the ways in which they resist and deny this power.

Theoretical frame

In order to elucidate Oromo women's heritage hybridization in the diaspora, I use a theoretical framework built around the notions of black geography, imperial spatializing, and geography *guraacha*, reimagining spatial relations in the wake of slavery and empire. The essential premise to this discussion is that while

slavery and colonialism were formally ended, the forms of harm they enacted have been imbricated into global geopolitics and ways of relating, continuing to oppress Indigenous and African diasporic peoples. In this sense, we are living in what Hartman calls the “afterlives of slavery,” characterized by “skewed life chances, limited access to health and education, premature death, incarceration, and impoverishment” (2007:17). For Oromo women, heritage practices and forms of hybridity can also be seen as (re)acting and interacting with imperial forms of relationality, which constrain and alter the possibilities for liberation. Within this positionality, however, hybridity and transnationalism are a way of speaking to the queer potential of the diaspora, opening up what K’eguro Macharia calls “more capacious models of blackness,” and ways of being that go beyond these legacies of harm (2019:19). Hybridization of heritage for African diaspora communities, is a refusal to accept ongoing hierarchies, and a practice that seeks to create more liberatory and livable worlds.

The pursuit and elucidation of these more livable worlds requires a reframing of space-making and geographic knowledge outside of traditional approaches. Post-empire (given the lack of reparations for or full acknowledgment of the harms of colonialism, and the settler-colonial formation of Ethiopia, the notion of a “post” colonial is a fallacy at best, and at worse obfuscates ongoing forms of harm) nation-states continue to erase and deny the presence of Oromo lives through a process I call *imperial spatializing* (after the work of Mishuana Goeman 2009). Imperial spatializing manufactures social categories and discourses, exploits land and resources, and works to exterminate from maps and history books those who it construes as the Other. Oromo people in the diaspora are written into the Census as Ethiopian migrants, and their originary connection with their homeland is subsequently erased and subsumed into the imperial nation-state. The collective violence of the state is thus discursive as well as structural, and it stretches into the diaspora.

Fully understanding the evolution of this collective violence requires uncovering both the way the spatializing of the empire has been imbricated into the nation-state, and the nature of organized resistance against it. I understand Oromo resistance to imperial violence, and reclamations of space, as a form of *geography guraacha*. *Geography guraacha* uses the Oromo construct of *guraacha* as a way of illuminating Oromo lives beyond the narrative bounds of the empire. Black geography is an active presence that has refused attempts at domination (McKittrick 2006). *Guraacha* (following Gemetchu Megerssa 1993) can be understood as the absolute origin, an all-encompassing force that exists outside of imperial measurements of space and place. Thus constructing a *geography guraacha* makes visible lifeways that cannot be captured through imperialized epistemologies. A *geography guraacha* also makes conceptual space for the narratives and framings of the empire, and the contesting overlapping experiences of the Oromo; acknowledging the existence of imperial “truth maps” without conceding to their claims of legitimacy (Goeman 2009:184).

Methodology

Amidst the larger project of reading for *geography guraacha*, the specific methodological tools draw inspiration from the work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s 2012 *decolonizing methodologies*, Tiffany Lethabo King’s 2019 discussion of *grammars of conquest*, and the epistemologies and struggles of the Oromo. These tools produce alternative ways of knowing beyond the boundaries of traditional and imperial ideas, connecting liberatory thinking with a critical research praxis. In pursuit of a decolonizing project, this analysis prioritizes “imperialism, history, writing, and theory,” identified by Smith as aspects of the research process that despite being constantly present in the lives of Indigenous peoples and perpetuating violent and exclusionary ideologies, are not given careful attention (2012:21). Following Smith, in my work I approach *Imperialism* by questioning the legitimacy of colonial mappings, and the inability of imperial epistemologies to make sense of Black and Indigenous peoples in place. I incorporate *History* with attention to the continuously erased resistance of Oromo women against the Abyssinian Empire and ongoing erasure of their diasporic struggle. King describes this type of focus as an unravelling of “grammars of conquest” which facilitate “gratuitous bloodletting” and erasure, while evading the violences of conquest, genocide, and murder through euphemisms and softer language like “elimination” or “removal” (2019:45). *Writing* is incorporated through a privileging of Oromo women’s texts and textual narratives. Alongside these practices, this research project is crafted around a *Theory* that was developed by and for anti-colonial thinkers. Focusing on these components is a way of embedding the ideas of *geography guraacha* firmly within the tradition of decolonizing or liberatory research.

In this session, I will focus on the organized Oromo liberation movement of the 1970s and 1980s as a site of transnational heritage formation and cultural hybridity, and more specifically the experiences of Oromo women during this era, as captured through the publications and organizational resistance writings created during this time period. The global movement of Oromo women has produced cultural

formations that negotiate and resist the lingering traces of imperialism and the inherited violence of the empire. These source materials evoke a transnational and liberatory geography *guraacha*. By approaching this resistance as a black geographic project I hope to better understand hybridity and diaspora as forces of resistance against essentialism and ongoing imperialist ideologies.

Hybriduty in practice

The image I have selected for this analysis is evocative of the specific struggle of the Oromo people in the Horn of Africa during the 1980s, as well as an example of the transnational relationships the post-imperial revolution was connected with. The image come from the front cover of the journal *Oromtitti*, produced by the Union of Oromo Women in Europe in 1980. The UOWE was first founded in 1977 alongside several other diaspora organizations of Oromo peoples, such as the Union of Oromos in North America, the Union of Oromo Students in Europe. The UOWE was the representative of a network of committees and groups across Europe, primarily located in Germany, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, with a publishing hub city in each of these countries. *Oromtitti*, their sponsoring organization UOWE, and the groups mentioned above were all at various points in their production considered to be official organs and publications of the Oromo Liberation Front. Thus the journals featured discussions and commentary on organizing strategies, analysis of political events, as well as reports from the frontlines of the liberation fight in the Horn of Africa, with a lens that was both diasporic (writing of they/ them) and transnational (writing from the view of us/ our). While many of the publications from this period, particularly those with socialist or leftist viewpoints, discussed what was called “the women question,” and tried to identify roots of misogynistic and sexist harm and to dismantle it, the key distinction is that *Oromtitti* was entirely run, written, and edited by women.

As a case study of heritage, hybridity, and political negotiations, *Oromtitti* reveals the ways in which diaspora facilitated a return to Indigenous culture that the “home” nation-state had denied. The logo is a symbol of the role of women in the *Gadaa* system, the political and social system used by the Oromo prior to colonization (and still practiced). The lines visible on the top of the women’s head appear to symbolize braids, known in Afan Oromo as *shurrubbee*. Each area of Oromia has particular braiding styles, and the significance of braiding as both an aesthetic and a community practice is such that the word for braid can be used as a term of endearment or sign of deep affection. An Oromo song called “Shurrubbeekoo” or “My Braid” is a love song both to an individual woman and to the home region of the singer. The inclusion of the *shurrubbee* on *Oromtitti’s* cover woman is a way of creating a face, even in a simplistic cartoon form, that connects instantly with deeply rooted Oromo cultural traditions across place.

Of further significance in the image is what looks to be a knife in the woman’s right hand, raised above her head. Under the *Gadaa*, women had a special council, called the *Siqqee*, with a specific set of



powers and rules (Kumsa 1991). The knife she holds would thus represent forms of law that were under the *Siqqee's* control. An example of these powers includes accusations of domestic violence, in response to which women would gather around the house of the accused, sit in council and carry out justice. Although *Gadaa* governance was largely suppressed under colonialism, the power of the *Siqqee* rule is reflected in modern Oromo cultural practices. We may speculate in addition to the knife in hand, the thin stick over her shoulder is a *siinqee*, traditionally given to women after marriage. This womanly figure is thus one with significant cultural powers. The evocation of the *Gadaa* and the *Siqqee* as the logo for a diaspora organization is indicative of the way diasporic Oromo women embodied and shared certain connections to their homeland. As a transnational production, written and distributed by a multinational organization, the content of the journal was often written in English, and the topics were more closely related with European political philosophies than Indigenous histories. But, the logo is a way of representing the rootedness of the struggle in the Oromo land, even as the fight remains transnational.

Conclusion

The cover design of *Oromtitti* brought Oromo cultural practices into the diaspora, demonstrating the transnationality of these peoples living in the afterlives of imperialism. While Oromo women struggle to make their experiences legible within the nation-state framework, creating their own textual and visual forms is a way of evoking their movements and diaspora locationality with the lens of a blackened geography. Relying on the tools of imperial spatializing, or attempting to identify Oromo histories as they are written in textbooks, explained through demographic data, or placed on ancient maps, fails to fully comprehend the Oromo experience. By evoking a sense of heritage and heritage-making that travels across land and place, Oromo women incorporate traditional imagery in pursuit of a modern anti-colonial resistance. Another, perhaps more straightforward, example of this process comes in Saaro Umar's poem "geography test," which takes us from the "blackened roots" of her father's country to the diaspora, where Oromia is present in their language, traditions, and ways of relating to each other (2019). Within my larger research work I identify these threads of resistance and refusal across different eras, geographies, and in the margins of Abyssinian imperial history. Working with an attention to the anti-imperial roots of the Oromo struggle helps to make visible the liberatory potential of heritage and heritage hybridization in the afterlives of empire.

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Cultural heritage restitution diplomacy and the European Union – towards an EU common position for cultural heritage restitution?

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In Europe and elsewhere, the ownership of heritage is increasingly subject to publicly debated restitution claims. These debates invoke contexts of colonial appropriation and post-colonial claims. Absent from the international debates and diplomacy tackling heritage and hybridisation is the European Union, and its role and competences in restitution claims. Instead, the responsibility has fallen to the EU Member States. New heritage governance regimes increasingly take into account the intersections between divergent shifting paradigms in the conceptualization of cultural heritage, particularly in the context of postcolonialism. This study aims to answer the question “*To what extent is the lack of a European Union policy for cultural heritage restitution the result of a weak competence for culture at the EU level?*”.



Figure 1 - Royal Statues of the Kingdom of Dahomey (modern day Benin), located in the Musée du Quai Branly, Paris, France - (Source: Wikimedia Commons)

A prominent recent example which highlights the lack of a common EU position on the issue of the restitution of cultural heritage taken to Europe during the colonial period may be seen in the 2018 return of the Royal Statues of the Kingdom of Dahomey by France to Benin¹. These were seized in 1892 from the royal palace of Dahomey during the French annexation of Benin². This act of bilateral restitution followed a 2018 report which found that 90% of Africa’s cultural heritage is located in Europe³. The Musée du Quai Branly alone holds 70 000 separate examples of African cultural property and at least

¹ A. Ross & M. Pennetier, “France returns 26 artworks to Benin as report urges restitution”, *Reuters*, November 23, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-africa-france-art-idUSKCN1NS1GH> (accessed Dec 01, 2020).

² F. Sarr & B. Savoy, “The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage - Towards a New Relational Ethics”, *Ministère De La Culture de République Française*, November 2018, http://restitutionreport2018.com/sarr_savoy_en.pdf (accessed Dec 01, 2020).

³ *Ibid.*

46.000 of these objects were acquired under duress⁴. This situation is replicated across Europe. Not only does it include cultural heritage in EU Member States which did not colonise the country from which the cultural heritage originated, such as those objects from Iraq located in Pergamon Museum in Berlin, it is also an intra-EU phenomenon resulting from historically asymmetric relationships, such as the presence of Ancient Greek Antiquities in the Louvre⁵.

President Macron personally called for the report and he has openly expressed support for returning further cultural property to African countries taken during the colonial period⁶.

The complexities of the legal status of the restitution of cultural heritage taken to Europe during the colonial period are analysed by Guido Carducci in the journal article *Restitution of Cultural Property*⁷. He notes the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, along with the 1954 Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects, that whilst they are legally binding conventions on all state parties, they are not “expressly retroactive”⁸. This means that prior to these treaties, the law of *ius praedae* (the right to loot by conquerors, a legal doctrine originating in the Roman Empire), is de facto at play, as had been done for centuries⁹. Carducci adds that reluctance to engage in cultural heritage restitution may be justified by the view that if cultural heritage is universal, then a reluctance to repatriate cultural heritage to its country of origin would be justifiable to those who held this perception¹⁰. He concludes that “morally, the respect and the protection of the integrity of national cultural heritages plead in favour of the return of cultural heritage illicitly removed from the country of origin”, but that the “restitution of cultural property is a very sensitive and complex moral and legal problem”¹¹.

Carducci’s assessments are shared by UNESCO Secretary-General Audrey Azoulay, who stated that in terms of the restitution of cultural heritage « *C’est une question très ancienne et aujourd’hui il y a un mouvement plus éthique que juridique* »¹². Representing UNESCO, her analysis is that the possession of all cultural heritage taken before 1970 is technically legal and entitled to remain in the public collections of all former colonial powers¹³. According to Azoulay, as a result of this state of affairs, legal actions for restitution will lead to impasses¹⁴. Thus, a political solution is required to remedy a European legal doctrine which had effectively remained unaltered since the violent expansion of the Roman Empire – a case of a juxtaposition of European legal heritage and modern norms of morality.

The matter of the colonial legacy of the EU, and the impact that this has on policymaking is addressed by Aline Sierp in her journal article “EU Memory Politics and Europe’s Forgotten Colonial Past”¹⁵. In analyzing the development of EU integrated foreign policies towards former European colonies, Sierp states that “the evolving political and economic ties with the former colonies of Europe seemingly eclipsed all other aspects of the historical relationship with those countries”¹⁶. Moreover, her findings are that “while real progress was made on *Europeanizing* policies aimed at tying former colonies closely to the EU’s member states, a similar development regarding atonement for the crimes committed in those countries during the colonization period could not be observed”¹⁷. In undertaking an analysis, Sierp notes the high frequency of references to addressing the legacy of crimes committed under “Nazism, Fascism and Communism”. In contrast, there were very few mentions in EU policy documents and discourse of apologies or regret for crimes committed under colonialism, and that initiatives such as the restitution

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ G. Robertson, *Who Own’s History? Elgin’s Loot and the Case for Returning Plundered Treasure* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2019).

⁶ A. Dumain et F. Moghaddam, « Restitutions d’œuvres d’art : un projet de loi présenté en Conseil des ministres », November 21, 2018, <https://www.franceculture.fr/droit-justice/restitutions-doeuvres-dart-un-rapport-suggere-un-accord-entre-la-france-et-des-pays> (accessed Dec 01, 2020).

⁷ G. Carducci, “Restitution of Cultural Property.” *Alexandria: The Journal of National and International Library and Information Issues* 16, no. 3 (2004): 171-174.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² A. Dumain et F. Moghaddam, « Restitutions d’œuvres d’art : un projet de loi présenté en Conseil des ministres », November 21, 2018, <https://www.franceculture.fr/droit-justice/restitutions-doeuvres-dart-un-rapport-suggere-un-accord-entre-la-france-et-des-pays> (accessed Dec 01, 2020).

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Sierp, Aline. “EU Memory Politics and Europe’s Forgotten Colonial Past.” *Interventions* (London, England) 22, no. 6 (2020): 686-702.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

of cultural heritage do not appear in any EU policy priorities¹⁸. Sierp concludes that the memory and legacy of colonialism is a narrative that is defined by individual EU Member States, rather than the EU itself, and that the EU institutions have not taken any leadership role in European integration in this regard¹⁹. Instead, according to Sierp, the EU assumes a role of amnesia in terms of the memory politics of colonialism, and therefore by omission leaves this responsibility with the Member States, creating a situation in which it is the individual EU Member States themselves which form policies that address the legacy of European colonialism²⁰. A core narrative of the EU is that it is an alternative and positive successor state remedying the crimes of Fascism, Nazism, military dictatorships, and Communism – experienced and perpetuated not by all Member States, yet all Member States carry the duty and burden of righting the wrongs of this period and ensuring that they “never happen again”. In contrast, no such remit exists for the EU in regard to colonialism, even though such crimes occurred during the early years of the European Economic Community, such as in Algeria. Without a common position on the legacy of colonialism, the EU renders these crimes as being de facto of lesser significance, and therefore fails to place the collective duty on its member states to likewise right the wrongs of this period and ensuring that they “never happen again”.

As the restitution of cultural heritage concerns the domain of culture, it is necessary to examine the EU’s competences for culture. In his academic journal article *Les politiques de l’Union européenne pour la conservation-restoration du patrimoine culturel*, the author Clément Serain evaluates that “la législation européenne dans le domaine de la culture et du patrimoine est majoritairement non contraignante pour les États membres”²¹. He highlights that in regard to EU competences concerning culture and cultural heritage on a national level, the “non contraignante” legislation serves as “l’occasion de prouver autant que possible son influence sur une scène internationale où de nombreuses organisations se partagent déjà les compétences en matière de conservation-restauration du patrimoine et avec lesquelles, en réalité, l’Union européenne peine à rivaliser”²². He cites UNESCO as one of these organisations, noting UNESCO provides blueprints for European Union legislation concerning cultural heritage, such as the European Parliament resolution of 30 April 2015 on the destruction of cultural sites perpetrated by ISIS/Da’esh (2015/2649(RSP))²³. Serain notes that this and other similar European legislation heavily borrows from documents such as the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention. Thus, Serain implies that the EU does not lead in terms of cultural heritage. He instead states that EU legislation and policy for cultural heritage protection and valorization merely provides an “echo” in his words of what has already been stated and confirmed by other organizations.

In their chapter *Improving the EU’s Status in the UN and the UN System: an Objective Without a Strategy?*, the authors Jan Wouters, Anne-Luise Chané, Jed Odermatt and Thomas Ramopoulos evaluate the cultural competences of the EU²⁴. Article 167 (1) TFEU (ex. TEC Article 151)²⁵, states “The Union shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore”²⁶. Wouters, Chané, Odermatt and Ramopoulos assess that the EU’s responsibility for culture (and thereby matters pertaining to cultural heritage) remain deferential towards the Member States, and do not exceed the competence to encourage cooperation between them and to support and supplement their action²⁷. Moreover, in terms of relations with UNESCO, the only UN agency with a mandate for the protection of cultural heritage²⁸, the authors assess that the EU’s relationship with UNESCO provides for an example of a UN agency operating in a policy field in which the EU has ‘weak’ powers, and which acts on an ‘ad hoc’ basis for specific but limited purposes^{29,30}.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ C. Serain, “Les politiques de l’Union européenne pour la conservation-restauration du patrimoine culturel”, *OpenEdition Journals* 34 (2018): <https://doi.org/10.4000/insitu.16054> (accessed June 09, 2020).

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ J. Wouters, A. Chané, J. Odermatt and T. Ramopoulos, ‘Improving the EU’s Status in the UN and the UN System: an Objective Without a Strategy?’, *The European Union in International Organisations and Global Governance: Recent Developments*, ed. C. Kaddous, 45-74 (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2015).

²⁵ European Union, *Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty Establishing the European Community*. (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2006).

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ G. Carducci, “Restitution of Cultural Property.” *Alexandria: The Journal of National and International Library and Information Issues* 16, no. 3 (2004): 171-174.

²⁹ UNESCO, “Memorandum of Understanding Concerning the establishment of a partnership between the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation Secretariat and its subsidiary bodies (UNESCO) and the European Union”, *UNESCO*, http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/BSP/pdf/UNESCO-EU_MoU_8_October_2012.pdf (accessed June 09, 2020).

³⁰ Ibid.

Through my research employing a mixed methodology combining legal desk research, semi-structured academic interviews with representatives of key policy actors, and critical discourse analysis in the form of political lexicometry, it is possible to demonstrate that the lack of a European Union policy for cultural heritage restitution is both the result of weak cultural competences at the EU level, and also a failure of the EU to address the legacy of colonialism in its policies and discourse. The interviews with representatives of key policy actors allows for a comparative study with the political lexicometry data in order to determine the more practical and human aspects of how policies in regard to cultural heritage restitution are implemented, and the impact and ramifications of these policies on a practical, societal, legal, political and human level.

To conclude, it is a combination of weak EU cultural competences and a reluctance on the part of the EU to engage with the historical legacy of colonialism which causes the lack of an EU policy for cultural heritage restitution. In an international policy environment which increasingly sees the legacy of colonialism entangled with other policies for which the EU is competent, such as trade, it is the Member States which have both the cultural competences for cultural heritage restitution, and which are also engaged with formulating postcolonial narratives. Thus, EU Member States are determining individual and contradictory policies in cultural heritage restitution diplomacy. Therefore, with a lack of Europeanization in this policy area, a multi-speed Europe is emerging in cultural heritage restitution, resulting in a lack of coordination at the EU level in a policy area which is moving to the core of international relations in a now post-colonial world.

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Protecting “traditional knowledge” to safeguard “national interest” – The narrative and paradox behind India’s Traditional Knowledge Digital Library

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The concept of “cultural heritage” has stretched overtime to embrace the notion of “traditional knowledge”¹. Traditional knowledge can be defined as “a cumulative body of knowledge, know-how, practices and representations maintained and developed by peoples with extended histories of interaction with the natural environment. These sophisticated sets of understandings, interpretations and meanings are part and parcel of a cultural complex that encompasses language, naming and classification systems, resource use practices, ritual, spirituality and worldview”². Whereas from the standpoint of intellectual property rights, traditional knowledge generally enters the public domain (given the passage from generation to generation within a community of such knowledge)³, several countries have deviated from this understanding, most notably India. As we will explain, India has taken a firm stance to protect “its” traditional knowledge from foreign “predatory-like behaviour”, protection which has interestingly been imbued with a strong nationalistic tone.

To understand India’s position regarding traditional knowledge, one must go back in time to 90s, when two traditional Indian herbal plants, Turmeric and Neem unexpectedly turn into “**contested objects**”. Both plants have been used for centuries in India due to their unique features: the rhizomes of Turmeric have been employed as a dye, as a spice and as a cure to wounds and rashes, while Neem extracts have been long known for their antifungal properties and for providing relief from cold, flu and even skin diseases.⁴ However, the serene existence and usage of Turmeric and Neem was disrupted by 2 distinct “events” happening in the developed world: **the patenting** of herbal practices related to those plants via the US Trademark and Patent Office (USPTO) and European Patent Office (EPO), respectively. Due account taken of the evidence provided by Indian claimants that the mentioned practices already formed part of the extensive body of Indian traditional knowledge, both patents were revoked by on the grounds of existing of prior art⁵. Put in other words, the disclosed inventions did not meet one of the essential conditions for patenting: novelty, to the extent that they had already been known in India for centuries. Consequently, the success in these (long and arduous) proceedings was described as a matter of “national pride”⁶, a victory against “biopiracy”.⁷ So as to avoid long-lasting and onerous revocation or limitation procedures as the ones described above (“*taking five to seven years to complete, and the average cost ranging between \$0.2-\$0.6 million*”)⁸, the Indian government took a proactive stance in protecting its traditional knowledge. Below, we will present 4 different initiatives, with a focus on the

¹ *Indigenous Peoples’ Cultural Heritage: Rights, Debates, Challenges. Indigenous Peoples’ Cultural Heritage*. Brill Nijhoff, 2017. <https://brill.com/view/title/34596>.

² UNESCO/ICSU, 2002, Science, Traditional Knowledge and Sustainable Development, p. 9. ICSU: Paris.

³ WIPO. ‘Traditional Knowledge’. <https://www.wipo.int/tk/en/index.html>.

⁴ TKDL Traditional Knowledge Digital Library’. <http://www.tkdL.res.in/tkdL/langdefault/common/Home.asp?GL=Eng>.

⁵ See “Draft Decision To Enhance Mutual Supportiveness Between The TRIPS Agreement And The Convention On Biological Diversity” - Communication from Brazil, China, Colombia, Ecuador, India, Indonesia, Peru, Thailand, the ACP Group, and the African Group, TN/C/W/59 (19 April 201), WTO Trade Negotiations Committee: “Where the subject matter of a patent application involves utilization of genetic resources and/or associated traditional knowledge, Members shall require applicants **to disclose**: (i) the country providing such resources, that is, **the country of origin of such resources** or a country that has acquired the genetic resources and/or associated traditional knowledge in accordance with the CBD [] ; and, (ii) the source in the country providing the genetic resources and/or associated traditional knowledge. Members shall also require that applicants provide a copy of an **Internationally Recognized Certificate of Compliance (IRCC)**. If an IRCC is not applicable in the providing country, the applicant should provide relevant information regarding compliance with prior informed consent and access and fair and equitable benefit sharing as required by the national legislation of the country providing the genetic resources and/or associated traditional knowledge, that is, the country of origin of such resources or a country that has acquired the genetic resources and/or associated traditional knowledge in accordance with the CBD” (emphasis added).

⁶ TKDL Traditional Knowledge Digital Library’. n.d. Accessed 17 February 2021. <http://www.tkdL.res.in/tkdL/langdefault/common/Home.asp?GL=Eng>.

⁷ Biopiracy cases can be defined as those “in which a person may claim patent rights in one country over genetic resources that are under the sovereignty of another country”, see IP/C/W/356 (24 June 2002) WTO Communication.

⁸ Sharma, Seemantani. n.d. ‘Traditional Knowledge Digital Library: “A Silver Bullet” in the War against Biopiracy?’, 17 J. Marshall Rev. Intell. Prop. L. 214 (2017), 19.

fourth one: the Traditional Knowledge Digital Library (TKDL).

Firstly, in the context of the redefinition requested by Paragraph 19 of the 2001 Doha Declaration⁹ of the relationship between the **TRIPS Agreement** (which sets minimum standards of protection to be imposed by each Member State in the area of intellectual property rights) and the **United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity, the protection of traditional knowledge and folklore**, India has campaigned since 2002 for the most stringent solution. Together with Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, Thailand and other developing countries, India has pushed for amending the TRIPS Agreement so as to oblige patent applicants to: (1) disclose the country of origin of genetic resources (this is, of *any material of plant, animal, microbial or other origin containing functional units of heredity*);¹⁰ (2) provide evidence that they have received prior informed consent from the competent authority in the country of origin of the genetic resource; (3) and prove that fair and equitable benefit sharing is foreseen. A solution of this type, embedded in the patent system, would have technically prevented herbal practices such as those related to Turmeric and Neem to be patented in the absence of disclosure of the country of origin and prior consent from Indian competent authorities. Notwithstanding the pressure coming from the mentioned Member States to modify the TRIPS accordingly, the cleavage with developed countries (which are less inclined to impose disclosure requirements on patent applicants) is deep: as a matter of fact, 20 years from the Doha Declaration, the issue of the amendment of the TRIPS Agreement is still on the table.

Secondly, on 17 October 2003, India ratified the **UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage**. Article 2.2 of such Convention states that “intangible cultural heritage” is manifested *inter alia* in “*knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe*”¹¹ – which indeed rhyme with traditional knowledge. Articles 11 and 12 of the Convention¹² specify the role of the States Parties to the Convention: these must identify and safeguard intangible cultural heritage and draw up inventories for such purposes – as we shall see below, the TKDL is a tool of this sort (with its own particularities, e.g. access based on non-disclosure agreements).

Thirdly, as a party to the **Nagoya Protocol on Access to Genetic Resources and the Fair and Equitable Sharing of Benefits Arising from their Utilization** (in force since 12 October 2014 and complementing the already mentioned UN Convention on Biological Diversity), India has extensively used the **Access and Benefit-sharing Clearing-House (ABSCH)** established by Article 14 of such Protocol. ABSCH is an online platform where information on access and benefit sharing of **genetic resources and traditional knowledge associated to such genetic resources** can be exchanged for the sake of legal certainty and transparency. Whenever a party to the Protocol grants access to its genetic resources (such as plant or animal material) or associated traditional knowledge, and notifies the existence of a permit or equivalent to the ABSCH, the Clearing-House generates an **Internationally Recognized Certificate of Compliance (IRCC)**. IRCC proves the fact that the person/organization to whom the permit was delivered has complied with the country of origin’s access and benefit sharing rules and procedures. By the same token, legal requirements to show the IRCC at checkpoints along the value chain enable monitoring how resources and connected traditional knowledge are used and the amount of benefits which are being made – facilitating the equitable sharing with the country of origin. While this tracking system is not embedded in the patent system, it at least provides an international legal framework for redistribution of gains related to genetic resources and traditional knowledge. As a matter of fact, in 2015, India was the very first country to issue a permit conducive to an Internationally Recognized Certificate of Compliance, “*grant(ing) access to ethno-medicinal knowledge of the Siddi community from Gujarat to a researcher affiliated with the University of Kent in the United Kingdom*”¹³. Ever since, India

⁹ ‘WTO | Intellectual Property (TRIPS) - Reviews, Article 27.3b, Traditional Knowledge, Biodiversity - Background’. https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/trips_e/art27_3b_background_e.htm.

¹⁰ Article 2 of UN Convention on Biological Diversity.

¹¹ UNESCO, Convention for Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, 17 October 2003, in force 20 April 2006, Article 2.2(d).

http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=17716&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

¹² Ibid. Articles 11 and 12. Also see Operational Guidelines Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage “(104) States Parties shall endeavour to ensure, in particular through the application of intellectual property rights, privacy rights and any other appropriate form of legal protection, that the rights of the communities, groups and individuals that create, bear and transmit their intangible cultural heritage are duly protected when raising awareness about their heritage or engaging in commercial activities” and “(173) States Parties shall endeavour to recognize, promote and enhance the importance of intangible cultural heritage as a strategic resource to enable sustainable development. To that end, States Parties are encouraged to: (...) (b) adopt appropriate legal, technical, administrative and financial measures, in particular through the application of intellectual property rights, privacy rights and any other appropriate forms of legal protection, to ensure that the rights of the communities, groups and individuals that create, bear and transmit their intangible cultural heritage are duly protected when raising awareness about their heritage or engaging in commercial activities.” https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/ICH-Operational_Directives-7.GA-PDF-EN.pdf

¹³ Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity. Press release (2015): “The first internationally recognized certificate of compliance is issued under the Nagoya Protocol on Access and Benefit-sharing”. <https://www.cbd.int/doc/press/2015/pr-2015-10-07-abs-en.pdf>

(with approximately 1360 out of the total 2110 IRCC issued so far) is one of the most active users of the ABSCH platform – which in itself demonstrates its will and strong adhesion to the principles enshrined in the UN Convention on Biological Diversity and its Protocol.

Lastly (and most importantly for the purposes of our paper), India has found “a *third way*” to protect its biological and folklore resources, which complements in a unique way the multilateral initiatives presented above in a unique way. We are referring to **India’s Traditional Knowledge Digital Library (TKDL)**, which has been built up since 2001.

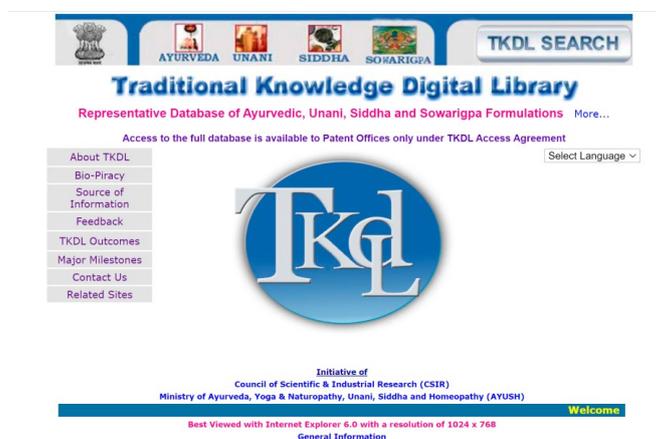


Fig.1 Screenshot of the interface of the Traditional Knowledge Digital Library

Discipline	Number of texts (including volumes) used for transcription
Ayurveda	75 books
Unani	10 books
Siddha	50 books
Yoga	15 books
Total	150 books

Fig. 2. Number of texts (including volumes) used for transcription, according to TKDL website.

Said Digital Library, which lodges Ayurvedic, Unani and Siddha medicines and even yoga postures, has been defined by its chief architect Dr. VK Gupta as the a “*silver bullet in the crusade against biopiracy*.”¹⁴ The immediate reason for the construction of such database were the Tumeric and Neem cases presented in previous pages, which proved that “*Euro-American IPR systems are blind to types of prior art that might not exist in immediately accessible formats*.”¹⁵

The TKDL was precisely created to solve that bias and offer direct access to patent examiners to readily transcribed (and translated) formulations. As a matter of fact, the database has been shared with the most relevant patent offices in the world (“*European Patent Office, United State Patent & Trademark Office, Japan Patent Office, United Kingdom Patent Office, Canadian Intellectual Property Office, German Patent Office, Intellectual Property Australia, Indian Patent Office, Chile Patent Office, Intellectual Property Corporation of Malaysia, Rospatent- Intellectual Property Office of Russia, Peru Patent Office and Spanish Patent and Trademark Office*”)¹⁶. This allows patent examiners carrying on examination of patent applications to verify whether the inventions disclosed are actually novel or are based on existing Indian traditional knowledge. The TKDL facilitates the examiners’ task and prevents wrongful patents from being granted: claims being modified or withdrawn by applicants at pre-grant

¹⁴ Sharma, S. (2017). Traditional Knowledge Digital Library: A ‘Silver Bullet’ in the War Against Biopiracy. *The John Marshall Review Of Intellectual Property Law* 214, p.214-231.

¹⁵ Hamilton, Chris. 2008. ‘Intellectual Property Rights, the Bioeconomy and the Challenge of Biopiracy’. *Genomics, Society, and Policy* 4 (3). <https://doi.org/10.1186/1746-5354-4-3-26>.

¹⁶ ‘TKDL Traditional Knowledge Digital Library’. <http://www.tkdil.res.in/tkdil/langdefault/common/Home.asp?GL=Eng>.

stage in the basis of the examiners’ search are much less onerous than post-grant litigation.

National Patent Office	Nr. of cases in which the patent (application) was withdrawn/cancelled/declared dead/terminated or claims were amended in basis of TKDL
European Patent Office (EPO)	131
United States Patent and Trademark Office (USPTO)	26
Controller General of Patents Designs and Trademarks (CGPDTM - India)	35
Canadian Intellectual Property Office (CIPO)	36
IP Australia (AIPO)	10
United Kingdom Patent & Trademark Office (UKPTO)	1
Total	239

Fig. 3 Number of cases in which the patent (application) was withdrawn/cancelled/ declared dead/ terminated or claims were amended in basis of TKDL based on figures disclosed in the TKDL website.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the database is that the access is based on non-disclosure agreements. “As per the terms and conditions of the Access agreement, examiners of patent office can utilize TKDL for search and examination purposes only and cannot reveal the contents of TKDL to any third party unless it is necessary for the purpose of citation. TKDL Access Agreement is unique in nature and has in-built safeguards on Non-disclosure to protect India’s interest against any possible misuse”¹⁷.

India’s national interest is therefore asserted through the protection of its traditional knowledge via what could only be described as secrecy.

In a sense, the State becomes the custodian of traditional knowledge: **nation and tradition become thus indissociable** – in order for third parties to access traditional resources they must first achieve consent from the state. Therefore, traditional knowledge is a two-faced Janus for India: on the one hand, it contains the “roots” of the Indian nation. On the other hand, traditional knowledge is portrayed as a stepstone for future innovation and as a bearer of commercial comparative advantage (e.g. pharma sector). This leads to **heritage hybridization**: India’s “national pride” derived from its body of traditional knowledge is a perfect “heritage construct” which concatenates different temporalities (pre-colonial and post-colonial times) and gives a sense of unity to Indian identity. The protection of its traditional knowledge from usurpation by third parties (under the guise of patenting) but also the narrative by which this corpus of knowledge has become intimately linked to Indian national identity (situated above the myriad indigenous/ local identities and encompassing them all) is underpinned by a TKDL with walled gardens, whose watchdog is the Indian state.

The choice of non-disclosure has so far frustrated India’s ambitious plans to convert TKDL into a “**Patent Cooperation Treaty (PCT)¹⁸ minimum documentation**”. Achieving such status would consecrate the TKDL into a **compulsory repository** to be consulted by patent examiners around the world when searching for prior art documents to assess novelty and inventiveness under the PCT¹⁹. The choice to dismiss or not the non-disclosure requirement and secretive nature of the TKDL (which is the most notable feature of the digital library) will, respectively, align the protection of Indian traditional knowledge with the patent system in place – leading to an international recognition of the Indian traditional knowledge or will reinforce the position of the Indian state as custodian of a “nationalized” traditional knowledge.

¹⁷ PCT/MIA/25/9. Meeting of International Authorities under the Patent Cooperation Treaty (PCT), Twenty-Fifth Session (Madrid, February 21 to 23, 2018). “PCT Minimum Documentation: Inclusion Of Indian Traditional Knowledge Digital Library”. https://www.wipo.int/edocs/mdocs/pct/en/pct_mia_25/pct_mia_25_9.docx.

¹⁸ PCT/MIA/25/9. Meeting of International Authorities under the Patent Cooperation Treaty (PCT), Twenty-Fifth Session (Madrid, February 21 to 23, 2018). “PCT Minimum Documentation: Inclusion Of Indian Traditional Knowledge Digital Library”. https://www.wipo.int/edocs/mdocs/pct/en/pct_mia_25/pct_mia_25_9.docx.

¹⁹ ‘Espacenet - PCT Minimum Documentation’. https://ie.espacenet.com/help?locale=en_IE&method=handleHelpTopic&topic=pctminimum.

Archives of Americanist Heritage: Exchange and Competition between Museums in Europe and Latin America (1885–1915)

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Introduction

Critical history is a useful ally to understand the long-term emergence and transformation of cultural concepts and the institutions in charge of materializing them. This is the case for the concept of “heritage,” with museums being one of the main institutionalizations with the purpose of caring for and defining what should be valued and preserved for the future. Although methodological nationalisms have obstructed the construction of historical epistemologies, transnational approaches can be helpful to understand the historical relationships between conceptualizations of heritage in different museums. From the literature on the history of museums, we find almost no communication between those institutions, as if they were islands in the ocean, contrary to the historical archives, which show dialogues, as well as shared interests and concerns.

An actor-centered approach makes it possible to study the dynamics and conceptualizations in museums in order to examine those entangled histories in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, when interdisciplinary academic research and collecting for museums were at their peaks. The regular gathering of savants in the International Congress of Americanists (ICA)¹ is a common theme to follow the interconnections between those museums with archaeological collections from the Americas. Gathered in one of the most important congresses at the time, the regular meeting of renowned researchers on archaeology, ethnography, history, and paleontology helps us to develop a new approach to heritage studies. Those “Americanists,” as they called themselves, were at the same time the main custodians, researchers, and collectors in several museums in Europe and the Americas.

In one of the most intense periods of archaeological and ethnographic exploration and collecting in the Americas, there were attitudes and notions of heritage related to their scientific, human, national, and imperial interests. By observing the institutional interactions among museums through their agents, a new frame can be developed to discuss the emergence of what I have called “Archives of Americanist Heritage.” The trajectories and narratives around artifacts—mostly archaeological—within museums allow us to reflect on the social relations involved in their possession, transfer, and negotiation in a complex hybrid heritage. Looking back in history, the period of 1885–1915 was an intense moment of communication, exchange, and—not surprisingly—also conflicts between museums, since they were consolidating a network with the partial or primary goal of archiving material culture from the Americas to develop further research, in a mixture of cooperative and competitive attitudes.

Entangled stories

Not far away from promotion purposes, those museums presented themselves as important scientific spaces, where the material culture was protected and studied by specialists. By collecting antiquities and other information sources, Americanists collectively created the “Archives of Americanist Heritage,” a complex system of knowledge production about the Americas based on material culture gathered and organized in museums. Understanding them as “archives” and “systems of knowledge,” museums were the main spaces of Americanist scientific production at the time. This therefore involves a shared and uneven history between many parts of the world. The main network involves: the *Königliches Museum*

¹ Americanism describes a specific type of regional studies that brought together savants in the natural sciences and humanities from more than thirty countries in Europe and the Americas. The ICA, which has taken place since 1875, provided a moment of socialization of knowledge about the American continent in the fields of history, archaeology, geology, anthropology and linguistics, especially regarding the period prior to 1492. (López-Oncón, 2005) In the beginning of the twentieth century the Congress was centered in French-, German-, and Spanish-speaking groups, and helped to form not only a strong community immersed in the avant-garde of many scientific discussions, but also linked directly to the most prominent museums in the world.

für Völkerkunde in Berlin, the *Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía* in Mexico City, the *Museo de La Plata* in La Plata, the *Museo Nacional* in La Paz, the *Museo Etnográfico* in Buenos Aires, the *Musée du Trocadero* in Paris, the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC, and the British Museum, among others.

For *Una Europa*, I primarily explore the entanglements of the *Museum für Völkerkunde* in Germany with the *Museo Nacional* in Mexico and the *Museo de La Plata* in Argentina. In the analysis of the complexities of their cooperation and competition, I trace some of the main debates in this scientific community. The collections responded to the different interests in the discussions around the long-term history of the American continent. The museum in Berlin, for instance, was specialized in mapping the cultural diversity in the Americas, holding the most diversified collection of the cultures of the continent. The Mexican museum, on the other hand, prided itself on having the most important archaeological gallery of Americanism in the world, one that verified the presence of highly developed civilizations, while the Argentinian museum valued their approach combining natural and human history to trace ancient migrations between continents.

Just as with all the Americanist Archives, those museums continued in their massive accumulation of artifacts. They all took part in an unspoken competition to possess the best and most complete archaeological collections, with some creating stable series of data to establish chronologies or cultural sequences to outline the long-term history of the continent, while others valued the archeological objects more for their esthetics or “exotism.” Americanists being in charge of mobilizing artifacts is what impacted the conceptualization of cosmopolitan science and national heritage. At the same time, networks of theoretical production took place within museums, as well as debates around to whom certain objects belonged and who profited from them.

In the Americanist community those discussions are to be traced. The *Museo Nacional* showcased the idea of heritage based on monumentalism. By showing gigantic stone sculptures to the Americanist community, its *Galería de Monolitos* presented a vision of a magnificent and monumental “national” past. Moreover, the *Museo de La Plata* presented exhibitions that combined artifacts made by humans with fossils of prehistoric animals. Since Argentina did not possess the monumentalism that other countries showed, they used copies of precolonial stone sculptures—like the *Puerta del Sol* in Bolivia—for “scientific” reasons. It is maybe not that obvious that those copies were produced in Berlin and that a few German Americanists worked closely with those museums in Mexico and Argentina, with some collaborating and others competing against them for the purchase of archaeological collections.

Monument protection as heritage conceptualization

In the above-mentioned trajectories, Americanists produced mobilities. The massive accumulation of collections in museums was preceded by a massive mobilization of archaeological artifacts. Incalculable amounts of archaeological objects were sought, bought, and transported at an increasing speed, helped by new technologies like trains or ocean liners, powered also by the progressive commodification of archaeological objects. This phenomenon did not go unnoticed. The massive mobilization of archaeological collections from Latin America to Europe and the United States found a response in the emergence of the figures of ‘heritage guardians’ linked to national museums. National laws concerning the appropriation and export of archeological objects in Latin America reveal the attempt to control the massive fluxes and appropriation of collections, and at the same time revealing nationalists’ approaches to the protection of heritage.

At the end of the nineteenth century, legislation on this topic appeared: In 1897 Mexico created the first legislation to prevent archeological objects from being appropriated and transported outside of the country. Bolivia followed in 1906, and Argentina implemented its legislation in 1913. In less than two decades, Latin American countries had started this legislation that embraced a national perception of the duty of protection of cultural heritage, especially linked to archaeological monuments. So, heritage conceptualizations in the region were born as *protección de monumentos*. (López Jáuregui, 2020) Even though the Latin American States had already begun to pass laws prohibiting the export of antiquities as we already mentioned, the exception to the rule was ‘the export for scientific purposes.’ That concession benefited some institutions, especially the museums in the Americanist network, where we find traces of scientific collaborations, diplomatic gifts, exchanges, but also complaints about looted artifacts.

That historical perspective helps us to discuss “the social life of things” and the circulation of symbolic goods in the process of their commodification as antiquities or scientific traces. (Kopytoff, 2011) Most of the agents in charge of enforcing the law in Mexico or Argentina were Americanists who had contact with the Americanists in European museums. Then the scene becomes more complex than expected.

The heritage guardians in Latin America's museums were also collectors and scientists; the collectors in Europe were also guardians of collections in museums there. Both groups shared a growing interest in the study of the history of the Americas and their populations, and they also took part in the same specialized scientific groups. So, museums were nationalist institutions with the purpose of playing a role in cultural geopolitics where erudition and research were valued, but the main contradiction was that this nationalism was successful only when it was acknowledged by cosmopolitan communities such as the Americanist. That is the reason why so much effort was put into the promotion of their own collective heritage.

Hybrid Heritage?

By observing their institutional interactions, a new panorama develops to discuss the emergence of notions of national, scientific, and cosmopolitan heritage around ancient artifacts. The trajectories of archaeological objects in museums allow us to reflect on the social relations involved in their possession, transfer, and negotiation. Americanism contributed to two legitimating phenomena of its time: science and nationalism, which promoted a series of future projections close to the idea of heritage, based on the study of the past. Those collections from the Americas contributed to form and consolidate visions of national, ethnic, and imperial heritage and identities. We can observe the geopolitics in the attempt among imperial nations to extend their cultural influence, but also in national ideologists from Latin America trying actively to also extend their spheres of influence in cultural geopolitics.

The ICA opened up a space to socialize different perspectives and views about science, nation, human history, and heritage, and also proved how geopolitical influences worked. Can we then talk of interchangeable roles among the heritage guardians? Is there such an "Americanist Heritage"? This historical context introduces a great amount of complexity in terms of a collective—but also contested—heritage. Current discussions with critical perspectives that target the work of museums could raise the question: Is the concept of a "hybrid heritage" a form of neutralizing those complex entanglements? Not just in the postcolonial critique of the North-South relations, (Savoy, 2018) but also in the critical perspectives against national-centered discourses. (Tenorio-Trillo, 2016) The analysis of the debates of the Americanist community is a novel aspect to discuss the geopolitical implications of archaeological collections from a historical perspective.

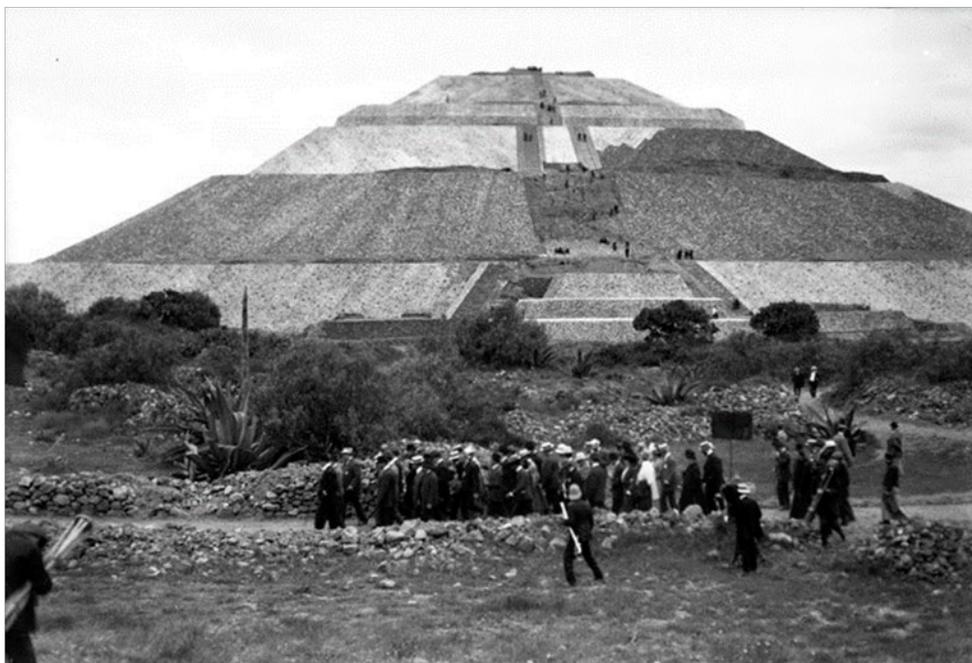


FIGURE 1: Members of the ICA during a tour of the archeological zone of Teotihuacan (Source: Registro 135823 SINAFO-Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México)

Presentation of the object

Let me conclude this essay by presenting an object: a single photograph. (Figure 1) It might be a surprise that there is no museum in it. On the contrary, we observe in it the agents of the Archives of Americanist

Heritage in the field. The picture was taken during the 17th ICA in 1910, right in front of Teotihuacan's pyramids in Mexico, and portrays the Americanist network on the ground, visiting the gigantic and nearly two-thousand-year-old pyramid, newly revealed by the Mexican archaeologist Leopoldo Batres for the Centennial Celebration of Independence. The 17th ICA was an exceptional one because it took place in May in Argentina and in September in Mexico. Part of the scientific community traveled more than ten thousand kilometers just from one part of the congress to the other, and they then had the opportunity to visit many Latin American museums and analyze their discoveries and collections collectively.

The organizers and participants were at the top of the Americanist community. Eduard Seler, the representative of the *Museum für Völkerkunde*, was considered the main Americanist at the time, but he was just one among other prominent figures in many disciplines. As a group interested in studying pre-Columbian cultures, they showed practices of collaboration, dialogue, and competition. They examined tombs and archaeological remains together, and some of them took pieces found in Teotihuacan to augment their "own archives" and collections, miles away from the original site. In the Americanist community, a hybrid heritage in natural sciences and humanities emerged from the crossing of collections' flows, from the construction of scientific networks, and nationalisms present in some museums' custodians, who tried to demonstrate the glorious past of their nations.

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How could climate change and sea level rise impact terracqueos architecture? The case study of Po river Delta

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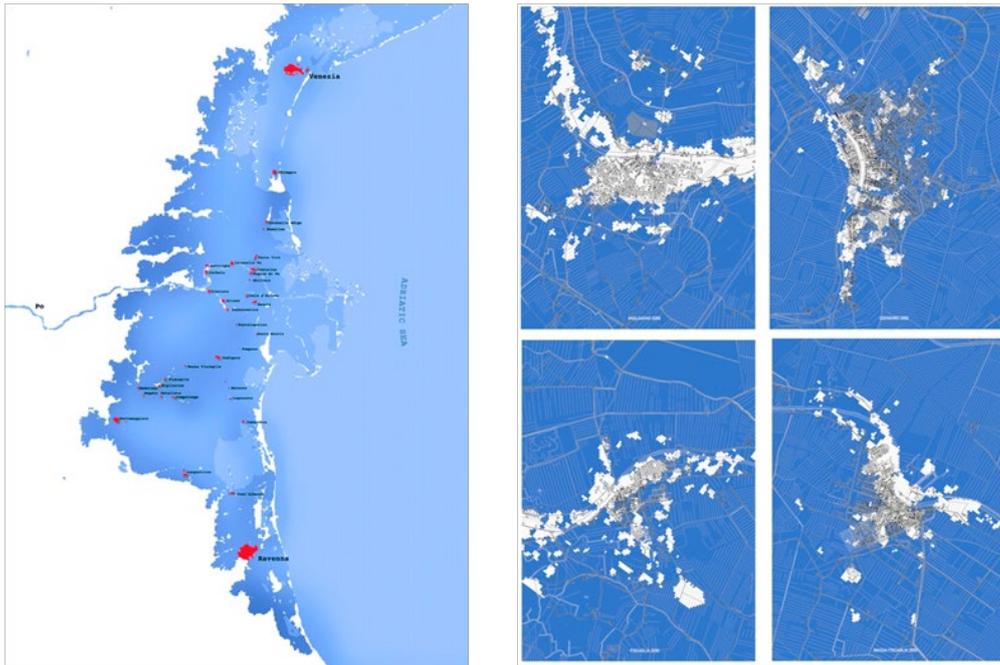


fig.1 projection of the sea level rise in the Po Delta at 2050
and on the four centers of Fiscaglia, Massa Fiscaglia, Migliarino and Codigoro

The research aims to explore how a non-metropolitan spontaneous architecture heritage system can adapt to climate change through hybridization and evolution logics.

Climate change is redesigning the territorial structure at a global level, placing the planning of the territory in front of the challenge of having to design in the perspective of the unexpected: we know that the geomorphological structure will be drastically changed by the current climate crisis, but not we know exactly what future developments will be, as they depend on the actions of governments and the behaviour of different communities. In this situation, the change of attitude required of designers is to transform themselves from formal designers of the present to curators of future developments. In fact, we find ourselves in what Beck defines the *global risk society*, where the character of the emergency has become the yardstick for defining the choices of politics for the earth and humanity for its future. The concepts of time, evolution and care become the basis of the project: from the planetary garden of Clément¹, to the New Athens Charter by Branzi² or the ecological principles of Reed³, it is clear how the designer must change his attitude: from formal architectural design, we have to move on to design of adaptive strategies and relationships. Even at this juncture, spontaneous heritage⁴ starts from these same basic principles. According to Bernard Rudofsky, spontaneous architecture is the architectural form corresponding to the adaptation of man to nature, with an empirical character and therefore tested to be performing in the context, “a communal art, not produced by a few intellectual or specialist, but by

¹ Clément, G. *Jardin, paysage et génie naturel*. (Quodlibet, 2013).

² Branzi, A. *For a Post-Environmentalism: Seven Suggestions for a New Athens Charter*. in *Ecological Urbanism* 110–111 (Lars Muller Publisher, 2010).

³ Reed, C. *The Agency of Ecology*. in *Ecological Urbanism* (eds. Mostafavi, M. & Doherty, G.) 338–343 (Lars Muller Publisher, 2016).

⁴ As defined in Rudofsky, B., *Architecture without architects*. (New York, 1964)

the spontaneous and continuing activity of a whole people with a common heritage, acting a community of experience ". It remains therefore to understand what change we are talking about, in which area adaption to actual needs due to climate change, have to be tested?

The relationship with water is one of the emerging factors compared to the global crisis. As Winy Maas argues, "*while in the past the conflicts attributable to water were mostly linked to desertification processes and their impact in the form of dramatic famines - phenomena likely to be fought with irrigation plans -, today water is which has become a symbol of a pressing alarm, a clear symptom of the climate changes that dominate the news, in often unexpected forms. (...) new and fascinating places, new landscapes. It's a real agenda for the project!*"⁵. In fact, most of the world's population lives less than 100 km from the coasts, which will be subject to flooding and changes in the coastal lines. These territories have always been inhabited for their strategic importance, and specifically the large river deltas have always been occupied because they connect the coast to the hinterland and therefore strategic for economic exchanges. We then speak of *extreme territories*, as Paola Viganò and Lorenzo Fabian define them, or those territories in which "*the urbanized land margins close to the water's edge lie where the maximum risk is located, (...) lowlands usually reclaimed in time for habitation and cultivation*"⁶.

In the project of these extreme territories, if large metropolitan areas may see large technological infrastructures to protect their territory, non-metropolitan areas do not currently have strategies other than the migration of resident populations, which, however, settlement systems have had to adapt over the centuries to the changes due to the unstable hydrological structure of the delta and are therefore often emerging compared to flood forecasting. The historic centers of the deltas have coexisted with water for centuries, community work in the area has given them birth and consolidation in those areas where water, in its changing over time, has never prevented land occupation.

Today the conditions of the historical centers and of the historical heritage in the peripheral areas are more and more fragile, both because of the depopulation due to the migratory processes towards the metropolises, which have seen them protagonists in the last decades, and because of the social and territorial changes due to the different types of crisis characterizing our era. Despite this, the historical heritage is a symbol of the good practices of settlement use of the territory, being the result of the centuries-old work of adaptation of the communities occupying a specific geographical situation. The breakdown of the relationship between man and nature characteristic of the last century has led to logics of territorial use often heedless of the real geomorphological possibilities, leading to aggravate already critical situations compared to the current climate crisis. The historical settlement often no longer conforms to the needs of contemporary life, but in order to survive the climatic changes that will characterize the twenty-first century, it will be necessary to re-establish the human-nature relationship of which the historical heritage is representative. It is therefore necessary to start from those bases, to work on their evolution, taking care of the relationship of evolution in future changes.

In this thesis we take the Po Delta as an example: inhabited for millennia, the spontaneous architecture used as a means of settlement by the occupying populations had to adapt to the variations of the delta, configuring a real historical strategy of coexistence with water instability. What was in fact the large area of the *padusa*, saw the coast line set back by ten kilometers compared to the current state, and then progressed over time thanks to the river debris accumulated by the Po first, and to the reclamation operations afterwards. The projections of the territory to 2050 see it flooded and the coast backward, bringing the territory to a primitive state, configuring it as an archipelago of historical centers, not flooded and emerging compared to the state of disaster. The spontaneous architecture evolved by the communities and above all the territorial relationships existing today will therefore have to adapt again, but this time in a much narrower time span of a few decades. If one can think that such a climatic catastrophe could cancel the settlement potential of the area, it must however be taken into account that a new international infrastructure, the New Maritime Silk Road, will have as its terminal the North of the Adriatic Sea, thus creating new commercial traffic and economic in the two polarities at the ends of the area: Ravenna and Venice. The potential of this global infrastructure, which will unite China and Europe, is therefore a great resource for the small historic centers of the Po Delta, which from places of abandonment will have to know how to exploit future traffic to define a new network of relationships. The combination of climate crisis and economic potential suggests that a new settlement future can be found for the historic delta centers, which, albeit small, could find a structure of metropolitan relations in the new natural structure. In this case a geopolitical situation could be of use to a potential issues of climate change, pushing economical interest to interact with the emergency situation.

With these assumptions, the research project is facing different needs: adaptation to the new climatic structure, evolution of the historical settlement, relationship between built and nature and construction of

⁵ Maas, W. Editorial. *Domus* (2019)

⁶ Fabian, L. *Extreme cities*. (Venezia, 2016)

a network of relationships that from small specific centers transform this marginal area into a metropolis of relationships. Two themes that may seem secondary, but which are vitally important, are therefore that of the need to preserve and repopulate the internal areas in order to preserve the historical apparatus and redistribute the territorial dynamics, as well as thinking of the territory in a network perspective rather than in a subdivision of small centralities. Rem Koolhaas, together with AMO (Agency for Metropolitan Architecture), thinks in fact that the countryside should be at the center of architectural thought⁷: where the metropolis is characterized by sprawl and exploitation of resources, the role of marginal territories is therefore necessary, above all to maintain productive balances, seeing them with a view to research and technological innovation. In these territories it is also possible to define the renewed relationship between man and nature, taking advantage of the undecided state of these areas to work on a new hybrid development, where history and contemporaneity meet to meet the needs of the future. That could be the case of the Basso ferrarese, the inner area taken into account, to share this vision of future developments according to local heritage historicity. In Italy the SNAI project, or the National Strategy for Internal Areas, has already delimited the borders of homogeneous areas that find common characteristics and needs for territorial development. The Po Delta, or the area of the Basso Ferrarese, is identified as one of these areas: architecture, history, social dynamics, require a new territorial vision that allows to deal with the theme of restocking and a networked territory. Rising sea level brings a new challenge to this area: this is the place to test innovation with respect to the relationship between architecture and water, without visions of commercial occupation of water as a new territory (like many investment visions are developing in front of the new flooded territories) but doing “*as much as possible with, and as little as possible against, the energies at stake within a given place*”⁸, as Clément suggests.

Through speculative design, the intention is therefore to probe the planning of the unexpected to produce a series of design cases for the preservation of the resident communities, of historical architecture, finding in the hybridization of the contemporary project the evolutionary key of adaptation to the new territorial structure. The projects proposed with the thesis, want to probe the preservation of communities and their heritage according to the global notions of the ecological movement, creating a sample of strategic solutions that will address the following themes: spontaneous heritage evolution, investigating historical relationships and evolving them through contemporary compositions that re-read historical strategies, coexistence with nature, defining the relationship between architecture and water, seeking its compositional construction, contemporary architectural mix, understanding which are the contemporary grafts necessary for adapting the territory to its future condition, reuse debris and abandoned infrastructure for the definition of new landscapes in coexistence with the local heritage landscape.

During the first Lectures of the workshop held by Noémie Etienne “*Conservation in Conversation. Hybridity, Entanglement and the material life of things*” the aspect of cultural heritage as a hybrid element was analyzed. According to Etienne, heritage is defined as an element of connection between a territory and a given identity, therefore destined to hybridize over time. The concept of hybridization is the result of a process of formation, which shapes objects according to the same time and space. Quoting S.W. Silliman in *Requiem for Hybridity*⁹, the concept of hybridization can often be seen as a non-pure form of the object, although it is a natural state of the variability of things. She then adds the concept of *entanglement* (Nicholas Thomas¹⁰) which is the translation of hybridization focused on the practical state of the process, that is, how a material or immaterial thing is exchanged between words and people. Whenever a process is carried out on a given object, it is always subject to a political act, to an ethical choice, bringing with it a specific message of a cultural activity, even if you want to keep it in its current state by applying conservative transformations of detail. Each operation on a cultural element always produces an object that is culturally hybrid, which means subject to affirm a political vision of time that distinguishes it. From this we deduce that the concept of hybridization is a natural and political concept at the same time, inevitable for the cycle of existence of any object.

This principle, added to what has been described previously, reinforces the importance of the attitude and thought that you want to follow by working with the water heritage, which will necessarily undergo hybridization processes in its recognition of historical importance.

In this case, the hybridization agent is due to the need for adaptation of the territory and its buildings to be carried out with respect to the climatic or hydromorphological conditions. This will make it necessary to reflect on a series of stratigraphic grafts deriving from the heritage they are confronted with. Cino

⁷ AMO. *Countryside a Report*. (Taschen, 2020)

⁸ Clément, G. *Jardin, paysage et génie naturel*. (Quodlibet, 2013).

⁹ Silliman SW., *A requiem for hybridity? The problem with Frankensteins, purées, and mules*. (Journal of Social Archaeology, 2015)

¹⁰ Thomas N., *Entangles Objects. Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. (Harvard University Press, 1991)

Zucchi, as curator of the 2014 Italian Pavilion entitled *Innesti / Grafting*, also talks about the concept of metamorphosis of existing structures assuming that “*Italian architecture from the First World War to the present shows an ‘anomalous modernity’, represented by the great ability to interpret and incorporate previous states through continuous metamorphosis. Not formal adaptations a posteriori of the new with respect to the existing, but rather ‘grafts’ capable of transfiguring the conditions of the context into a new configuration*”¹¹. The idea that is also promoted here is not that of a linear evolution, but of a series of small episodes or design events linked by unexpected relationships with the aim of innovating in continuity with previous states.

Within this vision of hybridization, projects will be produced that describe how the mutations of the water landscape can generate grafts of variation and adaptation.

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“The river drinks everything.” Diachronic perspectives on heritage hybridisations with reference to Nordic archaeological and ethnographic studies of the Gran Chaco

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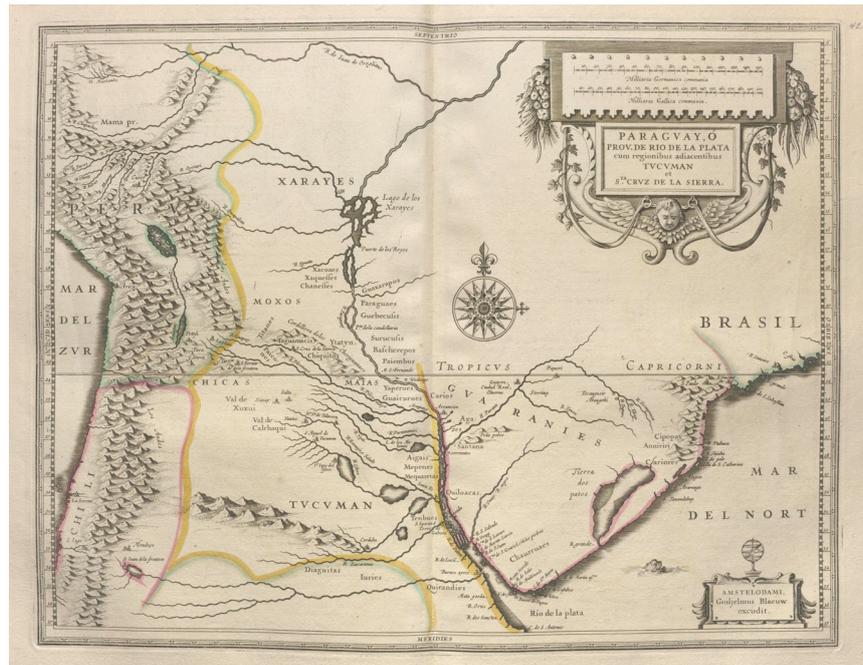


Figure 1. Johannes Blaeu's map of the Paraná Basin and the Gran Chaco (1645) / A. E. Nordenskiöld Map Collection, The National Library of Finland

The presentation is based on the survey of Nordic ethnographic and archaeological collections from the Gran Chaco region of South America (Figure 1), collected in the beginning of the 20th century by researchers including Erland Nordenskiöld. These materials inform my PhD project on social landscapes and interregional circulation (Doctoral Programme for History and Cultural Heritage, University of Helsinki), that draws upon my prior research on routes and material indicators of exchange along the Andean-Chaco frontier (Máster en Arqueología Náutica y Subacuática, University of Cádiz 2019).¹

The doctoral enquiry builds upon the methodological and conceptual base outlined in the Master's dissertation. The compilation and comparative analysis of archaeological sources, cartography, the historical and ethnographic literature and environmental science data incorporates a range of stakeholders in knowledge entanglements and entails the critical appraisal of our own positioning therein, also with reference to past heritage conceptualisations and the political, transnational and community negotiations involved in heritage discourses and governance. After introducing the project and its research context, this presentation develops an introductory discussion of these themes centred on the Nordic research collections.

Querying the construction of territory (Elden 2013) and boundary space (Febvre 1928), the doctoral study aims to provide diachronic insight on pathways, exchange sites and mapping and orientation techniques in the Gran Chaco. It is informed by archaeological studies on interregional circulation across temporal and spatial scales: in neighbouring regions (Nielsen, Berenguer & Pimentel 2019), along the extended eastern frontier of the Inca Empire (Pärssinen & Siiriäinen 2003), within the wider Paraná basin (Iriarte

¹ Saari, Laura Maria, 2019. *Hydroliminal landscapes: Shoreline perspectives on circulation and paths of memory in the Andean-Chaco borderlands*. University of Cádiz Master's thesis. <http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-vkm/web/object/278723>

et al. 2017) and, of course, with reference to current research questions and context (Lamenza et al. 2019).



Figure 2. Ephemeral structures: A Choroti man fishing on a platform on the Pilcomayo River in the Bolivian Chaco (1908) / Erland Nordenskiöld / State Museums for World Culture, Sweden

Overall, the enquiry places emphasis on the mediating functions of Chaco waterways and the ways these structured different aspects of social landscapes in diachronic perspective, with reference to cognitive and communications elements, and their functions as seasonal pathways (compare Westerdahl 1996). From a pragmatic standpoint, fluctuating water levels and hydrological dynamism effected settlement, mobility, subsistence strategies and environmental opportunism (e.g. Nordenskiöld 1910: 100, 170–171), the traces of which are often as ephemeral as the remains of the fishing platforms pictured in Figure 2. The mediating functions of waterways are also tied to diverse forms of exchange between geographical and cultural areas, which are estimated to have involved a range of horizontal or informal networks, occurring, in some instances, parallel to intermittent conflict between participants.²

Historical representations of the Chaco from the 16th century onwards were often linked to and expressed through metaphors of terrain, with an emphasis on water. Among the earliest Europeans to trek from the Atlantic littoral to the Andes, Ruy Díaz de Guzmán (1998: 49 [1612]) described the Guapay River in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, as a “river that drinks everything”, and similar concepts of confluence, convergence and flow structure subsequent historical and ethnographic accounts. Indeed, early sources are replete with descriptions of the Chaco as a labyrinth of rivers and marshland, populated by a range of peoples portrayed through tropes of deviancy.³

This raises a number of important questions about the relationship between representations of social and environmental elements, the production of meanings and values, and their spatial projection. While the mediating functions of waterways were certainly alluded to in historical and cartographic sources, this frequently occurred with reference to territorial and resource control, and can be associated with the hierarchical (re)ordering of Chaco landscapes and attendant border regimes (Febvre 1928). With reference to specific policies and sites and modes of knowledge production, as well as their linkages, these are subject to a process of “excavation” inasmuch as archaeological sources and the heritage conceptualisations that they came to inform in diverse ways.

² On seasonal exchange and intermittent conflict between the Toba (Wichi) and Chiriguano (Guaraní) of the upper Pilcomayo and Bermejo Rivers, see Corrado, Alejandro & Alejandro Comajuncosa, 1884. *El colegio franciscano de Tarija y sus misiones*, Tarija, p. 396 and Combès, Isabelle & Thierry Saignes, 1991. *Alter Ego: Naissance de l'identité Chiriguano*, Paris, pp. 56–57.

³ On the impossibility of Inca conquest of the “evil” wetland mosaic of the Chaco Boreal see Cobo, Bernabé, 1892 [1653], *Historia del Nuevo Mundo, Sevilla*, pp. 372–373. A case in point of the terror and fascination provoked by the saltflats of the Northern Chaco is Lago Diabólico (Devilish Lake) described in Jolis, José, 1972 [1789], *Ensayo sobre la historia natural del Gran Chaco, Resistencia*, p. 71. On the Chiriguano's (Guaraní) lack of religion and central authority, and the association of the above with lakes, marshes and mountains “unfit for cultivation”, see Garcilaso de la Vega, Inca de, 1609, *Primera parte de los comentarios reales de los Incas*, Lisboa, p. 372.

Thematically, the doctoral project is interested in these converging pathways, both within the landscape and on a conceptual level. In broad terms, it can be said to concentrate on modes and sites of exchange that have not traditionally formed objects of archaeological enquiry. On the one hand this is related to representation, territory and classificatory regimes. On the other, it relates to the proliferation of small-scale and extra-official contacts between the Chaco and neighbouring areas (e.g. Lozano 1941:2 [1733]). Archaeological finds within Inca frontier settlements also allude to the presence of Chaco groups in joint social activities during an earlier era (Alconini 2004: 411–413), challenging uniform explanations about antagonistic relations between the highland empire and its neighbours to the east.

Arguably, the relative scarcity of studies on these themes is also related to a past research focus on other areas, wherein the Chaco has formed but a footnote or been approached in terms of analogies, as well as the temporal and spatial dispersal of sources (see discussion in Combès, Villar & Lowrey 2009). These omissions, too, raise important questions about the conceptualisation and valorisation of Chaco space and heritage within their broader political, intellectual and socioeconomic contexts. However, they also highlight how critical readings of past scholarly accounts can inform the present, and how "old" research questions can be answered by a comparative analysis of "new" information, particularly with reference to the development of interdisciplinary methodologies.

While contributing towards these global aims, the focus of my presentation at the UNA Europa Heritage Hybridisations workshop in Paris in May 2021 is necessarily more limited. It introduces a series of artefacts and other sources from the Chaco collections housed at the National Museum of Finland and Världskulturmuseet, Gothenburg, Sweden (formerly the Ethnographic Museum of Gothenburg) surveyed during 2019–2021 as entry-points from which to explore the symbolic and the utilitarian, the material and the intangible, and the actors and temporal and spatial scales involved in place- and heritage making.

The presentation centres on the identification and study of disregarded, unclassified or "out-of-place" materials and the ways these allow us to question the value hierarchies that have informed heritage classifications, facilitating the visibilisation of the "invisible" (*sensu* Bhabha 1994) and, from an archaeological and ethnographical standpoint, bringing to the fore sites and materials thus far overlooked. In some instances, these can be found under labels such as "miscellaneous" and/or lacking contextual information altogether. Silences, too, form intersections of relations that have contributed to heritage and placemaking.

Through a discussion anchored in these materials, the presentation addresses interconnected sites and processes of heritage hybridisation on three distinct levels. Firstly, approaching the materials from an archaeological and ethnographical perspective, it comments on their value as sources on contexts that can be reconstructed with reference to dynamic hybridisation, mindful that these reconstructions form, at best, fragmentary and partial interpretations of the past. Secondly, with reference to the anthropological literature, it observes the active protagonism of material elements in constructions of space.

Thirdly, and perhaps most pertinent to examining the linkages of different actors in heritage conceptualisations and valorisation, it places emphasis on ways documental archives and artefact collections, too, are relationally constructed. Borrowing Appadurai (1988: 3), it is concerned with the links of value and exchange constituted by politics. Artefacts accrue layers of meaning along their trajectories, juxtaposed with other objects and framed and interpreted by researchers, curators and the public – increasingly so with reference to digital forms of circulation. The analysis of these entanglements is regarded as instrumental to the development of research and curatorship strategies that account for the multiple and relational layers of meaning that shape objects and signifying practices as a whole, and within particular political, transnational and community negotiations.

In summary, the methodology employed identifies intersections of different conceptual and tangible pathways that aid reconstructions and interpretations of the Gran Chaco past. Tracing the flows of people, goods and ideas through critical engagement with primary sources, it emphasises the dynamism of signifying processes and the multivocality of sites, objects and texts, which in and of themselves allude to the social plurality of the past(s) and the role of hybridisation processes therein. Finally, it seeks to highlight how the critical interrogation of representations of Chaco space, heritage discourses and their policy implications can give practical insight on ways to contribute to inclusive, contextually informed investigative praxis and heritage governance.

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(ii) Hybridisations of heritage narratives

Artistic appropriation as heritage hybridisation of socialist monuments in Bulgaria: the case of Buzludzha

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Since the 1990s, the contestation of monuments from the socialist period in countries of former Eastern Europe has become an important part of memory and heritage studies. While iconoclasm was naturally a central research theme (Gamboni 1997; Fureix 2014), monuments were also seen as carriers of the memory of the event they commemorate (Luleva 2010; Naxidou 2017), as well as vectors of memory politics in post-socialism (Todorova 2006; Vassileva, Kaleva 2017; Vukov, Kazalarska 2018). But this heritage has equally inspired artists and curators, who interrogate the past and present through the subjective and emotional aesthetic lens. This specific interest and appropriation has been especially strong in Bulgaria.

Since the first initiatives of statues' dismantlement, the artistic value has been put forward as a part of the Bulgarian heritage debate. As no historical representation of the socialist period was available in museums (and it is still absent from history museums' permanent exhibitions), curators took the initiative to tell the past through the artistic production. Artists organised events, actions, performances, created artworks and developed series and projects with one subject - monuments from socialism. In the end, the aesthetic argument was so strong that it became a primary one in the heritage and memory debates.

Through one emblematic Bulgarian example, the House-monument of Buzludzha, we would like to show what makes the process of development of a heritage awareness towards the legacy of the recent past through art possible. It allows also to reveal the hybridisation of post-socialist's narratives: the historical and ideological discourse inscribed in the monument is progressively replaced by the fascination of a contemporary ruin telling multiple stories. The artistic appropriations of the heritage site attenuate its inherent dissonant qualities and transform Buzludzha into an aesthetic form that could be used in a multitude of discourses.

The values of heritage dissonance and artistic quality

Inaugurated in 1981 on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the creation of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party, the House-monument of Buzludzha celebrates the history of the socialist idea in Bulgaria, as well as its most representative figures. Situated in a mountain area marked by national historical events, the monument was imagined as a part of an ensemble that could link different epochs in order to insist on a historical and ideological continuity.

The artistic qualities of the monument are undeniable. The architectural form, work of Georgi Stoilov, is impressive and by its dimensions and play on proportions resembles a religious site (Minard 2018). It was conceived to allow large celebration gatherings, but also as a way to mark permanently the landscape - the monumental 70-meters high pylon carries 12-meters red stars that, lit, were supposed to be visible from afar. On the path leading to Buzludzha, monumental sculptural compositions created by renowned artists greet the visitors. The interior of the building consists of two main mosaic circles. The inner circle, inside the ceremonial hall, tells the story of the Bulgarian social-democracy and its evolution to the Bulgarian communist party. The mosaics are mainly the work of two major artists - Hristo Stefanov and Yoan Leviev, both of whom admit having been inspired by the Polyforum Cultural Siqueiros for its total plastic experience (Puls 1990). The outer ring also consists of mosaics, created by thirteen more artists, who depict scenes of Bulgaria's socialist history. In this way, a sort of panorama is created, between the representational narrative and the view of the landscape through the monumental windows.

While the House-monument of Buzludzha is a very particular example of late-socialist ideological art, it cannot be reduced only to its aesthetic value. Its commemorative mission and ideological program are deeply integrated in its essence. This is the reason why, after the political changes of November 1989, it suffered strong ideological contestation. In 1990, the mosaic face of Todor Jivkov, General

Secretary and head of state until 1989, was removed from Buzludzha's wall by the decision of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, which tried to disentangle itself from its past. The monument was then quickly abandoned and it remained at the mercy of looters and the elements. This is how it progressively transformed into a contemporary ruin. Periodically through the 1990s-2000s the question for its destiny was risen, but because of the strong memory conflict still ongoing in Bulgarian society, a final decision was never taken.



Fig. 1: Credit : Sam Hermans, Buzludzha Monument, 2017 / https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Buzludzha_Monument.jpg

The Buzludzha monument is without a doubt a perfect example for dissonant heritage (Tunbridge, Ashworth 1996). It is in fact a very particular monument in the Bulgarian context. Its conception, construction and function are imagined as an important ideological tool to use as affirmation of Bulgarian socialism, and its artistic program only depicts events related directly to Bulgarian socialist history. This is doubly important because of the implantation of the monument on a historical mountain top. In this sense, all the dissonance Buzludzha carries is very particular to the national context and is unique in larger Central and Eastern European practice. It is easily the most imposing and important highly ideological monument to be erected in the 1980s. It carries the memory of the communist regime, its aesthetics and its grandeur, all of which constitute Buzludzha's value. Today, the building is peripheral, but important, in the Bulgarian Socialist Party's yearly nation-wide gatherings who continue to politically charge the space. At the same time, the carriers of the traumatic memory of socialism contest every project for the monument's rehabilitation, as they see it as legitimising an ideology that has been officially rejected¹. These contradictory opinions and conflictual atmosphere make it extremely difficult to adopt a coherent policy towards the monument. Institutions have tried for decades to deny their responsibility for its upkeep and for years a procedure for its listing has been ongoing without a final result yet.

Artistic appropriation of dissonant heritage

The post-socialist ideological and societal transitions have opened the discussion on the way heritage from socialism could be adapted to new realities. Combining institutional abandonment and artistic initiative, the Bulgarian public space becomes a rich field of study of hybridisation. The important role played by the social and aesthetic appropriation of monuments leads to a heritagisation process. And Buzludzha is an exemplary case.

As a result of its degraded state, the monument remained isolated on the mountain top in the Balkans.

¹ A law from April 26, 2000 declares the Bulgarian communist regime criminal.

This picturesque scenery, as well as the curious aesthetics of the site started to attract adventurous urban explorers, as well as artists. They took inspiration from the architectural form, from the falling mosaics, from the pierced ceiling, and created images of out worldly dereliction, of a ruin of a lost civilisation.

Photographers have been attracted in numbers to the Buzludzha monument since the end of the 2000s. One artistic project marked permanently the story of the site - Nikola Mihov's *Forget Your Past* series from 2009-2012. Among the first artistic interpretations of the monument, the title comes from a graffiti written above the main Buzludzha entrance, captured forever in an emblematic photograph. The project consisted in photographing socialist monuments' current degraded state and researching their history from their conception until today. The image and the title have become a manifest concerning socialism's monumental heritage and Mihov's work has in itself marked the story of the monument, as well as the debate concerning its destiny.

As this and more photographic images of Buzludzha circulated, the monument transformed - it was no longer a specific material legacy of an East European communist regime, but an aesthetic marvel that had a story to tell of its own. Among the first international artistic photographs of the site to gain popularity were those of the ceremonial hall completely frozen in winter (Timothy Allen, Vincent J. Stoker, Thomas Jorion). In them, the building appears mystical, and the only indicator that it could be part of reality is the very visible centre of the ceiling, depicting a hammer and sickle. Buzludzha is not necessarily explicitly named in the titles, the prevailing interest is in the haunting aspect of an unknown past. This is also why in 2014 photographer Rebecca Litchfield would name her artist's book 'Soviet Ghosts'. On the cover, an image of the monumental hall covered in snow. The power of these reproductions is great, and Buzludzha transforms from a particular national difficult heritage (Macdonald 2008) into an universal mystical site. As a result, through the continuous artistic appropriation, the history and ideological significance of the monument were no longer necessary to name, as the image itself started living its own life.

In March 2019, Brussels' Opera *La Monnaie* presented a new production - Mark Grey's *Frankenstein*. The story, well known, is that of a hybrid creature, half man and half monster, equally terrifying and fascinating, a product of an experiment gone wrong. For this creation, two hundred years after the first publication of the novel by Mary Shelley, the company *La Fura dels baus*, with set designer Alfons Flores, has chosen a *décor* that would reflect the spirit of the work - the House-monument of Buzludzha. This is a perfect example of the new life the image of the monument has after a number of artistic appropriations. In an interview with Alfons Flores, he shared the story of his discovery of the site and the reason why he decided to adopt it for his design.² The previous artistic appropriations of the image proved to be essential, as Flores' first encounter with Buzludzha was through Thomas Jorion's book *Silencio*, which depicts the frozen ceremonial hall on its cover. The monument's architecture, as well as the presence of snow, corresponded perfectly with what the set designer had in mind for the *Frankenstein* production. The inspiration was purely visual, the further interest in the monument had for objective to have a better idea of the site in order to recreate it. After the first artistic provocation, Flores was attracted by Nikola Mihov's photograph with the inscription 'Forget Your Past'. This second element, more contextual, allowed the artist to look for connections between the stories, the story of Dr. Frankenstein's creature and the story of socialist heritage. So, without ever going to the monument itself, the set designer took a position by adapting and recreating the interior hall in order to tell the story of a creature, which does not want to relive its past, but that can make this choice because it has not forgotten it. On the top of the set, monumental letters in Cyrillic write the name of the monument. While this did not play a part of the show and the letters never really attracted special attention from the side of the public, the author says that they were important to him as a provocation, "a wink", to the spectator, an invitation to question what they see.

The circulation of Buzludzha's image has a double effect. Firstly, it allows an unlisted national heritage site to gain in popularity, visibility and acceptance. It becomes a tourist destination and this international interest leads inevitably, if slowly, to public and institutional realisation of its importance. On the other side, it transforms the initial monument's significance, and it becomes a curious visual provocation, an aesthetic experience that inspires artistic production. This second phenomenon is of importance, as through the artworks Buzludzha becomes not only better known but also different, its initial artistic qualities are appropriated and transformed. The value of authenticity of the site, as well as the mystic experience it provides, all come forward to allow it to become for a moment a personal discovery, to add an element of revelation that, although exoticised and orientalist, goes to reveal an intimate visual and emotional experience. The House-monument of Buzludzha is thus hybridised, it multiplies its meanings and messages, its roles and provocations.

² Interview of the author with Alfons Flores, May 27, 2020.

Creation and life of a hybrid narrative

The result of the artistic appropriation of the Buzludzha monument is its popularisation and acceptance above all national heritage dissonances. The site is adopted as part of the global culture. The fact that no official discourse exists of the monument, and no concrete policy had been adopted from the part of Bulgarian institutions throughout the years, only confirm the feeling of belonging to those who found it and who appreciate it. The life of the image is unique and vivid, and allows individual stories to develop on site. (Schepers 2015) A multitude of narratives now populate the monument, and they play a very important part at the same time in its transformation from national to international cultural site, but also in influencing heritage policies concerning it.

The national, historical-memorial (even if unofficial) narrative, is built by the stories of people who remember its construction, who may have participated in it³, and who have a living memory of the ideological significance that Buzludzha had. In this context, two opposing positions are expressed: the traumatic and the nostalgic ones. The first one is held by the strong opposition to the communist regime, by people who have suffered because of its repressive practices and/or that have always been ideologically opposed to it. Their attitudes towards monuments from the socialist past are iconoclastic, they refuse the heritage value of these sites and wish to proceed to the symbolic liberation of public space. The second group, carriers of nostalgic feelings towards the recent past, try to preserve its material legacy, as a way to reaffirm their experiences and their beliefs. They are the ones who would fight for the restoration of the Buzludzha monument to its original state, refusing the period after 1989 marked by vandalism and neglect.

To these two positions can be added another one, important for the newer national narrative concerning the site. It is the transformative discourse who is best expressed in the multiple architectural projects for its rehabilitation. They strive to find a new function for the building, coming from the belief that the best way for the socialisation of a heritage site is through its authorized practice. The ideas cover a very large spectrum, from the transformation of the monument into a museum to its commercial use as a hotel. The objective is always to preserve part of the potential of the building, all the while neutralising its ideological message and conserving its architectural and artistic qualities who are seen as its main values.

These three main positions, part of a more general historical national narrative, constitute the reasons for the monuments dissonance. Buzludzha is a site that carries multiple memories that can find correspondence to the bigger memorial conflict concerning socialism in Bulgarian society.

The new actors in the narrative construction are the urban explorers and the artists. Through the last two decades, they have appropriated the site because of the different experiences - adventurous, spiritual and aesthetic - it proposes, and have done so at the same time because and in spite of its dissonant qualities. We can interrogate their positive and negative effects on the heritage process. From one side, they have led to a more global recognition of the aesthetic value and potential of the monument, manifested since 2018 by the implication of several international institutions in its conservation.⁴ From the other, this resulted in a partial neutralization of the ideological charge of the monument, thus removing an important aspect of its memorial importance.

Conclusion

The numerous⁵ artistic appropriations of the House-monument of Buzludzha have led to the development of a particular heritage awareness. The site is perceived as important because of its aesthetics, its artistic and inspirational qualities. The historical and ideological significance are temporarily put aside in the discussions, because of the bigger value that constitute Buzludzha's architecture and art, and the urgency of their preservation. This leads to today's particular situation: the monument is being conserved in its current state of a contemporary ruin, in order to be respectful to its life during socialism and post-socialism.⁶ The dissonant qualities of the site are taken into account and are being perceived as an added value worth protecting.⁷ But in fact, how could the monument's primary dissonance be kept, when through the hybridisation of narratives it has transformed, and is no longer simply a national carrier of traumatic and nostalgic memories, of ideological and generational conflict, but is in fact also

³ As volunteers, or financially - the construction of the House-monument of Buzludzha had double financing: from the state budget and by popular, obligatory, participation, through the purchase of specially created stamps.

⁴ Europa Nostra, The Getty Foundation, ICOMOS Germany, ICOMOS Bulgaria, and more.

⁵ More than 35 could be counted for the moment.

⁶ See Buzludzha Project.

⁷ Aneta Vassileva, Emilia Kaleva, "Buzludzha and Bulgaria - Contextualizing Bulgaria's Contested Concrete Clickbait", talk in the framework of the seminar *RESOZIALISIERUNG. Zum Erbe einer sozialistischen Moderne*, TU Munich, January 26, 2021.

and mainly an international cultural and aestheticised object?

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Influences and hybridizations in the conservation of the Via Latina between representation and innovation

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Abstract

The objective of this investigation is to understand the complex relationships that link the emergencies of the Via Latina with the surrounding landscape and constitute an emblematic case to comprehend the concept of “*hybridization*” that the cultural heritage sector is currently experiencing: can the synergy between the different disciplines related to digital documentation and conservation of the built heritage, as well as the cultural landscape, form the basis for grasping and promoting this “*unicum*”, intended as unrepeatable human work, (Croce, 1913) within the *Ager Romanus*? How to combine new concepts, new disciplines and different influences for innovative conservation in a contemporary perspective? The research aims to answer these questions by redefining the “*patrimonial question*” in a “*hybrid way*”, in compliance with the principle of protection and conservation of the cultural heritage of the *Ager Romanus*/Via Latina, which must be reconciled with preventive protection, tools for the documentation, monitoring and management of risks in view of the doctrines used in the field of new technological applications. This analysis, in fact, proposes to develop the knowledge of the ancient Tombs through digital models of a selection of funerary architectures (Tombs) belonging both to the archaeological area of the “*Parco delle Tombe della Via Latina*” in Rome and to the Caffarella Park.

Material witness and hybridized heritage: the use of modern survey technologies - Discussion

The Via Latina has long been relegated to the role of an “*en plein air*” museum, a microcosm in constant but difficult dialogue with the surrounding territories which enclose and, very often, interrupt the continuity of the road itself, introducing productive and settlement activities reality of questionable aesthetic value, produced by an occasional or even absent design ability. However, the visit of the Via Latina still produces to visitors a sense of aesthetic and perceptive estrangement of great strength - compared to the complex and congested urban disorder that surrounds it - and therefore to its characteristics as a “*hybrid*” place (museum, archaeological site, park natural) that must be carefully understood to convert them into a possible prototype and strategy applicable to other similar realities. Its careful digital documentation is therefore a priority and consequently the development of an accurate three-dimensional documentation method capable of capturing its original morphological and orientation characteristics, as well as the green areas and archaeological remains that constitute its apparently most significant value becomes fundamental.

The problem of transposing in digital form the characteristics of the territory, the urban sediments and the details of archaeological relevance is not simple (Benedetti et al, 2010). Previous studies aimed at the creation of innovative acquisition and representation systems have only superficially deepened the theme of hybridization representation, remaining, to date, on a more theoretical than practical level, and in any case without ever reaching the capacity for synthesis that we find still today in the restitution of the “*pensionnaires*” of the *École des Beaux-Arts* who tried, among other things, also a representative approach with the *Ager Romanus* (Cassanelli et al. 1998). This analysis therefore tries to start from here: from a recovery of those restorative capacities that once synthesized the historical, topographical, morphological and chromatic knowledge of an environment and the surrounding area such as the Via Latina and its original qualities. The study therefore starts from the technological examination to understand the effects on the interpretation of a “*set*” bearer of hybrid values, to test the limits of the graphic production codes (2D and 3D) in the reproduction of entire portions of the territory that allow them to be total analysis in digital environments.

What is the relationship of representation with the hybrid character (*physical vs. digital*) generated on a complex ensemble made up of the innumerable stratifications due to repeated and different cultures

of the project and the intervention? The classic definition of restoration and conservation, as well as the practical approach based on the authenticity of materials, have transformed and dominated the discipline in Europe since the mid-20th century. In this broad legislative panorama, far from the inclusive and “circular” concept of conservation in the East, it should not be forgotten that restoration has always been, by its intrinsic vocation, the product of hybridizations starting from the disciplinary contribution that intertwines with history of art and painting to chemistry, physics, computer science and digital sciences, anthropology and historiography (Napoleone, 2017), combining the scientific image with the undoubtedly humanistic-philosophical one, typical of the subject itself. In fact, in addition to its “educational” and multidisciplinary aspect, today we must also consider the interaction of the discipline with local contexts and with current trends which, influencing each other, change and modify themselves.

All the phenomena studied so far clearly show that the Via Latina, as well as the Appian Way, has the will to undergo the process of cultural rebirth, always in the light of its conservation and transmission to the future (Brandi, 1978) as part of a universal cultural heritage which should be shared with the whole community and in which it is reflected (Riegl, 1990). However, one might wonder how to manage such a complex and controversial heritage in a contemporary way, to bring its value and meaning closer, to watch over its evocation and, at the same time, not trivialize it, distort it or consume it uncritically as a consequence of the attempt to spread and meet the diverse needs of its users.

Surely the binomial Monuments of the Via Latina/Landscape of the *Ager Romanus* requires a scientific reworking, a great use of new technologies of relief/graphic rendering and a new legislative redefinition; failure to use these actions would undoubtedly generate controversies of a political and economic nature. In light of these considerations, the important patrimony of the Via Latina would therefore impose a series of multiple actions both in the configuration of scientific and cultural eligibility and in the repercussions on the identity and policies of society (Beghain, 1998). Particular attention, therefore, must be paid to this public heritage whose interpretation can undoubtedly arouse “almost patriotic” emotions and inevitable clashes with the positions taken by Public Administrations.

Secondly, the historical complex of the Via Latina can be considered a “transit area” as a communication system that constantly dialogues with the landscape and the existing urban fabric, an aspect of absolute importance. A crucial role of this study is played by the integration of current survey technologies in combination with the interdisciplinary exchange of information with the managers of the archaeological site. The site in question - belonging to the “Parco Archeologico dell’Appia Antica” (MIBACT) - houses one of the most important funerary complexes which currently presents an intact vision of the traditional characteristics of the ancient Roman landscape. In addition to this, the complex preserves, along the cobbled road between the 3rd and 4th mile, the remains of the Via Latina that once connected the city of Rome with Capua (Rea, 1999; Montella, 2005; Cugno, 2020). Currently, in a stretch of about 450 meters, there are numerous tombs of various types, built between the Republican age and the early Middle Ages. The synergy deriving from the relationship between these converging landscape/ architectural/ archaeological components can be defined as “*a synthesis of the visual element that insists on the space included in a single turn of the horizon*” (Biasutti, 1962). The challenge therefore consists in documenting and “representing” this specific case: the landscape of the ancient Via Latina, with its complex reality of interrelation between the tombs, the archaeological areas (the so-called “*mansio*”; the early Christian basilica of S. Stefano Protomartire), the biotic elements, the historic center and the suburban urban network made up of old streets that must coexist with the continuous expansion of contemporary ones. This multifaceted system of the *Ager Romanus* and the cultural site of the Via Latina/Via Appia Antica is therefore comparable to a living and dynamic structure and as such must be analyzed, also in the light of the material testimonies that the historicized and hybridized heritage offers to visitors.

The key aspects to be addressed are those of digitization and documentation of Cultural Heritage. In fact, historical sites and monuments cannot be maintained only by using them passively, but by activating all the protection and conservation operations through direct and indirect interventions such as the use of the most advanced techniques of architectural survey (laser scanner and photogrammetry) and the detailed study of the their state of conservation. Therefore, careful digital documentation becomes a priority and the main objective is to develop an accurate three-dimensional documentation method capable of recording the current state and facilitating the original morphological aspect of this ensemble, as well as the planimetric organization and the remains that constitute the apparently most significant value.

The problem of transposing the characteristics of the territory, urban sediments and details of archaeological relevance in digital form is not simple (Benedetti et al., 2010); previous studies aimed at creating innovative acquisition systems have in fact deepened the theme of the representation of Cultural Heritage, developing a high level of both theoretical and practical knowledge. This analysis

therefore starts from this point: from a recovery of those representation skills that once summarized the historical, topographical, morphological and chromatic knowledge of an environment and a historicized territory such as the Via Latina and the Appia Antica and its qualities originating.

Another important aspect, parallel to the management of a hybridized archaeological site, is the study of the identity value that it holds: this Cultural Heritage is in fact what distinguishes and characterizes every single country (in this case Italy), in which it is reflected and recognizes the whole community (Riegl, 1990). It is the concrete task of local and non-local communities to protect their historical, artistic, archaeological and landscape heritage, as well as to promote the widest possible dissemination of its history and knowledge; it is also a common duty to make every effort to accustom citizens to frequent the “*Places witnesses of Culture*”, in order to achieve civil and social growth. The Tombs of the “*Parco Archeologico della Via Latina*” (Rea, 1999; Montella, 2005; Cugno, 2020) are inserted in a landscape, cultural and urban context of great importance, the result of complex interactions between man and the natural environment (*Ager Romanus*), through which local communities represent themselves autonomously.

Specifically, the Cultural Landscape of the Roman Campagna and the Via Latina must be studied starting from the value offered by their territorial structure and from the analysis of the transformation of the urban context that surrounds them, so as not to neglect a double aspect: environmental on from one side and historical/archaeological on the other. Essential, in such a delicate balance of elements, becomes the contribution of innovative methodologies for the dissemination and use of knowledge of Cultural Heritage, such as the use of advanced digital tools (metric data acquisition), information technologies and modern transmission channels information for correct communication and enhancement of the Digital Cultural Heritage (through the *Geographic Information System - GIS*, also combined with Virtual Reality and Augmented Reality technologies). The first considerations therefore start from the technological examination to understand the effects on the interpretation of a “set” bearer of hybrid values (intended as a hybrid technology), testing the limits of graphic production codes (2D and 3D) in the reproduction of entire portions of territory that allow analysis in digital environments. The Roman Campagna, in its general and most common meaning, does not correspond only to the *Ager Romanus* nor to the Lazio Region, as it extends into the territories historically belonged to the Etruscans. Its name does not derive from that of ancient Campania, which corresponds to the region of the “*Terra di Lavoro*”, but, as Tomassetti & Tomassetti (1910) remind us, from the rural state of this vast portion of the territory surrounding Rome.

Historically, the *Suburbium* included a peripheral belt characterized by the presence of vines and gardens, beyond which the estates and farms of the *Ager Romanus* developed: a marshy and unhealthy landscape, which remained, for a long time, very difficult to frame due to its extension and complexity. In addition to the geographical aspects of the *Ager Romanus*, the history and infrastructural development of the two ancient and main roads: Via Latina and Via Appia Antica are of fundamental importance. In particular, the Via Latina was one of the oldest among the great suburban roads, thanks to which the Romans were able to exercise their political, military and commercial activity. Remembered by Strabone and Tito Livio as a connection used between Rome and *Casilinum* during the early republican age, it was traveled by Annibale in the Punic wars between Rome and Carthage. The Via Appia Antica intersects with the previous one in the road development, presenting similar construction characteristics, but differs both in history and in the place of arrival (the city of Brindisi).

The first documentation campaign was carried out in August 2020 on the imperial age tombs of the Via Latina (specifically Calpurni and Valeri) and on the Cenotaph of Annia Regilla (located in the Caffarella Park, between the 2nd and 3rd mile of the Via Appia Antica), of which the digital restitution is reported (Fig.1). The planned activities also consist of further steps, in addition to the first documentation activity carried out using a Terrestrial Laser Scanner (*Faro Focus X 130*, measuring range between 0.6 [m] and 130 [m], 3D point accuracy of ± 2 [mm] at 10 [m]). The second cognitive phase involves a photogrammetric survey campaign for mapping the facades, as well as the interiors of the buildings to be created with SLR cameras and a campaign with UAV for documenting the roofs). The process used for the construction of three-dimensional models that help to understand the social and historical role that these architectures have played in the past consist in the alignment of the map in *Leica Cyclone 9*, construction of high definition 3D models through mesh in *3D System Geomagic*, construction of the photogrammetric model and referencing with TLS data, integration and optimization of the network (quad-dominant re-meshing, parameterization, baking), texturing by reprojection of frames on a parameterized mesh. In this way a three-dimensional model is obtained which could then be used in the most flexible ways in the field of representation in a digital environment. The high definition models (Master models, high-poly models) in fact facilitate the achievement of a better complete knowledge of the site and of the specific design characteristics (2D and 3D) of the buildings by means of reverse modeling techniques.

The purpose of this phase is to obtain 2D-3D output such as the generation of orthographic images, sections, profiles, contour lines and finally the export via interactive visualization (such as *3dhop*). The extraction of reliable vector drawings should facilitate dialogue with other professionals working on the site (archaeologists, restorers, etc.). In the context of a complex reality that characterizes the survey of Cultural Heritage, the support of current analysis software in a digital environment is often considered a powerful tool available to operators because it allows versatility and interconnections with numerous information obtainable from the architectures. The purpose of these procedures is twofold: first, to discuss and characterize different approaches for managing information on geometric models; secondly, to present in detail a historical analysis evaluated in the context of the Cultural Heritage of the “*Parco Archeologico delle Tombe della Via Latina*”.



Figure 1: *Annia Regilla's Cenotaph: front rendering*

Conclusions

Currently the Digital Cultural Heritage is increasingly influencing and hybridizing the field of Cultural Heritage and the research/return of data concerning Architectural Heritage is undergoing a rapid transformation; furthermore, the use of three-dimensional models, essential for restoration professionals and for public administration bodies, allows the quick and multiple collection of metric information, the easy sharing of contents among users and their immediate reading. Thanks to the potential offered, technological innovation in the field of the detection of Cultural Heritage can lead to their intelligent management and use, with the aim of transforming them into Smart Cultural Objects and precisely “hybrid”. This workflow could become a means to quickly and efficiently combine and share knowledge between public and private users, thus becoming an integrated method of analysis, interpretation, detection and archiving at the service of the protection, management and enhancement of historical heritage. artistic and archaeological (obtaining digitally advanced data that actively participate in the restitution - but also in the conservation - of the Tombs of the Via Latina/Via Appia Antica, Parco della Caffarella).

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Inhabiting Hybridity: Three Performative Actions in Museums by Andrea Fraser, Matthew Barney and Jan Fabre¹

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In the central moment of *Little Frank and His Carp*², the spectator sees Andrea Fraser rubbing herself against one of the large vertical pillars present at the entrance of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, and at the same time rubbing against her neck the audio guide she was diligently listening to, and of which the viewer can hear the indications as the soundtrack of the video he is watching. The promiscuous duality, the fleeting degrees of separation that exist between the artist's body and the objects, the devices that she tries, in a way, to incorporate are nothing but the most macroscopic, and more properly haptic, indicators of that dimension of the mixture that belongs as much to art as to hybridity. In fact, as Tiphaine Samoyault says,

it must be acknowledged... that mixture is a property of art as it is of hybridity. A property that operates both at the level of representation (displacement from reality, from naturalness, from the habitual visible) and at the level of the operation that leads representation (use of heterogeneous, diversified materials, multiplication of meaning)³.

It will then be precisely this common sphere of taking reality by surprise, of multiplying meaning, of resorting to heterogeneous enunciation strategies that we will analyze here, starting from the parallel study of three different works: *Little Frank and His Carp* by Andrea Fraser [fig. 1], *The Order* by Matthew Barney⁴ [fig.2], and *Art Kept Me Out of Jail* by Jan Fabre⁵ [fig. 3]. The shared museum setting of these three works will be the common thread that will allow us to discuss them within specific horizons of meaning. Actually, on the one hand, we argue that it may have been this very museum setting that generated a specific creative disposition in Fraser, Barney and Fabre from which, among other things, the mixed and polymorphic nature of the works in question may derive. On the other hand, it seems to us that, through the lens of the works we are about to comment on, it will also be possible to draw perhaps not useless indications on the current condition of the museum institution. The museum will appear here precisely as that place capable of welcoming the various and different traces of the artistic process, but also of exposing some of the deep personal and cultural tensions brought to the surface by the works; it will appear as the place of a dynamic equilibrium, and as a space of possibility on which and with which the artists act: in a complicity not at all devoid of consequences at the moment of considering, in fact, the heritage and the same present reality of the museum institution.

To begin with, then, let us immediately introduce the three works, underlining in particular how these are all characterized by a peculiar, constitutive multiplicity. *The Order* is a 31 minutes section of Matthew Barney's *Cremaster 3* film, set at the Guggenheim Museum in New York and released on a dedicated and stand-alone DVD. From the very first shots, also through the use of shining superimposed writings, the film is however characterized as a sort of dreamy (video) game whose developments the viewer is invited to watch without any prior introduction: "the game at the Guggenheim... seem[s] as much like a

¹ I would like to thank Francesco Spampinato and Vanja Baltic for directing me towards the works I will be discussing in this article.

² Andrea Fraser, *Little Frank and His Carp*, 2001, Video, 6', Tate Modern, London. In the video of the performance, carried out and filmed without the authorization of the museum, Andrea Fraser visits the entrance hall of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao following the instructions provided by the museum's official audio guide.

³ Tiphaine Samoyault, 'L'Art et l'hétérogène', in *L'Art et l'Hybride*, Noëlle Batt, Sandro Bernardini, Béatrice Bloch *et al.* (Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2001), 176.

⁴ Matthew Barney, *The Order*, DVD, 31', Palm Pictures, 2003. An extract from episode number three (out of five) of the *Cremaster cycle*, it is the only part of the five films to have been distributed on DVD outside the traditional circuits linked to artworks (galleries, museums, collectors...). Matthew Barney embodies the character of the Entered Apprentice, with the task of completing a series of challenges inside the Guggenheim Museum in New York. The latter has no audience or works on display and is provided with a special set design.

⁵ Jan Fabre, *Art Kept Me Out of Jail! (Homage to Jacques Mesrine)*, DVD, 51', Dilecta, 2010. Video version of a four-hour performance held in 2008 in the Galerie Daru of the Louvre Museum and open to the public. Jan Fabre impersonates the criminal Jacques Mesrine, replicating his disguises and staging different aspects of his personality. One can hear him say, for example: "I will get out of this prison, the best prison in France!"



[fig. 1] *The Order* by Matthew Barney

dream sequence as like the broadcast of a live event”⁶. Thus, at the beginning, through a rotating platform pushed by four showgirls on the ground floor of the museum, we are alternatively presented with the different participants of the game, who will each occupy one of the five levels of the museum rotunda: a group of tip tap dancers dressed as lambs; the hardcore punk bands Agnostic Front and Murphy’s Law; the model and Paralympic athlete Aimee Mullins; a large plastic bagpipe; and the sculptor Richard Serra. Finally, it is the character of the Entered Apprentice, the protagonist of the film played by Barney himself, who is introduced to us. At the end of this sequence of presentations, the Entered Apprentice launches himself into “a barbaric performance”, which “consists in climbing vertically the balconies”⁷ of the museum. In each of the balconies the protagonist, confronting directly with the characters who occupy them, will also have to solve a specific challenge. Thus, *The Order* assumes, even before the viewer can get his head round it, the features of “a kaleidoscopic discourse, which assembles visual arts and athletic performance, theater and dance, music, video, cinema”⁸ and in which “the lyrical circular space of Wright’s rotunda becom[es] at once stadium, theater, broadcast studio, and museum of memorabilia”⁹.

Achille Bonito Oliva speaks instead of a “theater and wax museum”¹⁰ while referring to the Louvre in the performance by Jan Fabre, in which the Belgian artist plays Jacques Mesrine, a famous French criminal known not only for his crimes, but also for his imaginative escapes and disguises. Here, everything develops around the figure, the body of Fabre/Mesrine, the central node from which heterogeneous languages and media are made co-responsible for the advancement of the performance itself. First of all, in fact, the artist is followed for the entire duration of his action by a large television-film crew, which has the task of recording his actions to broadcast them live on some screens outside the Louvre¹¹. The transmission of Fabre/Mesrine’s actions outside the Louvre is also accompanied by a special soundtrack – also integrated in the soundtrack of the DVD version of the work – consisting of several audio repertory extracts relating to Mesrine and his crimes, his escapes and his death. Through the exploitation of this complex “media machine”¹², the action conducted by the artist assumes a second nature, taking place both live, inside the Louvre, and in video, through its transmission on the screens of the Cour Napoléon.

As for the other languages and media that contribute to giving shape to the action, the continuous intervention of various photographers, committed to documenting Mesrine’s performance and deeds, as

⁶ Nancy Spector, ‘Only the Perverse Fantasy Can Still Save Us’, in *Matthew Barney: The Cremaster Cycle*, ed. Nancy Spector (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 2003), 2–91, 53–54.

⁷ Renato Barilli, *Prima e dopo il 2000: la ricerca artistica 1970–2005*, (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2006), 165.

⁸ Nicola Dusi, ‘Lo spettatore incompetente e la flagranza della performance: *Cremaster 3* di Matthew Barney, tra cinema e videoarte’, *E/C. Rivista online dell’A.I.S.S., Associazione Italiana di Studi Semiotici*, no. 2 (2008): 1–16, 12.

⁹ Spector, ‘Only the Perverse Fantasy Can Still Save Us’, 55.

¹⁰ Achille Bonito Oliva, ‘Assassin, Hope of Art and Woman’, in *Art Kept Me out of Jail! (Homage to Jacques Mesrine)* (Paris: Dilecta, 2010), 41–45, 45. According to Germano Celant, Fabre would force the viewer, and the scholar, to an “in-depth analysis that continually questions the relationship between art and theater, object and subject” (Germano Celant, ed., *Stigmata: Actions & Performances, 1976–2013: Jan Fabre* (Milano: Skira, 2014), 6).

¹¹ “The lenses of the video cameras are the connecting device by means of which Fabre/Mesrine duplicates himself in this space, with a second body relayed by the media, linked to the physical one through the umbilical cord of the cameras”. In the Cour Napoléon, “the screens show what is going on inside. The middle one shows an overall view, and on each side, like two decorative pieces, the close-ups filmed by two teams that spend all evening trying to follow and film Fabre”, Bart De Baere, ‘I’m Free but I Will Escape: On a Performance by Jan Fabre at the Louvre’, in *Art Kept Me out of Jail! (Homage to Jacques Mesrine)* (Paris: Dilecta, 2010), 9–26, 19.

¹² De Baere, 19.



[fig.2] *Art Kept Me Out of Jail* by Jan Fabre

well as that of some journalists who ask insistent questions to the artist/outlaw must be recorded¹³. On a more intimate level, moreover, Fabre brings two other resources into play. On the one hand, through the use of two large torches, he mantels his action with a ubiquitous theatrical dimension: he suddenly lights up a corner of the museum, floods a statue with light, creates a stage from nowhere¹⁴. On the other hand, Fabre plays on an even more subtle integration of languages, inserting within the imaginal fabric of his work, placed on the pedestals of the statues, some photos and postcards: thus, he fixes for himself and the viewer the interior landscape, and the imaginary background, of his own actions¹⁵.

Andrea Fraser's performative action cannot, and probably does not want to, compete with the protean mass of languages, disciplines and media devices deployed in the works of Barney and Fabre. In her, the mixture, the competition of different media and disciplines is played on a more internal level, and for this reason perhaps a more decisive one. As for the media components, if *The Order* is configured as a video game, and *Art Kept Me Out of Jail* takes on the features of a live coverage, *Little Frank and His Carp* instead becomes a guided tour. Here, the voice of the audio guide that the artist listens to is in fact transmitted in its continuity, and in voice over, as the soundtrack of the video of the performance. While the artist follows the tour suggested and imposed by the audio guide she is listening to¹⁶, the audio guide itself then becomes the true subject and the true protagonist of the work, blending with it, while the image of the artist wandering around in the atrium of the museum does nothing but decline its content, giving it shape and materializing it in space¹⁷.

On the other hand, with regard to the multiplicity of languages and disciplines exhibited that we are identifying as a common feature of the three works in question, it is necessary to observe how in Fraser's case this multiplicity becomes truly internal, acting as the root cause of the performative action itself. The practice of the American artist appears in fact as a moment of expression of a series of conjectural hypotheses that arise directly from her association with different schools and reference points: from the Pictures generation artists to those of Institutional critique, from Stanislavski to Brecht, from Freud to Lacan, from Kristeva to Mulvey, to Bourdieu¹⁸. The performative action, or rather the enactment¹⁹,

¹³"This was organized on purpose as an essential part of the performance. The media, the newspapers, radio and television, could interview me during the performance" Jan Fabre, quoted in Celant, *Stigmata*, 627.

¹⁴"Fabre builds machines to capture attention and then abandons them. Time after time, he constructs a scene, an event, with its characteristics and its actors, with its stage and its relationship to the audience", De Baere, 'I'm Free but I Will Escape: On a Performance by Jan Fabre at the Louvre', 15.

¹⁵"It is the iconography of a prison wall, or photos around the edge of a bathroom mirror... The postcards are standing there like ex-votos on an altar, or offerings, or perhaps simply graffiti", De Baere, 13.

¹⁶"A program of movement is in fact laid out for us", says Andrea Fraser in 'Isn't This a Wonderful Place? (A Tour of a Tour of the Guggenheim Bilbao)', in *Museum Highlights: The Collected Writings of Andrea Fraser*, ed. Alexander Alberro (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), 233–60, 239.

¹⁷"I came to performance as an artist vis-à-vis appropriation. I went from appropriating images and texts to appropriating museological forms and formats, like exhibition brochures, and wall texts and so on, to the idea of appropriating positions and functions", Andrea Fraser, quoted in Judith Batalion, 'Towards a "Depth Sociology" School of Acting: An Interview with Andrea Fraser', *Contemporary Theatre Review* 20, no. 3 (August 2010): 329–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10486801.2010.488837>, 332.

¹⁸See, for example, Hiuwai Chu, 'Conversation with Andrea Fraser', in *Andrea Fraser: L'1%, c'est moi*, ed. Ekaterina Alvarez Romero (Barcelona y Ciudad de Mexico: MACBA Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona; MUAC Museo Universitario Arte Contemporáneo (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), 2016), 40–49, 42–43.

¹⁹"My perspective today is that all art can and should be engaged as performance or enactment (a psychoanalytic term that I prefer) – which for me also means experientially", Andrea Fraser, in 'Andrea Fraser in Conversation with Sabine Breitwieser', in *Andrea Fraser*, ed. Sabine Breitwieser (Salzburg; Ostfildern: Museum der Moderne ; Hatje Cantz, 2015), 11–21, 17.



[fig. 3] *Little Frank and His Carp* by Andrea Fraser

therefore brings here within itself, in its very ratio, the trace and the sign of this multifaceted genesis.

We have so far briefly illustrated some of the media stratifications and the multiple forms of expression used by Barney, Fabre and Fraser. It would also be possible to elaborate further on some other elements of instability implemented in their works, in particular in relation to their once again expansive existence also in terms of media consistency: indeed, *The Order* translates itself seamlessly into photographs, sculptures, books, installations etc²⁰; *Art Kept Me Out of Jail* generates in turn drawings and photographs²¹; *Little Frank and His Carp* is part of a broader discursive practice that gives life not only to works of art but also to articles, essays, publications.

However, what we would like to analyze here concerns a more specific dimension that is called into question in all these works. As it has perhaps already been noticed, all of these works put into play a challenge, a task: Barney has to win the (video) game, overcoming all the levels he confronts; Fabre must manage not to be captured, and escape the Louvre; Fraser has the task of embodying, and somehow complete, the path indicated by the audio guide. What is at issue here is in all cases a passage, a shift from one place, from one situation to another. In this sense, the composite, irregular and multiple structure of the works we have just described does nothing but reflect a more general situation of transience, dispersion and uncertainty to which these works inevitably confront us. The moment of transition, and the metamorphic process that comes to life with it, is what we will investigate in this second part of the paper.

In its complexity, Barney's work already takes on the features of "a pilgrimage, almost an odyssey. His films... in fact, tell the deeds of heroes trapped in complicated obstacle courses, forced to incessant escapes and digressions"²². Thus, in *The Order* we see the artist struggling with a demanding back and forth between the different floors of the Guggenheim Museum, in an actual ascent and descent of the five orders that compose it. This action, in its constant display of the athletic effort necessary for its fulfillment, and in the cyclical encounter with the different characters who inhabit the rotunda floors, becomes itself the place of a continuous physical and personal transformation: "while it is true that Barney embodies a body acting on his environment as well as on himself, he also operates its mutations along the way – symbolically and concretely"²³. The passage of the Entered Apprentice²⁴ from one level of the rotunda to the other virtually connects the different floors of the museum, and at the same time gives us the image of a subject in the making, continually forced to overcome the most disparate challenges and difficulties. Thus, Barney's character exposes to the viewer his multiplicity and

²⁰"Each chapter of the *Cremaster* project includes not only a film but also related objects, installations, photographs, drawings and an artist's book", Spector, 'Only the Perverse Fantasy Can Still Save Us', 78.

²¹"What remains of these unique and unrepeatable moments are images and traces, objects and films", Celant, *Stigmata*, 159.

²²Massimiliano Gioni, *Matthew Barney* (Milano: Electa, 2007), 6-7.

²³Guillaume Baychelier, 'Le parcours à l'œuvre. Temps, espace et déplacement dans l'œuvre de Matthew Barney', *Marges*, no. 19 (2014): 38–49, <https://doi.org/10.4000/marges.943>, 41.

²⁴"The initiate, the novice, due to his unstable liminal and out-of-standard position, due to the accumulation or neutralization of accepted categories of meaning is dangerous – untouchable, impure, and holy in his own way", Paolo Fabbri, in 'Conversazione con Paolo Fabbri: la simbologia massonica nel ciclo *Cremaster*', in *Matthew Barney: polimorfismo multimodalità neobarocco* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2012), 179–93, 186.

incompleteness. The artist transforms his own body into

an ecumenical space capable of allowing continuous dialectical scans between otherness, in a progression – although only apparent – of roles and interpretations. The ontology of existence [esistenza], typical of humanist categories, becomes an ontology of resisting [resistenza], obviously in following the metamorphic and hybridizing flow, the symphony of otherness²⁵.

Of the body as a “strong fluid mass” and an “intermediate polarity in communicating the artist’s expressive desire”²⁶ speaks instead Germano Celant referring to Jan Fabre. Also for the Belgian artist the body is “material for a metamorphosis, made on purpose to be transformed into ever different forms”²⁷, and it is Fabre himself who confirms that “my interest is in the idea of self-metamorphoses”²⁸. The sudden rushes at which the artist lets himself go from one moment to the next in the Louvre’s Galerie Daru, as well as the long passages in which he desperately shouts the name of Janou at the top of his voice, are thus his metamorphoses. The aberrant movement of the running, the effort that modifies Fabre’s body in the call of the name of Janou, are only one possible declination of that tension that guides the artist even in his continuous changes of clothes: “I did in real time all the different disguises he [Mesrine] used to rob banks or to break out of prisons... Everything was filmed in real time, so the public could see my metamorphoses on big screens outside on the Cour Napoléon”²⁹. However, what is important to underline, and is ultimately decisive in this dynamic of change and metamorphosis, is how this is finally nothing more than a re-proposal of that fundamental paradigm of transition and passage that we are investigating here. “So for me, performance means putting myself in a situation where I have very few grips to hold onto. Most of my performances were what you might call ‘rites of passage’”³⁰. The performance has the task of opening up, and going through, a dimension of the uncertain, of the suspended, a middle state between reality and fiction, between presence and absence. Thus, in *Art Kept Me Out of Jail*, “Fabre is a magician without sleight of hand. He prepares for action, but this action always ends up in disappearance, liberation. This is how he draws everyone into the sparkling zone between presence and absence”³¹.

As we have observed, in Andrea Fraser’s enactment the artist’s movement corresponds to the execution of a visiting path already written, already recorded and ready for use. As in the case of the merger of the voice of the audio guide with the soundtrack of the video of the performance, we are then faced with a short circuit, we find ourselves in an area of undecidability: what is the visitor dressed in green doing? Is she just staging the audio guide instructions or is she really absorbed by her visit and, as it seems, amazed by what surrounds her? These questions, obviously without possible answers, are echoed by some reflections of Fraser herself. On the one hand she says: “I don’t perform myself. I’ve performed as a docent, I’ve performed as other artists, and critics, and so forth. But in some sense, of course, I am also always ‘myself’. I am myself appropriating those words, voices, positions or functions”³². On the other hand, again and above all, the artist also asks herself: “what would it be *not* to perform?”³³. In this way, through this process of mimesis and disorientation embedded into one’s own, a field of uncertainty and radical possibility opens up, a field that once again echoes a condition of limit, of standing on the threshold: “Institutional critique³⁴ may be many things, but fundamentally it is an enactment of a profoundly ambivalent relationship to the field of art... most of us feel stuck in between, often painfully so”³⁵, says the artist. Fraser’s action can then only be configured as that movement that aims precisely to make a passage, to trigger a transition, in the direction of overcoming an impasse that will always, inevitably, be resolved in the opening of and the landing on a new zone of uncertainty. “I became an artist for a range of reasons, many of them in conflict, but also discovered that art was an arena in which those conflicts could be explored and potentially transformed”³⁶. In the coherence of a practice in which “psychological and social, personal and political, inward and outward investigations must never be separated”³⁷, the artist therefore directs her action to obtain, for herself and for the audience, a “breakdown or implosion of identity”, a certain “pleasure at being liberated from the confines of identity”³⁸.

²⁵ Roberto Marchesini, ‘Poetiche postumanistiche’, in *Matthew Barney: polimorfismo multimodalità neobarocco* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2012), 221–27, 222.

²⁶ Celant, *Stigmata*, 9.

²⁷ Luk van den Dries, *Corpus Jan Fabre: annotazioni su un processo di creazione* (Milano: Ubulibri, 2008), 13.

²⁸ In Celant, *Stigmata*, 162.

²⁹ Celant, 627.

³⁰ Jan Fabre, ‘S’entraîner à disparaître’, *Communications* 92, no. 1 (2013): 263–75, <https://doi.org/10.3406/comm.2013.2709>, 264.

³¹ De Baere, ‘I’m Free but I Will Escape: On a Performance by Jan Fabre at the Louvre’, 18.

³² In Batalion, ‘Towards a “Depth Sociology” School of Acting’, 335.

³³ In Batalion, 332.

³⁴ The artistic current which Andrea Fraser’s work is usually associated with. See Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson, *Institutional Critique: An Anthology of Artists’ Writings* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 2011).

³⁵ In Batalion, ‘Towards a “Depth Sociology” School of Acting’, 334.

³⁶ In ‘Andrea Fraser in Conversation with Sabine Breitwieser’, 21.

³⁷ Andrea Fraser, in ‘Andrea Fraser in Conversation with Sabine Breitwieser’, 20.

³⁸ Andrea Fraser, quoted in Batalion, ‘Towards a “Depth Sociology” School of Acting’, 339.

Having until here outlined some of the elements that characterize the work of these artists as a hybrid one, we finally suggest more explicitly the possible influences that the museum setting may have had on these works, and on their relationship to hybridity. First, we will suggest that the museum may serve here as a place for taking to the surface that dimension of the mixture that is a constitutive part, as we saw at the beginning, of both art and hybridity. Thus, Matthew Barney can say that “The *Order* sequence... is a model of, or a rehearsal for, the *Cremaster cycle* exhibition”³⁹, an exhibition including “the drawings, photographs, sculptures, installations, and books produced in conjunction with each *Cremaster* episode”⁴⁰ which was held precisely at the Guggenheim Museum. “All these forms come together in one piece... and the museum is the place for that to happen”⁴¹, again in Barney’s words. Secondly, we argue that the museum may act as a trigger for unleashing that state of transition, of passage, which we have seen to be typical of all the works analyzed. In these, “there is no battle to be won, no viable alternative solution to be found. Because alongside... all the inadequacy of these systems, there is a symbiosis, a game which can and must be continued”⁴². Finally, we hypothesize that there may even be no contradiction between the dimension of the interval, of the middle state investigated and sought in the works discussed here, and their own museum setting: “of course, artists and art... are as central to the field of art and its reproduction as museums are”⁴³.

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³⁹In Spector, ‘Only the Perverse Fantasy Can Still Save Us’, 37.

⁴⁰Spector, 82.

⁴¹Quoted in Nicola Dusi, ‘*Cremaster cycle* tra cinema e danza’, in *Matthew Barney: polimorfismo multimodalità neobarocco* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2012), 103–31, 116.

⁴²De Baere, ‘I’m Free but I Will Escape: On a Performance by Jan Fabre at the Louvre’, 23-24.

⁴³Andrea Fraser, ‘From the Critique of Institutions to an Institution of Critique’, *Artforum International* (United States: Artforum, 2005), 278-283.

Territorial Image Construction: An Original Perspective from the Outsider

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Introduction

Tourism is a sector ruled by the visual, encouraging seductive representations of destinations to attract potential visitors. Indeed, there is currently a degree of consensus within the scientific community that the images of destinations are a crucial factor in the selection process by tourists (Goodrich, 1978; Woodside and Lysonski, 1989; Andreu *et al.*, 2000; Perelló, 2006; Edelheim, 2007; Picón *et al.*, 2013) and hence in socio-economic processes. The aim of this essay is to evaluate the extent to which foreign perspective influences the creation of hybrid identities within the tourism sector, as institutions with competences for tourism promotion create recognizable representations on the basis of certain elements, while amending their values according to visitors' preference. Thus, construction of hybrid identities is especially true since the development of interstate travels and the consolidation of global imagery in the travel literature from the second half of the 18th century. For that purpose, we analyse the case of Andalusia, as this is one of the most iconic tourist destinations in the world since it was discovered by the European aristocracy during Romanticism. In summary, the aim is to determine the degree of hybridization between reality and foreign perspectives across time in tourism images, as this sector tends to respond to stereotyped and seductive external ideals of places, especially those which were colonized or commodified in the past.

In a first step, a theoretical framework is presented. Secondly, the essay includes the results from empirical research from two angles: (i) a documentary review of the archetypal image of the region that has been built over centuries; and (ii) a semiotic analysis of the pictures projected in contemporary official promotional materials. A comparison of results shows that the current promoted image of Andalusia is the inheritance of the foreign identity of the region built during Romanticism, in which proper elements of the Arab past prevail. By this way, conclusions suggest that the contemporary Andalusian tourism identity has its origin in foreign perceptions of the land back in time due to a process of hybridization with reality to the present day. On the basis of this, we can consider tourism as a factor that causes a change not only in local representations, but also in local identities. The continuous profusion of images projected to attract visitors can imply a change in the way a local population perceives their environment, as tourism contributes to form a prototypical and iconic image used in promotion and even in the adequacy of space.

The construction of the image of the land

In a context characterized by the consolidation of the tourism industry as one of the most important sectors in the global economy, destinations compete "on the basis of their perceived image in relation to competitors" (San Martín *et al.*, 2006, p.70). In a theoretical framework, considering the different types of images proposed by Gunn (1988), it is necessary to differentiate between: (i) *universal images*, which are the historical products installed in the social imagery robustly consolidated during a long period of time; and (ii) *induced images*, created through the marketing strategies by local governments in destinations. In this way, perceptions that individuals have about spaces are first formed in culturally defined contexts and then influenced or reinforced by the institutions involved in the promotion of destinations.

Over the past decades, some authors have demonstrated the influence of social contexts in the generation of images of places, showing that people from different social groups or geographical regions have very homogeneous perceptions about the same space (Richardson and Crompton, 1988). In this regard, social imagery occupies a preponderant role in the configuration of images of places, forming universal images. According to different authors, in a context characterized by the continuity of nineteenth-century aesthetics and Victorian iconography (Barthes, 1957; Lerivray, 1975), the configuration of these spatial ideals involves a process that began with the analysis of territorial systems on the literature published during the Enlightenment and ends up configuring the global collective imagery. Because this literature sought to highlight the picturesque and mysticism dimensions of places, collective imagery is largely based on generalized clichés and prejudices. Thus, visitors continue visiting the same places as at the

beginning of the 20th century (Troitiño and Troitiño, 2011), which are those that better embody identities of lands that have been consolidated during the last centuries. In addition, these identities have been reinforced in recent decades by large-scale promotion.

In this regard, heritage assets become key resources for differentiation, as their projection guarantees the diffusion of a unique image of each land. Nevertheless, the concept of differentiation inherent in competitive tourism images may cause the alteration of traditional aesthetic canons to achieve a more seductive image (Edelheim, 2007). This process implies an adulteration of qualities of spaces until they are made profitable (Martín, 2003), promoting certain assets that have a strong link with romantic representations and ignoring others. Therefore, tourism images refer to what is remote and pristine in a (re)creation of spaces (Alvarado-Sizzo *et al.*, 2018), so people are induced to travel not only spatially, but also through time.

That is why local agents face a double challenge of creating positive images of destinations that induce people to travel while differentiating them from other places (*ibid.*). Thus, they are who ultimately decide which elements become fundamental to visit, to look at, or to photograph (Urry, 1990) and how this is to be done. Therefore, tourism image is a figurative representation of reality constructed according to the interests of the organism that spreads the discourse. Thus, governments play an essential role in shaping the identity of the land because at the very time that they are in charge of promotion strategies, they determine heritage protection values. In this regard, both the use of heritage assets in the tourist market and their cataloguing are parallel processes (Cors *et al.*, 2018). This is the reason why some authors suggest that, to a certain extent, characterization of places is related to contemporary tourist demands (Prats, 1997; Almirón *et al.*, 2006). Consequently, the assets and spaces that are activated as part of the heritage of a society tend to respond to a stereotypical image, contributing to increase the capacity of tourism to establish itself as identity referent for societies (Graham *et al.*, 2000).

The case of Andalusia

Andalusia, one of the most visited regions in Europe, contains one of the greatest wealth of heritage in the continent. The regional iconography has placed Andalusia as one of the most recognized regions in the global collective imagery, as the rich heritage legacy of this territory contributed to make its identity a byword for all Spanish in terms of tourism. In this research, qualitative and quantitative methods were established to assess the degree of hybridization between reality and social imagery in the configuration of the induced image of the region. We identified the most repeated heritage assets in the travel literature and drawings produced during the 18th and 19th centuries by foreign visitors. Or, in other words, we generated a categorisation of structural elements of the universal image of Andalusia. Then, we used a semiotic analysis of pictures to study the promotional images edited in the last forty years by local institutions, which is the period when the responsibility for tourism has fallen exclusively to the regional government. This analysis allowed us to systematize and analyse, in an objective way and in statistical terms, the visual information included in promotional material. By this way, we could compare the results of both methods.

Then, we discovered that the prototypical image of Andalusia forged during Romanticism is based on the idea of an exotic and rich-in-contrasts place. At that time, heritage had a transcendental importance in the construction of this image due to the interest for the societies of the past and, therefore, for the testimonies left by them. The image of Andalusia was complex, as it was a region that combined the most topical of Arab traditions and the Medieval Christian world. Nevertheless, most texts and engravings were articulated around topics such as the wild, Middle Ages or the Oriental culture, which were constantly exalted as reminiscences of a distant and extravagant Arab world.

Meanwhile, even though the tourism promotion carried out by regional institutions in recent decades shows an evolution towards increasingly holistic approaches, a strong influence of Romantic patterns is perceived. The current representations incorporate segments and resources previously absent in promotional actions, however, a significant percentage of images continue to be linked to heritage assets that were already exalted a few centuries ago. This is the case of the immovable cultural heritage from the Al-Andalus period, which accounts for almost two out of ten representations in the tourism promotional campaigns, and subsequently ranks as the most reproduced category in the current official promotion. The same goes for the representation of nature, which is linked to mountainous and wooded spaces, steep hills, gorges and canyons, which are the typical elements of the subalpine landscape demanded by the Western winter imagery since Romanticism. This means that stereotypes are still projected – but this time by local actors themselves.

Concluding remarks

Social imagery, e.g. universal images of lands, is constantly the foundation on which the induced representations are configured by official actors. This is because these images are based on iconic and easily recognizable concepts that are also attractive and seductive issues in terms of tourism.

Thus, in tourism promotion, it is common to use enriched representations and images that can be perceived as ideals, even through the reproduction of perspectives used by nineteenth-century authors (Figure 1). Nevertheless, market-based approaches imply that reality often is notably modified in these representations, as an idealized and more attractive perspective of the land is following. This creates a perception that the visitor can achieve full happiness in idyllic and timeless landscapes and environments, although they don't really exist at that destination.



Figure 1 Visual relationship between nineteenth-century engravings and promotional images edited by the Andalusian Government

We are witnessing a change in the perspective through which humans understand places, where opportunities for development are being imposed upon identity values; and economic efficiencies are privileged over experiences. Thus, the justification for the creation of a hybrid image where reality is mixed with romantic-origin resources is that these represent attractions of easy appropriation and perceptions well-established in the collective imagination, benefiting economic developments.

Thus, in Andalusia, where tourism has a transcendental economic importance, official institutions have based the induced image of the region on traits of the romantic ideal, e.g. topics that have survived to this day. Although Andalusia's most recent tourism representations show a diverse and heterogeneous region, the analysis of the induced image determines that the stereotypes have not ceased. Accordingly, the contemporary promotional materials include distorted images which have nothing to do with reality. In fact, the formation of these images is based on a hybridization process where isolated elements typical from the collective imagery are mixed with reality, which facilitates their recognition in a complex and highly varied leisure market.

Sometimes both real and inherited resources need to be adapted and softened in their most controversial aspects because they could stop the arrival of tourists (Hernández, 2007). This is the case of bullfights, which have disappeared in the official promotion due to the controversy that bullfighting currently generates and the increasing social rejection in the main emission markets. Nevertheless, these issues can be used as tourist resources if they are included into the market through timeless and evocative approaches.

Finally, it is worth emphasizing that the continuous profusion of images projected to attract visitors can imply a change in the way locals perceive their environment, increasingly closer to the notion of scenery. It is due to the incorporation of more aesthetic readings of the land in promotional images included in brochures, advertisements, posters, social networks posts, etc. This fact contributes to consolidating museumification processes, transforming heritage into tourist spots and turning places into prisoners of their own images. Then, destinations are built according to the wishes and expectations of potential visitors, which may entail important socio-territorial consequences.

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Hybridization of cultural heritage in Jeju Island: *haenyeo* as tourism product

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In the globalized and modernized world, we are facing the issue of the ethnic, cultural and identity crisis, as well as the need to transmit their traditions under the similar economic development model. Tourism, as one of the most important industries as it contributes to the potential development of exportation (Kadt, 1979) and it represents an important part of GDP and employment (Mihalic, 2014), became a new challenge not only in the economy but also in culture. Tourist destinations worldwide have been strategically produced and developed, and have adapted to dramatic global changes and markets while trying to maintain their local identity and uniqueness. Ever since cultural tourism has become a popular concept, numerous cultural heritages have transformed as various tourism products in the museums, tourism activities, festivals, souvenir shops, and markets, etc. This leads to the questions: how tourism and cultural heritage ultimately hybridized? How cultural heritage is consumed in the contemporary context? This paper aims to outline the hybridization process of cultural heritage of Jeju Island and various forms of tourism.

Jeju Island: between touristification and heritagization

Located southwest of the Korean peninsula, Jeju Island is the biggest island in South Korea. This volcanic island makes up 184,930ha, and the World Heritage designated property is comprised of three sites that make up 18,846ha and meet esthetic (vii) and scientific(viii) since 2007¹. Although Jeju Island is designated as natural heritage site of UNESCO, there are numerous cultural heritages based on its natural environment and tradition. The island once flourished with about 18,000 gods (Yong Taek Yoon, 2015), and today, there are 5 inscribed intangible cultural heritage and 9 folkloric cultural heritage in national level (KOSIS, 2019) ; 20 intangible heritage 82 folkloric cultural heritage in provincial level(Jeju Province, 2017). In 2009, the tradition of *Chilmeoridang Yeongdeunggut*, a rite for the Goddess of the wind wishing abundant harvest of *haenyeo*, which was registered as an important national intangible heritage in 1980 and listed as a UNESCO intangible heritage site. For the same list, the culture of *haenyeo*, women divers in Jeju Island who collect marine products while diving without any equipment, and which is one of the most representative heritages of Jeju Island, was inscribed in 2016.

In fact, Jeju has already held a unique geographical position in South Korea. Once a place of exile for political prisoners during the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), today Jeju is a peaceful and attractive tourist destination, and yet, ironically, international with mass tourism. Taking advantage of its geographical environment and location with proximity and easy access from Northeast countries such as Japan and China, Jeju has become one of the most important tourist destinations and markets. especially after the Korean war (1950-1953), national land use planning and tourism development began to take place through active national policies. In addition, while Jeju Island's unique culture and natural heritage were developed as tourism resources, there were also policies aimed at becoming an "international destination" by building casinos, hotels, duty-free stores with visa-free entrance policy. In 2019, the number of visitors reached a total of 15 million while the number of populations stands at 690 000. Jeju Island, has become a tourist destination facing over / mass tourism. Tourism has thus changed the landscape and the main industries of Jeju Island, but on the other hand, as part of the tourism development strategy, the opportunity to save the tradition has been paved.

¹ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1264> Criteria (vii) : "contains superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance" Criteria (viii) : "is an outstanding example representing major stages of Earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features"

Year		1970	1980	2000	2010		2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Number of haenyeo		14,143	7,804	5,789	4,995		4,377	4,005	3,985	3,898	3,820
Age (%)	- 30	31.3	9.8	0.1	-		-	-	(1)	0.2 (5)	0.2 (6)
	30-49	59.4	60.7	22.1	2.5		1.4	1.5	1.6	2.0	2.2
	50-59	13.8	29.8	77.8	97.5		12.9	10.1	8.9	8.6	8.4
	60-69						32.2	31.1	29.6	30.0	30.7
	70+						53.5	57.3	59.9	59.2	58.5

Evolution of the number of haenyeo
Source: Haenyeo Museum

Heritagization and revitalization of culture of haenyeo

Haenyeo (*hae* “wea”- *nyeo* “women”) is a woman whose job is to collect seafood by diving into the sea with her naked body without any mechanical device and only by controlling her breathing with her will, a job called as “*mooljil*”². The number of haenyeo reached a peak in 1960s then slowly decreased as the island was changing through the arrival of a new cultivar of tangerines and the development of tourism industry.

The reorganization of the industrial structure brought changes in the haenyeo society as well. The number of *haenyeo* in Jeju, which exceeded about 14,000 in 1970, was reduced by almost half to 7804 in 1980. Afterwards, it continued to decline, dropping by an average of 3-5% per year. In 2015, it decreased to 4,377 *haenyeo*. Of these, aged 60 and over represented 85%, and 98.6% of people aged 50 and over. In other words, the issue of aging appears to be a significant one (Haenyeo Museum).

While the island was being developed and modernized, the local authorities acknowledged the importance of cultural heritage both in conservation and in enhancement. Especially after its acquisition of international label, the public and private actors have put their effort to not only to inherit the tradition (Heon Seon Kim, 2016) but also to promote the heritage. In addition, they have also changed in themselves. According to In-cheol Yoo, a professor at the Department of Anthropology at Jeju National University (Interview September 23, 2020), the pride of the haenyeo has been increased following the inscription as intangible world heritage in 2016. At the same time, the willingness to protect the own heritage has also increased. As a result, the invisible barrier to entry into haenyeo society has also been lowered. Accordingly, the number of young women divers began to increase (see the table above).

Culture of haenyeo: between heritage and tourism product

The tourism resource also refers to the overall set of immaterial elements that represents “a specific sector of the overall worldview of individuals or social groups concerning places outside their primary residence where certain types of leisure activities could take place” (Graburn and Gravari-Barbas, 2012). Culture and nature, by marking it as a tourist object, a habitual object becomes an aesthetic or extraordinary object (Urry and Larsen 2011). It seems that the importance as a heritage of haenyeo, as well as its potential as a tourist product, has been acknowledged by the local authorities. In 2006, the Jeju Provincial Office opened the Haenyeo Museum, in order to protect and promote haenyeo culture. In addition, in the Houses of Haenyeo, the visitors can eat or buy seafood directly collected by haenyeo. As public actors put the cultural heritage in a construction of tourism attraction, the culture of haenyeo have positioned in a tourism practice sets. In recent years, people can experience haenyeo’s life by wearing haenyeo costume and taking a picture, working in a workshop with haenyeo, and making food with them. The haenyeo’s workshop becomes a place of tourism activity, and the haenyeo’s work and daily life are shared with tourists through their photos and experiences.

The local government (*Seogwipo* City) is also planning to make and sell souvenirs such as wallets, keychains, ornaments, and frames made by recycling old haenyeo suits. In this way, the materials of Jeju Island’s haenyeo are turned into souvenirs.

² The “*mooljil*” seems to have been created before the Three Kingdoms period (57 B.C. - 668 C.E.), as the offering of Seopra (ancient name of Jeju) is written in the *Samguk sagi: Goguryeo Bongi* (503) (Historical record of the Three Kingdoms, Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla, completed in 1145)

In this way, haenyeo became one of the important images that symbolize Jeju Island. It is used as one of the mascots representing the province as well as various official events. The image transmitted indirectly through the media, rather than the image of the place acquired through direct experience, becomes a key factor in the production of tourist destinations” (Shim Seung-hee, 2000, cited in: Myeong-gu Kang and Eun-young Nam, 2017: 204).

Heritage and tourism development seem to have played an important role in the revitalization of Haenyeo culture. With the support of local governments, as well as the participation and sharing of visitors’ experience, the cultural heritage of the past could be put into the context of the present. However, we may ask whether the newly created tourism product or cultural heritage as an experience is still unique. By becoming a kind of tourism product, experience or souvenir, do they lose their originality? Probably, as Salazar stressed, “rather than asking whether a given culture has become polluted or enhanced by tourism (and other global processes), a more salient question to ask is how tourism and its imaginaries are contributing to the (re)shaping of culture and society” (Salazar 2005, cited in Salazar, 2009:50).



©Haenyeo Museum, 2004



©Jeju Special self-governing Province



Conclusion

Today, “touristic culture is more than physical travel, it is the preparation of people to see other places as objects of tourism, and the preparation of those places to be seen” (Franklin and Crang, 2001:20). As MacCannell (1992: 1) point out, “tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs”. Post-modern societies value “plural cultures” or “diversity” (Hassan, 1986). Culture aspires to diversity, not unity, and can be recognized as a human and ethnic identity. This often leads to the perception that a nation and people can protect their own cultural identity by protecting their culture (Tomlinson, 1991). On the other hand, this interest to explore the cultural diversity reevaluated the cultural heritage as a resource. This hybridization of cultural heritage and tourism product is a result of co-product of actors, tourists, and heritage.

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Heritage Is In the Eye of the Beholder? Two Case studies from the Roman Empire

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Starting out as a small city in Latium, Rome expanded its territory over the centuries, enclosing finally the areas from Egypt to Britain within its borders. The Romans shaped the urban landscape of the new territories to correspond the architecture of the mother city, and imposed their religion, culture, language, and social institutions to the conquered areas. However, the local cultures and customs did not disappear, and influences moved around affecting the built milieu. A place with a heterogeneous populace can exhibit culturally more various monuments. In this paper, I aim to illustrate the heritage hybridization visible in the public monuments of the Roman Empire, and the factors that could affect the interpretations of such monuments. After a short overview of the theoretical background, the paper concentrates on two case studies, namely the “Arringatore” at Florence and the Philopappus monument at Athens.

A monument’s subject, motive, and intended audience are focal points when analyzing the hybrid self-representations. Why was the monument erected and to whom? Was the monument intended for the Roman or local eyes? What did the commissioner of the monument hope to gain?

Because we do not have many literary sources of the contemporary viewers, the attempt to uncover the thoughts of the ancient viewer is very difficult. However, we can make some general observations by looking at the visual rhetoric and the context of the objects (Hölscher 2004; Elsner 2007). This is why the notion of the place and the audience is important. The viewer sees what he wants to see: there is a “horizon of expectations (*Erwartungshorizont*)”, to use the term of one of the fundamental theorists of receptions studies, Hans Robert Jauss. It is defined as “the objectifiable system of expectations that arises for each work in the historical moment of its appearance, from preunderstanding the genre, from the form and themes of already familiar works, and from the opposition between poetical and practical language” (Jauss, H.R. *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*.1982, 22. Cited in Trimble 2015). Instead of context, Wolfgang Iser – another fundamental theorist – focuses on the work itself and the way it prestructures its own reception: when an artwork is created, it is created for the specific imagined viewer(s). Furthermore, Alfred Gell’s theory on the way an art object can affect the thoughts and actions of people remains extremely influential (Gell 1998). The work can direct the interpretation, but the viewer also brings his or her own predispositions and decisions (Trimble 2015).

Therefore, in order to observe the self-representations in the monuments, we should pay attention not only to the monument itself, but also to the possible interpretations that the viewers give to it, and thereby change the meaning of the monument. This brings us back to the identity and cultural background of the viewer. During the past twenty or so years, scholars have deserted the term ‘Romanization’, and acknowledged the diversification of the vast empire in relation to cultures and their cultural development. The main change concerns our methodologies: in tandem with the ‘imperial’ studies, we now increasingly focus on the small communities in within the Empire, to the identities and sociocultural change. There we need to take into account the bottom-up approach, the factors that restricted the individuals’ choices, and the impacts that one decision can have on a collective (recently discussed in Haeussler & Webster 2020, with references to previous literature).

In the following case studies, I observe the honorific monuments with heritage hybridization. I pay special attention to the ways the monument can direct interpretation of different audiences.

“Arringatore”

The *Arringatore*, or “the Orator” dates to about 100 BCE, and is today at the National Archaeological

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Museum of Florence (Fig. 1). It has been vastly studied by scholars, and it is regarded as “perhaps the most striking testimony to the slow but inexorable process of the Romanization of Etruria, - - -” (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze).



Fig. 1: The “Arringatore” at the National Archaeological Museum of Florence.

The freestanding, life-size bronze statue depicts a mature, shorthaired man, standing with his right arm raised. This is traditionally seen as a gesture related to public speaking, more precisely to that of asking for silence before starting. Hence, the statue's name. The man looks into the horizon, but his eyes have not survived, so it is impossible to say where he directs his gaze more precisely. He wears a short toga with a bordered hem (*toga exigua praetexta*), worn by Roman curule magistrates, a tunic with a narrow red band (*angusticlavius*) of the equestrian class, senatorial shoes, and a ring in his left hand, which gently holds up the toga. The statue clearly looks Roman.

What then makes this an example of cultural hybridization? An inscription on the toga's hem records the name of the man, Aule Metelis, as well as his parentage, a deity to whom the statue is sacred, and the dedicating community – all of which are Etruscan. A peasant found the statue in 1566 in Perugia, but, unfortunately, the precise spot is unclear. One possible area is Tuoro sul Trasimeno, where the sanctuary of Tece Sanś', the deity mentioned in the statue's inscription, was located (Maras 2017). The deity and the sanctuary were local, but as Tece Sanś was the “Father of Gods”, it was important. Such votive statues were common for Roman culture as well. But, based on the overall effect of the statue, is it truly unambiguous, that it is a “Roman” representation of an Etruscan?

The reasons Aule Metelis is regarded as Etrusco-Roman lie mostly in his outfit, which together with his pose creates an image of a Roman magistrate addressing the people. However, as B.H. Spalthoff remarks, the depiction of a ring and senatorial shoes *without* specific arguments that the person belongs to the *ordo senatorius*, is likely a mark that the person represented is a member of municipal aristocracy (Spalthoff 2010). After all, the inscription does not mention any offices. And the toga? The Romans wore the *toga praetexta* during the Republic, but according to Pliny the Elder (died in 79 CE), it was an Etruscan invention (Plin. *NH* 8,195; 9,136). The 2nd century CE Italy was not by all means politically homogeneous region centered around Rome. Therefore, in this case, the use of toga was not necessarily a mark of a Roman magistracy, nor a citizenship. It is possible that those who wanted to identify themselves with the Romans could wear them (Haack 2017), but it does not exclude the possibility that wearing a toga in general would have nothing to do with Rome.

Aule Metelis has been seen as if he is addressing the Roman Senate (e.g. Enos 2008). However, it is not easy to find exact parallels for the gesture in ancient sources that would confirm this interpretation, or that it would mean “asking for silence.” References to the gesture *silentium manu facere* seem to be later, from the early modern period (such as the *Chirologia* of John Bulwer, 1644). This leads to the question of whether the meaning of the gesture was defined after Aule Metelis' hand or the other way around.² Moreover, the same gesture can illustrate greeting, and in some instances peace, as Statius mentions how “the right (hand) rejects the fights” (Stat. *Silv.* 1,1,37; Hurschmann 2006.) Would this pose then be regarded in a sanctuary more as a speaking gesture, or as something else?

² Unfortunately, due to Covid-19, I was unable to consult the article by G. Colonna “Il posto dell'Arringatore nell'arte etrusca di età ellenistica. *StEtr* 56:99–122.

The interpretation and the “ethnicity” of the statue therefore seems to alternate according to the emphasis given to the different key components of the statue: the iconography, inscription, and the location. The inscription on the hem could be easily ignored, or the viewer did not necessarily understand its meaning – in fact, the statue was originally named as “Scipio Africanus” in the collection of Cosimo I de’Medici (Gáldy 2009). He could be seen as a Roman, or Etruscan in the Roman Senate, or perhaps as a local elite man with mutual benevolence and love to the community and the gods.

Philopappus Monument

The Philopappus Monument dates to 114–117 CE, and still stands on its original location at Athens. It is the funerary monument of C. Iulius Antiochus Epifanes Philopappus, who was a citizen of Rome, member of Athenian elite, and a prince of Commagene, a Syrian client state of Rome. The multiple identities of Philopappus in this monument are well studied by R.R.R. Smith (1998) and A. Lichtenberger (2015), whereas the monument itself and its Commagene, Roman and Greek models are discussed in detail by D. Kleiner (1983). Therefore, I concentrate here on the representation of Philopappus in other monuments, and the image that they transmit in correlation with his major monument.

The first example comes from a sanctuary of Lycosura in Arcadia. The inscription dates to 38–72 CE. It is a dedication to “Despoina and Soteira” (Persephone/Kore), and Philopappus refers to himself as βασιλεὺς Ἰούλιος Ἐπιφάνης Φιλόπαππος”, i.e. King Iulios Epiphanes Philopappos (*IG V,2 524*). He does not include his whole Roman name, but mentions specifically his title as the king. Also, Plutarch used this attribute when referring to his good friend (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 628a).

The second example comes from Athens, and is an honorific inscription by the phyle Oineis, and dates to 75/6-87/8 CE (*IG II/III² 3112*). The Greek inscription thanks Philopappus for his benevolence towards the phyle. They honor Philopappus as the archon – the city’s leading magistrate – and organizer of the Dionysia-games, which were a famous and prestigious festival at Athens that included theatre plays. Philopappus is referred with his Roman name C. Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus, which was typical at Athens of this time. His Roman *tribus* is omitted, but his Greek *demos* Besa is included. The inscription was on the theater of Dionysos in Athens, a very central and important place in the city. Thus Philopappus is shown as an important local man and benefactor in an Athenian context, while simultaneously shown also as a Roman citizen.

These two inscriptions highlight subtly the different identities of the same person. The inscription of Lycosura was dedicated by Philopappus, and the inscription at Athens was probably at least approved by him. In other words, he chose to show or elaborate certain aspects of his identity. Without the descriptions of the monuments, it is impossible to say if they contained iconographical references to his Syrian ancestry or Athenian and Roman citizenships.



Fig. 2: The Philopappus Monument in the 18th and 21st centuries.

However, they are all present in the grand monument at Athens (Fig. 2). In fact, here his Roman identity is more vocal than we have seen before: the Latin inscription (*CIL 3, 552*) includes his tribe and Roman

offices (consul and Arval Brethren), and he is depicted riding a *quadriga* as a Roman magistrate, wearing a toga and accompanied by lictors. The consulship was the highest annual office, in which he served in 109 CE (*PIR*² I 151, *fasti Ost. I.I.* 13, 1, 198/199). The inscription lacks mentions of his lower offices, which were traditionally held before the consulship. The Arvale priesthood means that he belonged to the ancient collegium of Roman priests. The prestige of these offices was clear to anyone who knew anything about Roman political life. In addition, he is linked to the Emperor Trajan with the mention of the emperor elevating Philopappus to the group of praetors.

His other identities appear through inscriptions and iconography. In the monument's upper register, the fragmented statue of Philopappus is wearing a Greek *himation*. His royal Syrian ethnicity is not well visible in the preserved state of the monument, but there are traces of the royal diadem on his shoulder. References to his Commagene heritage were perhaps more vocal in the intact monument through both iconography and architecture (Kleiner 1983). The Greek inscription records his name and ancestry: "King Antiochos Philopappus, son of King Epiphanes the son of Antiochos." The short inscription below Philopappus' statue records his Athenian *demos* of Besa, but none of the survived inscriptions mention his Athenian offices. Alongside of Philopappus were the statues of his grandfather Antiochus IV, after whom the kingdom was finally and definitely made part of the Roman Empire, and the now disappeared Seleucos I Nicator, who is the claimed ancestor of the Commagenes family (Lichtenberger 2015, referring to the study of Facella, M. 2006, *La dinastia degli Orontidi nella Commagene ellenistico-romana*).

All of these monuments were in Greece and in places of frequent visits, seen by people of different backgrounds. We can ponder on how many viewers actually recognized his multiple identities in Antiquity, but luckily, we have a brief contemporary record on the matter. Pausanias mentions the monument in his travelogue *Description of Greece* from the 2nd century CE. When describing the hill where the legendary poet Musaeus sang and was buried, he mentions as a sidenote that "afterwards a monument also was erected here to a Syrian." (Paus. 1,25). The monument could have been erected relatively recently, but Pausanias mentions nothing of his royal ancestry or even his name, and excludes the "Roman-ness" and "Greekness" of Philopappus completely. Pausanias' interests are further in the past.

Conclusions

The two case-studies are roughly two hundred years apart, but they still share similarities. Both represent an individual, who identifies himself with different ethnical identities, one of them being Roman, and the other(s) a culture with strong heritage of its own. The clearest indications to other ethnicities are the names, language of inscription, and the costumes. However, none of these is a certain indicator of the person's conception regarding his identity, since the monuments are also propaganda tools, where the spatiotemporal context affects the meaning given to the monument.

Aule Metelis was perhaps already a Roman senator, or he just wanted to be represented as such. It might be a good practice to try to exclude the "Roman-ness" of the statue from its interpretation, and try to see the subject as a proud representative of his own culture. After all, it is good to remember how the Romans also borrowed many iconographical elements from the Etruscans, such as the symbols of high magistracy (i.e. *sella curulis*). Philopappus' dedication at Lycosura and his funerary monument were both (probably) erected by him, but many years apart. At the time of the Lycosura dedication, Philopappus had not yet advanced in his Roman political status, and the dedication does not underline this aspect of his identity. Did the Roman identity become more dominant simultaneously with his success, culminating in his magnificent frieze at his tomb?

Whatever the dedicator wanted to illustrate, there is always a possibility that the interpretations go wrong. Aule Metelis was named Scipio, Pausanias saw Philopappus only as a Syrian, the early modern travelers associate the monument to figures such as Trajan and Theseus (Kleiner 1983), and the 15th to 18th century Athenians referred to the monument simply as "To Seggio", i.e. "the Seat" (Stuart & Revett 1789; Kleiner 1983). Some viewers interpret what they see based on their existing wishes, knowledge, and presumptions, while others narrate the object only as they see it. The commissioner of the monument can dictate the appearance and location of the monument, but the viewer gives the meaning to it. Even though the original context and/or appearance of the two monuments are now lost to us, we see them as hybridizations because of our previous knowledge. The original contributor may have wanted to show his identity as bricolage (Hauessler 2013), but it is the knowledge and desires of the viewer that acknowledge the hybridization. However, one thing is certain: both Aule Metelis and Philopappus wanted to be remembered, and they succeeded.

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Images:

Figure 1: Photos by Anna-Maria Wilskman, June 2019.

Figure 2: Drawing from Stuart & Revett 1794, *Of the Monument Philopappus* plate I.; the monument in January 2016 by Anna-Maria Wilskman.

Literature as a medium of production of intangible heritage in colonial contexts: a comparative case study

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The hybrid colonial European contexts of Ireland and partitioned Poland induced at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries writers and intellectuals to re-functionalize a selected past and heritage in order to contest received notions of identity and to create a new shared sense of positive heritage, or what Laurajane Smith calls “heritage... as a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering (or re-creating, F.C.) that work to create ways to engage with the present”¹. As threatened cultures they were obliged to rely on forms of strategic essentialism to survive (in so far as they couldn’t rely on political constitution which expresses the underline unity of their conflicting social forces) and therefore required to turn to literary institutions for the same unificatory effects. In his 2008 monograph *The Impact of Irish-Ireland on Young Poland, 1890-1918* John Merchant revealed the cultural affinity that is both deep and striking between Ireland and Poland at the turn of the nineteenth the twentieth century by scrutinizing the interest that representants of the Young Poland Movement shared with their Irish counterpart (the Irish Literary Revival) in folklore, peasantry and mythology as well as in new forms of literary expression.

While heritage is always contested, colonial heritage in post-colonial contexts is particularly sensitive and political. Moreover, when considering peripheral European contexts such as Poland and Ireland even more factors contribute to the hybridity of the process of heritage-formation, particularly when taking into account the ambivalent relation to the process of modernisation, generally identified by the victims of empire as an ideological superstructure of colonialism in its expression of universal reason. As L. Smith properly observes, heritage literature pinpoints that “the current concept of heritage emerged in Europe, particularly Britain, France and Germany, within the context of nineteenth-century modernity”². Not a mere coincidence that all of the mentioned nations constitute imperial and colonial powers: two of them carried out throughout the XIX century colonial policies towards the two (at that time) “imagined nations” I take into consideration: Britain for Ireland and Germany (along with the Russian and Austrian Empires) for Poland.

If for B. Graham “to be modern was to be European”³, I wish to present within the Polish-Irish identity formulations the ambivalent ways of constructing cultural heritage which were anti-colonial and at the same time anti-modern, forging in a broader sense a representation of European heritage as a counter-hegemonic work in progress – a project negatively motivated by recognition that the effects of all of the previous projections of ‘Europe’ - which took themselves to be gestures of civilisational self-assertion - have been catastrophic, as Zygmunt Bauman famously emphasised. This is particularly interesting if we take into account that, as Smith pinpoints, “it is within this context of the developing narrative of nationalism and of a universalizing modernity that a new, more pointed, concern for what we now identify as ‘heritage’ emerged.”⁴ My aim here is also to demonstrate that even a carefully historicised and radically contingent construction of an European identity is susceptible to criticism on the grounds that it generalises unwarrantedly from the modern experience of the historically dominant European nations to all of Europe, helping to question the latent essentialism implicit in widely adopted conceptualisations of Europe and its universalist claims of modernity. Such context spurs B. Olsen to point out that national and racial discourses coalesced and naturalized a link between concepts of identity, history, and territory to establish a doctrine of ‘blood and land’⁵. It is essential to notice (as did the great cultural historian Joep Leerssen) that such link, within the context of the XIX century nationalism, has to be found precisely in literature, more specifically in the significant overlap between the fields of politics and literature, “especially in the 19th century when history (in Johan Huizinga’s sense, of the way ‘in which societies

¹ Smith Laurajane, 2006, *The Uses of Heritage*, New York: Routledge, p 44

² Smith, Laurajane, *Uses of Heritage*, Routledge, 2006 p. 17

³ Graham, B., Ashworth, G. and Tunbridge, J. (2000) *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, London: Arnold. P

⁴ Smith, p.18

⁵ Olsen, B. (2001) ‘Excavating the other: European archaeology in the age of globalisation’, in K. Kobylinski (ed.) *Quo Vadis Archaeologia: Whither European Archaeology in the 21st Century?*, Warsaw: European Science Foundation, p.53

take mental reckoning of their past', what nowadays would be called cultural memory) was becoming a key to collective identity"⁶. Literature was in fact considered at that time the summum of culture and arts, a prestige that had been intensified by the Romantic belief in the quasi-redemptive powers of an 'aesthetic education', to use Schiller's term, in the formation of modern citizens, and contained more than any of the other arts a 'memory-reflexive' character as well as a 'memory productive' one⁷. Moreover, as Leerssen points out, literary works have played a key role in helping to produce and reproduce cultural memory even outside those intense 'pulse' moments of public celebrations, creating in this particular context, I claim, intangible heritage. While it can't be generally asserted that cultural memory, when manifested in texts, always expresses "intangible heritage", my overarching aim throughout the project is to demonstrate that in the cases of such European peripheries, it indeed might.

The lasting and constantly renewed canonicity of literary works and the men who wrote them helped reconcile the state's history with the nation's memories, bringing together different periods and regimes in a timeless sanctuary of collective self-recognition linked to a canon of ever-reproducible texts, reflecting in the realm of the imaginary what monuments and buildings symbolised in reality. This memory-productive element, as mentioned above, constitutes the link between literature and intangible heritage, for literature represented in such liminal colonial contexts the imaginary common and public space expressing native, essentialised elements of identity, customs and folklore (expressed for instance in the Polish and Irish literary peasant-mania at the end of the century), linguistic expressions and selected memories of the glories of the nation before the colonial period, a selected heritage aimed at the strengthening of the hearts. Heritage, as L. Smith and E. Waterton point out, "is also a highly emotive process, with very real emotional power. This power works to reinforce the social and cultural values given to heritage and helps to legitimise the sense of place, belonging and identities that those values engender". Such emotional power was induced by what Nietzsche calls in his *On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life* "monumental history", which provides the readers the feeling that "the greatness which was once there at all events once was possible and therefore will really be possible once again". Literature expressed therefore the need to establish a positive connotation of heritage, emotionally empowered, which contrasted the failure of the present. Here lies the first aspect constituting the hybridity of the construction of heritage: the reinterpretation of a selected past had to opt for specific elements which could nourish such promise for a better future. To put it in other, even more familiar terms, these "imagined communities" could not be expressed through social and political entities: Benedict Anderson's famous characterisations of imagined communities as limited and sovereign could not find expression in the real world, but solely in the literary realm, in the memories and projections of the unity and glories of the past. Such elements, which permeated the literature of the two European peripheries at the turn of the centuries, are the formulation of continual interpretations and reinterpretations of collective memories through the experience in the colonial present. As properly asserted by L. Smith and E. Waterton, "heritage is about remembering (and forgetting) and, like remembering, heritage is a process in which the past and the present intertwine to negotiate and understand the present."⁸. A considerable amount of literature has been written on the relation between the past and the present in the process of decolonisation in postcolonial theory, starting from the works of Frantz Fanon, but an important element to take into account when contemplating intangible heritage (as a native way of living) within these particular colonial contexts is that the imperial and colonial settings rendered in fact cultural memory a crucial factor within the identity-formation process of these societies. As Theo D'haen notes⁹, although for everyday uses of cultural memory Aleida Assmann's distinction between "archival" and "functional" memories makes sense, for the postcolonial Assmann's distinction evaporates because memories that for everyday purposes may have lapsed into the archival often become "re-functionalized" precisely by making them the concern of renewed attention under the postcolonial .

The creation of a postcolonial counter-memory through literature, then, sets out to "correct" the world view conveyed by the colonizing country's (or countries, as in the Polish case) official history and canonized literature, especially as it often relates to the colonies themselves. In its most radical form, such use of memory holds out the promise of the recovery of some form of authenticity lost under colonialism.

There is, however, another important element to scrutinise. L. Smith and E. Waterton point out that "traditional Western discourses of heritage that stress its materiality work to make intangible memories more 'tangible' by linking them to places, objects and spaces. By linking memory and remembering to the tangible, processes of remembering become more open to state regulation and control – they can be preserved, conserved, lost or destroyed and, above all, collected onto lists and registers (Figlio

⁶ Rigney, Ann, and Joseph Th Leerssen. *Commemorating Writers In Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, p 12

⁷ Erll, Astrid; 2011. *Memory in Culture*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

⁸ Smith, L. and Akagawa, N., 2009. *Intangible Heritage*. 1st ed. London and New York: Routledge., p 294

⁹ D'Haen, T., "Cultural Memory and the Postcolonial," in *Littératures, Poétiques, Mondes*, Ed. Micéala Symington, Paris: Honoré Champion, 2015

2003: 152).” The distrust towards colonial state apparatuses, which often created enforced links between historically “native” places and spaces and colonial culture rendered such process much more ambivalent. Moreover, it contributed to the ascription to literature of the peculiar function of attributing meaning to places, memories and events, and to the collective in general, for the aesthetic education of the people had to be preserved by the native intellectual, who summarised in his works all the particularities of the people, the many forms of being Irish and Polish (essential are here the works of David Lloyd¹⁰). Where the state is absent, the intelligentsia represents the archetype. The feeling of loneliness, the impossibility to find a common language and heritage are solved through the aesthetic education, through art, which provides a communal language for all. Aesthetics performs this function by virtue of representing the common property of all the citizens, as Schiller reminds us in *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*. The function of literature for nationalism is to forge those para-state institutions that gradually form the counter-hegemonic “ethical state,” to use Gramsci’s terms, that subsists alongside the colonial apparatus and intends to displace it. As Declan Kiberd points out in his *Inventing Ireland*,

“A writer in a free state works with the easy assurance that literature is but one of the social institutions to project the values which the nation admires, others being the law, the government, the army, and so on. A writer in a colony knows that these values can be fully embodied only in the written word: hence the daunting seriousness with which literature is taken by subject peoples.¹¹”

That does not mean that literature in a free state projects solely the values that the nation admires, for one of the functions of literature has been the spelling out of criticism and the establishment of counter-discourses in liberal societies. However, it still remained an option between many, not representing a particular pressure for the writer in a liberal society. Heritage as expressed in literature is linked to the effort to create a different order of reality from that which is given to the citizen: it’s not a merely who I am, but also who I might be. The importance of the writer and the political and ethical import of poetry and art did also inspire cultural nationalism and commemorations of poets and artists as portrayed in the fever of centenaries of poets and artists in the XIX century.

The body of literature of postcolonial theory provides interesting tools to analyse the hybridity of such cultural constructions of heritage, along with the growing field of memory studies, which in many cases overlaps with the former. The formation of a counter-identity through heritage, as well as how the links between identity and heritage are developed and maintained is an area that has not has much scrutiny in the heritage literature, as L. Smith admits.

Within this particular framework my aim is to depict the multifaceted hybridity of the cultural constructions of heritage in the Polish and Irish peripheral context, for as Graham et al. observe (2000: 258), ‘heritage may represent the dominant ideological discourse, but that also ensures that it can become the focus of alternative meaning for those who dissent’. In fact, the discourse of heritage was contested in many areas:

- In wishing to contest the heritage imposed by the imperial powers (germanification and russification in the Polish context, imposition of the English language and cultural values in the Irish context, creating the so called Anglo-Irish identity represented, among others, by W.B. Yeats, in which an ancient Irish heritage is reconstructed in the English language) such colonised Polish-Irish subjects created a heritage opposed in its cultural connotations to the one forced on them. Such opposed heritage is always based on alternative notions of progress, anti-Enlightenment notions and more imaginative and less materialist (than the imperial ones) cultural identities, for instance Yeats’ literary and cultural connections between the Celtic heritage and the orientalist, more imaginative Indian one.
- the Romantic and neo-Romantic heritages based on the portrayal of a glorious national past which certain intellectual elites were wishing to bring forth are contested by differently ideologically oriented nationalist groups, forming different ideological notions of national heritage struggling for social appropriation.
- The hybridity of such national heritages are furtherly complicated by narrations imposed by the imperial powers and partially internalised by the colonised.

Creating authentic heritage: Polish and Irish anthropological modernism at the turn of the centuries in the cases of the Podhale region and the Aran Islands

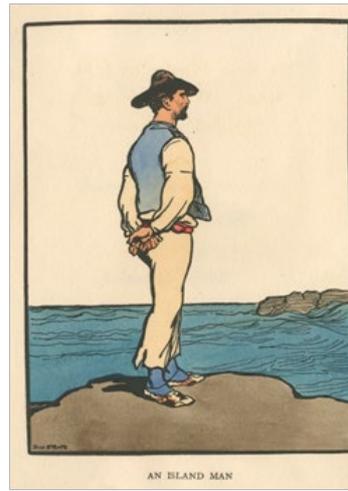
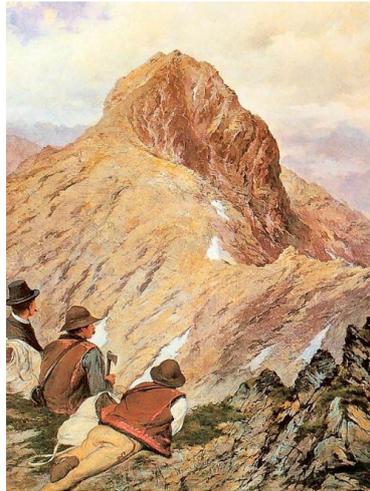
This preliminary study is aimed at demonstrating, in a comparative anthropological perspective, the

¹⁰ Lloyd, David. 1986 “Arnold, Ferguson, Schiller: Aesthetic Culture and the Politics of Aesthetics”, *Cultural Critique*, No. 2 137-169

¹¹ Kiberd, Declan. *Inventing Ireland*. Vintage, 2009., p. 118

creation and mythologisation of an original heritage in an anti-colonial perspective through the re-functionalisation of space and its inhabitants, namely the Podhale region and the Tatra mountains by key literary figures of *Młoda Polska* (Young Poland) and the West of Ireland with a focus on the Aran Islands by the intellectuals of the Irish Literary Revival.

The West of Ireland and the Tatra mountains became for intellectuals such as J. M. Synge and S. Witkiewicz, who began visiting such regions, an opportunity for self-exploration and self-expression, and their work reflects this in a hybrid structure that is in part the effect of an autoethnographic confrontation with conventional assumptions about primitive peoples. In the end, writing about the Aran Islands or the Tatra mountains involved more for Synge and Witkiewicz than redeeming a primitive community from the threat of extinction; it involved redeeming themselves as well. In my reading I'd like to foster an understanding of the cultural process of mythologization of identity through the literary construction



*The Tatra mountains and the Aran Islands in art at the turn of the 20th century. First part: Walery Eljasz-Radzikowski, *W Tatrach*, 1895, Muzeum Narodowe, Kraków. Second part: Jack Butler Yeats, *An Island Man*, 1906, Niland Collection, Sligo.*

of space and its inhabitants which led both movements to search for an heritage reconstructed through anthropological enquiry and created at the same time.

Whereas the Western European modernist might regard anthropology as a way of integrating non-Western sensibilities and perspectives into an essentially Western frame of reference, the Irish Revivalists and the Young Poland writers colluded with a discipline that in significant ways has furthered the interests of imperialism by producing a body of authoritative knowledge about colonized peoples. An analysis of the role played by anthropology in both movements may help us to understand the rhetorical and imaginative force of a specifically Polish/Irish form of anthropological modernism that seeks to transform local “indigenous” materials and practices, their tangible as well as intangible heritage, into new cultural “native” texts.

Because all of these writers had no professional stake in the discipline of anthropology, they were free to exploit the contradictions inherent to the discipline (which did not itself recognize the existence of such contradictions). The undisciplined use of ethnographic methods and anthropological theories of culture led to a style of representation that was at once scientific (or rather pseudo-scientific) and literary.

Therefore my reading would foster an understanding of the cultural process of mythologization of identity through the literary construction of space and its inhabitants which led both movements to undergo similar cultural developments and inspired the search for an heritage reconstructed and created at the same time. On the one hand the Young Poland writers mythologised the Podhale space and its inhabitants, starting from the works of Stanisław Witkiewicz and Kazimierz Tetmajer, which saw in the Podhale tradition an archetype of Polishness and interpreted the longing for the lost homeland as a reinforcement of unity and identity rendering the Tatra mountains granite monuments and a miniature of Poland, a symbolic space of nativist tradition and national heritage. The myths of Young Poland were based on the Podhale heritage, which in its folklore was identified as indigenous, natively Polish. A new definition of Polishness was emerging here, which not only saw the peasantry as holding economic

potential but as a 'reservoir' of national culture¹². Places such as Zakopane were placed outside the "ruch cywilizacyjny" (march of civilization), fulfilling the patriotic function of consolidating within its borders the nation divided between foreign occupiers¹³. And this discovery, whether actual or invented, throws up some significant analogies. According to Jan Majda,

"The Tatra mountains changed into a patriotic symbol, a meeting point for recent January Uprising's soldiers and their successors, and as a result of this process the mountains turned into the stronghold of the idealised independent Poland, which shortly grew into its potent bastion, and the capital of the mountains, Zakopane, evolved into the all-Poland centre of political and military actions"¹⁴.

Moreover, the Górale (highlanders) were reified, made, in this instance, to stand for a deep vein of hitherto unknown Polish history. Yet, at the same time, they were regarded as outside history, enjoying a life untroubled by the vicissitudes of the present. Furthermore, 'natural' Górale ways of life were made to stand in testimony to the notion of a pure Polishness¹⁵. Yet these ways required protection from the encroachments of modernity by the intelligentsia. In effect, the thinking of Witkiewicz and his colleagues was underscored by highly idealistic and, above all, romantic views.

On the other hand for the creative artists of the Irish Literary Revival, the Aran Islands¹⁶ represented a wellspring of Irish culture from which they could collect Gaelic folklore. Here it is possible to find the same sense of being "outside history" which characterised the Tatra mountains. The ruins and remains on the islands provided a sense of continuity with an unconquered Celtic Ireland, for even the Vikings made few permanent settlements in the west. These western islands such as the Arans and Blaskets focused the place of impending awakening, providing a symbolic and, it was hoped, actual site where Ireland would be born again. Moreover, the outsidersness from civilization plays here, as in the Polish case, an essential role. Just as the cultural nationalists' interest in the western island sprang largely from the appearance there of a unified, pre-conquest civilization, so the interest of the Irish writers sprang largely from the appearance there of passionate communality such as we had all lived before cities, industry, class and warring systems before, in fine, the separateness of self. Hence the insistent descriptions of the islands not as impoverished anachronisms but as places primitive, archaic, pre historic, medieval, pagan, even heroic and myth.¹⁷

W.B. Yeats' well-known suggestion to Synge to give up Paris (and its modern cosmopolitanism) and go to the Aran Islands to find inspiration is the eloquent expression of the longing for a nativist tradition in need to be rediscovered.

The Irish scholar Ulick O'Connor describes the attraction as follows:

These islands were the last outpost of the culture that was at the root of the literary renaissance. It was almost as if they were acting as a magnet to those who were unconsciously seeking to express the Irish imagination. Here it was concentrated in its purest form in the tales, music, dancing of the people. Their physical appearance, the way they carried themselves, their manner, all suggested the culture they belonged to, so untouched were they by contact with any other.¹⁸ Thus, conflicting authorities (aesthetic and anthropological), governed a discourse of cultural redemption that strove both to represent and to invent Polish and Irish cultural native heritage by means of a creation of an anthropological fiction.

If "myth consists in turning culture into nature," as Roland Barthes famously put it, then the very efficacy of localizing imagery as a way "to naturalize the rhetoric of national affiliation and its forms of collective expression"¹⁹ suggests the need to question such images in terms of their motives. Since to reconceptualize the Irish peasant and the figure of the góral (although a similar process had place with the more common Polish peasant, as the "młodopolska chłopomania" – Young Poland's peasantmania - reminds us) was to control and rewrite the essential Irish and Polish image (which in other words we could call "fixed notions of heritage"), the source of all authentic Irish and Polish culture, each revisionary portrait of the peasant privileged itself and tried to establish its own empirical authenticity by

¹² Political discourse in the eighteenth century had not even regarded the peasantry as 'Polish', reserving this appellation for the szlachta (gentry) and the aristocracy. The peasantry had not been considered as part of the body politic, let alone worth educating.

¹³ Jacek Kolbuszewski, *Tatry w literaturze polskiej*, p. 249.

¹⁴ Jan Majda, *Młodopolskie Tatry literackie*, p. 9.

¹⁵ As asserted by Antoni Kroh, „There is enough data to affirm that we can talk about unquestioned Polish national consciousness of the Podhale region only in the second half of the XIX century. Back then, intellectual and artistic elites associated the Podhale culture with the Polish one, rendering its inhabitants conscious Polish people. For this came in very useful the myth of their proto-polishness" Antoni Kroh, *Sklep potrzeb kulturalnych po remoncie*, bmv 2013, p. 220 – 221.

¹⁶ Which are a group of three islands located at the mouth of Galway Bay, on the west coast of Ireland.

¹⁷ See. John Wilson Foster, *Certain Set Apart: The Western Island in the Irish Renaissance*, *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Winter, 1977, Vol. 66, No. 264 (Winter, 1977), pp. 261-274

¹⁸ Ulick O'Connor, *All the Olympians*, p.123.

¹⁹ Bhabha, Homi, *The Location of Culture*, 1994, Routledge, p.295

turning culture into nature²⁰.

One of the particularities of these evocations of the homeland and revision of autochthone inhabitants is their insistence on the need to recover an original identity that has been lost or covered over by colonization, anticipating a liminal European variant of what Frantz Fanon would later call the third phase of decolonization, in which the native intellectual tries to reconnect with the people and mobilise traditional culture.

This double reception of anthropological geography through the medium of literature allows us to conceive that what is represented in such cases, I argue, is the functionalization of a hybrid heritage, in so far as European, imperial and postcolonial, trying to display a positive collective self-representation *in front of* the embarrassment of the collective failure of the present, by means of reinventing tradition. In this case, I argue, literature is used as a means of producing *intangible heritage*, to use Smith's terms.

As L. Smith and E. Waterton specify, "heritage is not 'simply' about identity; it is also about creating and maintaining a sense of place; and this sense of place is not only about a physical or geographical sense of belonging, but is also concerned with placing ourselves within social space. That is, heritage is a process through which individuals and collectives negotiate their social position and 'place' within particular societies." (293) I tend to identify within the two mentioned cases the need to create and imaginatively construct a place (the Tatras and the Aran Islands) which would simultaneously provide a feeling of uncontaminated "nativeness" and sense of belonging as well as a space in which Irish and Polish intellectuals could negotiate their position within the larger society corrupted by the colonial cultural-state apparatus and the process of modernisation as such, hence the fascination for such places perceived to be "outside history" and the "march of civilisation".

What does it ultimately mean to create a notion of common heritage based on a constructed and re-discovered cultural memory through literature?

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²⁰ Edward Hirsch, "The Imaginary Irish Peasant", in *PMLA*, Vol. 106, No. 5 (Oct., 1991), pp. 1116-1133

Artistic Hybridization between France and Italy in the mid-16th century: the case of Fontainebleau and Ancy-le-Franc castles.

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Premises

According to Peter Burke, the movement known as the Renaissance used to be regarded as the replacement of one system of ideas and literary and visual conventions (the “Gothic”) with another system (the “Classical”) (Burckhardt, 1860). However, this statement is not entirely true, because it has become increasingly obvious that Gothic, intended as the “old culture”, and Classical, understood as “the new”, coexisted for a long time and that they interacted, producing hybrid forms not only of thought, art, literature and especially architecture, but also of language, literature, music, philosophy, law and religion (Burke, 2016). Moving in the frame of this idea, the architectures and internal decorations of Fontainebleau and Ancy-le-Franc castles are perfect examples of the interaction between Italian and French cultures, which were profoundly different in the sixteenth century, but whose encounter, which sometimes has been a confrontation, gave birth to a unique and supranational court art, that has been the most fashionable in Europe for a long time. Nowadays, these beautiful monuments represent two of the first cases of spreading of Italian Mannerist style in Europe in every artistic field, architecture, painting and applied arts, which merged to the French gothic style giving birth to an original, international courtly style (Pinelli, 1993). They are two splendid examples of hybridity, intended to be «[...] something new that emerges from the combination of diverse older elements»¹.

Florence, 8th of April 1492: Lorenzo de Medici, chief of Florence, dies in his Villa di Careggi. His death marks the end of a situation of relative political stability in Italy, because two years later, in 1494, Charles VIII of France goes down to Italy to claim his rights for the dynastic succession on the throne of the Neapolitan Reign and the Milan Duchy. This is the first, complete immersion of the King of France inside the Italian cultural heritage, by which he and his soldiers were particularly impressed, without anyway understand it properly: Baldassarre Castiglione, in his *Libro del Cortegiano*, will describe french noblemen as not being, in general, very well cultivated (Castiglione, 1528)². We must attend the battle of Pavia of 1515, won by the Italophile Francis I, to really have the profound appreciation of Italian art and the desire of translating it in a French dialect.

Venice, 1530: Lazare de Baïf, the French ambassador in Venice, sends Rosso Fiorentino to the French court, in the presence of King Francis I, who designates him *Premier peintre du Roi* (Laborde, 1877-1880). Two years later, in 1532, the King in person asks Giulio Romano to leave Mantua, where he was working for Federico II Gonzaga, to join him and Rosso at the Fontainebleau castle and contribute to make it the most fabulous estate in Europe. Giulio will answer to this proposal sending Francesco Primaticcio, a talented Bolognese artist who will shape the art of the so-called *Première École de Fontainebleau* from 1540, when Rosso disappeared, until he died in 1570 (Angelucci, Serra *et alii*, 2019; Cordellier, 2004; Cordellier, 2005).

The first school of Fontainebleau

This international mannerist current, fueled by other Italian, French and Flemish artists, such as Nicolò dell’Abate and Antoine Caron, finally hybridized with the gothic and early-Renaissance substrate of previous French art, creating an original and European type of art and culture which spread outside Fontainebleau castle’s walls, mainly thanks to the engravings, attracting also Antoine de Clermont, an important noblemen, who commissioned to Sebastiano Serlio, another Bolognese artist, the building of his castle in Ancy-le-Franc in Burgundy.

¹ P. Burke, *Introduction. An Expanding Renaissance*, in Idem, *Hybrid Renaissance. Culture, Language, Architecture*, Budapest, Central European University Press, 2016, p. 1.

² B. Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano*, 1528, ed. curated by Walter Barberis, Torino, Einaudi, 2017.

From 1528, the medieval hunting lodge of Fontainebleau (figure 1) was elected the king's favorite residence, loved more than the official royal seat, the Louvre in Paris, which he himself had ordered to be restored and enlarged (Chastel, 1994); on the other hand, this imposing manor, built in the 12th century,



Figure 1: Various architects, Castle of Fontainebleau, about 1528-1600 (for the Renaissance part). Fontainebleau, Île-de-France. Source: Giulia Brusori.

needed renovation and enlargement works, to meet the needs of a very large court and, in particular, to conform to the “modern way” of construction: consequently, Gilles de Breton began the construction site respecting much of the original structure and starting from the demolition of the medieval portal, which was replaced by the so-called *Porte Dorée*, a monumental entrance consisting of three levels of loggias that suggest the facade of the castle of Urbino, wanted by Federico da Montefeltro more than a century earlier, including within: “deux travées de baies à petit fronton triangulaire, soulignées par des long bandeaux verticaux. Un manifeste typique du compromis qui s’établissait, comme à Gaillon, entre les motifs importés et l’usage français”³. The castle shaped in an organic way according to the needs of the court and the sovereign, who could be installed there already in 1531, when the main works in the royal apartments were completed, although Francis I never moved in, since after the death of his mother, which took place in September 1531, he moved to the rooms she had occupied in the Donjon. Therefore, this building, once completely medieval, became a hybrid residence, both respecting the French gothic tradition and including new Renaissance aspects.

As we already know, in 1532 Francesco Primaticcio came to Fontainebleau and started collaborating with Rosso Fiorentino at the decoration of the *Galerie François I*: at first, this extraordinary passage was to constitute a *promenoir* connecting his apartments, in which he kept his sumptuous collection of works of art. This was a strictly private environment that the sovereign loved to show his illustrious guests, where they could admire on the walls a triumph of stucco and painted decorations, entirely designed by the two artists. This marvelous complex represents the capital work of Rosso Fiorentino in France, and at the same time the one that reserves the most difficulties for posterity both in the effective reading of the decorations, much ruined due to disastrous subsequent restorations, as well as in deciphering the iconographic program underlying them, because of its complexity.

Afterwards, the so-called *Grande Galerie*, or *Galerie d’Ulysse*, one of the highest pictorial proofs of Italian mannerism was built inside the castle of Fontainebleau. This remarkable room, 150 meters long and 6-wide, was located between the *Cour du Cheval Blanc* and the *Jardin des Pins* and internally its walls were interspersed with fourteen windows on the south side and twenty-eight on the north side. Construction began in the ‘30s of the 16th century at the behest of Francis I, who wished to build a large gallery linking the *Pavillon des Poëles* to the *Pavillon de Pomone* and the *Grotte de Pins* and which closely resembled the Belvedere loggia that Bramante had planned, but which will never be completed, in the Vatican. The antiquing charm, which is directly linked to the attention paid by the French king to the cultural suggestions of Renaissance Rome, is also reflected very well in the architectural design of this imposing environment: in fact, it results directly from Vitruvius’ theories that can be traced in his treaty, the *De Architectura*, the subject of an editorial campaign in France that led to the publication in

³ A. Chastel, *L’art français. Temps modernes: 1490-1630*, Paris, Flammarion, 1994, p. 151.

1547 of the translation into French by Jean Martin; the VII book, in particular, has been the subject of a more in-depth analysis, as the ancient author here mentions the episodes of the Trojan War and the adventures of Ulysses as the most appropriate subjects to decorate the *promenoirs*.

The Roman suggestion triumphs again in the setting of the decorative program, as the vault, composed of fifteen total spans according to the testimony of Guilbert, who however saw it only after the construction of the Salle de Billard which had actually canceled the first five meters, is therefore actually made up of fourteen main spans, the “quatorze grands compartiments de stuc” of which Dan speaks, plus two spans “deux fois plus petites situées aux extrémités”, closely resumes the complex decorative scheme adopted by Raphael in the Loggias of Leo X: an articulated set of stuccoes and grotesque decorations that frame the figurative representations, in this case all concerning the gods of Olympus and in turn organized around a central scene present in each segment of the vault, whose order was symmetrically arranged starting from the central span of the room. On the walls were fifty-eight panels concerning the vicissitudes of Ulysses: the first twenty-nine, positioned on the wall to the left of the entrance, depicting the episodes of *nostos*, of the journey by sea towards the homeland of the hero starting from the *Embarkation of the Greeks after the fire of Troy*, while the remaining ones, inherent to the events which the protagonist had to face once he arrived in Ithaca, wound on the opposite wall starting from the back with the episode *Ulysses asleep is transported to the homeland*. The order of the scenes was established by the positioning of the windows, which ensured their compositional symmetry. Finally, this enormous decoration was completed by the representations on the east and west walls, where there were Flora and Ceres, Bacchus and Saturn, representing the four seasons of the year, surmounted by two lunettes containing two representations of the history of contemporary France, respectively *The conquest of Havre de Grace*, also painted by Nicolò dell’Abate but in a later phase, or in 1570, and the *Surrender of Amiens*, frescoed by Amboise Dubois commissioned by King Henry IV (Béguin, Guillaume, Roy, 1985).



Figure 2: Sebastiano Serlio, Castle of Ancy-le-Franc, about 1541-1552. Ancy-le-Franc, Burgundy.
Source: Giulia Brusori

With regard to Ancy-le-Franc (figure 2), its construction was commissioned to Sebastiano Serlio, a Bolognese architect who wrote *I Sette libri dell’architettura* (The seven books of architecture), first published in 1537. This sumptuous building can be considered as being the first Italian *villa* in France, without having anything in common with French medieval castles, as Fontainebleau once was. Nonetheless the patron, Antoine de Clermont, was related to the court, because he was the husband of Françoise de Poitier, who was the sister of Henri II powerful mistress’, Diane de Poitiers; therefore, he wanted to be associated to the king and the court using the same artists who worked for the sovereign, who were, as we already know, mostly Italians. The internal decorations were probably projected and achieved by the chief group of the Italian artists composing the so-called *Première École de Fontainebleau*, namely Francesco Primaticcio, Nicolò dell’Abate and Ruggiero de’ Ruggieri. This monument seems to be less hybrid than Fontainebleau due to the fact that it was conceived and built on the basis of an architectural treaty mostly based on the analysis of the antique, the “Italian” feature *par excellence*. However, the antique taste merged quickly with the French attitude towards both closed galleries, which are a typical French interior environment deriving from Italian loggias, and French cultural moment, at the dawn of the war of religion. In this sense, the iconography of the *Galerie de Pharsale*, the public gallery of the castle, is understandable only knowing how the ancient texts, such as Lucano’s *Farsalia*, were read in

that particular context, in which the *rex Christianissimus* started to be contested on the religious point (Frommel, 1998; Belime-Droguet, 2016).

The posterior conception of Fontainebleau's art

The popularity of Fontainebleau's art court spread throughout Europe and reached the maximum point of appreciation until the end of the 17th century, when a series of writers, such as Félibien, started to conceive this artistic phenomenon not really as a positive episode of cultural hybridization, but as a decadent Italian moment which contaminated French artistic culture: in his *Entretiens sur la vie et les ouvrages des Peintres*, the author accorded to the founders of the Fontainebleau school, Rosso and Primaticcio, but also to Nicolò dell'Abate, a very little space, focusing mainly on their Italian pieces of art without underlining their importance in the improvement of this specific, hybrid and courtly art (Félibien, 1666-1688). Fontainebleau's interior decoration started to be engraved by a series of artists, such as Théodore van Thulden, who did the extremely important job of engraving the frescoes of the *Galerie d'Ulysse*, now unfortunately lost; the artist expressively affirms, at the beginning of his collection of engravings, that Italy has, of course, a lot of beautiful pieces of art, but France is at the same level (van Thulden, 1640; Bonfait, 2012).

This kind of judgments were the starting point of the nationalization in the conception of Fontainebleau's art, which led to read it as a mean to disregard, or promote, Italian art in comparison to French one, more than a hybrid, pan-European style, until the middle of the 20th century. In this regard, an interesting example are the works and ideas of Louis Dimier, an important art historian and a member of the *Action Française*: Dimier's thesis, defended in 1900 and entitled *Le Primatice, peintre, sculpteur et architecte des rois de France* maintains, through the example of Francesco Primaticcio, that the French Renaissance appearing under the patronage of Francis I is due to Italian artists called by the monarch. Thus, while some saw in the school of Fontainebleau only a «dangerous contamination of a national art by the importation of a foreign and decadent art», Dimier considers Primaticcio as the initiator of the Renaissance in France: according to him, it is thanks to these Italian artists that France finally has access to classical culture. Therefore, Dimier was a patriot and a nationalist, but artistically he was radically anti-nationalist and considered the idea of French art not to be authentic⁴, positioning himself «against the partisans of an autochthonous art»⁵. Although he did not believe in cultural nationalism, Dimier thought that the artistic superiority of France existed thanks to progressive effort, for which the experience of Fontainebleau was the starting point (Dimier, 1900; Zerner, McWilliam, 2008).

Nevertheless, Dimier's thoughts about art brought him to be considered an outsider in the field of 19th century French historiography: Michela Passini has clearly demonstrated that from 1870, date of the France's defeat against Prussia, to 1933, when Hitler became chancellor, there was a massive institutionalization of art history, taken into consideration as a mean to build a national narrative: for instance, Eugène Muntz and Louis Courajod tried to build the idea of the French Renaissance, which was mainly an extension of the Middle Age and its Gothic tradition, contrasting with an historiography centered on the importance of the Italian Renaissance. However, almost everywhere in Europe national antiquities were submitted to a political idea, being considered more important than the Greek and Roman antiquity, in order to devalue it in the favour of a nationalization of the ancient art, meant to modify the understanding of monumental arts over time (Passini, 2012).

In conclusion, only from the mid-20th century this nationalistic path on cultural heritage has started to fade, therefore Fontainebleau and Ancy-le-Franc castles have been conceived and studied just as they are: the product of the successful meeting between the substrate of the French gothic art and the new Italian Renaissance art discoveries, which perfectly matched on the French territory and now have to be considered and understood as two of the most important examples antique hybridization between the artistic culture of two European countries.

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⁴ H. Zerner, *Histoire de l'art et idéologie politique chez Jules Renouvier et Louis Dimier*, in C. Barbillon, R. Recht, P. Sénéchal, *Histoire de l'histoire de l'art en France au xix^e siècle*. Actes du colloque international, Paris, INHA et Collège de France, 2-5 juin 2004, Paris, La Documentation française, 2008, pp. 391-401.

⁵ N. McWilliam, *Érudition et engagement politique. La double vie de Louis Dimier*, in C. Barbillon, R. Recht, P. Sénéchal, *Histoire de l'histoire de l'art en France au xix^e siècle* cit., pp. 403-417.

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The ruin as a replica. The protocontemporary moment

Virginia de Diego

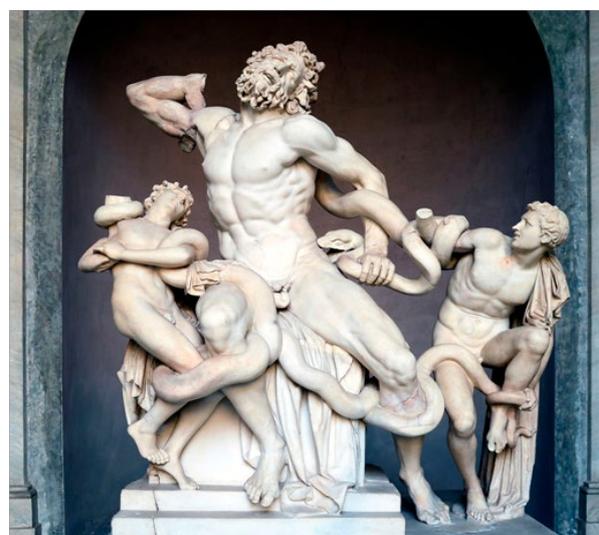
This research is focused on the identification and study of several artistic practices that, although located within what has been known, over the past three decades, as the 'archaeological current' of contemporary art, is likely to be considered independently of it. This investigation defends the position that this set of practices work with a new 'type' of ruin – which will be defined in the next paragraphs –; meaning they have sufficient independent characteristics to be considered autonomous concerning the aforementioned archaeological trend. Throughout this investigation, because it has lacked a name or dedicated monographic studies, the field of these artistic practices is called the 'Protocontemporary'.

This study reveals that these practices have initiated a unique way of conceiving the 'ruin'. The analysis of the 'Protocontemporary' will be based on this specific archaeological element. Originally a central concept in archaeology, it has been re-materialized and used, since the XV century, as an aesthetic category. From this moment on, elements with wide differences and disparate and substantially diverse intentions were classified under the same term creating, at least for this investigation, a taxonomic problem. Therefore, for this research, it was created the taxonomic category of the Protocontemporary: a series of artistic practices which challenge the material and conceptual limits that determine the idea of 'classical Ruin' thus generating the possibility of establishing a new current, independent from the archaeological one. These materialities will be referred to in this study as 'the ruin as a replica'. Later in this paper, the Protocontemporary will be defined through the analysis of few artistic practice cases. Before that, 'the ruin as a replica' will be explained in depth.

The ruin as a replica will be used in this study as a new classification and as a taxonomic strategy. As a guide, the term 'replica' has been used in three of its accepted meanings, as defined by the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy. Vis "exact copy of something, especially an artistic work"; "repetition of an earthquake, usually more attenuated"; and "expression, argument or discourse with which it is replicated". Each meaning functions as a level within the taxonomy, marking the fundamental differences between three ruin typologies.



Anonymous, Laocoonte and his sons (1540-1957 versions), 1540-1957



Anonymous, Laocoonte and his sons (copy of a Hellenistic original from 200 B.C. Found in the Baths of Trajan)

To illustrate each of these meanings of the term 'replica', a range of artistic practices will be put in place to demonstrate the characteristics of each level. The first one, "exact copy of something, especially an artistic work" encompasses the creation of faithful copies of works of art (mostly sculptures) from classical antiquity, both in form and in the use of the material. The mission of those replicas is to conserve: roman replicas of Greek sculptures or neoclassical copies of classic statuary. When the "snowy" sculpture group of the *Laocoon* was discovered in 1506, the idea that Greek sculpture had originally been white and made of stone became popular: Michelangelo himself worked in this line. This interpretation strengthened the context for Winckelmann's statements about the purity of that color to permeate creating a true European feeling, a few centuries later.

Through these copies (Roman and neoclassical) of sculptures, the artists thought to make exact replicas of them, materializing them as memory devices safeguarding a culture, the Classical Antiquity, which becomes the base, "fictitious", of European thought. And it is concluded simulated because, returning to the archetypal example of the *Laocoon*, the first copies have already reached their time interpreted. The copy does not exist without exegesis.

The second accepted meaning, "repetition of an earthquake, usually more attenuated", comprises the practice of the Folly: the creation of ruins that, although materially new, resemble 'old' ruins and that, habitually, mix elements of various temporalities in the same object or construction. It is about the replica as amusement. Within this category, it is included everything that can be considered ed newly created ruins: the works of Hubert Robert would be perfect pictorial examples of this level, but the folly works, especially, in the field of architecture. Perfect examples would be *Le Hameau*, an erotic-rural fantasy that Marie Antoinette built-in 1782 at Versailles; the *Colonne Brisée*, in the Desért du Rétz (France) or *The Jealousy Wall*, in the Belvedere House and Gardens in Mullingar (Ireland).



Hubert Robert, *View of the Grande Galerie in the Louvre in Ruin, 1796*



Richard Mique, *Le Hameau, 1783 (Gardens of Versailles Palaces, France)*



François Racine de Monville, *Le Colonne Brisée, 1770 (Le Désert du Retz, France)*



Robert Rochfort, *The Jealousy Wall, 1760 (Belvedere House and Gardens, Ireland)*

Those two first levels create historiography of the (classical) Ruin, being the third accepted meaning of the term 'replica' – “expression, argument or discourse with which it is replicated” – where the Protocontemporary emerges. This corresponds to those artistic practices where the ruin functions as a rebellious subject that question its nature. To deepen into that category of the replica as an argument I will use four taxonomic lower levels. Through terminological pairs, the Protocontemporary will be situated at the *Zwischenland* of each binomial. The pairs are 'Trümmer/Traume' 'position/possession', 'traduttore/traditore' and 'tradition/treachery'.

The first of them, 'Trümmer/Träume', encompasses a series of artistic practices whose framework is that of dreams; that world in which the frontiers between reality/res factae (Trauma) and fiction / res-fictiae (Träume) are dissolved. It could be stated that the objects present between this binomial question the nature of their materiality.

The work of the artists Anne and Patrick Poirier can be read that way: the ruin emerges in a world of darkness –as in their 1975-78 *Domus Aurea*– and as a creation mold that appears and disappears – GoogleMaps through – in their *Exegi Monumentum Aere Perennius* from 1989, creating a confusing temporality.



Anne and Patrick Poirier, *Domus Aurea (detail)*, 1975



Anne and Patrick Poirier, *Exegi monumentum aere perennius*, 1989/75

Likewise, the work of Daniel Arsham, who goes a step further by turning the ruin into an industrial series - as in his *Future Relics* series between 2013 and 2018 - or Christodoulos Panayiotou, who asks himself about the nature of reality in his series of discarded and later sculpted artifacts *Real Fakes* from 2015.



Daniel Arsham, *FUTURE RELICS*, 2013-2018



Christodoulos Panayiotou, *74.51.2472 (Lifesize Bearded Votary in Egyptian Dress)* from *Real Fakes*, 2015

The next taxonomic pair, 'position/possession', denotes the Protocontemporary as horizontal objectuality, dismantling the idea of Ruin – again, classic as already defined – as the result of vertical positioning.

RAAAF shows it violently in their *Bunker 599* (2010): an old abandoned WWII bunker pierced by a void. Also, Adrián Villar-Rojas in *Two Suns* (2017), where he breaks with the totemic-vertical power par excellence of Michelangelo's David by placing him lying down, with his back to the viewer. It should be cited too *Digging* by Lara Almarcegui (1998-2006), where the artist begins to dig in a field, without any invasive machinery, sure of not finding 'anything'.



RAAAF, Bunker 599, 2010



Lara Almarcegui, Digging, 1998

'Traduttore/traditore', the third classifier pair, assumes the Protocontemporary as a translation. Faced with the questioning on how to properly translate the remains, the Ruins – and if it is even possible to translate adequately – the Protocontemporary assumes the translation as an interpretation, working as an 'antilegomena', that concept that Luther coined that means "texts faced with doubts".

Within this umbrella of the Traduttore/traditore I would present *Life in the folds* (2017) by Carlos Amorales, in which the artist turns the fragment into an alphabet and later into an ocarina; or *Nire ama Roman hil da* (*My mother has died in Rome*), by Iratxe Jaio and Klaas van Gorkum from 2015, where the duo collects a series of drawings made on archaeological artifacts that are discovered as false – at least for the archaeological museum that rejects them under his canon. And, again, ruin as an alphabet from which to write – mark, seal – with *Crack writing* by Pablo Rodríguez from the year 2018.



Carlos Amorales, Life in the folds, 2017



Iratxe Jaio and Klaas van Gorkum, Nire ama Roman hil da (Mi madre ha muerto en Roma), 2015

The last pair, that of 'tradition/betrayal' analyzes the construction of the Protocontemporary in the *Zwischland* – the space between – of the semantic-significant fields of tradition and betrayal, through two paths: the destruction of tradition and creating a new one.

Epitomizing this path of the destruction of tradition: *Dropping a Han Dynasty Urn* by Ai Wei-Wei meta-reinterpreted by his collector Manuel Salvisberg in *Fragments of History* from 2012. On the side of creating tradition, mentioning Iván Argote and his series *Excerpts* (2014), in which he creates a series of stelae with the "stories we want" or Pascal Häusermann and his series *Vita brevis, ars longa* (2006) where he also collects a series of motti chiseled in stone that, although they sound philosophical, are truly advertising messages from well-known brands of the western world.



Ai Weiwei, Dropping a Han Dynasty Urn, 1995



Manuel Salvisberg, Fragments of History, 2012



Pascal Häusermann, Alfa romeo (from the serie Vita brevis, ars longa), 2006

Finally, raise a series of conclusions about the nature of the proto-contemporary and the ruin as a replica being the first of them the identification of a trend independent from the conceptual umbrella of the archaeological trend: the Protocontemporary.

The second conclusion has been the configuration of the Protocontemporary through the taxonomy (and strategy) of the ruin as a replica. The Protocontemporary as it has been defined encompasses the

following characteristics:

- Materially, he understands destruction either as a start/principle or as a mold or even paradoxically identifying his materiality with its destructive agent. The consequence is an object that, paradoxically enough, gives preponderance to content over the continent.



Kader Attia, Arab Spring, 2014

- Narratively, the Protocontemporary assume History as a hieroglyph, as a text with as many translations as there are agents. Another pair of paronyms could explain it: these practices flee from the Geschichte - History - to find themselves in the territory of the Gedicht - poetry or speculation. Its outcome: questioning objects, not carriers of answers, pose exit points.



Fran Meana, FM / I 2160 / U (part of her project The Inmaterial Material), 2014



Wang Sishun, Nothing, 2014

- Spatially and metaphorically, these practices materialize a repositioning, rising against the verticality of the classical Ruin and its nature as a passive object. As a result, we find the object becoming a quasi-subject, creating a horizontal relationship and opening the possibility of dialogue.

- Temporarily, and as destruction sometimes works as a beginning, the end is the beginning. In other cases, it is not known whether this cataclysm has occurred or is about to occur. This creates a fluid temporal state in which past, present, and future are intermingled



Nicolás Lamas, Agreement, 2016

All these characteristics have in common the rupture of linearity, in a variety of spheres, which inevitably leads us towards the rejection of the possibility of knowing, of writing, of living under any unquestionable system or dichotomous paradigm. The qualifying pairs were not thus fortuitous, since they already established the territory of the Protocontemporary as the territory between each of the binomials, as a 'tentetieso' that does not fall to one side or the other.

I will conclude with the third conclusion, the creation of 'ruin as a replica' as the taxonomy of the Protocontemporary. With an extension as a strategy, with a journey within the aesthetic field even larger than that of these pages, which still needs to be developed.

Aristotelian tradition in *K-drama*

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Fig 1. ANONYMOUS.

Introduction

The popularity of television series these days is well established. The currently dominant television model is North American fiction. However, the internet may have changed our way of watching television. Nowadays television series are a fabulous medium of multi heritage hybridisation. We can analyse serials present in other cultures, as for the South Korean dramas which opened to the Western public by the support of the craze for the Korean culture called the Korean Wave or *Hallyu*¹. Indeed this cultural export started at the beginning of the 21st century from the will of the South Korean government to promote tourism in China, Japan and Southeast Asia. Then a second wave reached Western countries. Thus the most famous dramas at that time were *Autumn in My Heart* (2000 - exported in 12 countries) and *Winter Sonata* (2002 - exported in 19 countries). Contemporary South Korean *serials* are one of the most relevant as they are intended for a foreign audience whereas they are mostly produced inside the country. If the South Korean serials are intended for an international audience we may be able to find the expression of a human imagination common to all our species, as Roland Barthes suggests in his paper « Semiology and cinema » (1964). Thus when fiction tries to seduce an international audience they create a common cultural heritage. My analysis will focus on the *K-drama*, *I Hear Your Voice*, which aired from June 5 to August 1st, 2013, on SBS, consisting of 18 episodes lasting 65 minutes; it was written by Park Hye-Ryun and was directed by Jo Soo-Won. The story tells the confrontation of three protagonists who try to make themselves justice : the lawyer Jang Hye-sung (Lee Bo-young), the telepath Park Soo-ha (Lee Jong-suk) and the murderer Min Joon-gook (Jung Woong-in). The main character is Lawyer Jang, a public defender, who can be in charge of defending murderers to respect judicial fairness under the law. The contemporary South Korean justice system is taken as a background.

Failure to analyse an artistic expression by using a definition.

Of all the contemporary television series that we can watch on channels or online, South Korea exports its own type of series, called *dramas*. Unfortunately, *dramas* can't be defined by a 'genus'. In fact, the term *drama* is borrowed from English, meaning tragedy: "*English uses drama as a genre classification [...] while Korea uses drama strictly to describe a format: the scripted television series*"². The *genre*

¹ Javabeans and Girlfriday, *Why Do Dramas Do That? Part 1* (Dimension Four LLC, 2013) loc 101.

² Javabeans and Girlfriday, *Why Do Dramas Do That?* loc 268.

classification also called 'genus' comes from the book of *Topics* written by Aristotle which exposes a scheme leading to a conclusion starting from the conjunction of two postulated as true: "white' is predicated of 'snow' [...] For 'snow' is not a kind of 'white', and therefore 'white' is not the genus of snow [...] also, 'white': for it indicates not the essence of snow, but a certain quality of it. So that neither of them is predicated in the category of 'essence'"³. For Aristotle 'essence' expresses the definition of truth based on reflections in the field of logic and reasoning. If *drama* can be a comedy as well, it is proven that *dramas* can not be classified only in tragedy whereas the 'genus' in English induced it : tragedy is predicated drama. If *drama* is not a kind of tragedy, and therefore tragedy is no more the 'genus' of *drama*. Here the definition of *dramas* refers to a kind of Asian television format serial that gathers all the members of the same 'species'.

While *dramas* is constantly renewing itself and can monopolize a subject with virtuosity to form remarkable works heritage from Asian culture; one of them *I Hear Your Voice*⁴ (*Neoui moksoriga deulryeo*) used Aristotelian tradition, by representing prosecutors, lawyers and judges, they adapted a Western tradition, inherited from the Western justice system. For instance, the Aristotelian tradition that is still used in Justice's Court is the method of advocacy from the *Rhetoric* for convincing an audience. Aristotle establishes several specific methods of reasoning in several books like *Dialectic*, *Rhetoric*, *Prior Analytics*, *Topics* and *Poetics*. So we can try to identify, in this contemporary South Korean *legal drama*, the link to the method of advocacy that comes from Aristotle's *Rhetoric* that is deliberate: "By applying the laws of dialectics, contemporary Confucians mostly express a unity between Confucianism and liberalism, in order to, globally, demonstrate the principle of a mixing of different administrative cultures within the process of globalisation"⁵. So by identifying *legal fiction*, we can determine, in a television serial with a legal framework, the elements that are part of Western fictional aesthetics from those that are not part of it.

This research focuses on separating mechanics of *rhetoric* from specificities of a *legal drama* in order to identify a new form of *poetics* that aesthetics can reveal. *Legal fiction* leads to poetics. One of the first to bring the poetic discourse closer to the judicial one was Sir Philip Sidney, a scholar and politician of the 16th century Elizabethan era, in *An Apology for Poetry*. For him, poets like lawyers organize disordered events to convey a right and logical truth, while historians report past actions that could be wrong, following Aristotle in his *Poetics*⁶. Nowadays, Kathy Eden in *Poetic and Legal Fiction in the Aristotelian Tradition*, seeks to prove that both disciplines use the same 'fictional method' set out by Aristotle. Moreover, for her, all Western aesthetics are inspired by this tradition⁷. However for Cristina Viano: "The common purpose of the tragic representation and the judicial process would therefore be to produce a form of "correct" judgment. But the attribution of a purpose and pleasure common to tragedy and rhetoric is difficult to argue in Aristotle, who clearly distinguishes the principles of *technai*"⁸. But what is relevant is that the causal construction of intrigues in poetic and *legal fiction* came from the same Aristotelian tradition. Thus the themes of justice are not insignificant since this *K-drama* seeks to seduce a global audience. Any society could identify with the system of justice. For example, a controversial law applicable in a democracy such as "the presumption of innocence" which is underlined as a dramatic twist: lawyer Jang will use it, to release the innocent telepath Park Soo-ha, but the same law had acquitted an assassin, murderer Min Joon-gook. Moreover *legal fiction* has the same method as *K-dramas* ; by keeping its main points to the end, or by suspending its argument with anecdotes, in a similar indirect way in order to captivate an audience. By using the 'fictional method' we can analyse in a *legal television series* which part comes from the Western heritage of the *Poetics* and which does not, such as repetitions, that is specific to *K-dramas*, in the editing and in the framing. Usually repetition

³ 'The Internet Classics Archive | Topics by Aristotle', accessed 30 April 2018 <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/topics.4.iv.html> book IV, 120b.

⁴ 'I Can Hear Your Voice', Serial 너의 목소리가 들려 (Corée du Sud: Chaîne d'origine SBS, 5 June 2013).

⁵ Eun Gee Yun, 'Le système administratif et la culture en Extrême-Orient, en Europe et aux États-Unis : la transformation du système administratif par le mélange réciproque de cultures en Corée, Administrative System and Culture in East Asia, Europe, and USA: A Transformation of Administrative System through the Mutual Mixture of Cultures in Korea', *Revue Internationale des Sciences Administratives* 72, no. 4 (1 May 2011): 527–52 translated from french by Hugues Lebailly : "Les confucéens contemporains expriment, dans une large mesure, en se basant sur les lois de la dialectique, une unité entre le confucianisme et le libéralisme afin, globalement, de prouver le principe d'un mélange entre différentes cultures administratives dans le processus de mondialisation".

⁶ Aristotle and Anthony Traducteur Préfacier Kenny, *Poetics* (Oxford, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord: Oxford university press, 2013), 28, 1451b.

⁷ Kathy Eden, *Poetic and legal fiction in the Aristotelian tradition* (Princeton (N. J.), Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord: Princeton University Press, 1986), 8.

⁸ Cristina Viano, 'Chaînes causales et fictions dans la Poétique et dans la Rhétorique d'Aristote', *Philosophie antique. Problèmes, Renaissances, Usages*, no. 16 (1 November 2016): 134, accessed doi:10.4000/philosant.615 translated from french : « Le but commun de la représentation tragique et de la procédure judiciaire serait donc de produire une forme de jugement « correct ». Mais l'attribution d'un but et d'un plaisir communs à la tragédie et à la rhétorique est difficile à soutenir chez Aristote, qui distingue clairement les principes des *technai*».

is poor in argumentation and devalued as a “*cliché*”.

Repetition is not part of cultural appropriation.

The format of a *K-drama* focuses on its intrigues within a closed narrative, that is to say that the story develops by being divided into episodes that follow each other. Thus it is a series that has no autonomous episode, no intrigue unsolved nor a second season. The structure is a closed story therefore more prompt to convey a clear message than another type of television series without knowing when the story will end. In the same way that Roland Barthes uses method to analyse advertising images more prompt to convey a clear message to prove his theory in his *Rhetoric of the Image*⁹. A *legal drama* should present a fair justice system, whereas *I Hear Your Voice* takes part to show both sides over a fair and an unfair point of view. From its first episode, the heroine's mother (interpreted by Kim Hae-sook) submits to the Judge Seo Dae-seok (interpreted by Jung Dong-hwan) the iniquity of which her daughter was a victim (interpreted by Kim So-hyun as 15-year-old Hye-sung). Thus the mother burns as a symbol the autobiographical books of the Judge in front of his house, in order to expose his abuse in condemning her daughter [episode 1, TC 33:17 to 34:57]. That scene announces a significant understanding of the staging: it shows an *autodafe*. This is the reason why this medium is ideal to analyze the nature of these meaningful pictures.

According to the Aristotelian tradition, that Barthes revived in his theory of the *Rhetoric of the Image*, the framing of a film is composed of sequences of pictures associated with others, to convey a ‘message’. Thus moving pictures or sequences of pictures arranged together convey a meaning in themselves. This is why pictures or photographs present in a film participate in the intelligibility of a scene and can not escape it¹⁰. A film analysis of the scenes in the lobby turnstiles of the Court of Justice (and associated scenes) exposes emphatic pictures presented all along this *K-drama*. The more we analyze the editing the more the framing repetition is used like an advocacy itself. From its first apparition, the scene in the lobby turnstiles of the Court of Justice symbolizes a state of mind: doubts [episode 2, TC 28:35 to 29:10]. The heroine, lawyer Jang, doubts the guilt of her client. She hesitates between modifying her pleading or pleading guilty. She goes around in circles literally and figuratively. Here, the pictures aim at conveying a symbolic message. When the scene is repeated we can identify the effects produced on the viewer: his interest is maintained by the narrative tension, the suspense. There is a logic of innovation through repetition, since the viewer likes to recognize these *clichés*, but must also be surprised by them, when they are reiterated differently. Thus, in the last scene of the penultimate episode of the *K-drama*, the suspense is maintained until the final episode: the murderer Min Joon-gook, who was arrested, reveals to the prosecutor that the hero, telepath Park Soo-ha, stabbed lawyer Jang. In the eyes of justice, the hero is accused of attempted murder. The surprise is complete because the spectator knows that the heroine interposed to avoid the hero becoming a murderer, so as to take the blow intentionally.

For Aristotle this incident in the plot is most relevant, like “on Argos when Mity's murderer was killed by Mity's statue¹¹”. This twist puts the spectator in front of his morality: the truth must triumph but the law condemns the nice hero, telepath Park Soo-ha. Because of the imminent end of the story, the spectator's doubt precipitates his prognosis towards a tragic outcome. In this last episode, the viewer feels the dilemma that stuck in the doors turnstiles, the judge, the lawyer Cha and the prosecutor Seo (played by Yoon Sang-hyun, Kim Kwang-gyu and Lee Da-hee), were facing when discussing the fate of the hero [episode 18, TC 24:40 to 25:40]. The scene, in the lobby turnstiles of the Court of Justice, is a metaphor for the dilemma felt first by the lawyer Jang, who turns without going out or entering, as if to weigh the pros and cons, is again shown to the audience. Thus these repetitions amplify the familiar impression of *déjà-vu* and create a proximity with the spectator.

Similar scene mechanism creates a hybridisation of aesthetics.

There is no need to know South-Korean law to understand and be captivated by *I Hear Your Voice*, as the plot is appealing in itself. The *K-drama* commands its own mechanics that keeps us in suspense from the first episode until the final resolution of the plot. The audience makes its own prognosis that excites its curiosity and generates more fascinating intrigues. The suspense is both maintained by scenes that are reiterated differently and by emblematic frames that influence, rightly or wrongly, the viewer's prognosis. Therefore, scenes in the *drama* build a network of similar signs.

The combination of analogous sequences forms a visual pattern. Whenever the scene, in the lobby

⁹Roland Barthes, *Oeuvres complètes. Tome 2, 1962-1967*, ed. Éric Marty (Paris, France: Éditions du Seuil, DL 2002, 2002), 152–153 ‘Rhetoric of the Image’.

¹⁰Barthes, *Oeuvres complètes. Tome 2, 1962-1967* ‘Sémiologie et cinéma’, translated from french by Hugues Lebailly: « Ce caractère analogique de l'image est lié à son caractère continu, continu qui, dans le cas du cinéma, comporte non seulement un aspect spatial, mais est renforcé par un continu temporel, la succession des images » p. 623.

¹¹Aristote and Kenny, *Poetics*, 29, 1452a.

turnstiles of the Court of Justice, appears a new interpretation can emerge contradicting the previous occurrence: the second occurrence of the turnstiles scene is still illustrating the dilemma of the heroine doubting the guilt of her client. The difference is that she is observed by three judges who feel by extension doubts about their choice of enrolling her as a public defender. Because in addition to going around in circles, the heroine is shouting, kicking and insulting. One of the judges defends himself stating that she seemed sharp during the interview [episode 2, TC 59:01 to 1:00:11]. So the dialogue between the three judges expresses the same sensation of uncertainty that is now felt by those diegetic characters. Once again when the turnstiles scene reappears, one of the three judges expresses a sigh of exasperation, making a sign of disapproval and saying "she starts again" [episode 5, TC 23:06 to 23:37]. The skepticism expressed by the judges in watching the lawyer's behavior reflects an extension of perceived doubt in the previous analogous scene.

Therefore, the sequence of pictures in this place communicates a lexical field of emotions in the manner of synonyms. Through repetition, the series creates its own convention of significant pictures. This is why we can analyze those sequences as analogical discourse. The film analysis of the scenes with similar framings shows that their repetition forms a *writing*. It could be defined as a *visual code* featuring synonyms through the repeated use of the same framing. Everything is staged to translate an emotion into a nuanced range, as in a sentence. Therefore, everyone is able to decode these meanings when watching those scenes. The detailed examination of this *legal drama* confirms Barthes's postulate¹² which seeks to separate the 'code' from the 'message', in order to identify an anthropological structure of the 'human imagination'. But it also shows that the use of repetition is part of the 'definition' of a *drama*.

Conclusion

A large audience rate for a *K-drama* also led to a continuation of the story through additional episodes. The channel, SBS, ordered two more episodes on the broadcast of the 14th episode. This striking example gives an idea of the intensive drama production. In trying to please the viewers this might have emerged as an 'accident' that can be singular to *I Hear Your Voice* but is not part of its 'definition', 'property' or 'genus'. According to the sociological analysis of Edgar Morin, this emergency production becomes a method of innovation: "A highly complex organization is devoted to the persistence of its own identity within a change that enables it to acquire new properties, but also makes it run permanent risks"¹³. On the contrary, this method of production could create an impoverishment of *Korean-drama's* content, because of its lack of time. Anyone can understand the dramatic issues that are more and more complex in this *K-drama*. So *I Hear Your Voice* lets us see more than the story and more about justice. Just as Confucian philosophy let the disciples be intellectually autonomous¹⁴. A *drama* lets the people learn by themselves. So this aesthetics of repetition is a 'property' of this type of television series inherited from a Confucian tradition. For Aristotle the 'definition' and the 'property' are *two faces of the same coin* which is the 'unique property'¹⁵. The problem is to identify the 'unique property' of the Korean-drama, which is different from the Japanese-drama, the Chinese-drama, the Taiwanese-drama etc.

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¹²Barthes, *Oeuvres complètes. Tome 2, 1962-1967*, 628 IMAGE ET SON, juillet 1964, interview by Philippe Pilard and Michel Tardy, translated from french by Hugues Lebaillly : « C'est pourquoi on attache actuellement beaucoup d'importance aux notions d'« idiolecte », d'« écriture » en littérature, qui sont en quelque sorte des « sous-codes », des états intermédiaires entre la langue et la parole. Dans le cinéma, il y a aussi des sous-codes : il y a des films pour certains milieux, et dont la structure doit beaucoup à tel ou tel milieu. Mais il y a peut-être au-delà une grande « langue » de l'imaginaire humain. C'est cela qui est en cause».

¹³Edgar Morin, *Sociologie* (Paris, France: Seuil, 1994), 194 translated from french by Hugues Lebaillly « L'organisation hypercomplexe est vouée au maintien de sa propre identité dans le changement qui lui permet d'acquérir des propriétés nouvelles, mais qui lui fait courir aussi des risques permanents. Elle fait appel continûment aux forces naissantes de réorganisation et, pour cela à besoin d'une certaine désorganisation » .

¹⁴Confucius and Ezra Traducteur Préfacier Pound, *Confucian analects* (London, Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord: P. Owen, 1970, 1970) book I, 15.

¹⁵The Internet Classics Archive | Topics by Aristotle', 3 book I, 4.

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Heritage imaginaries in the Ecuadorian Andes: An exploratory ethnography in Saraguro and Cuenca

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Introduction

The study of heritage imaginaries within the (re)invention and (re)emergence of identitarian legacies becomes particularly interesting in Andean territories. Because agencies, knowledge systems, and meaning-making processes have incorporated the tensions, contradictions, and hybridization of the post-colonial context as constituent elements in transforming and strengthening local identities. In this frame, I want to address how heritage is (re)produced, (re)signified, and contested within the cultural matrixes and identities in the Ecuadorian Andes through the notion of Heritage Imaginaries.

This study aims to rethink heritage, not as a notion but as a meaning-making process represented in social interactions. Ontological perspectives show that *"heritage is [...] directly tied to knowledge and epistemologies that are autochthonous to particular peoples and places"* (McCarty et al. 2005, p. 3), and how, in this way, the strength of self-determination builds up a community. Therefore, this study focuses on how different cultural matrixes exist in the Andes (re)creating and displaying heritage imaginaries.

This research is framed in the socio-anthropology of imaginaries (Carretero 2003-2012, Restrepo 2007). I have considered different theoretical approaches to contextualize heritage imaginaries in the Andean region's historical and contemporary particularities with the aim to contribute to new anthropological approaches based on problematics, tensions, and knowledge behind heritage (Harrison 2015, Lee 2019). Therefore, I use imaginaries as an approach to heritage that enable to unveil the relation between the notions of heritage and local ontologies. Consequently, this study comprehends imaginaries as singular matrixes that shape perceptions, points of view, images, and understandings, they allow us to explore how people construct ideas about themselves, other people, places, and landscapes (Baeza, 2008). Therefore, social imaginaries as a theory of heritage dig deep into the heritage representations very being through everyday experiences. In doing so, imaginaries lead to complex and relational views of heritage understandings and contexts (Waterton & Watson, 2013). Social imaginaries approach to cultural heritage enable to unravel what lies behind heritage representations, how they are signify and firmly embedded in the ways *"individuals understand their identities and their place in the world"* (Gaonkar, 2002, p. 4). Also, this study seeks to identify and incorporate other notions and comprehensions over the legacies, ways to experience and comprehend the past and memory, and the construction of identity in contemporaneity.

Therefore, this research carries on ethnographic fieldwork and participatory methodologies to identify heritage imaginaries through reflexive dialogues with local agents. The fieldwork is located in two study cases in the southern highland of Ecuador, making it possible to problematize (Akor, 2015) heritage and what this tells us about the contemporary context where heritage imaginaries are assumed and diffused. I currently live between Cuenca and Saraguro, where the two study cases are located: the neighborhood El Vado and the community Chukidel Ayllullacta.

It is essential to highlight that the fieldwork in the two study cases depends on the territorial, organizational and ethnic context. In the Saraguro community of Chukidel Ayllullacta, I have articulated this study with local initiatives carried on by the community government, such as developing the community work plan, making part of internal discussions on culture, identity, and heritage. In the El Vado neighborhood, I have mapped actors to identify the different agents and their relationships to guarantee interviews with the various postures that inhabit the neighborhood. I have applied participatory workshops, focus groups, and interviews with both inhabitants and experts in both cases. Regarding the interviews with experts, it is worth mentioning that both in the case of Cuenca and Saraguro, there is extensive research by local academics which delves into a self-perception of identity disputes.

Finally, in the Chukidel Ayllullacta community, during 2020, I carried on several field visits at the beginning of the year before confinement. In the last three months of 2021, I live permanently in the community housed in one of the local families, which has allowed me to understand the daily dynamics at the family and community level. In the case of El Vado, I know the neighborhood problems closely as a citizen of Cuenca, thus to delve into the perceptions of those who live in that particular neighborhood, I applied in-depth interviews to residents.

Theoretical frame

Far from being a unanimous and neutral notion, heritage is a social construction. In this line, Adriana Molano Arenas (2020), General Director of CRESPIAL¹, in the face of social claims on identity redefinitions (Carrera, 2017) in Latin America pointed out that the consensus about heritage has been broken by the diversity, tensions, and disputes that constitute heritage. Subsequently, several studies problematize how heritage has been embodied, used, practiced, and signified in postcolonial contexts with a particular interest in current uses of the past that has been crucial to the emergence of new debates on subcultures, new identities, hidden voices, and multicultural discourses (Kaltmeier & Rufer, 2017) in the face of the homogenization tendency.

Therefore, as identities are a way *“people inflect, stylize, produce, and perform subject positions, resulting in situational and individual approximations of identity”* (Field & Rappaport, 2011, p. 10) it is essential to acknowledge that since the 1990s, social movements have promoted an intense process of recovery of the ancestral roots in line with an identity resistance (Del Campo, 2019). Thus, the indigenous movement in andean countries like Ecuador are permanently claiming a resignification of historical memories, inventing broad traces of their tradition to build alternative identities in the face of monocultural reality as a mechanism to fight against homogenization, claiming, and recreating new territorialities (Fernández, 2018). In this sense, Kaltmeier (2016) denotes that *“While in Western European countries, heritage has been transformed into a depoliticized lifestyle factor, heritage in postcolonial contexts has become a battleground on the interpretation of history and its projection into the future”* (p. 3).

In this line, the problematization of heritage in the Andes raised questions such *“how participates in identity politics, and intercultural organizations create new forms of identification and negotiate the fluid boundaries of their constituencies”* (Rappaport, 2007, p. 20), how contextualize heritage and cultural discourses within a colonial system characterized by ethnic classifications where explicitly recognized as operating simultaneously as tools for domination and as vehicles for resistance (Rappaport, 2002), how does the notion of heritage become central input to political reinvidications ‘from the bases’ (Kaltmeier & Rufer, 2017) and how the uses of past and memory constitute heritage imaginaries. Furthermore, subaltern identities demand the construction of knowledge in and out of academia from their own cultural and epistemological matrixes, particularly in culture and heritage. Thus, from non-western geographies, social movements have widely contested the conventional notions of UNESCO’s heritage and culture. As a result, several researchers have focused on local understandings and the generation of situated knowledge by acknowledging each community’s historical trajectory and how they interact with external local and global dynamics. However, to overcome institutionalized notions of -what is assumed as- heritage requires a change of perspective; thus, shifting the locus of enunciation and production of heritage imaginaries.

Heritage imaginaries in the Andes: El Vado and Chukidel Ayllullacta

In postcolonial territories, social imaginaries are rooted in hybrid and diverse cultural matrixes displaying several tensions and conflicts. The multi-ethnic population is one of the most significant and evident reasons to potentially create conflictive contradiction around heritage in the Andes, where *“indigenous people have a particular way of perceiving and dialoguing with the past and its material vestiges, far distant from a patrimonial vision”* (Absi and Cruz, 2005, p. 4). Especially in the Andes, the indigenous perspective stands out the significance of intangible heritage, the strong bond between culture, territory, and the value of their knowledge matrixes (Adán et al. 2001, p. 621). Besides, authors like Canclini and Rivera also incorporate notions as hybrid or chixi, referring to the territories’ temporal and cultural heterogenesis in the global south. These multiple modes of existence produce different heritage imaginaries within the complexity of social networks full of contradictions.

Ecuador keeps alive several indigenous communities and a strong Spanish colonial legacy present in different human settlements throughout the Andes. Therefore, this research takes place in two study

¹ Centro Regional para la Salvaguardia del Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial de América Latina (CRESPIAL) Regional Center for the Safeguarding of Latin America Intangible Cultural Heritage (CRESPIAL)

cases, the urban neighborhood El Vado in Cuenca and the indigenous community Chukidel Ayllullacta in Saraguro.

El Vado is located in the historic center of Cuenca, denominated World Heritage Site since 1999. It preserves the formal orthogonal town plan construed in the colony and has been respected for more than 400 years, besides several immovable assets from the colonial and republican periods. Hence the heritage discourse in Cuenca is highly institutionalized and is mainly linked to architecture. As several colonial cities in South America, Cuenca was founded over settlements of pre-Hispanic cultures. This territory was initially the Cañari city Guapondeling, and after Inca conquest the city of Tomebamba was settle over cañari territory about 70 years before the Spanish conquest.

Since El Vado is one of the first neighborhoods of the colonial city, it is a significant reference for the city's identity. El Vado is strategically located as the southern entrance to the colonial town limited by the Tomebamba river, and it is near one of the most important markets in the city. Therefore, it is historically a place of transit and articulation between the rural and the urban sectors. The peasants that trade in the market pass through El Vado; becoming a commercial corridor for several artisans such as goldsmithing or toquilla straw hats directly linked to the rural area's work.

The world heritage site declaration substantially impacted locals' perception of heritage and identity. The neighbors assumed different postures about cultural heritage and the policies that regulate the use and the interventions on the historic center. Hence El Vado's neighbors display a tension between the postures that support the traditional notion of heritage grounded on colonial architecture and contemporary and popular art. The neighbors have three well-marked postures: the lifelong neighbors who defend the neighborhood's heritage based on architectural aesthetics and its historical and geographical centrality concerning the colonial city; cultural managers who challenge the traditional understandings of heritage and offer in their galleries and activitiesvkind of mixture between the traditional and cultural transgression; and the traditional craftsmen dedicated mainly to the goldsmith and toquilla straw weaving. These last ones consider their work as local knowledge and traditional economic labor threatened by big markets and the lack of persons who engage in continuing in this labor. Besides, the neighborhood artisans have manifested that the public administration's heritage discourse excludes them as crucial heritage stakeholders since heritage policies and projects focus on safeguarding the architectonic heritage instead of promoting their labor as a craftsman. On November 17, 2020, the World Crafts Council declared Cuenca as a World Craft City. The current mayor nominated the city for this recognition to promote artisan activity as a fundamental tourist attraction of the city. In this context, it is essential to elucidate how these denominations incorporate the active participation of the different actors involved in the (re)production of the heritage paying attention to disagreements and conflicts beyond the folklorization of one or another asset.

The heritage imaginaries emerge from the different positions of the residents of El Vado. Although heritage imaginaries are anchored to a shared geographic context and historical memory that hold a centrality, the architectural landscape, and the municipality's heritage policies, the differences arise from how neighbors relate with these elements and also their way of inhabiting the neighborhood. The heritage imaginaries in El Vado are grounded on how the different stakeholders construct and signify the neighborhood's identity based on their expectations. The friction between the imaginaries close to the official discourses of heritage and the imaginaries that challenge the conventional comprehensions break up what could appear as a consensed identity. On the contrary, the heritage imaginaries dispute the neighborhood's identity referents, demanding different meanings, uses, and relationships with them.



Figure 1: 4ta Pampamesa Cultural. El Vado Reliquia Turística y Cultural, 2019

Finally, in the Vado, beyond the differences and tensions between the neighbors, they all incorporate the same symbols of Cuenca popular culture, endowing them with different narratives and emotions. Hence, the tensions and contradictions are not only between heritage imaginaries, but they are a constituent part of these. In this context, heritage imaginaries are also part of the identitarian enunciation locus, which also implies an intern dispute of configuring identity handling these constituent contradictions.

The other study case is Chukidel Ayllullacta, a kiwchua-Saragura community located near the urban center of Saraguro city. It is essential to point out that Chukidel Ayllullacta is legally and politically a commune. The Ecuadorian state recognizes the administrative autonomy of the communes to the local government. It entails that the community members manage the community in an assembly and maintain their indigenous justice system recognized by the Ecuadorian constitution.

Saraguro has a particular historical trajectory within the different indigenous groups of Ecuador. On the one hand, Saraguros came through the resettlement of Inca empire expansion. And on the other hand, during the Spanish conquest, the Saraguros were one of the few indigenous populations not subjected to the hacienda system (farm system) -the expropriation of the lands and forced labor-. Although they were forced to work for the colony in the construction of highways and mines, the Saraguros were not evicted from their lands, which allowed them to maintain their forms of organization and life.

Throughout history, the Saraguros have maintained their beliefs within the Andean cosmovision, which means that they operate with a significantly different set of ontological premises than the ones we usually take for granted. The Andean cosmovision is a comprehension of the world that prioritizes the relational perspective, where each being necessarily constitutive of the other's agency at different moments in time (Bray, 2015, p. 9). Therefore "they have a particular way of perceiving and dialoguing with the past and its material vestiges, far distant from a patrimonial vision" (Absi and Cruz, 2005, p. 4). Especially in the Andes, the indigenous perspective stands out the significance of intangible heritage, the strong bond between culture, territory, and the value of their knowledge matrices (Adán et al. 2001, p. 621).

In the case of Chukidel Ayllullacta, the heritage imaginaries are firmly linked, on the one hand, to the Andean cosmovision. It entails the cultural matrix configure their place in the world (ontologies), identity, and organization as a community is the ground of the social imaginaries and even more of embodiment



Figure 2: Second day of the Andean New Year, Kulla Pacha ritual and the Warachikuy ceremony of the Arawi children (7 years old) and Kamari (14 years old). This is how the collective identity of the Chuquidel Ayllullakta - Las Lagunas community continues to be strengthened. Darwin Japon. 2022.

and display of heritage. On the other hand, indigenous people's historical claims determine heritage imaginaries. Thus, the struggles for the territory, autonomy, recognition as political subjects, and the interpellation of colonial history comprehension are present in their social imaginaries around heritage, culture, and identity as political representations.

Migratory processes, communication technologies, and other global interactions affect cultural self-determination and local comprehensions of what implies being saraguro, thus diversifying heritage imaginaries in communities such as Chukidek Ayllullacta. Although the Saraguros are an ethnic community with a territorial reference, their indigenous identity also struggles with constituent and historical contradictions and tensions such as syncretisms with the Catholic religion and miscegenation.

As the Saraguro people's lifestyles diversify, positions and disputes over the Saraguro identity also grow, especially in younger populations who display heritage imaginaries rooted in Andean ancestry in a cosmopolitan diaspora.

Both study cases display how this first layer of ontological-identity or world-making leads to diverse ways to imagine heritage. The two territories are heterogeneous-communities where the imagination of the place, their identity, sense of belonging, and practices and build space depend on the actors, their agency, and their place within the community network. As a result, we must refer to the plurality of Heritage Imaginaries constantly encountering, challenging, or reaffirming each other. The two study cases manifest different perceptions of urbanity, rurality, indigeneity, the past as ancestral or colonial, cosmovisions, language use, and aspirations.

Despite, the two study cases are located in different territories and with different ethnic compositions. In both cases, most social agents articulate heritage imaginaries to the popular identity of Saraguro or Cuenca, therefore grounded in their territorial and cultural-religious references.

Although popular culture seems to be a common thread in both cases, heritage imaginaries come up with the political, economic, identitarian intentions and sensibilities of social actors. For example, tourism promotes the economic interest of heritage. In this line, in both cases, tourism has influenced the configuration of heritage imaginaries grounded in the traditional discourses of heritage, folklorizing identity elements which on many occasions ended up essentializing and exoticizing local cultures. Along the same lines, migratory processes and communication technologies have influenced heritage imaginaries that hold local identities beyond national territories.

Thus, the relationships with history and the uses of the collective memory are the ground of heritage imaginaries. For example, on the one hand, the heritage imaginaries configured in the Vado are part of the city's aesthetic that highlights the colonial historical center as an identity icon. On the other hand, in Chukidel Ayllullacta, heritage imaginaries are configured from a political and vindicative use of the indigenous identity of the Saraguro people.

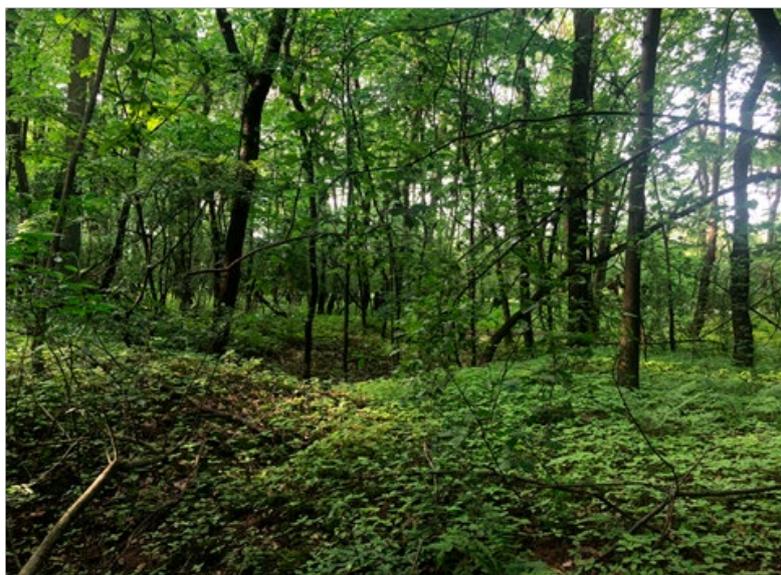
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In the Neighbourhood of a Non-site of Memory: difficult heritage of the local forest¹.

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The societies of post-conflicts areas have to deal with places of mass killings and body disposal pits² in their neighbourhood. These phenomena are to be faced in the area of bloodlands³, the area where the Holocaust was finalized, as more than one third of the Holocaust victims were killed not in camps but in *Holocaust by bullets*⁴ mass shootings conducted in sites that remain unmarked, neglected⁵. Some of them, although noted by investigators, commemorating institutions or local governments, are only partially marked, (often leaving body disposal pits outside the commemorated area) in a way that does not turn the site into a place of memory. Such sites, with poorly established specifications, affect local identity. In my research to classify those places I use the term *non-site of memory* defined by Roma Sendyka⁶ as a place containing body disposal pits that are not distinguished from the space of everyday life by any mark, symbol, monument, fence or any different form of a border, including a burial ceremony. Places in which the memory of the crime and its victims still seems to be threatening to the local identity and therefore is avoided or tamed in various ways. Having in mind the fact that the societies of post-conflict area are likely to formulate a closed, exclusive local identity, I examine the negotiation and transmission of cultural heritage in the neighbourhood of a place of mass murder that contains unmarked body disposal pits of the “Others” – Jewish victims of the genocide. Those places are surrounded by local societies that differ ethnically from the minority of the victims, which seems to be one of the reasons why the locals do not identify with dissonant heritage in their own neighbourhood.

¹ Text was prepared as part of a research project *Human remains in a local landscape. Between collective and environmental memory*, The National Science Centre in Poland (NCN), PRELUDIUM 18, no. 2019/35/N/HS2/04522.

² I decided not to use the term „mass graves” as human remains that were dug into the ground at places I am referring to were not buried with any kind of funeral ceremony considered as a rite of passage, distinction between body disposal pit and a grave.

³ Snyder, T. (2010) *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*, New York: Basic Books.

⁴ Desbois, P. (2009) *The Holocaust by Bullets: A Priest's Journey to Uncover the Truth behind the Murder of 1.5 Million Jews*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁵ Sendyka, R. (2016) *Niepamięć albo o sytuowaniu wiedzy o formach pamiętania*, [Oblivion, or: Situating Our Understanding of Forms of Memory] „Teksty Drugie”, no 6.

⁶ Sendyka, R. (2014) *Prism: Understanding Non-Sites of Memory*, Paris: Cahiers Parisiens, Univ. of Chicago Press. See also: *Nie-miejsca pamięci. Elementarz* (2017), red. K. Jarzyńska, M. Kobielska, J. Muchowski, R. Sendyka, A. Szczepan, Kraków: Ośrodek Badań nad Kulturami Pamięci.

My research is based on a case of Krępiecki Forest, a place located near Lublin, several kilometres from the Majdanek Concentration Camp, where the Nazis killed, put into the ground and burnt thousands of victims⁷. Those actions were not hidden well enough, local people were able to see not only transports with the victims and victims' corpses, but also the shootings and burnings episodes. Some of the killing places were to be observed from local houses. Despite the efforts to obliterate the traces, unburnt human remains are still there at the place, in the ground. Nowadays Krępiecki Forest is a not-memorized-enough local green area situated between three villages: Krępiec, Kazimierzówka and Wierzchowiska. In the nation scale it is not a well-known killing place yet the difficult memory of the mass killing attached to the place still lives passed between the local people⁸. What makes Krępiecki Forest a really interesting research field in terms of heritage studies is the fact that some, nowadays very few, witnesses of the genocide still live there and that their descendants also live their lives at the place, in a close neighbourhood of the forest. The current community of Krępiec and Kazimierzówka is a mixture of old inhabitants and growing but still a minor group of newcomers. Those groups seem to have different attitudes towards dealing with the heritage of the site.

I assume that Krępiecki Forest can be discussed as a difficult heritage as defined by Sharon McDonald⁹. The vicinity of burial grounds containing human remains/ashes shapes the identity of local communities and leads to creating bottom-up ways of processing/avoiding the memory. The specific form of oblivion that tends to happen in societies neighbouring non-sites of memory is often connected with the way the place is being used: places that contain human remains are left fallow, overgrown with not cleared trees. In terms of difficult heritage Krępiecki Forest and its neighbourhood is a site of tension between the display of a positive/heroic collective identity narrations and the collective failure or guilt. Processes of defending an unchanging identity through a defensive selection of memories promote a process of creating antagonistic identity narratives, in which the sense of "Us" stability is created in opposition to "Them/Others" perceived as radically different and hostile. Such securitization of memory can strengthen existential fears increasing the sense of threat. Researching vernacular, developed in a close interaction with the place, local strategies of remembering, identity-driven stories among others, will lead to understanding the influence of mass graves and will describe strategies used to achieve mnemonic security¹⁰.

While researching a forest considered as non-site of memory both human and non-human memory actants has to be considered as the transmission of the difficult heritage happens as a result of hybridised collective and environmental memory. Therefore, researching Krępiecki Forest, in archival and field research, I observe in what way the site interacts with the local residents and institutions in a hybridised network of relations. In such research I consider the role of a place both 1) in its ontological - material, physical dimension sense and 2) its epistemological status - focusing on the site's relations with its surrounding community. The emphasis on the complex empirical state of the object leads to the analysis of the materiality of the forest. Observing social responses to the forest, and practices to interact with it allows to trace the transformation of environmental memory¹¹. The term environmental memory is proposed in relation to the name of environmental historical research, "environmental history"¹², and will be used to name not only human memory of the natural environment¹³ but also a way in which environment (landscape, soil, vegetation) preserves the knowledge about the genocide and, as an actant, shapes the memory and influences collective, human memory. This way of defining environmental memory includes relational aspect of the functioning of the environment and thus relations between humans and inanimate elements of the environment. The division into natural and cultural heritage, which often takes place, seems to be useless in researching a local forest as a non-site of memory, or an object of difficult heritage as its role and meaning for the local identity is negotiated between human, collective memory and non-human, environmental one.

Before the occupation Krępiecki Forest was a peasant forest. It was used as a source of wood, a grazing

⁷ See: Kuwałek, R. (2001) Zbrodnie w Lesie Krępieckim w świetle zeznań świadków [Crimes in the Krępiec Forest in the Light of Testimonies of Witnesses] "Zeszyty Majdanka", t. 22.

Unfortunately, the exact number of victims has not been discovered. The officially reported information ranged from 320,000 victims (immediately after the war), through 300,000 to 30,000 (the number given on the contemporary monument). Each of these numbers is probably overstated.

⁸ Based on unstructured recorded interviews I conducted in Krępiec and Kazimierzówka between 2016 and 2020.

⁹ Macdonald S. (2009) *Difficult Heritage. Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond*, Routledge, London.

¹⁰ Kaprański, S. Niedźwiecki, D. Nowak, J. (2019) Czy można wejść dwa razy do tej samej rzeki? Polska pamięć o Żydach I Zagładzie 25 lat później [Can You Enter the Same River Twice? Polish Memory of Jews and the Holocaust 25 Years Later], "Przegląd Socjologii Jakościowej", t. XV, no 1. Mälksoo M. (2015) Memory must be defended: Beyond the Politics of Mnemonic Security. "Security Dialogue", vol. 46, no. 3.

¹¹ Praczyk, M. (2018) *Pamięć środowiskowa we wspomnieniach osadników na "Ziemiach Odzyskanych"*, Poznan: Institute of History.

¹² "Journal of Genocide Research" (2020), vol. 22, issue 2: Special issue on The Environmental History of the Holocaust.

¹³ Praczyk, M. (2018) *Pamięć środowiskowa we wspomnieniach osadników na "Ziemiach Odzyskanych"*, Poznan: Institute of History.

place for cows, looked after by children mainly, a place for collecting leaves for the buildings hand-made warming-buffer zone. The shortest way to the neighbouring villages where the relatives lived led through the forest and moreover, according to the interviews, the largest clearing in the forest was used as a pre-war dance floor, an important community place. During the occupation, in the presence of the Germans, those activities decreased but most of them did not disappear. Having been chosen as killing sites the forests were meant to hide the crime but the wall of trees was translucent, if not transparent, for the local Poles. Because of the nature of the forest borders and a high importance of it in the everyday lives of the villagers, it was not separated well-enough from the living space of the bystanders. The local inhabitants were not a homogeneous group¹⁴. Some of them became witnesses, as they took upon themselves the obligation to notice events, see them, remember them and testify about them. Most of them noticed direct signs of the genocide or even saw the shootings but did not leave any testimony. Some benefited from trading with perpetrators. The individual heritage of each family is not the same, and the heritage of the local society is a field of struggle and difficult negotiations between different groups of settlers and the place, its environment. The index signs of the crime are still to be seen in the forest, namely holes in places of mass graves or as human remains that are possible to be found during a walk or actions to clean the forest from garbage, performed by local activists. At the same time the witnesses and their descendants know the topography of the place explaining the fact that the specific place is not overgrown with vegetation as a sign of extreme suffering that took place there.

During the research I conceptualize the forest as a non-site of memory influencing the local community as a material witness and memory actant. When talking about the forest I have in mind its ground, trees, the forest as a place and as a landscape marked, also in indexical terms, by the crime¹⁵. To analyze the role of the forest in witnessing and transferring memory and to understand how this role is explained by local inhabitants, I conduct interviews with local people tracing the transformation of environmental memory. In researching the forest as a non-site of memory the term environmental memory is used to name not only human memory of the natural environment but also a way in which the environment (landscape, soil, vegetation) preserves the knowledge of the genocide and, as an actant, shapes the memory influencing collective (human) memory. On the other hand, the memory of the killings index-marked in the ground is re-shaped in institutional (exhumations) or illegal (looting) acts of re-digging the soil. The material memory of the environment is influenced by human actions that are connected to the collective memory of the crime. Therefore, the way of defining environmental memory used in my research includes a relational aspect of functioning of the environment and relations between humans and non-human actants of memory.

The difficult heritage of the researched non-site of memory should be researched using hybridized tools as the scientist deals at the same time with cultural heritage and nature. Moreover, those two forms of heritage entities neither can nor should be distinguished: the local narrations depicting the past are hybridised, they contain elements of collective and environmental memory. The forest landscape can be read by those who know its alphabet, language, and those skills are transferred locally to the next generations, usually indirectly, in a system of prohibitions.

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¹⁴ Hilberg, R. (2007) *Sprawcy, ofiary, świadkowie : zagłada Żydów 1933-1945*, przeł. J. Giebułtowski, Warszawa: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów : Wydawnictwo Cyklady.

¹⁵ Tumarkin, M. M. (2005) *Traumascapes: The Power and Fate of Places Transformed by Tragedy*. Melbourne Univ. Publishing.

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(iii) Heritage(s) between
high and popular culture

Fashioning national monuments: Fashion houses as vectors of cultural hybridization

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Rationale: The article intends to explore how stakeholder participation in heritage policies shapes different forms of cultural hybridization. It focuses on the influence of fashion houses in the implementation of hybrid heritage actions. It explores their degree of involvement in the processes of heritagization/restoration of contested monuments as well as in the dissemination of new-fashioned heritage narratives. The purpose is to understand how fashion industry can contribute to the development of “contact zone(s)” between high and popular culture namely through the dynamic of touristification.

Methodology: With regard to methodology we intend to adopt a predominantly qualitative empirical-inductive approach which permits to seize both the decision-making process and the logic behind the behaviors of individuals and groups within organizations. We prioritize an approach based on the so-called “practice-theory” focused on the analysis of actions in their real context within a specific case study : our research combines participant observations and interviews. Both ethnographic methods [to observe the actions implemented by firms] and sociological methods [to highlight the reflexive capacities of these actors] have been used.

Case Study: The article focuses on the relationship between the city of Rome and the “Fendi Roma” fashion brand. In particular, we propose to analyze the process of settlement of Fendi in the Palazzo della civiltà italiana (occurred in 2015). Iconic and historical monument typical of the fascist era, the Palazzo has been unused and abandoned for years, but has been - since then - fully renovated and re-opened to the public. It is argued that the selected case study is a useful gateway to analyze the processes of hybridization resulting from the dynamics of appropriation/privatization and reconversion of urban places or historical monuments.

Results: We hypothesized that fashion industries, by building a place-specific identity are a means to reimagine the sense of urban spaces and to reinterpret the past. Fashion week events, iconic “archistar” buildings or setting-up of privately owned public spaces (“Pops”) are practices made by private brands which introduce profound changes in urban heritage perception. Critical literature insists on the “heritage marketing effect” and the risk of commodification/manipulation of heritage according to exogenous stimulus or prescriptions. We argue that fashion industries could be important drivers of the heritage hybridization thanks to a high level of creativity. In particular, we consider that public-private partnerships hence to heritage capitalization/hybridization: the level of the latter varies according to the cooperation/integration of stakeholders. The term “hybridization” is used here to describe practices that blur the boundaries between public and private management of heritage policies. Concerning the topic’s approach to cultural heritage we consider it ambivalent. In fact, we insist on the double meaning that the phenomenon can acquire within the perimeter of intervention of the fashion industries. Brands inject symbolic values, triggering a dynamic of economic/urban regeneration, but they also capitalize on specific heritage elements. This appears to reflect a conception of heritage that is closely linked to that of resources: fashion houses seem to be both creators and consumers of heritage elements.

Introduction: defining fashion brands as broadcasters of popular culture

Through an analysis of the role played by private actors within the phenomenon of cultural heritage, this study shows the relevance of the notion of cultural memory used here to describe “*the complex ways in which societies remember their past using a variety of media*” - (Erll, Rigney, 2006). Concerning the Theoretical Framework we refer to Assmann’s notion of “cultural memory” (Assmann, 2010) which explores the legitimacy of social groups using those media. Often criticized as obsolete and exclusive

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- (Zierold, 2008), Assmann's interpretation is instead useful to identify hybrid heritage production processes.

Criticisms of the notion of "cultural memory" focus on the degree of its extension both in terms of its content (reserved for high culture) and its periodization (exclusive to the pre-modern context). We specifically analyze three main critics :

- The tension of temporal dynamics: cultural memory follows a static approach aimed at enhancing the immutability and durability of heritage assets within a logic of reiteration of high culture. It would therefore be part of a long-term approach. On the contrary, popular culture would be contingent on periods/fashions and would systematically change according to tastes/styles.
- The paradox of functionality: Cultural memory aims to stabilize the image and status of a particular social group while contributing to its self-legitimization. Popular culture, distributed globally and referring to a collective memory, does not therefore respond to the same types of functions.
- The contradiction of geographical scope: Cultural memory is directly related to a national architectural and historical heritage. The transnational and/or extra-communitarian character that often underpins the elements of popular culture, particularly in a context of globalization, would not seem to fit within the properties of Assmann's notion.

The following case study focuses on the relationship between the fashion system, the city and the heritage elements associated to them. We assume that the fashion industries can both activate a dynamic of economic (re)valorisation of cities and contribute to the emergence and dissemination of popular culture. Indeed, they seem to have "*an important power in the process of negotiating cultural meaning*" and they fully embody the "*attempt to resist the impositions of meanings which bear the interests of dominant groups*" (Storey, 2009). With an international production network, a geographical distribution differentiated according to the type of activity, a transnational pool of clients and local headquarters, fashion houses participate in the patrimonialization process and give rise to specific cultural hybridization practices².

The Fendi Roma case: between brand strategies and heritage challenges

The article focuses on fashion and luxury houses operating in the Italian context. Over the last decade, the links between Italy and fashion have become increasingly tight: the image of contemporary Italy is deeply marked by the fashion industry. The Italian case is interesting for several reasons: not only does the country seem to have many intrinsic factors of success (cf. the consolidated specialization of the know-how, diversified skills, flexibility and speed of implementation, permanent innovation in the sector and a high degree of creativity) but is also a historically pioneer in the field of patrimonialization. We hypothesized that fashion brands, by building a place-specific identity, are not only a means to reimagine the sense/perception of urban spaces and but also a medium to reinterpret the past. As particular agents, throughout specific narratives and practices, fashion houses contribute to produce a singular, subjective and multifunctional "cultural memory" which effectively impacts the geographical space. We consider these brands as vectors of diffusion of popular culture because they perform a function concurrent to that of "historical memory" - (Ricoeur, 2000) exercised by the public authorities.

The strategies of action and the storytelling adopted by fashion houses in reference to the spatial context are paradoxical insofar as they generate contradictions. As a matter of fact, brands define their own identity through specific places which are not necessarily material, physical, or geographical spaces (e.g. the zone of their manufacturing and industrial production) but spaces of ideas and representations (cf. places considered sources of creativity and inspiration). We consider that the appropriation/ commodification of places with a high symbolic value by fashion houses leads to a form of patrimonialization linked not only to physical and material space, but also to this imaginary and transcendental space. This heritage interaction is somehow antinomic with other types of interpretations concerning the sense of place (e.g. related to the official history of places, the functions and uses of heritage properties, etc.). We argue that firms finally appear to adopt the same practices of active and passive "cultural memory" as institutional "legitimated" actors (cf. Canonization and archive) in order to add the symbolic capital of

² In the field of geography, the notion of hybridization has been used by P. Claval (2016) to describe epistemic changes in science of territory since the 1990s. Vanier (2016) also used this concept to stress processes which helps individuals overcome critical situations. We use the term to describe practices that blur the boundaries between public and private management of heritage policies.

fashion representation to the national/urban cultural heritage³.

As an example, we propose a more detailed analysis of the Fendi house. Historical Roman brand, founded in 1918 (and integrated into the LVMH Group in 2002)⁴, Fendi systematically underlines how its roots and history are deeply intertwined with those of the “Eternal City”. By the 1990s, like many other fashion houses, Fendi began to adopt strategies to diversify its business portfolios in order to be economically resilient - e.g. instituted a cultural foundation, funded great works of patronage and stimulated the tourism market through touring-oriented actions (including the opening of hotels and restaurants within the city of Rome). Fendi gradually began to capitalize on urban heritage assets : it is a preferential way to foster the brand’s plus-value in a context of evolving economic models. The boundaries between “spaces of consumption” and the “consumption of space” become undefined (Lefebvre, 1974) : although this is a purposeful way to reinforce its identity and brand’s DNA (in order to be durably embedded the brand in time and space), the latter nurtures processes of heritage hybridization (in particular concerning the “active” cultural memory - cf. Canonization) resulting from the setting of “contact zone(s)” between high and popular culture.

Depicting Heritage hybridization phenomena through the lens of Fendi

We assume that it is possible to categorize those “contact zones” according to the heritage policies implemented by the fashion brand. These cultural dynamics (both in terms of space-appropriations and place-making narratives) represent an alternative way to communicate the universe of the brand, but also lead to forms of heritage hybridization. In particular, we propose to analyze hybridization dynamics through the process of settlement of Fendi within the Palazzo della civiltà italiana in Rome. Iconic and historical monument typical of the fascist era (projected by Giovanni Guerrini, Ernesto Lapadula and Mario Romano and started in 1938), the Palazzo was conceived as the emblematic museum of the failed Universal Exposition of Rome, 1942 and has been - since then - unused and abandoned. In 2012, The building had previously been the beneficiary of restoration works - namely: external cleaning - with an approximate cost of 16 million euros funded by the Ministry of Culture (Mibac) and the improvement of the internal environment by Eur Spa with a cost of 19 million euros. Those works were carried out under an agreement between the Ministry of Economic Development (MiBAC) and EUR Spa, and aimed at hosting within the building the Discoteca di Stato (Central Institute for Sound and Audiovisual Heritage) and the Permanent Exhibition of design and ‘made in Italy’ (National Museum)⁵. In 2013 Fendi agrees with the public company, EUR S.p.A. the temporary appropriation of Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana for a period of 15 years. The brand fully renovated and re-opened to the public the monument which became its institutional headquarters: Fendi pays to the public owner around €240,000 (\$265,000) per year for the exploitation of this heritage asset (cf. 12 thousand square meters divided into six floors). The execution of the transfer of use of the palace was carried out not taking into account the previous intended use of the building, nor the real estate value of the asset: in fact, the leased portion of the building has a rental value of 4,680,000 euros per year in accordance with a valuation carried out in 2007 by the Agenzia del Territorio (Land Registry Office)⁶. The key hypothesis of this paper, is that the institutional and political responsible for managing this heritage asset (cf. the national government - through the Ministry of Culture -; the municipal government - Roma Capitale -; as well as the local district-governance - EUR SpA) have taken into account the potential indirect-use value generated by the fashion house as a result of its installation. In other words, the brand was allowed to pay a modest monthly rent in exchange not only for an international sponsorship but also for a symbolic (and pragmatic) reconversion of the building - whose use (and non-use) values have significantly changed since then (Rypkema, 2012). As a matter of fact, Fendi is considered a city-booster: by implementing an aesthetization and touristification of this national monument, with an investment of “some dozens of millions of euros”⁷, the brand contributed to the ‘defascistization’⁸ of the Palazzo which was - until then - economically devalued because of its ‘difficult and contested’ reputation (Moral-Andrés, 2019). It is

³ In this article, the term ‘cultural heritage’ follows the definition used in the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (cf. the World Heritage Convention, adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1972. According to it, cultural heritage sites are for example monuments; groups of buildings (including historic cities); and sites (areas including archaeological sites) (UNESCO, 1972).

⁴ LVMH, associated with Prada had paid 1,000 M euros for the acquisition of 51% of the company. Only in 2001 the Luxury French group decided to purchase the ‘remaining’ 25 % (that were still owned of Prada) officially obtaining total control of the whole company - REECE, Damian (2001); “LVMH pays \$225m to take control of Fendi”, Telegraph UK : <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/2743316/LVMH-pays-225m-to-take-control-of-Fendi.html>

⁵ Boccacci, P. (2013); “Il Colosseo Quadrato a Arnault Nessuna gara e prezzi di favore”; La Repubblica : <https://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2013/07/19/il-colosseo-quadrato-arnault-nessuna-gara-prezzi.html>

⁶ The estimate was carried out at the request of EUR Spa on October 26, 2007 (protocol no. 40379/7) - Agenzia del territorio.

⁷ Crivelli, G. (2015); “Fendi investe su Roma con il mega restyling del Colosseo quadrato”, Il sole 24 ORE: <https://st.ilsole24ore.com/art/moda/2015-10-23/fendi-investe-roma-il-mega-restyling-colosseo-quadrato-103543.shtml>

⁸ ‘Defascistization’: to eliminate fascist elements

argued that this corporate settlement has regenerated the identity and the meaning of the monument making it more responsive for popular culture.

Dealing with dissonant heritage: (re)narrate a “new” past

The case of the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana (Palazzo) in the Rome suburb of EUR is useful to explore how fashion houses can negotiate the “dissonant heritage” of Fascist regime. While the notion of “difficult heritage” (Macdonald, 2009) is related to legacy and reception issues, the concept of “dissonant heritage” (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996) focuses on debates over the manner in which the past is commodified for the public within a context of consumption (e.g. museum or exhibitions). The latter is therefore relevant to analyze the phenomenon of “corporate heritagization”. The Palazzo’s architecture and structure refer to a historically significant past which is difficult to reconcile with. As a matter of fact, the monument (never inaugurated because of the war onset) has remained abandoned for decades failing to find a designated use. After funding major renovation work, Fendi has undertaken a policy of redesigning of the monument’s identity - namely through a rewriting of its past. The Palazzo’s functional recovery and the re-launch of its exclusive value within global business coordinates, rhymed with a storytelling that dismisses the fascist past by focusing on the aesthetics and brightness of the building - emblem of the rationalist architectural style (but also of the roman glamour). The rehabilitation of the Palazzo also responds to the brand’s vocation of “giving something back” to the population - of allowing the citizens enjoyment of the place. *“We are proud to give back to Rome and to the entire world the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana, a symbol of our Roman roots and of the continuous dialogue between tradition and modernity, values that have always been at the very heart of Fendi”* said Pietro Beccari, Chairman and CEO of Fendi during the inaugural speech in 2015 (© Fendi Archives). Fendi’s appropriation and reconversion of the colloquially known “Colosseo Quadrato” (Square Colosseum) as well as the fashioning processes of the latter, testify the relevance of fashion industries within the dynamics of cultural hybridization. The paper analyzes three possible forms of hybridism related respectively to spaces, actors and practices linked to cultural memory.

Branding the place: the development of “contact zone(s)” between high and popular culture

City branding policies have been integrated in the local political agendas as early as the 1980s, and reproduced by fashion houses starting from the 1990s. The purpose of these urban actions is threefold:

- a) Increase the attractiveness of the sponsored cities in order to attract new potential customers (not only fashion clients but also tourists, “creative classes” and external investors, etc.): this first objective could be realized by private actors through a policy of “popularization”/ vulgarization of high culture;
- b) Provoking positive associations between the city and the brand to increase the commercial value of the latter : this goal often coincides with the adoption of place-making narratives (e.g. campaigns and products sponsorship that include cityscapes and historic monuments within) ;
- c) Strengthen the identity and image of the brand by relying on intangible and symbolic heritage : in particular through a storytelling oriented to the valorization of the exclusive and historical know-how of the fashion house (in the case of Fendi there is a particular insistence on the Roman “essence” of the brand).

The triangulation of these three dimensions gives rise to processes of heritage hybridization which will be discussed in the following paragraphs through the case of Palazzo della civiltà italiana (Rome).

Hybridizing urban spaces: mixing the boundaries between private and public space

Through the alteration of the original purpose of national monuments, Fendi Roma adopted a sort of “private/behind the scenes” heritage policy - defined here as *“what lies beyond the realm of official heritage management structures (legislation, organizations, etc.)”* (Howard, 2003). We suggest that the “corporate meanings” attributed to monuments by private brands may disguise a much more complex path of relationships and tensions between stakeholders, namely around how we value particular forms of cultural memory/historical knowledge. The consequences of the appropriation and reconversion of the Palazzo are multifaceted, the most significant being those related to the processes of blurring of boundaries between private and public space. Interviews conducted with neighborhood committees and local residents have in fact highlighted a combination of processes - namely : the privatization of cities’ public spaces and the setting-up of privately owned public spaces (“Pops”) (e.g. open-air places that

actually seem public but are not). The presence of the Fendi's headquarter has conditioned the use that the citizens are making of the adjacent square (cf. Quadrato della Concordia): the rights of the citizens using this space seem to be hemmed in.

Hybridizing city actors: matching tourists to locals

We argue that the policies of conservation and valorization of cultural heritage vary according to the agents performing them and are addressed to different audiences. Public heritage authorities manage the resources needed for the preservation of sites to finally protect and transmit assets to citizens/taxpayers. On the contrary, fashion brands implementing patrimonial policies mainly refer to a different target - namely potential customers. Somehow cultural heritage may be conceived by fashion houses as a productive resource. We assume that the cultural heritage management conveyed by "high culture exponents" could also be considered "middle-out" in the case of fashion houses heritage policies which are basically popular-culture-oriented. In fact, new types of public (e.g. tourists, journalists, influencers, international designers, etc.) are brought to visit the Palazzo and, by extension, the EUR district - considered until then residential and "unattractive". This site is an optimal opportunity to observe relational encounters between external visitors and locals : within this context, city actor's hybridization lead to specific power competition(s) in relation to the production, discourses, and appropriation of space. The effects of this encounters on the territory are tangible : since the insertion of the Palazzo and EUR district into new tourist circuits, the entire neighborhood has been progressively regenerated and gentrified to attract and accommodate new "exogenous" urban actors⁹. However, this dynamic of hybridization raises questions about the nature of the final "users" of the branded Palazzo: *is it a place commodified and merchandised only to tourists? Is it a place "returned" to the Roman population as the brand CEO seems to imply ? Can the privatization of the building and the touristification of the latter be understood as an opportunity of rehabilitation for the neighborhood ?* Other in-depth researches are necessary to comprehend the territorial impacts of this phenomenon of hybridization. However, the notion of "citoyen- client" (costumer-citizen) (Frison-Roche, 2000) is particularly useful to qualify urban stakeholders in this framework. Furthermore, regardless of their nature (local or external), visitors not only benefits from the heritage assets but can also play an active role in the valorization and protection of the latter. Terms such as "crowdsourcing" or "citizen curators" are currently employed by Fendi to invite for example the public to tag historical images and documents, upload digital photos on social media etc. contributing to the diffusion of "popular" culture.

Hybridizing practices of cultural memory: mingling high and popular memories

Forms of hybridization are also observable in practices associated with passive cultural memory (cf. canonization). Fashion houses are themselves heritage-makers and try to preserve products and documents (e.g. different materials, like samples to photos, movies, audio-visual products and also test material or original artifacts such as clothing, footwear and accessories). Expressions of Cultural Heritage associated to fashion (e.g. Made in Italy "savoir-faire") are between history and memory and are more and more preserved in public museums and archives. The hybridization in fashion heritage management has given rise to concrete collaborative synergies between public and private entities within the Italian context. In the case of Fashion Archives, we assist to a closer cooperation between Fashion houses and public actors (cf. Ministry for Cultural Heritage) in the name of "cultural memory" promotion¹⁰. This process is also observable in the analyzed case study. Concerning Fendi Roma, the first floor of the Palazzo has been entirely reconverted in a fashion museum : the expositions (always hyper-mediatized), are mainly focused on "high culture" topics such as the history of EUR district or the Fendi heritage (Craftsmanship & Fashion relationship with the Rome's cinema). However, the way in which the artworks are displayed reveals the popular vocation of the museum : particularly oriented towards the communication with millennials, the exhibitions organized by the fashion brand are in fact systematically accompanied by dedicated digital platforms where viewers can share and reproduce heritage contents.

⁹ The author's doctoral dissertation is aimed at a twofold analysis of the case study presented in this article : the estimation of the value added to the brand by incorporating the intangibles associated with the palace and the Italian heritage (cf. from a semiotic and economic point of view) as well as the impact of the brand's settlement within the EUR district and the immediate surroundings (square, neighbourhood, etc.) - (cf. its contribution to tourist consumption as well as to urban regeneration).

¹⁰ The web portal "Archivi della moda del Novecento", sponsored by the Directorate General for Archives of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage (2011) thanks to the Archivio di Stato of Rome is an accurate example of this trend.

Conclusion

This article aims to show the relevance of the notion of “cultural memory” to analyze the role played by private actors - namely fashion brands - within the framework of cultural-heritage policies. The selected case study (Fendi Roma brand and the city of Rome) is useful to depict, spatially and temporally, hybridization dynamics powered by public-private partnerships within the context of urban heritage. The paper analyzes three possible forms of hybridism related respectively to spaces, actors and practices linked to cultural memory.

Concerning research limitations, we argue that other comparative studies are necessary to comprehend the geographical extent of the phenomenon, as well as the specificity of stakeholders involved. *Is the progressive “fashionization” of historical national monuments occurring in other fashion capitals? Are there other private “creative” actors that have adopted the same kind of heritage strategies?*

Also, a more detailed analysis of the opportunity cost underlying the previous disuse of the heritage asset as well as the positive and negative externalities associated with its use (and non-use) of the resource would be beneficial to seize the magnitude of the Fendi’s intervention. The relevant literature on the analyzed case study attempt to measure symbolic capital of this first-rate heritage resource in relation to its architectural (Moral-Andrés, 2019) and historical (Carter, 2020) recovery. However, the case would be very appropriate also to carry out an economic and social impact study to deeply understand the urban and social consequences of the Fendi’s intervention.

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*** *LVMH website*, Fendi inaugura la nuova sede a Roma, 4.11.2015, available [here](#)

The festival as a cultural and social tool: citizenship, territories and communities

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Introduction

The festival refers to the creative and organizational model of the party and the ritual dimension. They bring back to a primordial need for sociality that is embodied in shared emotion. The emotional exchange that a festival requires often leads to a distancing from the cliché, instead triggering a dialogue with the territory in which the event takes place. The locations become places of culture and community creation. Furthermore, it is precisely the festivals that increasingly resort to audience development issues.

In the lockdown days, when we were deprived of public spaces, we have realized what it means to go back to the streets and be part of a community, which rediscovers its own culture, together.

In order to fight the pandemic, the Italian government has decided to temporarily stop live cultural activities. That is why since February 2020, over alternate periods, museums, cinemas, theatres and places of social and cultural aggregation have been closed. The cancellation of live events had a deep effect in the short term and may have an even deeper one in the long term. For example, in Italy the national lockdown had a strong impact on cultural consumption levels. During the first lockdown, between March and May 2020, when shops, bars, restaurants, and of course theatres, cinemas, museums, libraries, and bookstores had to shut down, and the great majority of the population had to stay home, according to a survey carried out jointly between May 18 and 21, 2020 by Impresa Cultura Italia and Confcommercio, on top of an increase in digital cultural consumption (+ 34% of subscriptions to web platforms and + 20% to cable tv), there was a major shift to various digital forms of entertainment. Web streaming has now become part of our daily life, mostly because of the pandemic that has forced our domestic isolation. Today digital platforms like Zoom, Google Meets or Microsoft Teams are used by million people as a tool to recover from the lack of social dynamics resulting from the impossibility to commonly share a space with our bodies [Boccia Artieri, 2020].

The way of living based on an identity construction process resulting from the relationship with the other [Goffman, 1969], is now being heavily questioned by the measures of physical and social distancing. This hybridization process reflects a more general trend: the contrast between real and digital, between online and offline, has been replaced by that hybrid condition that the philosopher Luciano Floridi calls “onlife”, in which these two dimensions tend to merge, overlap and intertwine [Floridi, 2015].

The “performance society”, as Bauman defined it, transforms the subject into the creative director of its own culture. Individuals, who are now used to being locked at home and to relate to the world through a monitor, establish their own values, becoming the only judges of their own behaviour as well as of other people’s behaviour. This new kind of personality often appears unable to really listen and speak to others in a reality increasingly mediated by a screen and within a highly individualistic society that produces the “progressive erosion of community bonds leading to the dismantling of once cohesive collectivities” [Bauman, 2016].

How can we fill public spaces again, the way as Italian “piazze” used to be?

The festival has a festive dimension in its spirit: during the event you move away from everyday life to immerse yourself in a ritual that takes place in a shared sociality. Festivals could certainly play a major in this process thanks to their hybrid essence, made up of multiple elements and involving many different stakeholders. Territories can and must seek new ways to strengthen social cohesion, also in view of socially sustainable development. The seminar I presented for the *UNA Europa Heritage Workshop* is based on a new “research and action approach” - a methodology which seeks social transformation through the simultaneous process of making *action* and doing *research*, which are linked together by critical reflection -, combining sociological, cultural and managerial experiences, that are some of the disciplines that festivals already cover, especially in their organizational phase.

The festival as a tool for communities

Festivals are well-defined events taking place over a limited space and time span, whose nature refers to conceptual and organizational models that partially rely on the concept and practice of parties and celebrations, but in an updated and revised way that makes them their contemporary substitute called: the festival [Argano, 2012]. Cultural festivals are initiatives geared to promote a community cultural development. According to the EU, festivals represent a strategic cultural and social investment. In Italy this sector developed remarkably in recent years, with a multiplication of events throughout the whole country. This great success was also due to the growth of so-called “cultural tourism”. Some small festivals focus on a single discipline, but many others are multidisciplinary events. Cultural festivals traditionally fulfil several functions:

reputational: because a festival communicates a precise image of its host location;

attractive for national and international audiences. Many Italian tourist resorts aim at offering shows and meetings attendees a wide range of additional entertainment opportunities, that is why many Italian cultural festivals are directly organised by associations promoting local culture and tourism;

social aggregation: a festival is about sharing common needs public places, allowing people to regain possession of those public spaces and participate in rituals that distract them, even if just temporarily, from their usual daily life, recreating a socialization based on experience and emotions sharing. As a consequence, a festival leads to the intellectual and emotional involvement of its participants, stimulating and activating their cognitive capital [Getz, 2016; Sennet, 2012; Maussier, 2010];

discovery: letting people explore the tangible and intangible assets of territories, through a program aimed at presenting and enhancing monuments or less known attractions. Festival tours are becoming very popular as a way to bring back to life disused trails and pathways;

urban and territorial regeneration : some festivals are designed to cast a new image on host locations, in order to give them a new identity or to rediscover a forgotten one. For instance, this is the case of some street art festivals that took place in abandoned villages and hamlets over the Apennines [Ponte di Pino, Alonzo, 2020].

Therefore, festivals should be put at the centre of any policy focusing on public places, like squares, and in-presence activities. Territories can and must seek new ways to strengthen their social cohesion, taking into account socially sustainable development. [Paltrinieri, 2020; Moulaert, 2010].

The festival as a tool for territories

The link between a cultural festival and its territory is fundamental. Since the nineties, a new kind of tourism in rural suburbs has been developing, with a tendency towards unique travel experiences, and with a growing desire to share the local lifestyle, albeit for the short period of a holiday [Salvatore, Chiodo, 2020]. In this context festivals can play a crucial in re-designing public spaces and involving the population in different activities, with the aim to raise cultural awareness in the local inhabitants. An example of good practices is the Kilowatt Festival, a theatre festival taking place in the village (so here you switch from pandemic developments to before pandemic again) of Sansepolcro, in Tuscany. Since its creation in 2003 it has involved a group of local inhabitants, the so-called “Visionaries”, that regularly meet in the months preceding the festival to design a specific event sections. This model has now expanded and today involves several entities all over Italy; however it is a very good example of how a new approach to involve the local population was successfully developed.

Covid-19 has put everything into question, not only the concept of enjoyment and participation in a cultural event, but also the ways to organize one.

During the public debate that took place over the pandemic months, a lot was said about a growing number of people “going back to the countryside” and to a greener and more sustainable way of life. This trend has also been spreading over Italy through several events occurring in small villages on the verge of depopulation, often under the form of micro-festivals or “home-grown festivals” [O’Sullivan, Jackson, 2015]. These small-scale events increase the intensity of the experience. They are often created with a bottom-up approach, by local voluntary workers that design few entertaining small-scale events, mostly targeting the local community and reserved to a small audience. Micro-festivals, whose main goals range from social and landscape rehabilitation, to inland areas repopulation and to a major reputational improvement for the host locations, generally use highly innovative methods to establish relationship between the audience and the territory, and often end up becoming a territorial marketing tool.

In the last months of 2020, the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism has launched, through a specialized DG called “Contemporary creativity” the “Celebrating hamlets and villages”. It is a call for projects aimed at small municipalities (with less than 10,000 inhabitants) in order to encourage local regeneration initiatives and strengthen tourism-related services and activities.

However, this trend also involves large metropolitan areas. The “15-minute city” concept proposed by the mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, was immediately taken up by the mayors of Barcelona and Milan. The goal is to design urban areas where every citizen, within a 15 minute time span, can reach, on foot or by bicycle, several essential services, from shops to bars and restaurants, both for work and leisure. A city of proximity based on the virtuous intertwining between a dense fabric of local stakeholders, and a wider, global, long-distance network, offering suitable cultural services and opportunities to promote citizens involvement.

The world of festivals and cultural events had to reinvent itself and will certainly have to take up new challenges once the pandemic will finally be over. How will it be possible to keep artistic projects alive and consistent? How will it be possible to re-conquer audiences convincing people to leave their homes? How will it be possible to restore a relationship with the local territory?

All these issues will need adequate answers, without forgetting the social responsibility a festival has when it comes to: audience creation and development, civic engagement and active citizenship.

The festival as a tool to stimulate active citizenship

Festivals, with their rituals, generate intellectual and emotional participation. By bringing shared feelings back to squares they are designed as a possible tool for community development.

My idea for the UNA Europa Heritage Workshop is to share with my fellow colleagues role-playing activity based on a “research and action approach”.

Singing, playing, running, undressing, dancing, jumping, sleeping: without abandoning the sphere of lawfulness, there are many activities that we do not usually perform when we participate in a festival. On the one hand, our behaviour is induced by our common sense and respect for other attendees visitors. On the other, it tends to comply with a series of rules and regulations, limiting or regulating our relationship to the place we are in, that end up in pre-determined patterns. This kind of approach creates limits and keeps many potential audience away. How could we possibly change these rules? How could we engage new audiences?

How to generate active festival participation : a combined research and action approach

The proposed activity is a game in which each team has to fix a specific cultural festival issue by implementing a combined research and action approach.

The main purpose is to produce context-based knowledge aimed at improving specific practices. In order to make this improvement possible, it is necessary not only to change our way of looking at a given context but also to change the behaviour of the players acting in that context. “Actions and deeds” are the raw material of this research approach because the final goal is to really transform the considered context and not just collect data on it.

The research phase is mostly focused on a specific issue to be discussed and it should be provided for by the game master, such as: how to involve children in festival activities? How to increase old people participation? How to approach inhabitants to performing arts?

After this first part, it is necessary to think about a participatory and community activity aimed not only at solving the specific given issue, but also at triggering audience participation and involvement mechanisms.

Please find here below the main game steps:

- 1) Each team is assigned a festival, which is then properly illustrated on an information data sheet containing the following elements: a) the story of the festival; b) the main features of the festival location; c) a specific issue that needs to be solved.

After this description a number of “activities” is listed.

- 2) Each team has to solve the specific given issue by using one of the listed activities but in a way that triggers the participation and involvement of the local community.

3) Summary: the teams are asked to fix their specific given issue through dissemination projects (the scope of the given issue is illustrated in the festival data sheet) based on a “research and action approach” including at least one of the “activities” listed on the info data sheet.

Goal of the role-playing game

The main purpose is to encourage researchers to design projects that involve citizens. Horizontal dissemination should be used to develop approaches that involve not only cultural mediators but also local stakeholders, in order to stimulate active citizenship behaviours.

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Between High and Popular Culture: Polish Roman Catholic Church Music in the 19th Century

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The claim of this paper is that the phenomenon of church music in the Polish territory in the 19th century may be seen as intrinsically hybrid and as such it is worth denoting and investigating. Moreover, both the causes and consequences of this hybridity (low social position of such music, its absence in mainstream canon) are notices, which may be inspiring for scholars who seek situating church music in the context of heritage and hybridization.

Political and social situation in Poland in the 19th century

In the 18th century, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was one of the biggest countries in Europe. Its territory covered most of today's Polish lands (with the exception of Western territory), but also lands that nowadays belong to Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania. However, Poland's political significance decreased over the years and its economical position decayed radically. In 1772 the country lost a large part of its territory for the kingdoms of Russia, Prussia and Austria; the event was later called the First Partition of Poland. This was followed by two other partitions, in 1793 and 1795. Consequently, Poland ceased to exist for over the century; however, the so-called Polish national identity was preserved in social memory and after the First World War the Poles regained their independence as an unified nation. Therefore, in the entire 19th century in the history of Poland we can observe a certain paradox: on the one hand, there is no independent country called Poland, but we still talk about the history of Poland and Polish culture, relating to the citizens of three countries, and several generations that never experienced the life in free Poland.

The vague notion of 'Poland' and 'Polish nation' in the 19th century results in the problematic issue of defining Polish culture of that time. The most common approach undertaken is to consider the Polish lands as the territory of the country before the partition; this territory-based approach was undertaken by the author of this paper as well. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that while talking about 19th-century Polish lands, we take into account cultural centres of diversified history, religion and even national identity; former Poland was indeed the homeland for Jews, Roman and Greek Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox Christians etc.; people speaking several languages and numerous dialects as well as several cultures of different origins. The social and furthermore musical life of those lands must be then diversified and mosaic-like. Still, when we take into consideration the most widespread religion of the territory, which is Roman Catholicism, we can observe certain phenomena and mechanisms that are symptomatic and characteristic for 19th-century Polish lands; these will be the subject of the following paper.

Roman Catholic Church in times of partitions

To cite Anna Barańska (2019),

There is a common belief concerning the key role of the Roman Catholic Church in the 19th-century history of Poland. This role had objective reasons: the Church was the only common national institution that functioned across the borders of the partitions, its territorial structures and hierarchy was the substitute for non-existing country and the unity of the cult contributed for the integration of the Polish society. Moreover, the historical context of the Poles after 1795 was in favour of the identification of the religion and the national identity (Barańska 2019).

Although definitely 19th-century Poland cannot be identified with the Roman Catholic Church, the role of this institution was indeed significant for culture. Churches were the only places for social gatherings that were available for all social classes and for free; they somehow united Polish citizens and therefore were associated with the Polish nationality, which is also connected with the fact that in Russia the Eastern

Orthodox Church was domineering whereas in Prussia Protestants were the majority (only in Austria Catholicism was popular). Obviously, it cannot be ignored that associating Poland with Catholicism was harmfully exclusive and ignored the existence other religions, which were extensive in number at that time. Nevertheless, Catholic institutions got engaged in the promotion of Polish culture, participating and supporting the preservation of Polish traditions and customs, cultivation of Polish language etc. An extraordinary example of such undertakings was the extensive engagement of the Catholic Church in the uprisings, which resulted in several sanctions.

19th-century musical culture

What was the picture of 19th-century musical culture, in which certainly church music would be placed on a more or less important position? It was the time of flourishing salon culture: together with the enhancement of the technology of piano making, the cultural life could move to private houses of middle and high classes, where the intellectual elite could listen to the premieres of freshly composed pieces and discuss new trends. Furthermore, public concerts with symphony music were fashionable as well – this trend, however, was absent in the territory of former Poland as there was the lack of symphony orchestras that could perform such music. Nevertheless, numerous virtuosos (primarily of piano, violin, and guitar) gave concerts that were announced and then reviewed in the press (Tomaszewski 2002). And finally, there was usage music, played and sung at school and official ceremonies, at balls, in taverns, and in churches as well. Therefore, we can observe that religious centres were not as prominent as yet in the 18th century, when churches were perceived as crucial for development of music. Rather, religious institutions were of the marginal importance and therefore were not preferable places for young and aspiring musicians to develop their professional career.

High church music? Elsner and Moniuszko

If we want to support the claim that there was the place for sacred music within the high, or artistic music composed by the Polish community in the 19th century, it seems inevitable to indicate certain composers who would be the representatives of such a trend. The first one who comes to mind is Józef Elsner (1769-1854), not only Chopin's teacher and master, but also an active composer, educator and music publisher himself. Elsner perceived church music as the problematic yet promising field for the development of music. He got engaged in the promotion of the Viennese Classical style in Polish churches, establishing the Society for Religious and National Music in Warsaw (Przybylski 2006: 24-25). He believed church music was at the stage of crisis and he strived for its revival in the form of artistic performance at the high level that would accompany the liturgy. He composed the adequate pieces himself: in his output, we can find masses (for variable combinations of voices and instruments), offertories, hymns, sacred cantatas, motets, etc. They are of a high quality and requiring professional skills from the performers (although they are not as demanding as the virtuoso-type pieces in the brilliant style from that period), which are stylistically parallel to secular works of the author. The works by Elsner were indeed performed at churches; however, as the bigger (and at least semi-professional) ensemble was needed to perform them, they were played rather on special occasions than regularly (Tomaszewski 2007).

Perhaps the most prominent author of Polish sacred music in the middle-19th century was Stanisław Moniuszko (1819-1872), famous for his operas (among others *Halka* and *The Haunted Manor*), called the father of Polish national opera. Although the composer is well-recognised (more in Poland than abroad) and its position is established, the popular approach towards his church music is rather skeptical. It has been noticed (Pośpiech 2020: 395) that, although Moniuszko himself was a deeply believing person and perceived his religious output as significant, since the composer's death there was the tendency to underestimate this part of Moniuszko's art. Yet in the composer's obituary the part concerning his attitude towards religion (Moniuszko was a devoted Catholic) was crossed out. But during Moniuszko's lifetime, the religious dimension of his work was perceived as indispensable part of his activity: Moniuszko combined being a professional and highly valued musician and his engagement in Church-related activities, i.e. he worked as an organist, he cared for the level and development of church music, and finally he composed church pieces himself. Among them, we can mention masses (both Latin ones and with Polish texts), litanies, songs. Most of those pieces were widely performed in Polish churches in the 2nd half of the 19th century; not at concerts, but rather during the religious ceremonies. What is crucial for this paper is the fact that indeed Moniuszko valued such pieces as highly as his purely artistic works: he has his own concept of religious music that he implemented; he also included trends from contemporary music in his sacred works (Pośpiech 2020: 398-399). Therefore, it may be assumed that Moniuszko's sacred works – analogically to other ones – were written within the spectrum of high music, but at the same time they were usage pieces, part of musical setting of liturgy.



Figure 1. Józef Elsner, Msza e-moll, Soprano, manuscript copy from the collection of Aleksander Poliński. Retrieved from polona.pl [31.01.2021].



Figure 2. Stanisław Moniuszko, Msza piotrawińska, Soprano, musical print by F. Hoesick. Retrieved from polona.pl [31.01.2021].

Popular church music

The sacred output of the most famous 19th-century Polish composers of ‘high music’ has been briefly presented above. At the other end of the spectrum, there is the art consisting of usage pieces composed by frequently anonymous, local authors who wrote for church as there was the need for musical setting of masses and litanies, or arrangements of hymns and religious songs. Numerous composers of such works are not and will never be known by name to a wider audience. To portray the type of the music that is seen within this group, we will therefore use the example of one composer who is widely known only thanks to the signature he left on the preserved manuscripts, i.e. Antoni Milwid (d. in Czerwińsk in 1840). This composer of the barely known biography was a violinist and copyist in the musical chapel that was active in Czerwińsk; he also composed several masses, litanies, vespers, motets and probably other musical genres. The preserved compositions are characterised by a very particular style: simplified texture, with a form that is subject to liturgy, with repetitive formulas and catchy melodies, rapid changes of tempo and character, many disruptions of melody. These features combined do not belong to any particular musical genre, although the elements of Classical and Pre-Classical style (fashionable decades before Milwid’s activity) would be dominating. In fact, however, it is a separate style that may be defined as usage, semi-amateur style of the composer who was probably self-taught and his aim was to compose pieces that are at the same time pleasurable, easy to play and convenient to perform at church. Moreover, the disobedience of any rules established in the professional schools of composition are noticeable as well (Bujas 2019). This would be then a perfect example of purely popular, amateur church music whose composer does not desire to compose professional pieces but rather to prepare music for church that would be enjoyable.



Figure 3. Antoni Milwid, Missa in D, CZs Rps 28, Organo part. Holograph from the Musical Archive after the musical chapel from Czerwińsk. Warsaw, Poland.



Figure 4. Antoni Milwid, Missa in D, CZs Rps 12. Holograph from the Musical Archive after the musical chapel from Czerwińsk. Warsaw, Poland.

Observations

As we can observe, there is barely a common element for music performed at churches in the 19th century in the territory of former Poland. The juxtaposition of the works by Józef Elsner or Stanisław Moniuszko with the output of Antoni Milwid – all of them played in churches – proves that the entirety of so-called ‘church music’ is in fact a hybrid, or mixture of non-professional pieces written to be used in the particular place and time, with works within certain style, belonging to the context of professional music and subject to changes that occurred in 19th-century music. There is no clear division as well between the musical chapels that would perform one type of sacred music or another: all of them in fact performed older music from the 18th century (including works by Mozart, Haydn and other great masters), new usage music prepared by local composers, and artistic pieces by e.g. Elsner, only if the ensemble was qualified enough to play something more complex. At the same time, in every church the Gregorian chant was in use as the Catholic priests were required to sing it. Moreover, to have a broad picture, we should take into consideration two more aspects: the organ music played and common songs. The former were frequently influenced by secular music: organists usually knew the dancing repertoire very well and such an influence was audible in the organ preludes and accompaniment performed during the mass. When it comes to common singing, it was grounded in folk singing that was the base for religious songs that entered the church in the 19th century.

We may therefore say that 19th-century church repertoire was indeed a hybrid; a hybrid of old and new, high and popular, artistic and folk. However, there was not the case of music itself only. The same could apply to the composers and musicians. The comparison between the composers presented above shows that the authors of church music were both educated professionals and autodidacts, amateurs. Not to mention numerous composers that will be never known by name: the authors of folk songs and easy arrangements as well as anonymous traditional pieces and Gregorian chant. Taking into scrutiny the musicians from the chapels, we could find the representatives of lower and middle class, children from musical families, better educated monks that were semi-professionals in terms of music, and even women that were sometimes admitted to the chapel as singers. There is no profile of a church musicians from that time, as it appears, it is just another case of the hybridization of the environment.

The author of the paper believes that today we should recognize 19th-century sacred music of the Catholic Church in the territory of former Poland as a heritage, a hybrid and multi-dimensional one, which despite its complexity and ambiguity deserves deepened research and investigation, which is therefore conducted vigorously.

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On the history of art residencies: Methods, heritages and hybridisations

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Since the 1990s global expansion of art residencies a comprehensive process of self-assessment has continuously taken place within the field. The organisation of multiple seminars and conferences and the publication of numerous monographs attest to the interest in investigating the phenomenon of art residencies. Even as these timely discussions occur, however, an important area of inquiry is still under-researched. That is the neglect of other than Euro-centered approaches to their history: The historiography of art residencies places burgeoning artistic patronage and the spread of art colonies throughout northern Europe at the turn of the 19th century as their origin¹. What I want to argue in my doctoral research is that this historical account is not only limiting but also narrowly grounded in relatively facile approaches. The overall aim of my research has been to give an answer to the following question: How can we challenge and enrich the way in which the history of art residencies is narrated by taking into account the practice of the journey in search for knowledge as understood by Arab scholars in medieval Islam? A provisional answer to this question is to be found in my Dissertation². It is there where, through a cartography unfolding different narrative voices³ I creatively propose a speculative proto-history of art residencies. In order to establish links between past⁴ and present, my research suggests a genealogy which puts in dialogue Arab scholarly practices in medieval Islam with artistic and curatorial projects developed in the contemporary cultural landscapes of North Africa and the Middle East. To do so through artistic and action research my project moves from mapping as data-gathering⁵ to cartography as a qualitative, creative, and intimate exercise⁶.

Resonating with this journey while at the same time moving away from the reasons to transit it, in the following pages I propose to reflect upon one of the methods I have mobilized to conduct my research. This method unfolds as a dialogue between al-Khaban's travel narratives, written in early medieval Islam, and contemporary post-representational cartography. While providing a study case, the overall objective of this paper is to advocate for epistemic resonances while temptatively proposing intellectual heritage hybridizations through research methodology.

Post-representational cartography and al-Khaban narratives

One of the persistent questions that has conditioned my research relates to context-specificity in research methodology. If the aim of my research is to propose an alternative history of the art residency by investigating on the practices developed by Arab scholars in medieval Islam, how can those practices inform also my research methodology? In order to give a provisional answer to this question I propose to look for the methodological resonances that might exist between the way in which Arab scholars understood and practiced cartography, particularly through al-Khaban travel narratives, and what is proposed as a novel approach to cartography in contemporary methodology through post-representational cartography.

¹ Art residency history [online] Available at: <https://www.transartists.org/residency-history> [Accessed Day 29 January 2021].

² *Moving Knowledges: Towards a speculative Arab art residency proto-history and An event without its poem is an event that never happened* (portfolio) [online] Available at: <https://aneventwithoutitspoem.com/> [Accessed Day 29 January 2021].

³ Namely description of key spaces and practices and their historical context, semi-fictional micro narratives, auto-ethnographic essays, and contemporary study cases.

⁴ This alternative journey brings the reader to the Damascene scholarly circles of the 700s, engaging with the first *rihla* tourists. We then visit the Syrian desert solitudes and the *sa'ihun*, or vagabond saints. Our next sojourn is in a *majāli*, the 1400's Ottoman literary salons. The journey continues by tracing the travels of several scholars from Morocco and Egypt to London and Paris, through the *al-rihla Siffariya* or educational missions of Arab men of letters during the modern era, to end at an art colony in the late 1800s, where, as it is currently suggested, the history of art residencies commences.

⁵ See NACMM. North Africa Cultural Mobility Map [online] Available at: <http://www.nacmm.org/en/> [Accessed Day 29 January 2021].

⁶ Platform HAKARAT [online] Available at: <https://platformharakat.com/actions> [Accessed Day 29 January 2021].

Caquard and Cartwright's text *Narrative cartography: From mapping stories to the narrative of maps and mapping* (2014) has been an essential guide in my exploration of post-representational cartography as a research method. For Caquard and Cartwright, post-representational cartography is based on the idea that 'maps are never finished, but are rather in a constant process of becoming. They come to life throughout the map making process, as well as through their use in a specific context with a specific purpose' (Caquard and Cartwright 2014). Caquard and Cartwright see cartography as a medium that not only communicates spatial information but also empowers emotional journeys: 'At a personal level, maps can serve as a therapeutic and healing process. While at a collective level, maps can contribute to leaving cartographic traces, making these experiences more visible and more tangible' (Caquard and Cartwright 2014, p.3). In line with this conception of cartography, the act of mapping has to be understood not only as a tool for self-reflection but also as a political process of meaning-making. Indeed, since the 1980s, critical cartographers have revealed the hidden stories of power and control embedded in historical and contemporary maps. Their deconstructionist endeavours enhance alternative mapping forms. Loaded with political messages, these alternative forms provide different ways of thinking about landscapes, territories and planning. This vigilant stance towards cartography and its impulse to represent is at the root of post-representational cartography. The adoption of post-representational cartography, as presented by Caquard and Cartwright, was initially seen as a positive outcome to my investigation on research methods. However, the objective of my dissertation was not to arrive at facile outcomes but was rather driven by the impulse to move and displace the knowledge in which to find temporary comfort. Indeed, as I want to argue, besides its originality, the novelty of post-representational cartography remains open to scrutiny. Following my interest in adopting methods that responded to the context of my research topic, I found in the emergence of cartography and particularly al-Khaban traveling narratives within scholarly communities of practice in early medieval Islam an inspirational method to consider.

The term al-Khaban describes the form in which travel narratives came into the biographical genre in early medieval Islam. As argued by Travis Zadeh in *Mapping frontiers across Medieval Islam: Geography, translation and the Abbasid Empire* (2011), 'as a crafted, generic form within the broader sphere of belletristic discourse, there are several common techniques which al-Khaban traveling narratives deploy to convey the impression of factuality. These forms are direct speech, dialogue, and attention to detail' (Zadeh 2011, p. 180). Indeed, al-Khaban travel narratives often included factual descriptions of the journey and the sights seen, as well as an account of the conversations with people met along the way. The dramatic character of the report, with its focus on both description and dialogue, speaks to a discrete set of discursive expectations. The framework of al-Khaban traveling narratives, with its attention to detail and emphasis on eyewitness authority, offers a window onto the past continually flirting with the tension it produces between the factual and the fictional. Complementing Zadeh's insights, in *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages* (2010) H. Touati argues that al-Khaban narratives can be seen as practices that challenge conventional ways of understanding cartography: 'firstly, the voyage had to be inserted within an anthropology of the gaze. Secondly, it sketches out a framework of interpretation of relationships between men, society and the ecological milieu, and thirdly, proposed literary motifs for the new field of geography through creative narration' (Touati 2010, p.114).

Although suggesting resemblances between al-Khaban's travel narratives and post-representational cartography it is important to take into consideration that the aim of this paper is not to establish a direct link between them but to animate further research to envision possible ways to enhance what could be conceptualized as hybrid intellectual heritages.

Envisioning hybrid intellectual heritages

The experimental genealogies developed by Abdallah Laroui in *Islam et modernité* (1987) as well as the sincronicities proposed by Fatah Ahmed and her adoption of *halaqah*⁷ as research method⁸ (2014) have

⁷ As stated by Ahmed 'Halaqah is a spiritual circle instituted by the Prophet Muhammad in his tarbiyah (education) of early Muslims. It is conducted purely orally with students and teachers sitting in a circle on the floor. An integral part of traditional Islamic education, halaqah continues to be core practice in Muslim cultures. Halaqah is credited with transformation of personalities, empowerment of individuals and communities through a social-justice agenda, and the development of Islamic intellectual heritage, including sciences, arts and mysticism. Although Halaqah can become highly normative, this mode of gathering and knowledge transmission is adopted also in quite non normative settings. A case at hand are the multiple Halaqahs that each evening are created in the Jema a el-Fna square in Marrakech, where groups of listeners and performers gather in circles to listen and interact with the multiple story-tellers. Indeed applied to contemporary settings, the Halaqah can vary in format: it can be transmission-based, teacher-led, dialogic, student-led or can take the form of a collaborative group effort' (Ahmed, 2012, p.11).

⁸ Farah Ahmed (2014) Exploring *halaqah* as research method: a tentative approach to developing Islamic research principles within a critical 'indigenous' framework, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 27:5, 561-583, DOI: 10.1080/09518398.2013.805852

been important references to understand the relevance and actuality of cross-culturally approaching intellectual legacies. As Ahmed argues the practice of *halaqah*, initiated in early Medieval Islam, has resemblances with the methods applied within contemporary critical pedagogies⁹ and does play a role in the way specific communities (in the case of her practice a collective of Muslim women living in the UK) relate to what they consider to be their heritage. In contrast to Ahmed's approach, Laroui aims at deconstructing perceived conceptions of sameness and otherness by breaking cultural binarism. In his influential book, Laroui established critical dialogues between the 12th-century traveller and thinker Ibn Khaldun and the 16th-century Italian diplomat and philosopher Niccolò Machiavelli. He also traces the influences and convergences between fundamental Salafist Islam and Enlightenment humanism. In doing so, Laroui focuses his efforts on articulating resonances between intellectual traditions while elaborating encounters that obliterate time and space in favour of epistemic dialogue. Taking the above into consideration and using speculative thinking as a framework, can we define cross-cultural knowledge transfers as hybrid intellectual heritages?

As stated by Hernandez i Marti, heritage is a hybrid social product resulting from accumulated layers of temporalities and socio-cultural interventions (Hernandez i Marti, 2006). Responding to this fluid aspect of heritages, hybridity allows for an overcoming of established hierarchies and grand narratives (Lyotard, 1979). Taking the above into consideration and following the reasoning of many other researchers¹⁰ intellectual heritage could be defined as the abilities of a particular scholarly community of practice to think and understand complex ideas created in the past and still relevant to the present. Consequently, in the context of my research intellectual heritage is understood as the knowledge, methods and skills (as well as the tools and spaces) developed, produced and used by the Islamic scholarly tradition of interpellation and research during the Islamic Middle ages which, although under-acknowledged, are of importance in contemporary research fields.

The unfolding of the possible historical trajectories that might exist between al-Khaban and post-representational cartography is beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, the perspective to continue developing further research on that matter will surely be of more interest than dismissing it altogether. Although, and rightly so, the methods conventionally used in historical research might not have space for opening up the research endeavor to speculative and creative thinking, artistic research and its holistic, experimental and practice based approach might provide alternative perspectives that should not be undervalued. In that sense, and in conjunction to the work of historians and researchers on heritage, the aim of this paper is to suggest and encourage trans-disciplinary investigations while contributing to the current debates reflecting on critical, difficult or dissonant approaches to heritage hybridizations¹¹.

In short my doctoral dissertation and this paper has wanted to demonstrate that it is only by unsettling the grounds on which established discourses currently stand that epistemic diversity emerges. As V. Y. Mudimbe states "stories about others, as well as commentaries on their differences, are but elements in the history of the same and its knowledge." (Mudimbe, 1988, p. 87). Indeed, the emergence of a common future, within and beyond the research field, needs to be achieved by way to enhance our hybrid pasts.

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⁹ Ahmed's application of *Halaqah* in the context of critical pedagogy includes *Halaqah* as critical theory, reflective conversation, participant collaboration and interactive dialogical discourse proposing a form of narrative inquiry that is rooted in participative, collaborative and spiritual conversation with an awareness of post-colonial knowledge perspectives.

¹⁰ See for example Mardin, S. *The Islamic Intellectual Heritage of the Young Ottomans*. Princeton University Press 1962 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691198637-005>, Asante, M K & Abarry, A S (1996) *African intellectual heritage : a book of sources* Philadelphia : Temple University Press, Brooks, H. (2018) Differential interpretations in the discourse of 'people's power': Unveiling intellectual heritage and normative democratic thought. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Ltd. *African studies* (Johannesburg), Vol.77 (3), p.451-472 or Jianjun, Mei (2019) Some Reflections on Joseph Needham's Intellectual Heritage. *Technology and culture*, Vol.60 (2), p.594-603 United States to name just a few.

¹¹ See for example the content of the upcoming third workshop on "Heritage of Knowledge and Sustainable Management for the Cultural Route of European Universities" in Bologna <https://sma.unibo.it/it/agenda/heritage-of-knowledge-and-sustainable-management-for-the-cultural-route-of-european-universities> or *Critical/Difficult/dissonant heritage: concepts, critics, cases, enhancement* – Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie & Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna which will take place in Autumn 2021.

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Hybridity and Cultural Mediation in the Correspondence of Ulisse Aldrovandi

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INTRODUCTION

The vast and largely unpublished correspondence of the Bolognese naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605) represents one of the most significant examples of cross-cultural mediation between different cultural and social contexts.¹ The hybrid nature of the social fabric within which he operated found its reason to be in the necessity to communicate both with learned scholars and academics, and artisan practitioners in search of a new kind of knowledge that was no longer only theoretical and based on textual sources, but collective, multi-faceted and experiential. This remarkable attempt to mediate these two cultures – the high and the low, the theoretical and the experiential – can be evidenced by examining the fact that the letters are often a means of exchange of natural objects, and the development of botany, mineralogy, and zoology². Aldrovandi was able to incorporate into a new kind of knowledge the traditions of both doctors and humanists, and of pharmacists, naturalists and herbal experts carrying specific expertise. Showing part of this hybrid inheritance becomes a necessary premise to the analytical study of some letters, in order to observe Aldrovandi's ways of relating to his correspondents. There are two issues that need to be considered in advance of our question. The first concerns the concept of hybridity, and the second the specific characteristics of these letters.

It is correct to wonder whether it is actually possible to interpret this encounter, favored by Ulisse Aldrovandi's correspondence, as a form of hybridism or rather as a forcing of lexicon and grammar on reality. But what value might we place on the term hybridization in this specific context? Literally, the meaning of hybridization is the encounter of different forms, species or, more generally, natures. In this specific context, the encounter is between two social classes that, in the domain of the sciences, had never confronted each other before: the learned class, whose prerogative was bookish and theoretical knowledge, and the class of technicians or artisans, whose knowledge was the result of an experiential and completely direct process with nature. Yet intellectuals seemed to be progressively more and more sensitive to the necessity of comparing what the books described with the actual reality of nature. This need was probably the germ of the encounter between two traditions that run parallel until then. The coexistence of heterogeneous elements, the meeting of two different universes, that of knowledge and that of skills, had been made possible by scientists who recognized the need to communicate from both sides the same problems, verifying the different methodologies and results.

The instrument of this analysis is a collection of letters. The letters contained in Aldrovandi's manuscript collection at BUB are primarily personal or naturalistic. The latter constitute the ground on which my research is based. The naturalistic letters testify to the need to compare the developments of his own research in a programmatic and systematic way with other scholars. This collegial practice equally required the contribution of all researchers on a topic, thus determining a scientific correspondence representative of the broad social spectrum involved in the effort of knowing nature. These letters were also a source of real exchange of objects: they often contained seeds, simples, plants, paintings, and useful stuff. The need of a study linked to sensory experience required the involvement of different categories of technicians: from artisans to apothecaries and painters. The latter represented plants, animals, etc., a practice, that of scientific illustration, increasingly present in the late Renaissance.

During the 16th century, natural history developed also because of the strong spirit of collaboration animating communities of scholars. They continuously exchanged scientific information, specimens, and depictions of the three kingdoms of nature. Thus the great obstacle represented by geographic distance was at least partially overcome: whatever a scholar did not manage to see directly, could become known to him with the help of his colleagues. Therefore, Ulisse Aldrovandi's scientific letters

¹ Cf. OLMÍ, 2001

² Cf. FINDLEN, 1994.

actually constituted a bridge between two socio-cultural contexts that until then had been much less communicating. It is also possible to speak of the letters of Aldrovandi and his correspondents as an instrument for hybrid cultural heritage.

CULTURAL HYBRIDIZATION SEEN BY POPULAR SIDE

Let us take a look at Aldrovandi's correspondent Giovanni de' Perondini. He was a distiller in Ferrara during the second part of the 16th century. Not much is known about his biography; however he has been included in the list of the "illustrious men" who have been in correspondence with the Bolognese naturalist. This definition is inferred from the title of manuscript Aldrovandi 38, II «*Lettere di uomini illustri a Ulisse Aldrovandi*» hosted by the University Library of Bologna. The bookbinding of the manuscript belongs to the 16th century, and the manuscript was probably named by Aldrovandi himself. A first essential noteworthy aspect is the presence of the adjective term «illustri» in the title. This means that not only scholars were considered illustrious men. The illustrious men linked to Aldrovandi all came from different backgrounds. Indeed, a man like Giovanni de' Perondini *stillator*, as he defines himself in Latin in his signature, had an education much different from that received by a learned man. We are therefore facing a transformation marked by hybrid cultural heritage. The inclusion of these men in this category is enough to demonstrate the existence of a significant transformation determined by an ever greater consideration reserved to the experimental knowledge. In the second letter that de' Perondini had sent to Aldrovandi, dated February 1566, we can read a very interesting passage:

se al parere ad Vostra Signoria de veder se per la mia deli scolari che volesero farse dar uno qualche loco alla comunita metter fuora una portione fra de loro In ricompensa de sustentarmi apreso alloro lo gia veneria et gia teneria uno loco de semplici et gia portaria li mei fornelli et cosi gia ne saria ch veniva ad imparar de destillar [c.151v] et se faria de le altre cose ha beneficio dela Repubblica si ch vostra Signoria se facia ogni sforzo ch lo venga astare da preso la Signoria Vostra che certo quela haveria uno Amorevolissimo servitor apreso non altro alla Signoria Vostra per infinite volte con tuto al cor mi vi aricomando de ferrara alli 24 de febraro 1566.³

Three crucial aspects emerge from this extract, which are essential in order to understand the hybrid cultural heritage of the late Renaissance. The first concerns the patronage system which permeates the social structure of the 16th century. In fact, as we can see, de' Perondini seeks hospitality in Bologna through Aldrovandi. Therefore these relationships were no longer seen as unequal. In fact, right after, de' Perondini points out that he doesn't need anything else besides the aforementioned hospitality. He maintains that he already has all he needs to teach the art of distillation: a place for the spices and the stoves, namely the fundamental material tools to accomplish his technique. The second aspect precisely concerns the role of these tools. A kind of teaching that requires a "place" conducive to the conservation of spices and medicines, stoves and alembics symbolizes a great change from the theoretical knowledge that had dominated the scene until the 15th century. The third and final aspect is entirely contained in the expression «et se faria de le altre cose ha beneficio dela Repubblica». This expression refers to the Republic of Scientists, a Republic of letters established in the second half of the 16th century. The Republic involved all scholars, "curious men", and amateurs, and brought them together without any hierarchical implication. From another brief extract from a letter of May 4, 1566, we can see another fundamental aspect, namely the exchange of objects:

me doglio non havere qualche cosa di bello da [c.153v] poterne mandar ala Signoria Vostra.⁴

I mentioned at the beginning of this article the importance of this kind of use of letters. Letters as a means for the exchange of objects represent the demonstration that we are no longer in the presence of a purely theoretical correspondence maintained among intellectuals, but rather of a new way of conceiving scientific research according to direct observation shared and compared between several individuals. More precisely, this was a circumstance determined by new geographic discoveries. The "New World" had attracted the attention of all those men who were curious about nature; after all, plants, fruits, and animals were absolutely new and different from the known species in Europe:

si che se la Signoria Vostra havese de quei faxoli, la Signoria Vostra sara conteno de mandarmene uno ho doi de la fava del mondo Novo se la Signoria Vostra ne havesse che ne potesevi acomodare de grano ho doi de quello che puole la Signoria Vostra.⁵

Moreover, the appeal to obtain or donate seeds and plants used by the correspondents of the Republic of Letters becomes a sort of typical pattern of 16th century research. Nevertheless until now we observed the requests that Giovanni de' Perondini, distiller, had addressed to Aldrovandi, a well-known professor. But it is only through the analysis of what Perondini could offer to Aldrovandi that we can understand the circularity of this system, emblem of hybrid cultural heritage.

³ BUB, ms. Aldrovandi 38, II, vol. 3, cc. 151-151v.

⁴ BUB, ms. Aldrovandi 38, II, vol. 3, cc. 153-153v.

⁵ BUB, ms. Aldrovandi 38, II, vol. 3, cc. 158-159.

Io me haritrovo faxoli de queste sorti qui de sotto Nominati in prima faxoli de India [...] vergati de Negro faxoli zalli schieti de India faxoli negri schieti de India faxoli bianchi schieti de India faxoli rossi schieti de India faxoli bertini vergati de negro de India faxoli turchini chiari scuro bertini li quali [...] [c.164] mi vi aricomando con tuto al cor et che la Signoria Vostra me tenga in loro de uno vostro Amorevolle et fidelissimo servitor la Signoria Vostra me manchi de mandarmi qualche coseta et cosi mi se lo ho qualche cosa bona per la Signoria Vostra me ne dia avixo che de subito ve le mandare de ferara ali 17 de aprile 1569.

Il tuto vostro Amorevole et fidele servitor Zoanne stillator⁶

This is a list of types of beans and other foods from the Americas, then still called India. It is not essential to go into the details contained in this list, but it is important to note that a technician (distiller) of a “speciaria” was able to provide Aldrovandi, an important university professor, with natural elements of great interest. The equal dimension of this shared research is the real key to understand the hybridity we are dealing with.

CULTURAL HYBRIDIZATION SEEN BY THE SCHOLARLY SIDE

Now we must show the mutual character of this new scientific knowledge; the best way to do it is to make a comparison between two types of correspondents. Girolamo Mercuriale was an Italian philologist and physician, most famous for his work *De Arte Gymnastica*. After preliminary studies, he took medical courses in Bologna, and then in Padua he received his doctorate in 1555. After teaching in Padua for eighteen years, he was called in 1587 to Bologna, then in 1599 to Pisa, where he was attracted by the generous offer of Duke Cosimo I of Tuscany. Already in one of the first letters by Mercuriale to Aldrovandi, we can see the same type of request as those made by Giovanni de' Perondini but of another type of object, namely an ancient text:

Io non dubbito punti che Vostra Eccellenza non habbia per ritrovarmi il Nicandro, usata quella diligenza ch'io havrei usata et userò sempre in servir lei et però altrettanto mi li sento obbligato, quanto s'io l'havesse havuto, Nicandro Greco tutto con li scogli antichi l'ho et in foglio et in quarto si che non mi ricorre in ciò gravarla.⁷

The book exchange was involved in the broader category of the objects' trade, thus demonstrating the methodological foundations and objectives on which the 16th century Republic of Letters was built. In conclusion, it is worth focusing on two final aspects of the cultural hybridity of the late Renaissance. The first concerns precisely the outcome of the meeting between these two social classes until then much more distant. The point where they meet generated the incorporation of classical ancient culture to the verification and experimentation tools which were introduced precisely during the Renaissance. Thanks to a letter from Aldrovandi to Mercuriale, we can isolate the moment when this process symbolizes a real fission between these two cultures:

scrive parimente nel medesimo capitolo Plinio di sentenza di Cratica divina pianta chiamata Oenoteride la quale se si sparge col vino mitiga la terribilità di tutti gli animali la quale pianta senza fallo credo esser'onagra di Dioscoride [...], ma se habbia questa facolta non l'havendo sperimentata, non la posso affermare e pero verisimile che s'usasse contro tali bestie.⁸

The last aspect concerns the only element that had not yet been normalized within this cultural hybridization: language. There is not yet a linguistic identity sufficiently oriented to the promotion of this encounter between learned and popular culture. If the cultural interests of the educated and the popular classes were now convergent, this communion had not yet found a unitary communication. The cultivated and formal language remained Latin, the learned and informal language was Italian (generally) and the popular language remained the regional dialect. This shows that it was a cultural mediation which began to take shape at that moment, in the late Renaissance, through these correspondences.

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From the Gallery to the Internet - Re-framing Art Through Visitor Generated Photography

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Like many heritage institutions, the National Galleries of Scotland (NGS) are undertaking mass digitisation of their collections. As images of art are added to the website, the collections database, and shared on social media channels, these images begin to circulate freely on the screens of a vast online public. This project considers that digital images of artworks are not just and only 'versions' of the real thing, as can often be the supposition. Viewing an artwork in the physical venue is a unique experience, yet the digital realm holds a multitude of possibilities, (re)interpretations, and potential voices. Digitised images of artworks have the scope to shape meaning, provide connection, and inspiration, and in their digitisation layer and bridge analogue and digital spaces. In turn, the understandings gained from how these images are employed has scope to shape the approach of a gallery to its curation, exhibition design and visitor engagement.

When museums and galleries traditionally construct meaning for the visitor, by selecting the order and display of objects for example, choices are made about what to include, or exclude, what to privilege, or not. As Eilean Hooper-Greenhill says, scholarship in this area has acknowledged, "the ways in which museums and galleries can alter perception, and can contribute to knowledge" (1992: 2). In the digital space these alterations and contributions can be contested or reacted to with greater autonomy by visitors. When "...material things can be understood in a multitude of different ways... many meanings can be read from things, and...this meaning can be manipulated as required", digital visitors or visitors in the physical space who then respond online are greater able to add their readings and meanings (*ibid*). This is an element that galleries can harness digitally in a way that diverges from what is possible in the physical space, creating "alternatives to traditional methods of depicting knowledge" (Wong, 2012: 285).

Digitisation has increased access to gallery collections, while the platforms on which these images are held and shared open up space for more voices; a polyvocality. As a result, the traditional relationship and balance of power between heritage organisations such as museums and galleries, and audiences, authoritatively disseminating information in a 'one to many' style, has an opportunity to be reconfigured and rebalanced. The power and space for public voice, contributions which articulate opinions and meaning, in the digital sphere is morphing previous boundaries and creating new shapes. There remain questions of how far the power balance can shift however, and which voices are invited or have access to contribute. As Taylor and Gibson indicate, digital and social media are not inherently democratic, and certain activities can even reinforce non-democratic structures (2017). This research intends to explore the particular value and role the digitised image of artwork can bring into online spaces, questioning how its uses might impact on visitors and institutions alike. The thesis asks questions such as: how do digitised images function to enable connections between visitors and artworks in their hybridising of the analogue and the digital space, in what ways do the use of digitised images facilitate polyvocality amongst online audiences, what are the implications for the institution, and what can this mean for the heritage sector more widely?

To begin to understand the nature of visitor voice in the context of digitised artworks at NGS, in terms of audiences sharing their views and making meaning, I undertook a pilot study to examine the relationship between visitors and NGS collections (including loans). Instagram posts which tagged NGS or geotagged Edinburgh venues, the Scottish National Gallery, Scottish National Portrait Gallery and Scottish National Gallery of Modern of Art, and were publicly available, were gathered for the period November 2019 – January 2020. This involved manual scraping of data, as due to changes to the Instagram API, public data cannot be accessed in an automated way. The type of post included satisfied the following criteria: the content was taken at an NGS venue, it featured an artwork (painting, or sculpture, or neon, etc), images and videos were drawn from posts publicly shared in the newsfeed (not Instagram stories, which from a separate stream of content which disappears after 24 hours). Images were not included if they

could be identified as being taken by staff, incentivised or used for commercial purposes.

In total there were 2,095 images, a mix of pictures and videos in a series (at present these are capped by Instagram at ten images per post), and posts of single images or videos. Using visual content analysis, images were coded. The initial observation showed that images fell into six initial categories: Artwork: 73% (incorporating paintings, sculptures, photographs), Photographs featuring People: 12% (including selfies, photographs taken in front of, with or alongside art), Interiors: 7% (e.g. stairwells, ceilings), Videos: 4%, Text & Labels: 3%, Miscellaneous: 1%. This indicates that the majority of users were responding directly to collection items, although many were exploring their own physical interaction with the collections, by placing themselves in the frame.



Fig 1. 40 - 200120IGNGS Painting: Niagara Falls, from the American Side, Frederic Edwin Church, 1867. Location: SNG

Museums and visitors collaborate in the “making of meaning” (Russo, 2008: 22). The value attributed to visitor engagement, and motivations to increase this has seen participatory initiatives increasingly take place on-site. The pervasiveness and integration of social media into museums has followed, bringing with it a communication method the very fabric of which is participatory; “the users of the services and sites which make up the modern web are themselves central to its nature” (Sergeant and Tagg, 2014: 3). Social media communication is also predicated on the agency of the individuals, “enabling identity experimentation, social identification...” (Warburton and Hatzipanagos, 2013: 39). Audiences are “actively engaged in production (and not solely passively engaged in consumption) – and thus previous dichotomies such as author/audience and amateur/professional are becoming porous” (Sergeant and Tagg, 2014: 3). The social media space therefore is a site through which not only can the hybridity of physical and digital find a platform, but also facilitates hybridity of role, whereby consumers can become producers.

Taking photographs can increase enjoyment of the experience, also directing “greater visual attention to aspects of the experience one may want to photograph” (Diehl, Barasch, Zauberman, 2016). In this respect there are benefits for the visitor, while also implicating benefits for the institution. Heritage organisations are in a position to understand more about their visitors, e.g. what are audiences seeing when they take photographs of art that they might not otherwise see? What can they create which the gallery interpretation has not yet attempted? The leading feature that unites varying forms of popular social media platforms, such as Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter, is the ability to share. In a social media study it was found that sharing online had implications offline, “78% of participants felt their online interactions with people have made them more open to the idea of sharing with strangers” (Gaskins, 2010: 2). The act of sharing can have a positive impact on those who do so. Shared content has also been called “speech with a relational embrace” (Carbaugh, 1988: 144). Each participant contributes a building block to an ever-growing digital sculpture, compiled of their experiences. It is a live, growing, publicly created polyvocal virtual gallery.

Gallery visitors have been able to share their experiences of galleries digitally to a global audience via social media platforms relatively recently (Twitter, established in 2006, Instagram in 2010). They are ubiquitous methods of communication, used by NGS visitors and NGS themselves. There are multiple conversations taking place between the organisation and its audience, such as 'liking' tagged or geo-located Instagram posts, comments, and 're-gramming' (sharing a post made by a visitor on their institutional platform). The rapidly developing influence of social media, which can be contentious, has created a maelstrom that can be intimidating to an organisation that wants, or, as a result of existing copyright agreements with artists, needs, to have control of how its artworks are contextualised.

The images collated in this NGS study depicted a variety of favoured photographic styles and trends, but what became apparent was the degree to which artworks were placed centrally as subjects of photographs (as opposed to self-representational photographs, 'selfies', being the most popular). This layering, of physical artwork and virtual digital space, a 'doubling' Geismar proposes, holds within it the duality of bringing "its subject into being as much as it represents it" (2012: 268). Geismar elaborates, "the digital domain functions as simultaneously as a representation of other sites and practices and as a site and practice in itself" (2012: 269). It is this new online site, in its own right, with its implications for the relationships and meanings held between gallery and visitor, between the analogue and the digital, that high and popular culture can meet, exemplifying heritage in hybridisation.

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Rimas: The synthesis of a culture through the framework of another; Bécquer and Turina, critics of culture as distillers of high art and folk imagery. *Rima XI, op.26*

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Aleida Assmann (2010)¹ uses a classical division between two separate functions of cultural heritage: “the presentation of a narrow selection of sacred texts, artistic masterpieces, or historic key events in a timeless framework; and the storing of documents and artefacts of the past”. According to her, there is no strict separation between passive cultural memory and the construction/curation of memorial places or spaces.”

[UNA Europa web, Theme and Rationale](#)

Project Canción Española was started to facilitate the documenting of lost treasures that span centuries and cross borders and to ensure their circulation by establishing an international pedagogy so that they may be taught and therefore programmed. It is like constructing a memorial, as Assman mentions, for the genre of Art song in Spanish. Most Spanish music has been forgotten, as it is omitted in the music history which is taught around the word in music programs. The methodology used to investigate the repertoire is “Performance Practice”, which analyzes the parameters that affect the performers choice of technique as a vocabulary of expression by studying the intentions of the poet and the composer. Investigators using this methodology have changed the dialogue and the collective memory of many bodies of work, such as Paul Sperry’s project to preserve American Art Song by creating a pedagogy to teach it, and therefore diffuse it.²

Our group, (iii) Heritage(s) between high and popular culture, has decided to focus on methodology, in order to find a common interest among our disperse topics. This has caused me to approach the analysis of the songs (each one being a chapter of my thesis) with more attention given to the cultural layers behind the actual creation dates of the various aspects of the art song in question, that is to say focusing on the cultural heritage or the semiotic and cybernetics inherited across borders and times that influenced both the poet and the composer.

Presenting the evolution of popular culture, its evolving reception and significance and its influence on high culture involves a great deal of research into tracking reception across decades and centuries as well across borders. Then it involves tracking and recording the reception of the high art which adopts the popular expression, and perhaps trying to use all this information to “define” a genre of art, if possible.

The Contact Zone³ is therefore a common vocabulary of expression between “high and popular”. In the end, many creations that are considered high art, are in fact, expressions of popular culture. Opera, was basically almost immediately a fusion between Florentine religious music and local popular music. It has evolved to adapt local visual and oral vocabulary through the centuries. We recognize Italian, Classic, Baroque and Romantic opera as different from French and German operas from the same periods. They are differentiated by the local contribution to their visual and oral language. In France, the ballet had to be included in all the productions whereas in Germany, as influenced by *Singspiele* (operettas which include spoken lines similar to the American musicals), the musical language was much less melodic and more faithful to what could be called a recitative style, following the natural intonation of the spoken word. In Italy, as we all know, the melody always ruled, and so, the libretto was secondary.

¹ Assmann, A. 2010. “Canon and Archive.” In *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, edited by A. Erll & A. Nünning, 97-109. New York: De Gruyter.

² “He taught classes in song interpretation and performance at the Juilliard School from 1984-2007, where he created what may have been the country’s first full-year course in American song. He also teaches courses in American song at the Manhattan School of Music in New York and in 19th and 20th century song at the Brooklyn College Conservatory of Music.” American Tenor, Paul Sperry from Paulsperry.com

³ “What are the processes of (hybrid) heritage production as a “contact zone” between high and popular culture?” UNA web, Theme and Rationale <https://heritage-hybrid.sciencesconf.org/resource/page/id/3>

In the case of Art Song, it is very upsetting to live in Spain and observe that the “high culture”, classical music community continues to embrace the output of its Northern European neighbors and even call a Song recital series programmed in its National Theaters, LIED (the German word for “Song” which in Spanish would be “Canción”). There is an undervaluing of any song that can be identified as a Spanish Art Song, as being of lower culture, because precisely that which makes it identifiable as Spanish, somehow makes it of “lower/popular” culture. I always give the example of Brahms *Ziguener lieder*, “*Röslein dreibe in der reihe blühn so rot...*”. My finding suggest that while many attend “Lied” recitals in the Zarzuela Theater where they hold such events and listen to songs such as the afore mentioned Brahms “folk” song and applaud, thinking how lucky they are to be so civilized as to enjoy a good *Lied* recital, many reject the programming of folk songs, set by any one of the many great Spanish composers (Garcia-Leoz, Garcia Lorca, Turina, Falla, Obradors, etc...) to the point where Singing in Spanish is not even taught at the National Conservatories (it has been incorporated recently due in part to my project) while singing in Italian, French, German and English is required.

As Assmann (2010) says, here in Spain, and around the world, the narrative has been controlled by those who have limited the input to “*the presentation of a narrow selection of sacred texts, artistic masterpieces, or historic key events in a timeless framework; and the storing of documents and artefacts of the past*”.

My topic is the study of an art form, art song, that is by definition a hybrid of poetry and music (in this case, Bécquer’s poetry in Turina’s songs) often from different temporalities. The end product, poetry by a person of one time, set to music of another in another time, is an art song meant to communicate timelessly to endless generations without borders. By taking the sleeping documents (art song scores) out of the archives and presenting them in the framework of performance practice so that they might be given new life on stages, these rich songs become a living museum of cross culture and the borderless and timeless language of poetry and music.

We will attempt to analyze the influence of previous high culture authors and composers as well as inherited folk culture on both the poet and the composer of this art song in Spanish; “*Rima*”, Joaquín Turina, setting a poem by Gustavo Bécquer, “*Rima XI*”

In the third part of his review of “*La Soledad*” by Augusto Ferrán y Forniés, Gustavo Bécquer, a poet and critic, talks about how over time, the people (el pueblo) are the poet. “The people know best how to synthesize the beliefs, aspirations and feelings of an era.”⁴ Bécquer as a critic refers to things like, Christian mythology, Dante and his terrible poem, the drawing of Don Juan, Faust’s dream, and the fact that the people gave life to all the gigantesque figures that art perfected later. Bécquer says that the “poet, confiding in the architect (the people, the popular culture, were the architect of this artistic language) used these bricks to build colossal pyramids, to dominate the immense wave of the forgotten and of time... thus, a sentimental phrase, a valiant touch, or a natural trace are enough to transmit an idea”, this is “popular song”.⁵ He goes on to say that this class of songs make for an entire genre of Poetry, that of Goethe, Schiller, Uhland and Heine, the poets of the so venerated *lied*. In fact, Bécquer was greatly influenced by Heine, who was in turn influenced by Goethe, Shakespeare and Aristophanes.⁶ Little did Bécquer know that he would become the poet for generations of Spanish composers dedicated to expressing the voice of the people precisely because he himself wrote this kind of poetry which he spoke of as a Critic. Bécquer would have been a natural choice for Turina who was also a critic and creator. Both were from Sevilla, both had fathers who were painters and both believed in expressing the sentiments of the “pueblo”. Turina in turn, left Sevilla for Madrid and then Paris where he was seeped in the European tradition of high music, including the art songs of Schumann and Schubert (*lied*). While in Paris, the mecca of Classical composition at the time, he was advised to seek material for his compositions in the folklore and tradition he had left behind in Spain.

⁴ “Nadie mejor que él (el pueblo) sabe sintetizar en sus obras las creencias, las aspiraciones y el senti miento de una época”. Bécquer, Gustavo A.: “Reseña, part III” en *La Soledad: colección de cantares* de Augusto Ferrán y Forniés. See: <https://cvc.cervantes.es/obref/rimas/apendices/resena02.htm>

⁵ “Los grandes poetas, semejantes a un osado arquitecto, han recogido las piedras talladas por él, y han levantado con ellas una pirámide en cada siglo. Pirámides colosales que, dominando la inmensa ola del olvido y del tiempo, se contemplan unas a otras y señalan el paso de la humanidad por el mundo de la inteligencia” [...] “una frase sentida, un toque valiente o un rasgo natural, le bastan para emitir una idea, caracterizar un tip o hacer una descripción. Esto, y no más, son las canciones populares”.

López-Estrada, Francisco: *Rimas y declaraciones poéticas*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1977, pp.46-48.

⁶ “But life is basically so fatally serious that it would be unbearable without such a connection between the pathetic and the comic. Our poets know that. Aristophanes only shows us the most horrific images of human madness in the laughing mirror of the joke; Goethe dares only express the great poet’s grief, who understands his own futility, in the poetry of a puppet show, and Shakespeare puts the deadliest lament over the misery of the world in his mouth of a fool while he anxiously shakes its bell cap” Heine, H., 2017(written 1826-27) *Ideen: Das Buch Le Grand* Berlin: Hofenberg ISBN-13: 978-3743707382. Heine lauds the the technique of combining comedy and tragedy as natural because it happens in life. Something he goes on to do.

In considering Turina's setting of Becquer "*Rima XI*", before we focus on the hybridisation of the poem with the music, we have much to discuss about the inherited cultural symbolism and format involved in both the poetry and the musical composition. It is in these processes that we can apply methodologies and concepts gathered here at the UNA conference:

Traditional conceptions of heritage are often associated with a single cultural period (e.g. the Baroque period) or a defined political or cultural entity (e.g. a national monument). But, at the same time, heritage is also the result of accumulated layers of different temporalities and socio-cultural interventions. In this sense "the concept of cultural heritage itself is historically constructed as a hybrid social product" (Hernandez I Marti 2006, 91)⁷

This is certainly the most pertinent concept with respect to the methodology of "Performance Practice". We pay special attention to the reception of the poem in its time, at the moment it is interpreted by the composer and then once again, in its current reception in both the literary and musical aspects.

Hybridisation enables us to focus on the interconnection of different domains, temporalities and actors at different levels, overcoming and rejecting hierarchies, and grand narratives (Lyotard 1979)⁸

Indeed, the analysis of Art Song in any language involves looking minutely at how imagery evoked by words and music from various centuries come together to send universal messages that must needs transverse time and borders, as the goal is that these musical treasures be programmed around the world.

Hybridization becomes part of a territory's characteristic, contributing to its own particular identity. Heritage hybridisation can be understood in this sense. From an ethical perspective, it can be associated with the emergent conditions of new heritage governance regimes (Paquette 2012)⁹

This particular point of view comes into play with the idea that up until now, the global view of "Art Song in Spanish" has been what is programmed on recitals from the few circulating songs (the "narrow view" of a much broader output).¹⁰

The two authors in question involved in the creation of the Art Song being examined, although both known for unashamedly referencing their roots (both from Sevilla, Andalusia) in their compositions, in their subject matter, imagery and rhythm, among other things, in fact are far from being considered folk artists. They were known critics of high art, travelled to centers of great intellectual activity and documented their influences in treaties and published criticisms so as to leave no doubt of what was intended in their own compositions.

Bécquer (Gustavo Adolfo Dominguez Insausti y Bastida, born on February 17, 1836 and died in Madrid on December 22, 1870) was not known in his lifetime as a poet, but rather as a literary critic. His expert knowledge of the techniques of the great thinkers and poets of his and former times, brought him to create his *Rimas*. An attempt to emulate the achievements of Heine, Dante, and others before him in their ability to use the language created by the people from their experience (early semiotics and cybernetics before his time) and distill it into a form (poetry and in this case the Rima – verses). While the imagery (referred to as "bricks" by Bécquer) was developed over centuries, and certainly varied regionally due to the layers of experiences unique to each culture, galvanizing this vocabulary of expression into the tried and revered musical form of his German antecessors, such as Heinrich Heine was Bécquer's achievement. Added layers to consider are the influences of those he emulated, such as Heine, who revered Goethe, Shakespeare and Aristophanes and published his poems as songs, "*liederbuch*" (song books), which lead to the inevitable setting of his songs by many composers (such as Schubert and Schumann) over decades and centuries. In the same vain, Bécquer published his *Rimas* as poetic music. It is no surprise that generations of composers have chosen to set the *Rimas*.

Joaquín Turina Perez (1882- 1949) was seeped in the cultural heritage of Andalusia growing up in the house of a painter in Sevilla. He was also known as a scholar and critic, producing many treatises on music and composition in his day. His pilgrimage to Madrid and in turn to Paris, the center of all European classical music production at the time, set the stage for his search for a vocabulary of expression to express what was true to him as a Spaniard and as an intellect. We will investigate the intellectual process involved in the construction of the Text of Bécquer's *Rima XI*, and then consider the vocabulary of expression developed by both the poet and then the composer to communicate images

⁷ Hernandez I Marti, G-M. 2006. "The deterritorialization of cultural heritage in a globalized modernity." *Journal of Contemporary Culture*, 1: 92-107.

⁸ Lyotard, J.F. 1979. *La condition postmoderne. Rapport sur le savoir*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.

⁹ Paquette J. 2012. "Expertise et patrimoine autochtone : hybridation des savoirs et évolutions récentes des pratiques patrimoniales en Nouvelle-Zélande." *Éthique publique* 14(1). First available online February 3, 2013.

¹⁰ "Until now, most singers have been attracted to a new Spanish song for its music alone; as a result, the dice have been heavily loaded in favour of quick, exciting and 'entertaining' songs at the expense of many of the most beautiful introverted ones, songs where an understanding of the text is essential to appreciate the full beauties of the work."

Stokes, Richard, Cockburn, Jacqueline (translator) and Johnson, Graham (contributor), *A Spanish Song Companion*. Scarecrow Press, New York, 2006.p.1

and sentiments handed down over centuries and across cultures. We hope to identify and discuss the many layers of culture involved in the end product of Joaquín Turina's settings as an example of how the cultural heritage considered the product of one country, (Spain) is in effect the result of a cross breeding (hybridisation) of various periods of cultures throughout Europe, such as Turina's pilgrimage to Paris, and including influence from as far back as the Byzantine empire (the Al-Andalus culture ever present in Spanish culture) as well as the influence of Shakespeare and Aristophanes among others.

PhD Candidates

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PhD in Geography

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Graduated in Fine Arts at the University of Seville, David Albarrán performed Postgraduate Studies in Managing Tourism and Cultural Heritage in Historic Towns at the University of Malaga. In 2015, he won the Premio Extraordinario Fin de Estudios, which is a prize awarded to the most outstanding graduate in the Master's Degree in Tourism Management and Planning from the University of Seville, which he attended with a specialization program in Public Policies. Five years after, he obtained his PhD degree at the Complutense University of Madrid under the supervision of Dr. Miguel Ángel Troitiño and Dr. Manuel de la Calle, with a distinction "cum laude" and international mention. Parallel to his academic career, he has worked as a consultant on tourism and heritage policies for several public organisations in Spain, as well as he has completed research stages in the Dominican Republic and Sweden.

Giulia Alonzo, Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna



After a Degree in Design at the Politecnico di Milano and a Master Degree at Brera Academy of Fine Arts, Giulia Alonzo is currently a PhD student in Sociology at the University of Bologna. Her research project is focused on the social and cultural impact of festivals on the territories in which they take place. Alonzo is CEO of the Cultural Association TrovaFestival, the website that maps the Italian cultural festivals. She is passionate about visual arts, design and live entertainment, and she is particularly interested in the reception and symbolism of works of art in contemporary society. Alonzo is a contributor to several online magazines, among them Ateatro, Doppiozero and Exibart, writing on theater and performing arts. In 2017 she published her first book on cultural mediation, "Dioniso e la nuvola. L'informazione e la critica teatrale in rete: nuovi sguardi, nuove forme, nuovi pubblici" (FrancoAngeli), written with Oliviero Ponte di Pino.

María Agustina Arnulfo, Universidad Complutense de Madrid



María Agustina Arnulfo is a Bachelor in Art History with a focus in Fine Arts at University of Buenos Aires and a Master's degree in Análisis and Management of Artistic Patrimony at the Universitat Autònoma of Barcelona, where her final work focused on the collection of pre-Columbian objects in the Catalonian región in Spain. She is currently writing her PhD tesis under the supervisión of Laura Arias Serrano. Her research focus in the construction of in the national representations of the Argentinian state. She specializes in the collection and exhibition of pre-Columbian pieces in the national museums as well as in the selection, creation and contruction of the concept of national heritage. She has enriched her work by volunteering in the educational department of the Museo Sivori in Buenos Aires and Muzeum Narodowy Kraków, as well as in the collections department in the Museo Etnografico of Barcelona.

Ana Elisa Astudillo, KU Leuven



Ana Elisa Astudillo is currently a VLIR-UOS doctoral fellow in the project *Innovative governance systems for built cultural heritage, based on traditional Andean organizational principles in Ecuador* and a PhD candidate in anthropology KU Leuven in Belgium. Her research focuses on heritage imaginations in the Ecuadorian Andes. With a background in sociology (BA) and anthropology (MA), her work applies ethnography, socio-cultural analysis, and participant research. She is driven to examine how and what narratives of heritage have been assumed, (re) signified contested colonial context, and deep on the encounters, dialogues, disputes, and contradictions about identity manifested in heritage imaginaries. Her previous research by her explored the social construction of space from the concepts of social memory and public space occupation in the Raval neighborhood in Barcelona, the right to the city, and political culture in Cuenca, Ecuador.

Nan Maro Babakhanian, Universidad Complutense de Madrid



Nan Maro Babakhanian is in the second year of her doctoral Thesis on Performance Practice, Keys to the Interpretation of Art Song in Spanish at the University Complutense of Madrid. She focuses on the construction of the poetry and the parameters used by both the poets and the composers who set those poems to music, breaking down compositional techniques as well as historical and current reception of both the text and the music.

The native New Yorker has over 15 years of experience as the director of Project Canción Española, whose mission it is to promote the programming of Art Song in Spanish by increasing the information available to interpreters about the poets, the poetry, the composers, the compositional techniques, historical interpretations and the diction among many other things. She has been on the faculty of The Mannes School, NYC, Saint Louis University, Madrid and taught at Middlebury College, Madrid as well as given master classes and performed around the world. She holds a Master of Performance Practice (Art Song in Spanish) from Brooklyn College Conservatory, CUNY.

Most recently she has been promoted to Voice Professor at the Voice Conservatory of Madrid.

Madeline Jaye Bass, Freie Universität Berlin



Madeline Jaye Bass is an Early-Stage Researcher with the MOVES European Joint Doctorate, dually enrolled at the Freie Universität Berlin and the University of Kent. She completed her Bachelor of Arts in Sociology from Wells College in New York, USA and her Master of Science degree in Sociology from Portland State University in Oregon, USA. Her M.S. was undertaken as part of the U.S. Peace Corps Master's International program and included three years spent living and working in Oromia, Ethiopia. Madeline's primary focus in the field of cultural heritage is the archival collection of the Oromo Horn von Afrika Zentrum in Berlin, Germany and histories of Oromo organizing. Her research interests beyond the archive include women's movements, Black geography, diaspora formation, and decolonial resistance.

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After an M.A. in Arts and Languages at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), Ina Belcheva is now writing her PhD thesis at University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne under the supervision of professor Dominique Poulot. Her research is centred on the artistic memory of Bulgarian socialism. She has a particular interest in artists' participation in the heritage processes and transformation of monuments in the post-socialist public space. She is a lecturer at University Paris 8 Vincennes-Saint-Denis and in 2019, she won the LabEx CAP "Immersion" Scholarship, in partnership with Centre Pompidou.

Sandra Biondo, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne



PHD candidate at University of Paris1 Panthéon-Sorbonne (EIREST) and Institut Français de la Mode (IFM), she's a lecturer at Università della Svizzera Italiana (Master in digital fashion communication) and an academic advisor at Sciences Po Paris (School of public affairs - Public Policy Incubator). After a first experience as à consultant on urban policies for the French Ministry of the Environment she joined in 2021 the Head of the Civic Learning Program within Dean's Office at Sciences Po (Undergraduate College). Her academic researches focus on the links between fashion industries and urban heritage. She has collaborated with numerous international universities (cf. Juan Carlos University in Madrid, UNIPA in Palermo, LUISS Guido Carli in Rome, as well as within the European network UnaEuropa).

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Giulia Brusori is an art historian with a degree taken at the University of Bologna (March 2018), currently doing a double degree PhD between the University of Bologna and the École Pratique des Hautes Études (PSL) in Paris (November 2018). Her PhD thesis deals with the cataloguing of the drawings by Nicolo dell'Abate, one of the major Italian artists of the school of Fontainebleau. Her main research interests include the history of ancient etchings and drawings, the related techniques and their different applications according to their intended use, as well as the migration of iconographic and stylistic motifs between France and Italy in the 16th century. From October 2019 she is a subject expert in History of modern art and Iconography and Iconology, and from May 2020 in Early Modern Art, disciplinary science sector L-ART 02, at the University of Bologna. She is the author of three articles in peer-reviewed academic journals (2019, 2020, 2021 forthcoming) and of ten records of art works in the exhibition catalogue *La Maniera Emiliana. Bertoja, Mirola da Parma alle corti d'Europa*, edited by M. C. Chiusa (2019).

Jolanta Bujas-Poniatowska, Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie



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Jolanta Bujas-Poniatowska is a Polish musicologist, philologist, translator, and editor. The graduate of the Jagiellonian University and the Pedagogical University in Kraków; a former student of Cardiff University in the United Kingdom. Currently, she works on her doctoral thesis dedicated to the functioning of church music within the society in the territory of former Poland in the first half of the 19th century. In her academic work, she mainly focuses on source studies, reception history and music as an element of social life. Jolanta publishes the results of her research in Polish and English; she collaborates with the most prominent music institutions in Poland, such as The Fryderyk Chopin Institute and PWM Edition.

Eleanor Capaldi, University of Edinburgh



Eleanor Capaldi is a PhD candidate at the University of Edinburgh where her research explores the reinterpretation of digitised art online. Eleanor has worked during this time as LGBTQ+ Project Assistant at The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, co-curating the exhibition *Edwin Morgan: An Eardley on My Wall*. Here, she also developed an engagement programme, leading to the creation of a crowd sourced poem to mark the Morgan Centenary, *A Thousand Bubbles Rise*. With a background in film research, and holding an MLitt in Film and Television Studies, Eleanor is interested in how storytelling, narrative and moving image can bring artworks to life. In 2020 Eleanor co-presented the paper, '*Digitised heritage, online audiences and relations of trust*' as part of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies conference. Eleanor is an Affiliate of the Centre for Data, Culture and Society (CDCS), Member of the UofE Digital Cultural Heritage Cluster, and a Member of the Scottish Graduate School for Arts and Humanities (SGSAH).

Pau Catà, University of Edinburgh



Pau Catà is a researcher and curator from Barcelona. He is the director of **CeRCCa** Center for Research and Creativity Casamarles. Since 2016 he also co-coordinates **NACMM** and **Platform HARAKAT**. He received his MA in Critical Arts Management and Media Cultural Studies by the LSBU (London) after graduating in History by the University of Barcelona, Università degli Studi di Firenze and Democritus University. He has been selected to be part of several international research and curatorial programs such as Dawrak, Tandem Shaml, South Med CV and Reshape. As a researcher he has published several articles on topics related to epistemology, travel and alternative histories in the peer-reviewed journals re-Visiones, Artnodes and Trans Cultural Exchange as well as at SCCA_Ljubljana and Transartist. He has been awarded the practice led Ph.D in Art by the University of Edinburgh. His research titled *Moving Knowledges: an speculative Arab art residency proto-history (An event without its poem is an event that never happened)* investigates on epistemic resonances and intellectual heritages within the art residency field.

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Francesco Costantini holds an MA in Comparative Literature and Cultural Studies from the University of Limerick, Ireland and is currently a PhD researcher at the Department of Literary Anthropology at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. His PhD project is entitled “On the way to independence: the role of literature from a postcolonial perspective in a comparative context between Poland and Ireland” and includes an analysis at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries of the two cases of internal colonialisms questioning the role of literature in relation to national issues, epistemic and discursive violence, ultimately deconstructing imperialism by unravelling its colonial “sins” within modernism. Having studied in Italy, Poland, and Ireland his research interests comprise mainly Postcolonial Studies, Memory and Heritage Studies and Comparative Literature, with specific attention to its relation with globalization processes and epistemic justice. He presented his research in several international conferences as well as peer-reviewed articles soon to be published. He has been awarded the Utrecht Network Young Researchers grant, and he will be a visiting scholar at the UCC (University College Cork) in fall 2021. He works under the supervision of prof. Ryszard Nycz.

Joshua Davis, KU Leuven

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Joshua Davis is a PhD. doctoral researcher in the Faculty of Law at KU Leuven, with the Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies and Raymond Lemaire International Centre for Conservation. Joshua’s PhD. research combines the field of law with the field of cultural heritage, in its search for ways in which the EU can form a single common position on cultural heritage policy and governance, and also how the EU can best overcome its colonial legacy in order to become a global leader in cultural heritage policy and governance. Joshua is a staff representative member of the executive board of the newly launched HERKUL Institute – the KU Leuven Institute for Cultural Heritage.

Joshua Davis obtained two MA degrees from the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB) in Political Science, and an Advanced MSC in European Integration from the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB), for which he was a prize winner and finalist for his final dissertations. He holds a BBA and a BA in European Studies, with Honours (2:1) in French from Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. Joshua has also worked as a public affairs and European affairs consultant in Brussels, as a researcher at the European Parliament, and also as a research assistant for the Special Broadcasting Service of Australia.

Virginia de Diego, Universidad Complutense de Madrid



Virginia de Diego (Madrid, 1983) is a Visual Artist, Curator and Doctor cum Laude in Fine Arts (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) with her thesis “The Ruin as a Replica. The Protocontemporary moment”; nowadays she combines her work as a professor (Universidad de Comillas, Istituto Europeo di Design, Faculdade de Belas Artes da Universidade do Porto) with her artistic and curating practice.

Her work has been awarded several prizes and grants by institutions around the world [Bildrecht and Wien Kultur (Austria), Vilnius Dailės Akademija (Lithuania), Comunidad de Madrid (Spain), The Wassai Project New York (U.S.A)] and has been exhibited and presented in museums, galleries, and festivals such as MUMOK (Austria), Improper Walls (Austria), GB* Galerie (Austria), CENTRO CENTRO (Spain), La Casa Encendida (Spain), Museo Huarte (Spain), Sala de Arte Joven de la Comunidad de Madrid (Spain), PHOTOWIEN (Austria) and PHOTOEspaña (Spain).

In the year 2020, she founded and started curating her gallery, PRESENTE (Porto, Portugal), aimed at showcasing medium-career artists whose work reflects on the idea of the Protocontemporary.

Noemi Di Tommaso, Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna



History of Science

After a double degree in Philosophy at Alma Mater Studiorum, Università degli Studi di Bologna, (BA in History of Philosophy and MA in History of Science), I started my Ph.D research on Ulisse Aldrovandi's manuscript fund preserved in Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (BUB).

My research's topics mainly concern scientific correspondence in the late Renaissance, the creation of scientific networking, the exchange of objects by means of letters, the shifting from Latin to Italian as a scientific language, etc. I am also assistant manager editor for Nuncius. Journal for Visual and Material History of Science and an active member of CIS, International Centre of the History of University and Science and SISS, Società Italiana di Storia della Scienza.

Rosa Grasso, Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna



Rosa Grasso is a Ph.D student in Architecture at University of Bologna, where she graduated in 2016 with the thesis "Progetto Appennini". This project led her to study the abandoned system of rural houses in order to bring contemporary design in the internal territories.

She developed the interest in designing with the existent in relation to nowadays issues and challenges both through her architecture degree course, where she was able to have different experiences in the field such as the experimental design atelier "Lille et l'eau" led by B. Grosjean and F. Andrieux at ENSAP Lille, or the internship at Lares Restauri and at Miralles y Tagliabue, and through her own personal projects and collaboration with the activities of the Association Atelier Appennini.

Since 2018 she is carrying out her researches in the field of Architecture and Water, focusing on the historical waterfronts in relation with the fluctuations in water levels in order to provide contemporary solution to the upcoming climate change. In particular, she is focusing on the Po river Delta area and how this "area interna" can be adapted to sea level rise through its deep relation with the water element.

Katarzyna Grzybowska, Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie

katarzynamaja.grzybowska@gmail.com



Katarzyna Grzybowska – a PhD Candidate at the Faculty of Polish Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, participant in the Global Education Outreach Program doctoral seminars (2018-2021), member of the Research Center for Memory Cultures and the Curatorial Collective. She is head of a project „Human remains in a local landscape. Between collective and environmental memory” (The National Science Centre in Poland, grant no 2019/35/N/HS2/04522). She participated in the research projects: „Awkward Objects of Genocide” (TRACES, Horizon2020, Reflective Society, 2016-2019) and „Uncommemorated Genocide Sites and Their Impact on Collective Memory, Cultural Identity, Ethical Attitudes and Intercultural Relations in Contemporary Poland” (Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the National Programme for the Development of Humanities, 2016-2019). In 2019 she co-edited a book *Rzeczowy świadek* [Material witness].

Her academic research focus on narrations related to sites and non-sites of memory. Currently she is working on memory of Krępiecki Forest. The aim of the research is to uncover and analyze contemporary functioning of a place of mass murder that contains unmarked, uncommemorated mass graves. The main conceptual frame for this task will be the theory of collective and environmental memory.

Jenny L. Herman, KU Leuven



Jenny L. Herman is currently an FWO doctoral fellow in fundamental research and a PhD candidate in Cultural Studies at KU Leuven in Belgium. Her research focuses on the identity-building aspects of food, conceptions of terroir, and the ways in which culinary cultural heritage responds to contemporary social circumstances in France. With a background in literature (BA) and in cultural studies (MA), her work applies literary criticism, cultural semiotics, and policy analysis. She is driven to examine the rise of culinary heritage movements in the wider context of globalization, and seeks to identify both the intersection of various motivated actors, as well as possible sustainable (social, ethical, developmental, and ecological) approaches to safeguarding practices for the future. Her previous research explored the cultural aspects of terroir in France, and the potential impact of climate change on the systems of classification for wine, as well as the communities and identities surrounding wine production. She has previously taught as an applied languages lecturer at the Université de Haute Alsace and she currently co-teaches the intangible cultural heritage section for the course “Capita Selecta”.

Verena Kittel, Freie Universität Berlin



Verena Kittel is a doctoral candidate at the Institute of Theater Studies, Freie Universität Berlin, with a special interest in practice-based research in art educational contexts. In her thesis, she aims at establishing a queer reading of the Bauhaus and its influence, focusing particularly on the artistic research practices of Anni Albers (Black Mountain College), Judy Chicago (California Institute of the Arts), and Lina Bo Bardi (Museu de Arte Popular, Salvador da Bahia). Since 2015 she has been research associate to several interdisciplinary, collaborative projects between the Freie Universität Berlin and exhibition institutions such as *Tacit Knowledge. Post Studio/ Feminism – CalArts* (1970–77) with Kestner Gesellschaft, Hannover, and metaLAB (at) Harvard (2018–21), and *Black Mountain Research* with Hamburger Bahnhof – Museum für Gegenwart – Berlin (2013–16). Furthermore, she worked as research assistant for the documenta project Library by Les Gens d’Uterpan in 2017 and from 2015–18 as assistant curator to Eva Birkenstock for the Performance Project of LISTE – Art Fair Basel. Verena Kittel holds a BA with distinction in Art History and Applied Cultural Sciences from the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology and a MA in Art History in a Global Context from the Freie Universität Berlin.

Diana Maria Lica Lica, KU Leuven



Private International Law

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I am a doctoral candidate writing my PhD thesis on intellectual property (concretely on the intersection of patents and public interest) at KU Leuven, under the supervision of Professor Geert Van Calster. I have an LL.M. in Intellectual Property & ICT Law (KU Leuven), a MA in European Studies (KU Leuven) and a BA in International Relations (Universidad Complutense de Madrid). Prior to starting my PhD thesis, I have worked as a legal counsel in Trademark & Design for an intellectual property counselling firm, IFORI (Ghent). Before starting with IFORI, I worked as a student in the Government & Public Affairs branch of The LEGO Group (Brussels).

Lorena López Jáuregui, Freie Universität Berlin



Lorena López Jáuregui is member of the International Research Training Group “Temporalities of Future” at Freie Universität Berlin, where she is currently working on her doctoral thesis under the supervision of Stefan Rinke and Federico Navarrete Linares. Her research focuses on the history of the International Congress of Americanists (ICA), and the construction of a transnational network of scientific production about the Americas. With a background in History (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) and Latin American Studies (FUB) Lorena’s doctoral research traces the impact of the Americanist community as a key group in defining academic interdisciplinary work, geopolitics of science and notions of heritage in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. The Americanist collective work, collaborations and competitions, are examined in multiple museums in Europe and the Americas, that they expanded as Archives of Americanist Heritage and Science.

Edoardo Milan, Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna



PhD candidate in Visual, Media and Performing Arts at the Arts Department of the University of Bologna and in the History of Arts and Representations research unit of the University of Paris Nanterre, he carries out his research in the field of cinema and art history. He develops a doctoral thesis project on the presence of the museum within the film, considered as a hybrid cinematographic form of archive and exhibition. His research is based on an open, circular and iterative process whose main cornerstones are movement, thought and action. During his studies he devoted a special interest to the topic of the image of the body in Jean-Luc Godard’s nouvelle vague, particularly in relation to French area theories of the figural and to the work of Aby Warburg and Georges Didi-Huberman. He studied Cultural Heritage, Art History and Digital Humanities at the universities of Venice (Ca’ Foscari), Paris (Sorbonne) and Rome (la Sapienza).

Ji Eun Park, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Geography, EIREST Laboratory

jep2540@naver.com



Ji Eun Park holds a BA degree in Convention Management (KyungHee University), a maîtrise in History of Art and Archeology (Université Lumière-Lyon 2) and MA in Heritage Management and Tourism (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne). She has worked in cultural tourism and museum field: assistant curator at the Ewha Womans Universty Museum in Seoul and guide/lecturer at the Orsay museum and the Louvre Museum in Paris. She has also an experience of internship at UNESCO World Heritage Centre in Paris. She has participated in numerous research projects conducted by Korean Tourism Organization, Seoul Metropolitan Government and Université Paris 1. Her PhD research topic concerns mainly the geographic imagination of Jeju Island in South Korea and its instrumentalization in the tourism field. While tracing how the geographic imagination was socially formed from the past and transformed in a relation with heritage and tourism context, her research adopts a comparative analysis with a case of Yakushima in Japan.

Marilena Pateraki, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne



Marilena Pateraki is a PhD candidate in Geography and History at the University Paris 1 Panthéon–Sorbonne and the University of Crete (joint supervision), investigating the management of the Ottoman architectural imprint in Greece during the 20th and 21st centuries. She is an architect (National Technical University of Athens, 2012) holding an MSc in Protection of Monuments (NTUA 2016). She has worked as an architect in the private and public sector as well as in archaeological research, collaborating with the Belgian (2016-2018) and the French School at Athens (2018-2020). She is a member of the Hellenic ICOMOS.

Simona Rinaldi, Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna



Simona Rinaldi is an Architect (Degree cum Laude and dignity of publication, Università degli Studi “Gabriele d’Annunzio”, 2015, with a thesis on “Palazzo Mattei - Giove [Umbria, Italy]. Analysis, research and investigation of the building”) and Interior Designer (Poliarte Accademia di Belle Arti e Design, 2007). Specialised at the Sapienza Università di Roma in restoration of historic parks and gardens, she is currently a PhD student in survey, study and conservation of the Architectural and Landscape Heritage at UPV, Universitat Politècnica de València and UNIBO, Università di Bologna with a thesis on the management and development of the Architectural Heritage in Via Latina and Via Appia Antica Tombs. Author of numerous publications on cultural heritage, since 2015 she has been interested in both scientific and professional aspects of digital representation, analysis and restoration of Cultural Heritage in Italy and abroad, with particular attention to the history of construction techniques.

Laura Maria Saari, Helsingin Yliopisto



MPhil Latin American Studies (Cambridge), MA Maritime Archaeology (Cádiz), PhD Candidate in History and Cultural Heritage (Helsinki)

My research centres on the landscape and visual archaeology of the Gran Chaco of South America, a region that has fascinated generations of Nordic scholars. Through a comparative analysis of archaeological, historical, anthropological, cartographic and palaeoenvironmental sources, and with an emphasis on the mediating functions of waterways, I am interested in place-making, wayfinding, circulation and boundary processes. This entails a focus on modes and sites of exchange that have not traditionally formed objects of archaeological enquiry, a lacuna related to both representation, territorialisation and classificatory regimes, as well as the proliferation of contacts historically considered informal or horizontal between the Chaco and other areas. A key priority is, then, the elaboration of frameworks for the identification and interpretation of this record, on a pragmatic level of dealing with ephemeral remains, and a conceptual one of visibilising disregarded, unclassified or “out-of place” materials, as undertaken in 2019–2021 in Swedish and Finnish collections. This invites us to question values and concepts that have informed heritage discourses and devise strategies to contribute to inclusive, contextually informed investigative praxis and heritage governance.

Joanna Sobesto, Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie



Joanna Sobesto – translator, educator in the MOCAK Museum of Contemporary Art, Kraków and Ph.D. student in Polish Department at Jagiellonian University. Graduated from Cultural Studies (BA 2016, thesis: Selected incarnations of commemoration in the Gdańsk shipyard) and from Translation Studies (MA 2018, thesis: Katarzyna Mansfield. The presence and reception of Katherine Mansfield in Poland) at Jagiellonian University. Participant of the MOST exchange with Gdańsk University (2015/2016) and the ERASMUS + internship project in London Museum of Water and Steam (2017). Her areas of academic interest are mainly Translator Studies, audiovisual translation, and oral history. Involved in various translation research projects: “Cultures of Translation” in cooperation with Universität Hamburg (from 2020) and collective critical retranslation of Claude Lanzmann’s documentary with an ample commentary on the existing translation: “Shoah - voices of bystanders” (from 2016), designed and teach a seminar for the MA curriculum: “Female translators in the literary history of Poland”. Cooperating with the Center for Translation Studies, JU. Currently working on her doctoral project concerning politics of translation in interwar Poland. Awarded by the research mini-grant in the Heritage PRA2020 (2021/2022). An author of a podcast on literary translation awarded a scholarship from the Minister of Culture and National Heritage (2020).

C. Lou Sossah, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne



I am a PhD student, with a scholarship, in Aesthetics at Pantheon-Sorbonne University and in Korean Studies at the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO) where I was in charge of managing film analysis on Korean cinema for undergraduate students. Granted for a bilateral exchange with Sungkyunkwan University at Seoul in 2018 (South-Korea). I graduated from a Master’s & Bachelor’s degree in Art with a focus on Film. I also have a professional title of Director of Photography and previously got a Bachelor’s degree in Fine Arts with honours. I directed around forty short movies and wrote five TV serials. As a Media consultant I made several audiovisual content studies, like analyses of television audiences for series, using the New On The Air (NOTA) tool: EurodataTV watch website on all new programs around the world. In Taiwan, I was a designer and taught my techniques of drawing. When I worked as a photojournalist and a camerawoman I was covering live events, interviewing people and reporting on current affairs. I was the assistant director of the American artist Maria Beatty in New York and I exhibited my photographs at her side during her retrospective in Paris.

Susana Stüssi Garcia, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

ED441 Histoire de l’Art, HiCSA

sstussig@gmail.com



I am a doctoral candidate writing my PhD thesis at Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne (ED441, HiCSA), under the supervision of Dominique Poulot. My research focuses on the reception of Pre-Columbian art and antiquities in 19th century Europe. I am interested in collecting and displaying, as well as the relations between cultural and heritage practices and narratives, and their place within a history of taste and intellectual history. More broadly, I am interested in the representation of the past and historical interpretive constructions. I have also taught Art History courses at Paris 1 and at the Institut Catholique de Paris, have published peer-reviewed texts on my research subject (2020, and several forthcoming 2021) and presented at different research seminars (Collège de France, Technische Universität Berlin, Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, Brown University). I have a background in both Archaeology (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) and Art History (Ecole du Louvre), and did my master’s degree in Cultural Heritage studies at Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne. I am also a member of the Société des Américanistes.

Zoé Vannier, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne



École du Louvre & Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

z.vannier@gmail.com

Zoé Vannier completed a double bachelor in history, art history and archaeology at University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne and a master in museology at École du Louvre. She is currently writing her PhD thesis under the supervision of Ariane Thomas, Michel al-Maqdissi and Pascal Butterlin. Her research focuses on the comparative analysis of the emergency plans of the national museums of Beirut and Kaboul. She specializes in the protection of collections in times of crisis, particularly in the case of armed conflicts. She has enriched her research through contracts at UNESCO and volunteer missions such as in Beirut after the explosion.

Sabine Volk, Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie



[Web profile](#) ; sabine.volk@uj.edu.pl ; [@SabineDVolk](#)

Sabine Volk is a PhD candidate at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków and Early Stage Researcher in the EU Horizon2020 project “Delayed transformational fatigue in Central and Eastern Europe: Responding to the rise of illiberalism/populism (FATIGUE)”, coordinated by University College London (UCL). Sabine’s dissertation explores the political culture of far-right populist grassroots politics in post-socialist eastern Germany, focusing on dimensions such as ideology, memory and heritage, and the ritualization of public protest. She has conducted several months of ethnographic fieldwork in the context of the Dresden-based “Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident” (PEGIDA) movement, including online ethnography of virtual protest events. Sabine has published in journals such as *German Politics and Politique européenne*, and blogs on [openDemocracy](#), [LSE Euopp](#), [populism-europe.com](#), amongst others. Prior to her PhD, Sabine obtained two MA’s in European Studies: one from the Erasmus Mundus Programme of Excellence ‘Euroculture’ and one from the College of Europe. Previous places of study and research include Tübingen, Groningen, Strasbourg, Indianapolis and Warsaw.

Anna-Maria Wilskman, Helsingin Yliopisto



History and Cultural Heritage

anna-maria.wilskman@helsinki.fi

Anna-Maria Wilskman holds a MA degree in Latin Language and Roman Literature, with a specialization in Classical Archaeology and Museum Studies (University of Helsinki). She has worked in archaeological field projects in Greece and Sicily, as well as in Lotta Museum and Mannerheim Museum in Finland. She is currently working as a PhD researcher in the research project *Law, Governance and Space: Questioning the Foundations of the Republican Tradition*, which is funded by the European Research Council (ERC) and hosted by the University of Helsinki. In her PhD she concentrates on the questions regarding the visibility of Roman magistrates, how individuals and communities interacted with each other through monuments (especially with inscriptions), and the interplay between the city of Rome and other regions. In addition to her PhD project, she has studied also the reception of the Classical Antiquity. She worked as the Reviews Editor for *Arctos – Acta Philologica Fennica* in 2017–2020.

Annexes

Annex 1
Flyers of the Online
Lectures and a Round
Table Organized before the
Workshop

Conservation in Conversation. Hybridity, Entanglement, and the Material Life of Things



Noémie Etienne, Professor, University of Bern

Online Lecture in the framework of Una
Europa PhD Workshop:
*Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts,
Scales and Spaces*
Introduction: Professor Dominique Poulot

October 19, 2020, 10h CEST

[ZOOM link](#)

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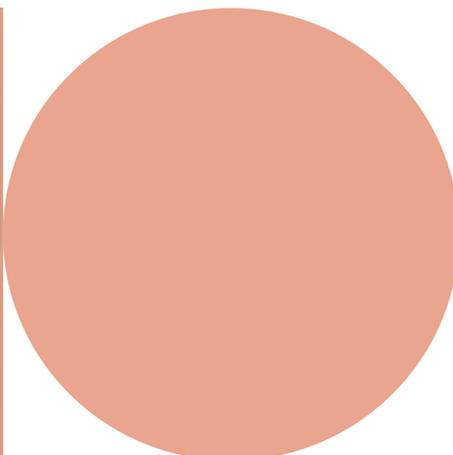
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[Workshop website](#)

How can we approach the material life of things through different time periods or continents? Is heritage hybrid by nature? In this lecture, I will consider different case studies and medias, from painting in 18th century France to sculpture in 21st century Hawaii, including a partly Japanese commode. I will argue that the notion of entanglement is a productive way to identify the physical changes and political issues at stake.

Noémie Etienne is professor of art history at the University of Bern and a specialist in the fields of heritage and museum studies. She is currently leading a research project on the exotic in Europe between 1600 and 1800. Her most recent book is entitled: "Les autres et les ancêtres. Les dioramas de Franz Boas et Arthur Parker à New York, 1900" (Les presses du réel, 2020). Her first book, *The Restoration of Paintings in Paris (1750-1815)* was published in 2012 (Presses Universitaires de Rennes), and subsequently translated into English and published by Getty Publications in 2017. She is also starting a new research project entitled "Global Histories of Conservation".

Dominique Poulot is professor of cultural history of art at the University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne where he created the first French MA "Politics and History of Museums and Heritage". He is on the board of Museum & Society, Future Anterior, co-editor in chief of Culture & Musées (OpenEdition) and member of the Scientific Council of Louvre.



Adam Weisweiler, *Commode*, ca. 1790

Building Stories, Memory palaces, and other adventures in fabulating heritage

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Edward Hollis, Professor of Interior Design, University of Edinburgh

Online Lecture in the framework of Una
Europa PhD Workshop:

*Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts,
Scales and Spaces*

November 24, 2020, 10h CET

[ZOOM link](#)

Passcode: 308808

ID: 996 8483 8828

[Workshop website](#)

This presentation will reflect upon the practice of building stories by building two stories.

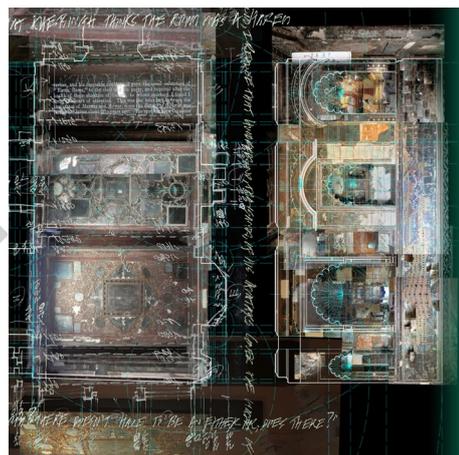
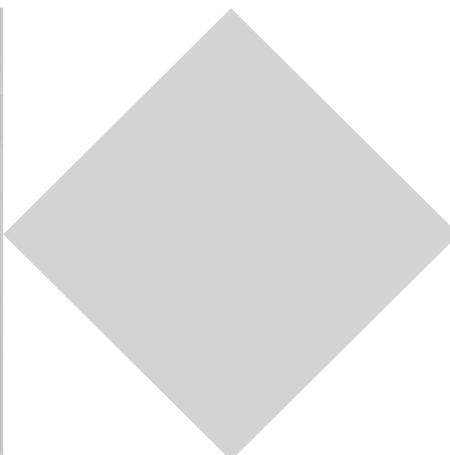
The first concerns a deserted, decaying, glass room, in a castle in Rajasthan. Having surveyed the room through measurement, photography, archival research, and interview, Hollis is building a story-object – a drawing interwoven with narrative writing – as a gift for the owners of the room, designed to help them to consider how the room might be re-membered – that is, either put together again, or imagined, once it has gone.

The second situates this story in a developing repertoire the creative practices that gave rise to it. These include architectural practice, the construction of literary non-fiction, activism, and drawing. This story will reflect on ways in which we do, and could, use storytelling fabulation in producing and re-producing the heritage that surrounds us.

Edward Hollis studied Architecture at Cambridge and Edinburgh Universities; and practiced as an architect for six years, first in Sri Lanka, in the practice of Geoffrey Bawa; and then in the practice of Richard Murphy, well known for his radical alterations to ancient and historic buildings in and around Edinburgh.

In 1999, Edward Hollis began lecturing in Interior Architecture at Napier University, Edinburgh, working with students both in the design studio, and in more theoretical disciplines. In 2004, he moved to Edinburgh College of Art, where until 2012, he ran undergraduate and postgraduate programmes in Interior Design.

In 2012, Hollis became Deputy Director of Research across Edinburgh College of Art, coordinating the submission to the Research Excellence Framework 2014 in Art, Design and History of Art. He was Director of Research ECA 2015-18, and since 2019 deputy dean of research across the college of Arts, Humanities and Social sciences.



*Drawing of the Shish Mahal, Ghanerao, Rajasthan
c. Ed Hollis 2020*

Polarisation or hybridisation? Disputes over heritage sites and “national sacred”

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Anna Niedźwiedź, Associate Professor, Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie

Online Lecture in the framework of
Una Europa PhD Workshop:
*Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts,
Scales and Spaces*

Introduction: Associate Professor Krzysztof Kowalski

February 5, 2021, 11h CET

[ZOOM link](#)

Passcode: 722871

ID: 934 7235 8441

[Workshop website](#)

Anthropological approaches to “heritage” and “space” treat both categories as dynamic, multi-layered, interrelated and contextual. In this talk I will discuss (a) how heritage sites are created by specific historical trajectories and heritage regimes and (b) how they form a performative, embodied and experiential domain connected with lived emotions and bottom-up practices. Using examples from ethnographic fieldwork in the city of Kraków I will focus on sites recognized as related to the “national sacred” and analyse how they function as sources of heritage polarisation and/or hybridisation.

Anna Niedźwiedź is an associate professor at the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. As a visiting professor she taught at the USA: at SUNY Buffalo (2006-2007) and Rochester University (2011). Her research focusses on anthropology of religion, anthropology of space and the heritagization of religion. She has conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Poland and Ghana. Between 2016 and 2020 she served as a Principal Investigator of the Polish section in the international consortium HERILIGION founded by HERA and dedicated to the study of the “heritagization of religion and the sacralization of heritages in contemporary Europe”.

Krzysztof Kowalski studied ethnology at the Jagiellonian University (MA in 1993), received a PhD from the Faculty of History (2000, JU) and obtained the title of Habilitated Doctor of Studies on Cultures and Religions (2020, JU). He is an Associate Professor in the Department of the Society and Cultural Heritage of Europe at the Institute of European Studies (JU). Krzysztof is interested in theories of heritage and the anthropology of Europe. Since 2010, he has been the coordinator of the double degree program signed by the IES JU and l'Institut d'Etudes Politiques de l'Université de Strasbourg.



Wawel Hill, Kraków, c. Anna Niedźwiedź

Heritagization of the Marais Neighborhood in Paris: Interplay between Public Policies, Urban Changes and Civil Society Initiatives

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Isidora Stanković, Post-doctoral Researcher, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Online Lecture in the framework of
Una Europa PhD Workshop:
*Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts,
Scales and Spaces*
Introduction: Professor Maria Gravari-Barbas

March 2, 2021, 11h CET

[ZOOM link](#)

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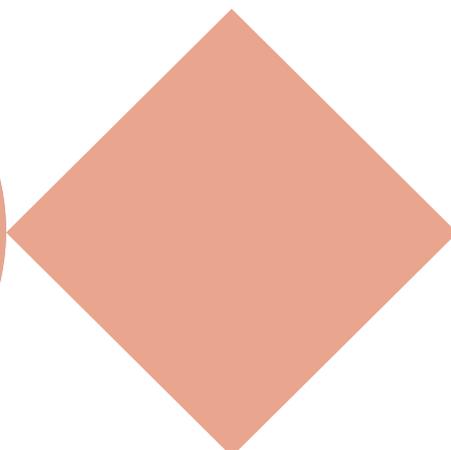
[Workshop website](#)

History of heritagization of the Marais neighborhood in Paris leads us back to the beginning of the 20th century, when urbanization projects, insalubrity, lack of both public and private interest are threatening numerous private mansions from the 16th and 17th century, causing evictions, and influencing Le Corbusier's project for the area: tearing it whole down and replacing by skyscrapers. Le Marais was not torn down, to the contrary – since then, it became one of the first “protected areas” according to the “Malraux law” from 1962; the second most visited Parisian neighborhood by tourists and leisure visitors; “an archetype” of a gentrified area; and an important part of identity for numerous inhabitants.

Putting in front different theoretical and methodological approaches, during this presentation, I will tackle why the complex heritage of Le Marais today should be understood as a result of hybridization of various heritagization processes. Not only all these processes of use, preservation and transmission of the neighborhood's past(s) have mobilized since the beginning of the 20th century various stakeholders: public authorities, cultural institutions and associations, inhabitants, tourism and commercial actors; but have also been highly interconnected, sometimes in tension, often triggering one another.

Isidora Stanković is a post-doctoral manager for the focus area “Cultural Heritage” within Una Europa *1Europe* project, and a researcher at the Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University. After undergraduate and MA studies of Art History at the University of Belgrade, Isidora obtained her PhD (2019) in the co-supervision between the aforementioned and Paris 1 University (specialization: Heritage Studies). Her thesis tackled *Heritagization of the Marais Neighbourhood in Paris*. From 2011 to 2014, Isidora worked as a teaching associate on heritage studies' courses at the Faculty of Philosophy - University of Belgrade. She collaborated on different national & international research projects, among which, *Horizon 2020* project *Cultural Base. Social Platform on Cultural Heritage and European Identities*. Since 2012, she is an author and a collaborator on different projects of Europa Nostra Serbia.

Maria Gravari-Barbas, chair of Una Europa SSC CH, is professor of cultural and social geography at Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. She holds a degree in Architecture and Urban Design and a PhD in Geography and Planning. She was Fellow at the Urban Program of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, USA. Since 2008, she is the director of the EIREST, a multidisciplinary research team dedicated to tourism and heritage studies. Since 2009, she is also the director of the UNESCO Chair “Tourism, Culture, Development” and the coordinator of the UNITWIN network “Culture, Tourism, Development” bringing together 30 universities around the world. Maria is the chief editor of *Via Tourism Journal* and author of several books and papers related to Tourism, Culture and Heritage.



Le Marais, Paris

c. Google maps & Isidora Stanković

Una Europa Online Lectures in the framework of PhD Workshop: *Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts, Scales and Spaces*

Tuuli Lähdesmäki, Associate Professor
University of Jyväskylä, Finland
*Constructing and governing cultural heritage and
its “European dimension” in EU heritage policy*

Alfredo González-Ruibal, Researcher
Institute of Heritage Sciences, Spain
From ruins to rubble. On heritage and destruction

March 12, 2021, 10h CET

[ZOOM link](#)

Passcode: 351718

ID: 935 2090 0856

[Workshop website](#)

Constructing and governing cultural heritage and its “European dimension” in EU heritage policy

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Tuuli Lähdesmäki, Associate Professor, University of Jyväskylä, Finland

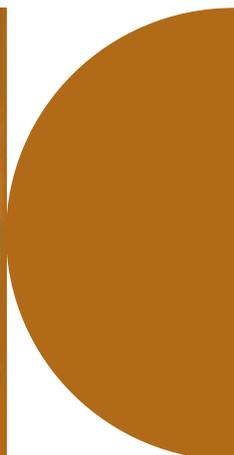
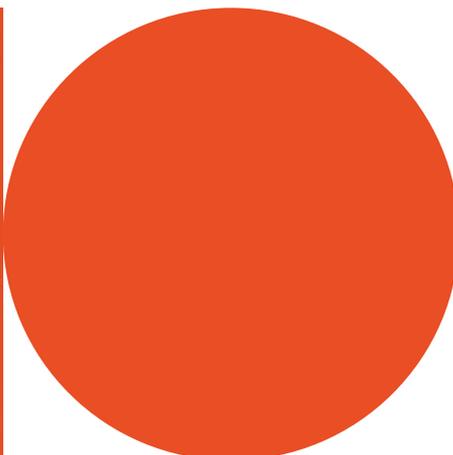
Online Lecture in the framework of
Una Europa PhD Workshop:
*Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts,
Scales and Spaces*
Introduction: PhD Candidate Sabine Volk

March 12, 2021, 10h CET

Postmillennial Europe has faced various political, economic, social and humanitarian challenges and crises that influence how Europeans deal with the past, present and future of Europe. These challenges and crises have also shaken the foundations of the EU and strengthened criticism of its legitimacy and integration processes. Simultaneously, the ideas of European cultural roots, memory, history and heritage have gained a new role in European politics and policies. The EU's increased interest in the European past and shared cultural heritage can be perceived as the EU's attempt to tackle some of these recent challenges and crises – including identity crises – in Europe. How does the EU utilize the idea of shared cultural heritage as a political tool? How is the “European dimension” of cultural heritage constructed and governed in the EU's heritage policies and initiatives? The lecture discusses these topics by using the most recent EU heritage action, the European Heritage Label, as a case study.

Tuuli Lähdesmäki (PhD in Art History; DSocSc in Sociology) is an Associate Professor at the Department of Music, Art and Culture Studies, University of Jyväskylä (JYU), Finland. Lähdesmäki is currently leading the research project “EU Heritage Diplomacy and the Dynamics of Inter-Heritage Dialogue” (HERIDI), funded by the Academy of Finland, and works as the PI for JYU's consortium partnership in the project “Dialogue and Argumentation for Cultural Literacy Learning in Schools” (DIALLS), funded from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Programme.

Sabine Volk is a doctoral candidate at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland, and a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow in the EU-funded Horizon 2020 project “Delayed transformational fatigue in Central and Eastern Europe: Responding to the rise of illiberalism/populism” (FATIGUE). At the intersection of political science, memory studies, and social movement scholarship, her work draws from ethnographic methods to explore the political culture of the populist far right in post-socialist eastern Germany.



*De Gasperi Home Museum, Italy
c. Tuuli Lähdesmäki*

From ruins to rubble. On heritage and destruction



Alfredo González-Ruibal, Researcher, Institute of Heritage Sciences, Spain

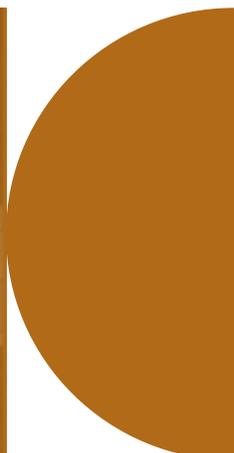
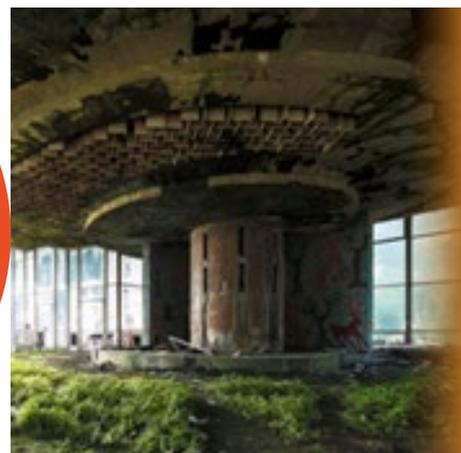
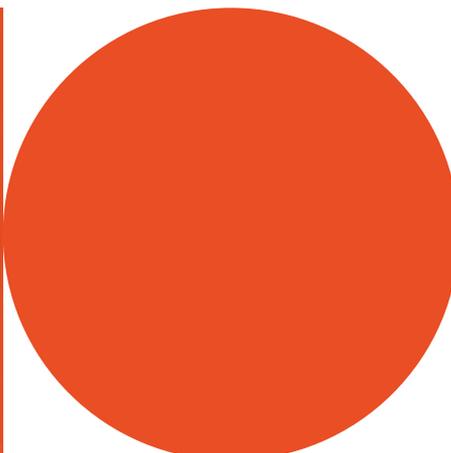
Online Lecture in the framework of
Una Europa PhD Workshop:
*Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts,
Scales and Spaces*
Introduction: PhD Virginia de Diego

March 12, 2021, 11h CET

Destruction is inherent to the production of heritage and can even be considered an element of added value: patina, for instance, is a subtle form of biogeochemical destruction, whereas crumbling abbeys or castles can attract more visitors than standing ones. There is, however, a risk in romanticizing destruction. In this talk, I will be examining its different modalities – from mere alteration to utter devastation – and the political economies that produce them. I will reflect on what it means to live in an age characterized by systematic destruction of life and matter in a gigantic scale and what this implies in our temporal imagination and in how we value the past. I am particularly interested in the annihilation of memory in modern cities, which is often presented as compatible with the celebration of cultural heritage.

Alfredo González-Ruibal is a researcher at the Institute of Heritage Sciences in Spain specializing in the archaeology of the contemporary past and African archaeology. For over two decades, he has been interested in the negative side of modernity and he has studied phenomena such as dictatorship, colonialism and conflict. He has conducted fieldwork in Spain, Ethiopia, Somaliland, Equatorial Guinea and Brazil and he is now working on a long-term approach to the state in the Horn of Africa and on the legacy of dictatorship in Spain. He is also interested in the ethics, politics and aesthetics of archaeology. Recent books include *An Archaeology of the Contemporary Era* (Routledge, 2019) and *The Archaeology of the Spanish Civil War* (Routledge, 2020).

Virginia de Diego (Madrid, 1983) is a Visual Artist, Curator and Doctor cum Laude in Fine Arts (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) with her thesis “The Ruin as a Replica. The Protocontemporary moment”. Nowadays she combines her work as a professor (Universidad de Comillas, Istituto Europeo di Design, Faculdade de Belas Artes da Universidade do Porto) with her artistic work and her curating practice at her gallery PRESENTE, based in the city of Porto (Portugal).



c. Jonk

Political modalities and implications in managing hybrid heritage: the case of Hagia Sophia

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Online Round Table
in the framework of
Una Europa PhD Workshop:
*Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts,
Scales and Spaces*

March 15, 2021, 10:30h CET

[ZOOM link](#)

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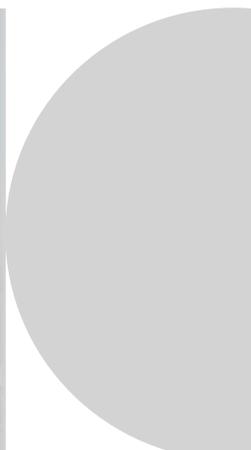
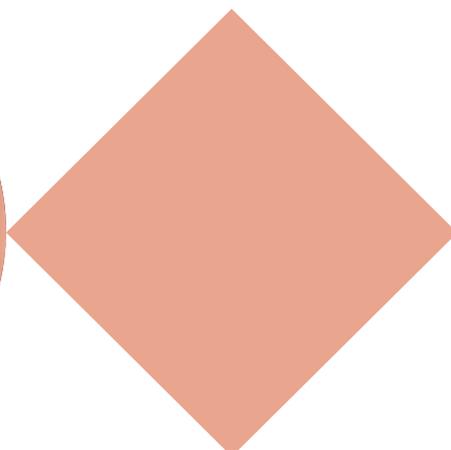
[Workshop website](#)

On Friday, July 10, 2020, the Turkish Council of State issued its decision acceding to the appeal of the “Turkish Association for the Protection of Historical Monuments and the Environment”, a private association campaigning for the conversion of the building into a mosque, and overturning the 1934 government decision that gave Hagia Sophia the status of a museum. Initially a place of Christian worship, then Muslim since the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by Ottoman troops, Hagia Sophia was transformed into a museum under the impetus of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Republic of Turkey.

Today, the building preserves traces of both its legacies, while the name Hagia Sophia, meaning “Holy Wisdom” in Greek, has survived in its Ottoman naming as “Hagia Sophia Grand Mosque”. The conversion of Hagia Sophia was inscribed in a series of similar decisions about provincial museums / former places of worship in Turkey since 2007. However, it was the iconic status of this monument - followed by the similar change in use of the Chora Church / Kariye Mosque, already decided since November 2019 - that fuelled vocal reactions from the international scientific and political community, as well as from UN organizations such as UNESCO. The panel will address multiple questions rising from this recent development: How is the protection of Hagia Sophia articulated according to national and international criteria? What are the administrative consequences of such a conversion? How are the secular and the sacred articulated within restoration, management or valorisation methods for a monument? How can conservation measures address the multiplicity of the cultural legacies incorporated in it?

Also: how does this emblematic case highlight the political intricacies of heritage management, from the national level to the geopolitical? How does it speak to the national or religious imaginaries of those societies that project core identity narratives on the building? Is the case of Hagia Sophia atypical, or does it attest to a trend of re-appropriation by different communities of certain heritage values on a regional or even global scale that may challenge the hybrid nature of monuments?

By integrating the conversion of Hagia Sophia into a broader chronological and geographical framework, the speakers will question the political dimensions of such a transition but also the methods of management of a hybrid heritage.



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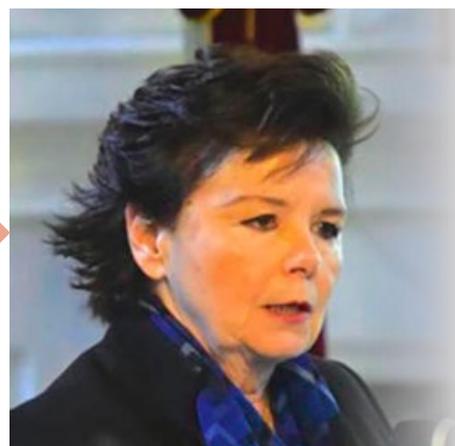
Panelists

Isabelle Anatole-Gabriel is Lecturer in Heritage and Museums Studies (Ecole du Louvre - Poitiers University). She was Editor-in-chief of the international scholarly journal *MUSEUM International* from 2000 to 2013. Her academic background includes degrees in Heritage Studies (PhD & MA) and Museum Studies (Ecole nationale du Patrimoine & MA). She is Vice-Chair of the International Committee of Memorial Museums in Remembrance of the Victims of Public Crimes (ICOM-ICMEMO). Her publications include *La fabrique du patrimoine de l'humanité – L'Unesco et la protection patrimoniale, 1945-1992*, Publications de la Sorbonne & Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris.

Antonia Moropoulou has served as Professor (until August 2020) at the National Technical University of Athens, Greece and is a member of the Executive Committee of the Technical Chamber of Greece. She is a Chemical Engineer, PhD, and she established and acted as Director of the Materials Science and Engineering Laboratory at the School of Chemical Engineering. She has served at NTUA as elected member of the teaching staff for 50 years, and was elected as Contracted Professor in IUAV University of Venice (1993), Visiting Professor at Princeton University (1995-1996) and has served as Vice Rector of Academic Affairs of NTUA (2010-2014) and Vice President of the European Society for Engineering Education – SEFI (2013-2016). She was entrusted as Chief Scientific Supervisor of the Rehabilitation of the Holy Aedicule of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem by the three Christian communities. She has worked on restoration projects in Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, the Venetian Fortresses of Rhodes, Rethymnon, Herakleion and Corfu, architectural monuments of Venice, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monasteries in Athens, Mount Athos, Crete, Serbia and Kosovo, the Temples of Eleusis, Thission in Athens et als.



Isabelle Anatole-Gabriel



Antonia Moropoulou

Political modalities and implications in managing hybrid heritage: the case of Hagia Sophia

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Elias Kolovos is Associate Professor in Ottoman History at the Department of History and Archaeology, University of Crete, Greece and Director of the M.A. in Ottoman History Programme of the same Department. He participates at the “Islamic Legacy” Action of the European Cooperation for Science and Technology, representing Greece. He has written, edited, and coedited ten books and over 50 papers on Mediterranean economic history, the history of the insular worlds, the history of the frontiers, rural and environmental history, as well as the spatial history and the legacies of the Ottoman Empire.

Panagiotis Poulos is an ethnomusicologist, Lecturer at the Department of Music Studies, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. His research centres on the musical traditions of the Near and Middle East with particular focus on Ottoman and Turkish urban musics and soundscapes. He is co-editor of *Ottoman Intimacies*, *Balkan Musical Realities* and author of *Music in the Islamic World: Sources, Perspectives, Practices*. His current research project is entitled *Intercommunal musical geographies of late Ottoman Istanbul*, funded by the Hellenic Foundation of Research and Innovation.

Elias Kolovos and Panagiotis Poulos are codirecting the project <https://otheritages.efa.gr/> at the French School in Athens.

Moderator

Josephine Hoegaerts is Associate Professor of European Studies at the University of Helsinki and PI of CALLIOPE: Vocal Articulations of Parliamentary Identity and Empire. Her current research focuses on acoustic heritage, and particularly historical practices and imaginations of the human voice.

Her wider research interests concern the practices of articulation and embodiment that created modern citizenship in Europe. Whilst her previous research elucidated aspects of the construction of the citizen self (i.e. masculinity, maturity, dignity, notions of authority and rationality), in her current research on the articulation of ‘vocalized’ identities within modern nations (notably in England, the Low Countries and France, and their respective colonies) the politics of location, and socio-cultural embeddedness come to the fore.



Elias Kolovos



Panagiotis Poulos

Displacements

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Carlos Bayod Lucini, Project Director, Factum Foundation

Online Lecture in the framework of
Una Europa PhD Workshop:
*Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts,
Scales and Spaces*
Introduction: PhD Candidate Ji Eun Park

March 19, 2021, 11h CET

[ZOOM link](#)

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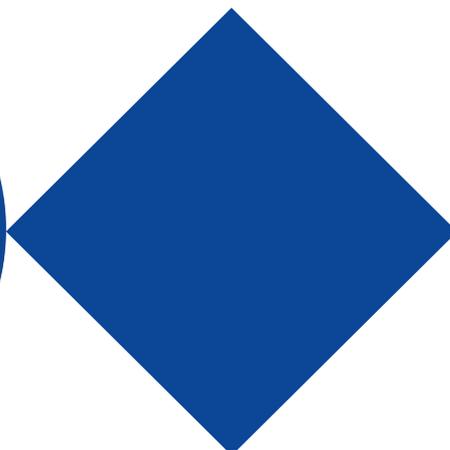
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[Workshop website](#)

Digital technology allows us to establish new modes of interaction with our shared cultural heritage, allowing multiple mediations between the physical and the virtual environments in which we relate to historic artifacts. The 3D documentation of the surface of things can be essential for understanding their complex trajectories and to transmit their importance to new audiences, becoming an invaluable source of data for the creation of facsimiles. A physical or virtual reproduction has the potential of generating a re-allocation of the qualities traditionally assigned only to the original. Because of these displacements of meaning, a facsimile can increase the value of the original, contributing to its preservation and making it accessible for authentic cultural experiences.

Carlos Bayod Lucini is Project Director at Factum Foundation. His work is dedicated to the development and application of digital technology to the recording, study and dissemination of cultural heritage. Carlos received an MS in Architecture from the Technical University of Madrid and is a PhD candidate at the Department of Art Theory and History at the Autonomous University of Madrid. He has taught at Columbia University - GSAPP's Historic Preservation Program and lectured extensively worldwide.

Ji Eun Park is a PhD candidate in geography at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne (EIREST Laboratory) since 2016. Her research fields are heritage tourism and sustainable development, as well as museums and cultural mediation as a guide/lecturer in history of art. Park worked as an intern for six months at the UNESCO World Heritage Centre in Paris and worked at some museums, while participating in several research projects in France and South Korea.



*The Lucida 3D Scanner recording the surface
of Caravaggio's Burial of Saint Lucy*
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The Ethics of Dust

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Jorge Otero-Pailos, Professor, Columbia University

Online Lecture in the framework of
Una Europa PhD Workshop:
*Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts,
Scales and Spaces*
Introduction: Professor Dominique Poulot

March 25, 2021, 16h CET

[ZOOM link](#)

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[Workshop website](#)

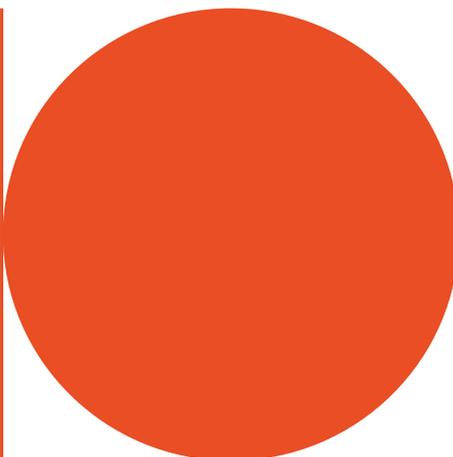
Dust, the kind the atmosphere deposits on buildings, is an important historical and environmental record that usually goes unrecognized. The artworks in The Ethics of Dust series isolate dust and make it tangible by transferring it from the surface of buildings onto translucent casts. In this lecture, I will present a selection of dust casts taken from buildings around the world, and discuss the unexpected histories that each of them unveils. I will connect the dots between these punctual histories to outline a larger concept they all contribute to, namely that of atmospheric heritage. Taken together, The Ethics of Dust amounts to more than the sum of its particles, challenging the conceptual duality of tangible / intangible heritage, the limits of governmentality, and the politics of belonging, or so I will argue.

Jorge Otero-Pailos is a New York-based artist and architect best known for making monumental casts of historically charged buildings. He is Director and Professor of Historic Preservation at the Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture in New York. Drawing from his formal training in architecture and preservation, Otero-Pailos' art practice deals with memory, culture, and transitions, and invites the viewer to consider buildings as powerful agents of change.

Otero-Pailos' works are to be found in the collections of SFMoMA, The British Museum, and Thyssen-Bornemisza Art Contemporary in Vienna. He has received awards from major art, architecture and preservation organizations including the UNESCO, the American Institute of Architects, the Kress Foundation, the Graham Foundation, the Fitch Foundation, and the Canadian Center for Architecture.

He is the founder of the journal *Future Anterior*, co-editor of *Experimental Preservation* (2016), author of *Architecture's Historical Turn* (2010) and contributor to scholarly journals and books including the Oxford *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, and Rem Koolhaas' *Preservation Is Overtaking Us* (2014).

Dominique Poulot is professor of cultural history of art at the University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne where he created the first French MA "Politics and History of Museums and Heritage". He is on the board of *Museum & Society*, *Future Anterior*, co-editor in chief of *Culture & Musées* (OpenEdition) and member of the Scientific Council of Louvre.



The Ethics of Dust at Westminster Hall
Jorge Otero-Pailos, 2016
An Artangel commission. Photo by Marcus J Leith

Hybrid Heritage

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Professor **Elizabeth Sikiaridi** and Professor **Frans Vogelaar**, Hybrid Space Lab

Online Lecture in the framework of Una Europa PhD Workshop:
Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts, Scales and Spaces
Introduction: PhD Candidate Verena Kittel

March 31, 2021, 17h CEST

[ZOOM link](#)

Passcode: 536812

ID: 981 6587 1261

[Workshop website](#)

How to re-signify heritage and monuments with the help of creative visions and hybrid (combined physical and digital) tools?

Engaging with this challenge, the lecture presents projects by Hybrid Space Lab that research and design the further development of heritage from a multicultural perspective. By integrating digital technology and networks in the re-development of heritage, the projects address cultural hybridity in today's globalized world. Based on artistic research and with a thoroughly transdisciplinary approach, the Hybrid Heritage project cluster aims at proposing future possible affective landscapes for re-signifying heritage, crafting an agile, transferable, and context-sensitive approach.

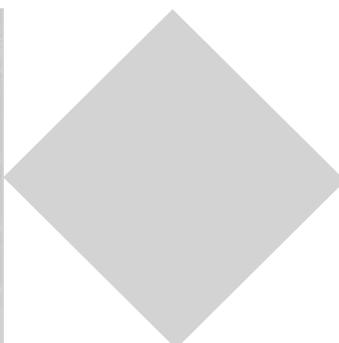
The lecture also addresses the multifaceted notion of hybridity. With the contemporary cultural shift and paradigm change with the focus readjusting away from divisions and boundaries to interconnections and networks, we are experiencing today a proliferation of hybridizations in all dimensions of contemporary life and expression.

Prof. Elizabeth Sikiaridi and **Prof. Frans Vogelaar** are co-founders of **Hybrid Space Lab**, a Think Tank and Design Lab for Architecture, Urbanism, Design and Digital Culture, focussing on cultural innovation and contributing to positive societal and environmental change. Hybrid Space Lab develops spatial interventions that open up and reinterpret places. "Hybrid" stands for interdisciplinarity, "Space" for spatial expertise and "Lab" for the innovative working method that favors a transdisciplinary design approach where city, nature and the digital are thought and developed together: <http://hybridspacelab.net>.

Prof. Elizabeth Sikiaridi has lectured since 1997 on design in the urban landscape at the University of Duisburg-Essen and the University of Applied Sciences and Arts Ostwestfalen-Lippe.

Prof. Frans Vogelaar is since 1998 Professor for Hybrid Space at the Academy of Media Arts Cologne in Germany, where he founded the first Department of Hybrid Space worldwide, focusing on the combinations and interrelations of physical and digital space.

Verena Kittel is a doctoral candidate at the Institute of Theater Studies, Freie Universität Berlin, and research associate in the collaborative exhibition project *Tacit Knowledge. Post Studio/Feminism – CalArts (1970–77)* with a special interest in practice-based research in art educational contexts. In her thesis, she aims at establishing a queer take on the dominant historiographies of the Bauhaus and its influence.



Hybrid cultural heritage and rural revitalization in Japan: The commodification of intangible cultural property and “traditional” local crafts

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Cornelia Reiher, Professor, Freie Universität Berlin

Online Lecture in the framework of
Una Europa PhD Workshop:
*Heritage Hybridisations: Concepts,
Scales and Spaces*
Introduction: Professor Jutta Eming

April 27, 2021, 11h CEST

[ZOOM link](#)

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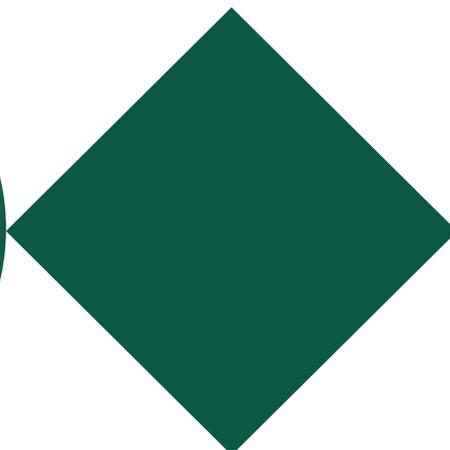
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[Workshop website](#)

National revitalization programs and policies for rural areas in Japan are based on the concept of homogenous and single-issued local identities. This approach has proved to be inapt to fight regional inequality, but revitalization strategies in rural Japan are still based on a concept of local identity that reduces local complexity to one or two features / products. Often, this approach promotes “traditional” crafts like pottery, lacquer ware, Japanese paper (washi) or textiles. Japanese crafts are admired for their high quality and those preserving traditional crafts techniques are designated bearers of intangible cultural property (or “living national treasures”) under the national Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties. This title comes with privileges, but also constrains creativity and excludes new and innovative actors. In my presentation, I compare two towns in rural Kyushu and their different approaches to “traditional” crafts and art in their revitalization strategies to discuss how cultural heritage can enable or constrain rural revitalization in Japan. Although both approaches to crafts and cultural heritage are different, I argue that they produce hybrid cultural heritage for the sake of its commodification. While Arita (Saga Prefecture) is famous for its 400 years of porcelain production and home of several “living national treasures”, Taketa (Oita Prefecture) has no acknowledged crafts tradition. However, the town’s mayor is inviting urban-rural migrants with new ideas for the revitalization / establishment of a local crafts tradition in order to attract tourists and to revitalize the local economy. The emerging hybrid forms of cultural heritage in both cases will shed light on the interrelations of national and local policymakers, craftsmen and the institutions shaping and preserving cultural heritage in Japan.

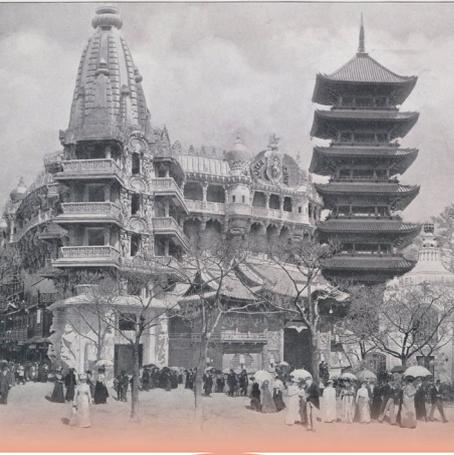
Cornelia Reiher is professor of Japanese Studies at Freie Universität Berlin and vice director of the Graduate School of East Asian Studies. Her main research interests include rural Japan, food studies, globalization and science and technology studies. Her recent publications include a special issue on fieldwork in Japan (2018), book chapters on transnational protest movement(s) in Asia (2019), and urban-rural migration in Japan (2020) and the methods handbook *Studying Japan: Handbook of research designs, fieldwork and methods* (2020, co-edited with Nora Kottmann).

Jutta Eming is professor for medieval German literature at the Institute for German and Netherlandic Philology, Freie Universität Berlin since 2010. Her research interests include genre theory and gender, emotionality, the marvelous, premodern temporalities, and premodern drama. Among her most recent publications are the monograph *Emotionen im ‘Tristan’. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Paradigmatik* (Göttingen 2015), the co-edited volume *Marsilio Ficino in Deutschland und Italien. Renaissance-Magie zwischen Wissenschaft und Literatur* (Wiesbaden 2017) and the forthcoming co-edited volume *Things and Thingness in Medieval and Early Modern Literature and the Visual Arts* (Berlin/Boston 2021).



Kakiemon porcelain workshop in Arita, Japan
c. Cornelia Reiher, 2006

Annex 2
Programme of the
Workshop, May 10-12, 2021



Una Europa
Online PhD Workshop
*Heritage Hybridisations:
Concepts, Scales and
Spaces*
May 10-12, 2021



Image 1: Postcard of the model of Angkor Wat at the Colonial Exhibition in Paris, 1931

Image 2: *Tour du Monde* at the 1900 Paris World Fair, representing a sample of the world's architectural styles. Designed by a French painter Louis Dumoulin. Brown University Library Collection.

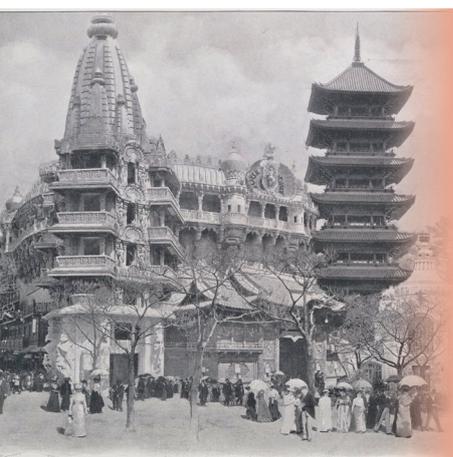
Programme

DAY 1 / MAY 10

- 9:30 - 10:00 Introductions
Professor Maria Gravari-Barbas and Postdoctoral Researcher Isidora Stanković, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne
- 10:00-12:00 ***Hybridisations of heritage narratives (1/2)***
PhD Candidates Presentations
- 12:00-13:00 Lunch break
- 13:00-15:00 ***Political, transnational and community negotiations and heritage hybridization (1/2)***
PhD Candidates Presentations
- 15:00-16:00 **Keynote *Hybrid or mutant? How patrimoine transformed the idea(s) of heritage and changed our approaches to knowledge, from patrimonialisation to critical heritage studies***
Lucie K. Morisset, Chair on Urban Heritage, Université du Québec, Montréal
- 16:00-16:15 Break
- 16:15-17:45 Round Table ***De- and re-territorializations of heritage***
F. Bodenstein, M. Murphy, S. Ferracuti
- 19:00-20:00 ***3 Minute Thesis***
Presentations by PhD Candidates

DAY 2 / MAY 11

- 9:00 - 9:30 Introductions
- 9:30-11:30 ***Heritage(s) between high and popular culture (1/2)***
PhD Candidates Presentations
- 11:30-12:30 **Keynote *The emotional politics of heritage***
Laurajane Smith, director of the Centre of Heritage and Museum Studies, Research School of Humanities and the Arts, the Australian National University
- 12:30-13:30 Lunch break
- 13:30-15:30 ***Political, transnational and community negotiations and heritage hybridization (2/2)***
PhD Candidates presentations
- 15:30-15:45 Break
- 15:45-16:45 **Keynote *Food heritage: national or hybrid?***
Ilaria Porciani, Institute for Advanced Studies board, University of Bologna
- 16:45-17:45 ***The hybrid landscape of the Cité internationale universitaire Campus, Paris***
Virtual Visit
- 19:00-20:00 ***Streaming Party***
Organized by PhD Candidates



Programme & Keynotes

DAY 3 / MAY 12

9:00 - 9:30	Introductions
	Keynote <i>Literal hybridity, then and now: The making and afterlife of nineteenth-century European architecture and furniture incorporating Islamic medieval fragments</i>
9:30-10:30	Mercedes Volait, CNRS Research Professor, InVisu research unit, Paris and Graduate School in Art History at University Paris I
	Round Table <i>Museums and Cultural Rights</i>
10:30-12:00	M. O'Neill, R. Sandell, S. Macleod
12:00-13:00	Lunch break
	<i>Hybridisations of heritage narratives (2/2)</i>
13:00-15:00	PhD Candidates Presentations
15:00-15:15	Break
	<i>Heritage(s) between high and popular culture (2/2)</i>
15:15-17:15	PhD Candidates Presentations
	<i>The 1907 Colonial Fair</i>
17:15-18:15	Virtual visit
18:15-18:45	Final discussions and conclusions
19:30-20:30	Informal Get-together on Gatherly

KEYNOTE LECTURES

Hybrid or mutant? How patrimoine transformed the idea(s) of heritage and changed our approaches to knowledge, from patrimonialisation to critical heritage studies

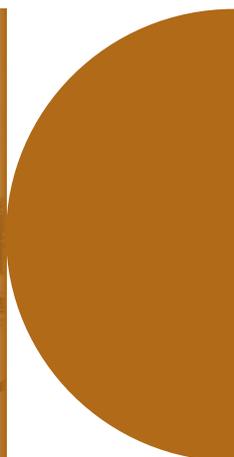
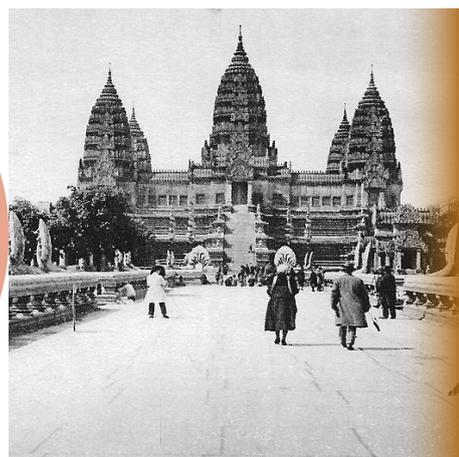
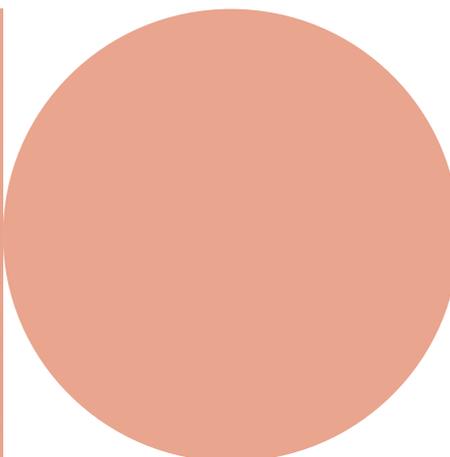
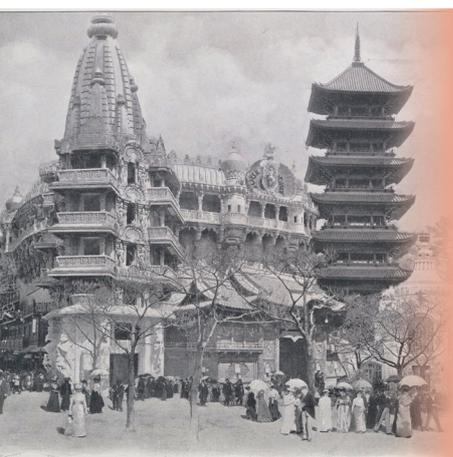
In French, when compared to heritage, beni culturali or erfgoed, the word "patrimoine" (like patrimonio, among others) remains a rather empty signifier, ready to accommodate a very wide range of meanings and objects. This is also its colonizing power.

By postulating that this word, "patrimoine", has been propagated through international law, starting with the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, this presentation aims to examine the hybridization (or even the mutation) of patrimoine and heritage with a view to distinguishing its main epistemological effects. We will thus understand how this word, "patrimoine", making possible the notion of "patrimonialisation", has inaugurated a field of knowledge that has itself generated some hybrids, including the critical heritage studies. While highlighting the main lines of these theories of heritage, it will also remind us of the need for scientific caution in the face of cultural and idiomatic differentiation and raise some political issues of heritage studies today.



Lucie K. Morisset is Chairholder of the Canada Research Chair on Urban Heritage, a professor in the Department of Urban and Tourism Studies of the School of Management Sciences at the Université du Québec, Montréal, and a researcher at the CELAT (Centre de recherches – Cultures – Arts – Sociétés). A historian of urban planning, trained in architectural history and anthropology and specializing in the study of the city and its representations, she is interested in the history of ideas and objects that make up the built heritage, in a critical perspective of societal transformation. More generally, her work addresses the relationship between identity and culture as manifested through discourses on the built environment, tourism practices and conceptions of heritage. In recent years, her research has focused on company towns and heritage communities in the context of deindustrialization and decolonization, as well as, from a more theoretical perspective, on the transformation of heritage processes, on the epistemology of heritage studies and on heritage as an agent of change.

Lucie K. Morisset is a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.



Keynotes

The emotional politics of heritage



The idea of heritage hybridization, that takes into account the interaction of diverse social and cultural experiences through engagement with heritage is, as an ideal, an important concept. This is especially the case for heritage professionals who seek to promote equity and respect for historical and contemporary cultural and social diversity. However, in the current political contexts, and in particular the rise of right wing populism, it has become even more important to understand what is at stake for different groups in the claims that they make over and for particular understandings of heritage. Especially as these claims have implications for the legitimacy given to historical and contemporary social narratives and values. Drawing on material from the recently published book Emotional Heritage, which reports on research with visitors to heritage and museums in England, Australia and the USA, this talk will consider the political and agonistic nature of heritage. Understanding and explicitly addressing the power structures and political tensions between different heritage claimants, and understanding the social and political consequences of these, is important for understanding how heritage hybridization can both be socially and politically inclusive and yet also maintain social hegemony and exclusion.

Laurajane Smith is professor and director of the Centre of Heritage and Museum Studies, Research School of Humanities and the Arts, the Australian National University. She is a fellow of the Society for the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia. She founded the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, and has been editor of the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* since 2009. She is co-general editor with William Logan of Routledge's *Key Issues in Cultural Heritage*, and author of *Uses of Heritage* (2006, Routledge) and *Emotional Heritage* (2021 Routledge) and editor with Natsuko Akagawa of *Intangible Heritage* (2009) and *Safeguarding Intangible Heritage* (2018).

Food heritage: national or hybrid?



UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage has made room for intangible heritage. However, the process of food heritagization has been problematic and has overshadowed hybridity as well as dissonance. It has even fueled food wars. This paper focuses on the risks involved in freezing recipes, techniques, and the appropriation of often invented national gastronomic traditions.

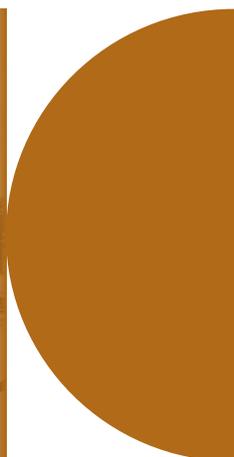
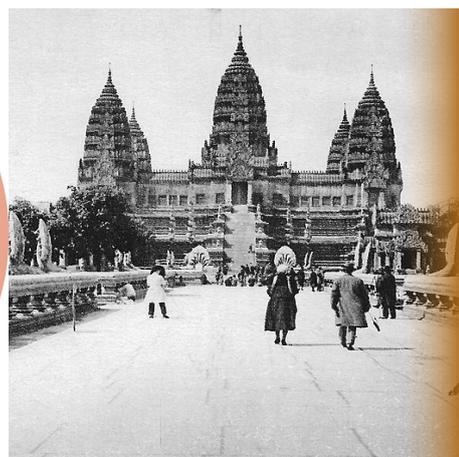
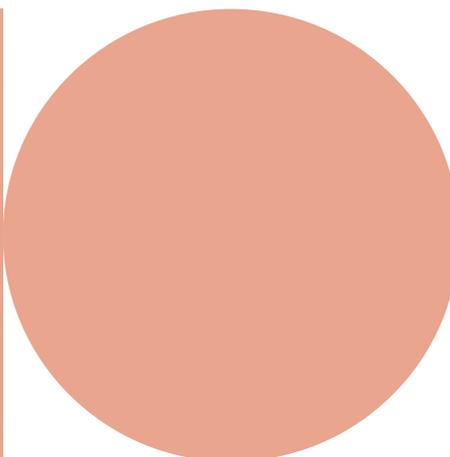
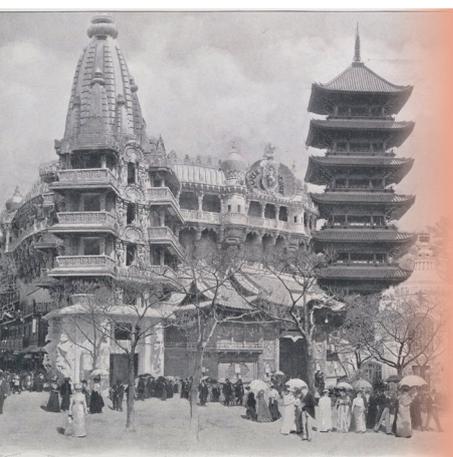
Ilaria Porciani teaches Modern and Contemporary History and is a member of the Institute for Advanced Studies board at the University of Bologna. She has published on the history of culture, historiography, the university, nationalism, and education. She coordinated the Bologna unit of EuNaMus, the Framework 7 European project on national museums, and the *Food as heritage* WP of CoHere (Horizon 2020). She is presently writing a global history of food, nationalism and politics from the late 18th Century to our days.

Literal hybridity, then and now: The making and afterlife of nineteenth-century European architecture and furniture incorporating Islamic medieval fragments



The age of historicism and World's fairs engined the emergence of a genre of material culture still poorly studied and understood, the sub-category represented by mixed-period and mixed-culture furnishings and interiors. Literally hybrid, and twice for that matter, such type of production does not easily fit mainstream art historical narratives, nor established taxonomies of cultural heritage as these tend to allocate specimens to single localities and temporalities. It represents in this sense an embarrassment for art history, museum curation and heritage conservation alike. The lecture will explore the topic of composite tangible heritage through a case study: the invention and subsequent fate of mixed-period architecture and cabinet-making produced by Europeans in nineteenth-century Cairo.

Mercedes Volait is CNRS Research Professor at InVisu in Paris. She is a specialist in the history of art, architecture and heritage in nineteenth-century Egypt; she also researches Islamic art collecting in Europe. She has published extensively in both areas and supervises dissertations on related topics at the Graduate School "Art History" of Paris I University. Her forthcoming book, due to be released by Brill in June 2021, is entitled *Antique Dealing and Creative Reuse in Cairo and Damascus 1850-1890. Intercultural Engagements with Architecture and Craft in the Age of Travel and Reform.*



De- and re-territorializations of heritage

Moderator: Associate Professor Anna Niedźwiedz, Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie

The long history of efforts for the returns of the Benin Bronzes to Nigeria (1935-2021)



This presentation considers the long history of requests for return, restitution, lending and buying back of the so-called Benin bronzes, infamously pillaged in 1897 by the British admiralty and Protectorate forces. It places initial requests made by the Oba of Benin, Akenzua II in the 1930s into relation with the initiative undertaken by the first Nigerian director of antiquities, the British-born Kenneth C. Murray, to buy back some of the most important Benin artworks that came on to the international art market in the 1950s. Though this did allow for an important collection to be established in colonial Lagos, in certain cases the failed negotiations for the ivory mask of Idia that is today in the Metropolitan museum in New York, lead to a renewed sense of loss. Lastly it considers how this history impacted on the refused request for the loan of the famous Benin 'Idia' ivory mask from the British Museum for the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture that was held in Lagos in 1977.

Dr. **Felicity Bodenstein** is a lecturer in the history of museums and heritage studies at Sorbonne University, Paris. She is also a principal investigator of the digital humanities project, financed by the Ernest von Siemens foundation, "Digital Benin" (<https://digital-benin.org/>) that will bring together data from the close to 200 museums holding pieces from the 1897 British colonial expedition to Benin in their collections. She was recently guest editor of the *Journal for Art Market Studies*, on 'Africa: Trade, Traffic, Collections', vol. 4, no. 1, 14 October 2020. URL: <https://fokum-jams.org/index.php/jams/article/view/119>

French Cultural Policy in Africa: From Cooperation to the Restitution of Heritage



In the early years of Independence, at a time when several African countries were asking for the restitution of their cultural heritage, France managed to acquire ancient and precious artifacts from Senegalese museums, in exchange for French tapestries. Starting with this case study, this talk will question French cultural politics from the Independence to the recent debate provoked by the French President Emmanuel Macron's decision to restitute cultural heritage to Africa (2017).

Maureen Murphy is an art historian and Assistant Professor in contemporary art history at the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, and a member of the Institut Universitaire de France. Her research focuses on the globalization of the art scene from the perspective of relations between Africa and Europe, colonial and postcolonial history, and exhibition policies. Among her publications: *De l'imaginaire au musée. Les arts d'Afrique à Paris et à New York (1931 à nos jours)*, Dijon, Les Presses du réel (2009), 2020 and with Mamadou Diouf, *Déborder la négritude. Arts, politique et société à Dakar*, Dijon, Les Presses du réel, 2020.

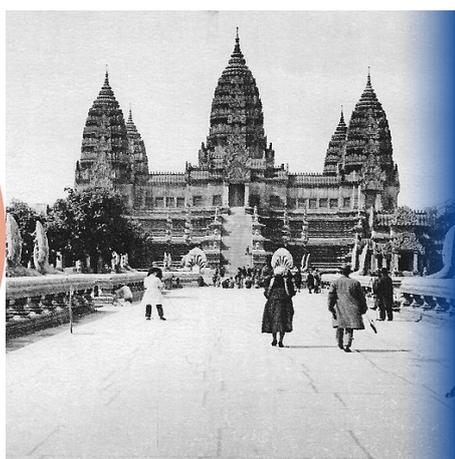
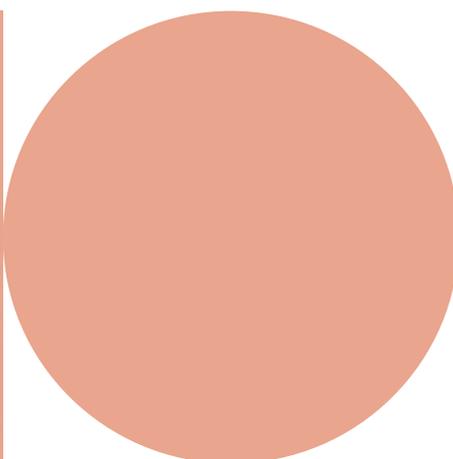
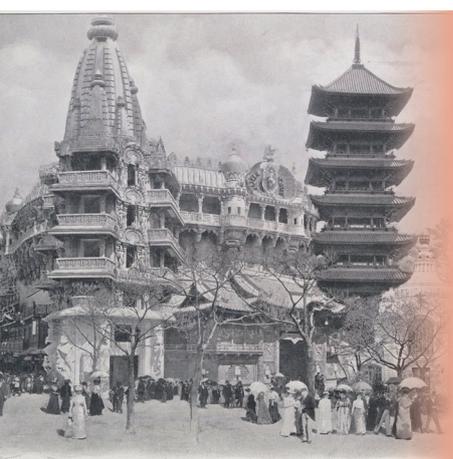
A Collection of Relationships on Display



"I urge the necessity of incorporating an awareness of hybridity and networks of interconnection into museum representation" (*Ruth Phillips, 2009*)

The vision for the permanent exhibition "Wo ist Afrika? Storytelling a European Collection" at the Linden-Museum Stuttgart (2019) is to contribute to distribute a broader, "closer-to-life" notion of "us" among the publics of a European museum. Its main strategy is to display past and current human relationships behind acquisitions and around the artifacts on display, and to engage visitors in envisioning and discussing possible futures.

Sandra Ferracuti, B.A. in Anthropology ("The American University", Washington, D.C., USA) and Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology (*Università "Sapienza" di Roma*, 2008). Between 2010 and 2016 she taught Museum Studies, Cultural Anthropology, and Anthropology of Cultural Heritages at the *Università degli Studi della Basilicata* (Matera, Italy). From 2012 to 2014, she was Research Fellow at the same University, investigating the protagonists, characters, and movements of Basilicata's contemporary "heritage communities". From 2009 to 2013, she was Research Assistant at the Ethnography Division of the *Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini"*, today part of the *Museo delle Civiltà*, in Rome, Italy. Between 2016 and 2020 she served as Head of the Africa Department at the Linden-Museum Stuttgart (Germany), for which she conceptualized the permanent exhibition "Wo ist Afrika? Storytelling a European Collection", which opened in 2019. She is now serving as Adjunct Professor of Cultural Anthropology at the "Sapienza" University of Rome.



Museums and Cultural Rights

Moderator: Professor Dominique Poulot, Paris 1

How can museums become more democratic and inclusive, in terms of cultural identity, disability and people with low incomes and low educational attainment? How can they encourage more complex and hybrid notions of both heritage and identity? In the context of increasingly polarised “culture wars” across Europe, this session will explore the evidence for museums promoting visitor reflection and attracting previously excluded groups, and explore how they could draw on a wide range of disciplines to develop practices which make realising these objectives more likely.



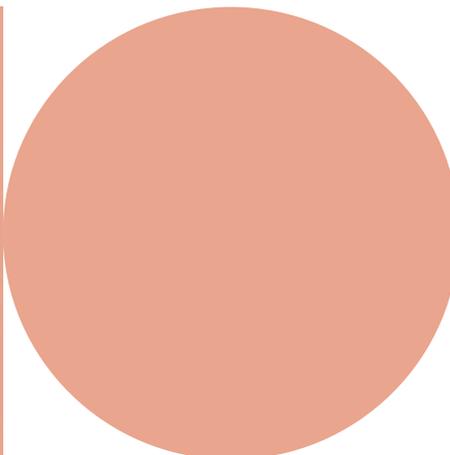
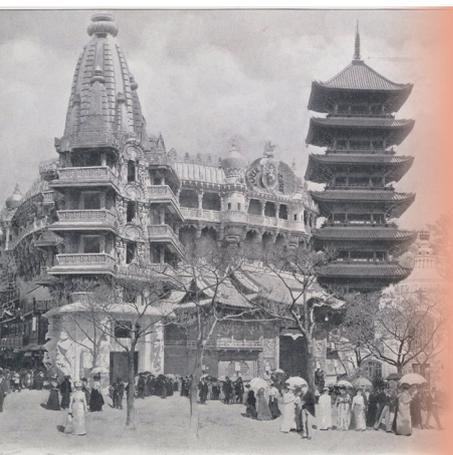
Mark O'Neill worked for over 30 years in museums, mostly in Glasgow, where he moved in 1984, serving as Head of Glasgow Museums from 1998-2009. He led a number of largescale, award-winning projects, including creating the only museum of world religions in the UK, the £35 million refurbishment of Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum and the £74 million Riverside Museum (European Museum of the Year 2013). From 2009 to 2016 he was Director of Policy & Research for Glasgow Life, the charity which delivers arts, museums, libraries, and sports for the City of Glasgow, the largest organisation of its kind in Europe. He has lectured worldwide and published on museum philosophy and practice, as well as on strategic planning for heritage, tourism and urban regeneration, and on the health benefits of cultural participation. He is an Associate Professor in the College of Arts at Glasgow University, Non-Executive Director of Event Communications Ltd, and a judge for the European Museum of the Year Awards. His most recent publication is *Revisiting Museums of Influence: Four Decades of Innovation and Public Quality in European Museums*, co-edited with Jette Sandahl and Marlen Mouliou (Routledge 2021).



Richard Sandell is Professor in the School of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester and co-director of the Research Centre for Museums and Galleries. His research and practice, carried out in collaboration with museums, galleries and heritage organisations, explores the potential that museums might play in supporting human rights, social justice and equality. Richard led the research partnership between the National Trust and RCMG that shaped the award-winning *Prejudice and Pride* LGBTQ heritage programme, 2017-19. A research collaboration with the Wellcome Collection, exploring new ethically-informed ways of presenting disability shaped a new permanent gallery – Being Human – that opened in 2019. His most recent books include - *Museums, Moralities and Human Rights* (2017) and *Museum Activism* (with Robert R. Janes) (2019), winner of the Canadian Museums Association's award for Outstanding Achievement for Research in the Cultural Heritage Sector.



Professor **Suzanne MacLeod** is an academic in the School of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester where she is also Co-Director of the Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG). She holds a BA History of Art and Architecture, an MA Art Museum and Gallery Studies from the University of Manchester and a PhD Architectural History and Theory from University College London as well as qualifications in Graphic Design. She has extensive experience of working with cultural organisations on collaborative research and has published numerous books and edited volumes on museum architecture and exhibition-making including *Museums and Design for Creative Lives*, *Museum Architecture: A New Biography*, *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions*, *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions*, *Museum Revolutions* and *The Future of Museum and Gallery Design*. She is Chair of the Board of international, peer-reviewed journal *Museum & Society*.



PhD Candidates Presentations

Political, transnational and community negotiations and heritage hybridisation

Session 1: "Political, transnational and community negotiations and heritage hybridization - Methodological reflections"

Moderators: Professor Edward Hollis, University of Edinburgh and Associate Professor Krzysztof Kowalski, JAG

This session is devoted to a discussion on methodological / epistemological questions that relate to the topic of "heritage hybridization". The goal is to present different aspects and then have a comprehensive discussion along questions and comparative remarks among different methods and disciplinary choices. How do specific methods highlight specific aspects of "heritage hybridization"? Is our perception of hybrid heritage contingent on the methods we use? What is the role of interdisciplinarity in studying "heritage hybridizations"? Is there a way to understand heritage, after all, in other than a hybrid form? The session follows a series of presentations by four subgroups, interchanging with discussion slots with the audience.

Subgroups' titles and speakers:

1. **Materiality / intangibility of heritage and heritage making:** Madeline Bass, Marilena Pateraki, Laura Maria Saari
2. **Naming strategies / classification, archiving, exhibition practices:** Susana Strussi, María Agustina Arnulfo, Zoé Vannier, Diana Lica
3. **Structure and agency: actors, processes, relational dynamics. Power relations:** Joshua Stanley Davis, Jenny Herman, Rosa Grasso
4. **Systems of knowledge production: The Researcher's positionality and the archive:** Verena Kittel, Lorena López Jáuregui, Joanna Sobesto, Sabine Volk

	13:00-13:10	Introduction
	13:10-13:30	Materiality / intangibility of heritage and heritage making
	13:30-13:50	Naming strategies / classification, archiving, exhibition practices
May 10	13:50-14:05	Discussion: 10-15 mins
	14:05-14:25	Structure and agency: actors, processes, relational dynamics. Power relations.
	14:25-14:45	Systems of knowledge production: The Researcher's positionality and the archive
	14:45-15:00	Discussion: 10-15mins

Session 2: "Political, transnational and community negotiations and heritage hybridization – hybridization themes visualized"

Moderators: Senior Lecturer Jen Ross, University of Edinburgh and Professor Koen Van Balen, KU Leuven

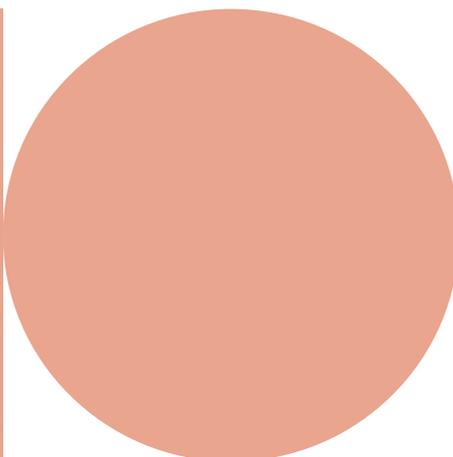
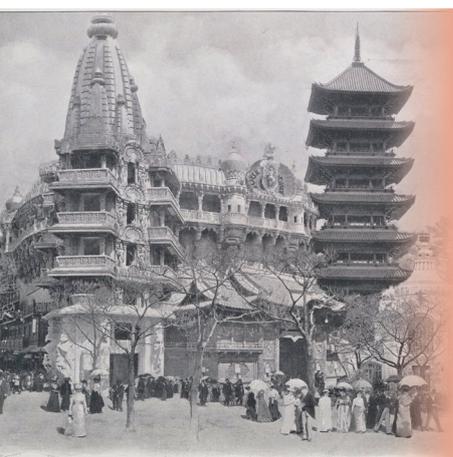
This session is devoted to a thematic exploration illustrated by different pieces of visual material. It is organized in the form of one common presentation, including images of material objects related to each participant's PhD research and highlighting the topic of heritage hybridization. It follows a grouping along four different thematic axes, interchanging with discussion slots with the audience.

The presentation will be drawing on already submitted reflections on pieces of visual material made by each participant in Group 1. Please find on the following link all the material presentations: <https://3.basecamp.com/4758025/buckets/18467096/vaults/3741755567>.

Thematic groups and speakers:

1. **Cultural Policy:** Rosa Grasso, Diana Maria Lica, Joshua Stanley Davis, Jenny Herman
2. **Europe and Latin America relations:** Laura Maria Saari, Agustina Arnulfo, Susana Stussi, Lorena López Jáuregui
3. **Representations and implications of national diversity within a nation-state's territory:** Marilena Pateraki, Joanna Sobesto, Zoé Vannier
4. **Political movements, struggles and implications:** Madeline Bass, Sabine Volk, Verena Kittel

	13:30-13:40	Introduction
	13:40-14:00	Cultural Policy
	14:00-14:20	Europe and Latin America relations
May 11	14:20-14:25	Discussion: 10-15 mins
	14:35-14:55	Representations and implications of national diversity within a nation-state's territory
	14:55-15:15	Political movements, struggles and implications
	15:15-15:30	Discussion: 10-15 mins



PhD Candidates Presentations

Hybridisations of heritage narratives

Session 1: "Autonomy of the Narrative"

May 10, 10:00-12:00

Moderator: Professor Maria Gravari-Barbas, Paris 1

The "Autonomy of the narrative" group has a common interest in the question of the heritage narrative coming alive, of the passage from an authorized heritage discourse (Smith 2006) to different empowerment heritage strategies. We are thus interested by the gesture with which an established narrative is interfered and detoured.

In order to respect the process of discovery of this commonality and to explore it further, we decided to adopt a discursive approach to our presentation. Each of us connects with the other speakers on a series of resembling thematics, and together we construct the foundation of our common problematic.

One question guides us all: what are we expecting from heritage when we talk about monuments, museums, ruins, television, films, or contemporary art? Which is the use of heritage made by these media? And how do we arrive at the hybridisation of different narratives?

Participants: Ina Belcheva (Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University), Virginia De Diego Martin (Complutense University, Madrid), Andrés Escribano Palomino (Complutense University, Madrid), Edoardo Milan (Alma Mater Studiorum - University of Bologna), C. Lou Sossah (Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University & INALCO, Paris; Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul).

Session 2.1: "Antique Melting Pot of Cultures"

May 12, 13:00-13:50

Moderators: Professor Edward Hollis, UoE and Reader Alain Duplouy, Paris 1

The panel "Antique melting pot of cultures" discusses the different ways in which objects and spaces are connected to cultural identity and heritage, and how meanings change depending on the viewers or actors connected to them. The speakers on this panel approach this subject through various chronological and cultural levels: Greco-Roman antiquity, Renaissance France, and South Korean islands. The discussion moves from the private experience of an individual to globalization, highlighting how myths and rites, politics, representation, and tourism affect the interpretation of objects and sites.

Participants: Anna-Maria Wilskman (University of Helsinki), Giulia Brusori (University of Bologna – École Pratique des Hautes Études, PSL), Ji Eun Park (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne).

Session 2.2: "Process of Hybridisation"

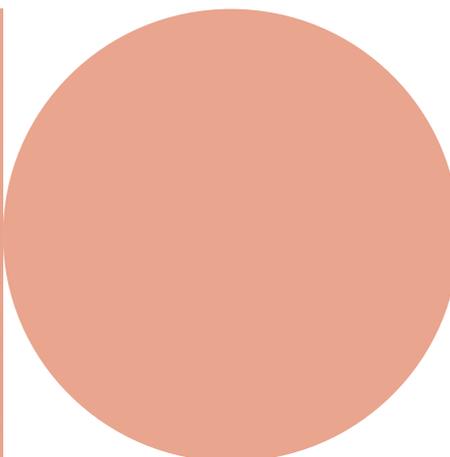
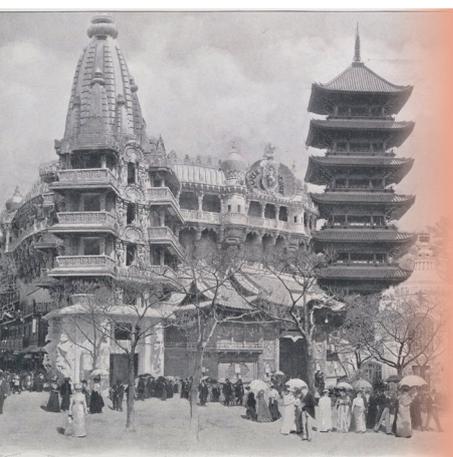
May 12, 14:00-15:00

Moderators: Professor Edward Hollis, UoE and Reader Alain Duplouy, Paris 1

The panel "Process of hybridisation" focuses on the formation of Cultural Heritage as a hybrid process. Through some specific study cases (the Ecuadorian Andes; the Spanish region of Andalusia; the local forest in Eastern Poland, the Irish Aran Islands and Polish Podhale region), reflections based on the process of heritage hybridization will be developed.

Starting from the interpretation of heritage by locals in a complex colonial context where the discourses imposed by colonizers are mixed with the native identity, we continue this line of thought by considering the formation of national identities in hybrid peripheral European colonial contexts where Western modernist and universalist notions of identity are questioned and at the same time assimilated, and how such hybrid heritage is projected into two local contexts. Subsequently we move on to analysing of how the transfer of difficult heritage in the local context is determined not only by the people but also the environment and what strategies are used by locals to defend their identities if they do not accept the heritage of the place they live. We then proceed to a reflection on how territorial identity can be built by outsiders and then be assimilated by locals through the power of tourism. Collective imageries that emerged during the XIX century are defended as the basis on which local identities are built.

Participants: Ana Elisa Astudillo Salazar (KU Leuven), David Albarrán (University Complutense of Madrid, Spain), Francesco Costantini (Jagiellonian University, Poland), Katarzyna Grzybowska (Jagiellonian University, Poland).



PhD Candidates Presentations

Heritage(s) between high and popular culture

Session 1: "Interrogating and define hybridisation Processes through a Heritage Perspective" May 11, 9:30-11:30

Moderator: Postdoctoral Researcher Isidora Stanković, Paris 1

The session aims at explaining the importance of the transdisciplinary approach, through thematic individual presentations.

Introduction: Sandra Biondo - followed by 6 presentations of 10 minutes max.

Pau Catà: *Moving Knowledges: Towards a speculative Arab art residency proto-history*

Sandra Biondo: *Fashioning national monuments: Fashion houses as vectors of cultural hybridization*

Nan Maro Babakhanian: *Rima's: the synthesis of a culture through the framework of another: Becquer and Turina, critics of culture as distillers of high art and folk imagery*

Noemi Di Tommaso: *Between doctors and apothecaries: cultural hybridity in scientific correspondence*

Eleanor Capaldi: *From the gallery to the Internet: re-framing art through visitor generated photography*

Giulia Alonzo: *The festival as a cultural and social tool: citizenship, territories and communities*

Jolanta Bujas-Poniatowska: *Between high and popular culture: Polish roman catholic church music in in the 19th century*

Session 2.2: "Assessing the phenomenon of Heritage Hybridisation: a diachronic methodological analysis" May 12, 15:15-17:15

Moderators: Professor Koen Van Balen, KUL and Associate Professor Krzysztof Kowalski, JAG

The session aims to define and adopt an appropriate methodology to assess hybridisation and to outline a temporal pattern to analyze the processes as a whole. Will be evaluated respectively both the relevance of identified methods used within the personal research work of PhD candidates and the importance of the chronological approach.

Introduction: Nan Maro Babakhanian - followed by 6 presentations of 10 minutes max.

Pau Catà: *On the history of art residencies: methods, heritages and hybridisations*

Sandra Biondo: *Mapping an hybridity Timeline: methods and tools. The case of Fendi Roma and the Palazzo della civiltà italiana*

Nan Maro Babakhanian: *From Ancient Greece through Northern Europe to Andalusia, the hybridisation of the lyric poem across time and across borders.*

Noemi Di Tommaso: *Hybridity and cultural Mediation in the Correspondence of Ulisse Aldrovandi*

Eleanor Capaldi: *An evolution of the image: crossing boundaries, mixing forms*

Giulia Alonzo: *A methodological timeline of a case study festival in which experiment the creation of active citizenship through the action-research approach*

Jolanta Bujas-Poniatowska: *How source studies allow us to implement the analysis of musical manuscripts: an example of Antoni Milwid's music*

Other Activities Organized and Animated by PhD Candidates

3 Minute Thesis Competition

May 10, 19:00-20:00

Organized by: PhD Candidate Eleanor Capaldi, UoE and Group 3

Share your PhD Thesis in just three minutes using one Powerpoint slide to reflect your work. In keeping with the spirit of the 3MT competition we will follow the traditional guidelines:

You should present information on your current PhD research topic

You should present for an intelligent lay audience

ALL presentations for the 3 Minute Thesis will be no more than 3 minutes

You will only be allowed 1 SLIDE (with no transitions)

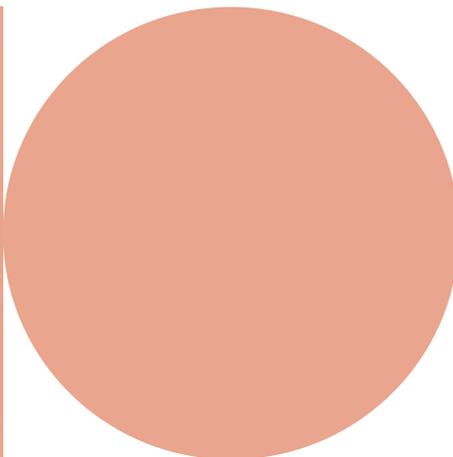
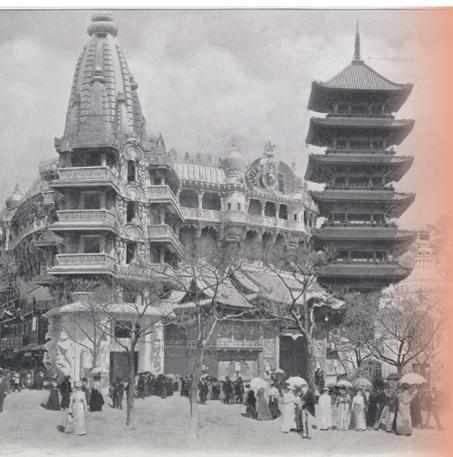
No additional electronic media (e.g. sound and video files) are permitted

No additional props (e.g. costumes, musical instruments, laboratory equipment) are permitted

Presentations are to be spoken word (e.g. no poems, raps or songs)

Presentations are considered to have commenced when a presenter starts their presentation through movement or speech

You should tell us what your research is, how you are doing it, what you have discovered and why it is an important contribution to knowledge



PhD Candidates Activities & Visits

Streaming Party **May 11, 19:00-20:00**

Organized by PhD Candidate Edoardo Milan, Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna and Group 2

By using the free and open source Metastream platform (<https://getmetastream.com/>) it will be possible to virtually meet around an open, shared, and expandable media stream, watching or listening all together, synchronously albeit far away, to content proposed by participants to the Workshop and harvested from a wide variety of media streaming services on the web (e.g. Youtube, Soundcloud, Vimeo, Peertube...). In other terms, any media available through these sources can be added to a shared stream to be watched all together. Access to the shared stream will be given through a specific link some minutes before the beginning of the party.

The playlist for the event will be prepared in advance by collecting suggestions from the participants, but it will be open to live additions from the participants to the party as well, also based on ideas and connections stemming from the shared vision itself.

This is thought as a relaxed moment in which to share audio and audiovisual works broadly connected to the themes of the Workshop and enjoy watching and listening to something with fellow researches and professors in the frame of the Workshop. Wide freedom is given concerning the media to be streamed, which can be more or less related to one's research, more or less academic, more or less serious. Nonetheless, in order to allow a maximum of possibility for everyone to add contents, the duration of videos proposed shouldn't exceed 10-15 minutes.

Virtual Visits

The hybrid landscape of the Cité internationale universitaire Campus, Paris **May 11, 16:45-17:45**



The International Campus is endowed with an exceptional built architectural heritage, characterised by the diversity of styles, which combine national references and modernist design. Constructed between 1925 and 1969, the 40 residences of the International Campus bear witness to the architectural diversity of the 20th century.

Positively daring styles stand alongside residences built on the model of English colleges, following the example of the Fondation DEUTSCH DE LA MEURTHER. Some take as their reference the style of their country, such as the Maison du Japon with its nuances and refinements of decor, reflecting the Japanese architectural traditions, or else the Fondation BIERMANS-LAPÔTRE with its facade inspired by Flemish architecture.

Others are the work of famous architects, such as LE CORBUSIER: The Fondation Suisse and the Maison du Brésil, or the architect, DUDOK and his Collège néerlandais, or else la Fondation AVICENNE, designed by Claude PARENT.

The visit offers a chance to discover the various trends in architecture in the 20th century, from the most inventive modernity to the most unusual styles.

The 1907 Colonial Fair **May 12, 17:15-18:15**



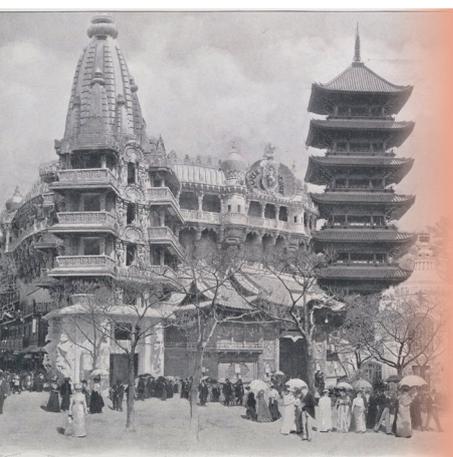
The City of Paris tropical agronomy garden is located at the tip end of the Bois de Vincennes. An unusual place with very few visits.

It houses many treasures from the 1907 colonial exhibition.

Several pavilions still bear witness to all cultures represented. Two are superbly restored and welcome artistic or educational activities when others are abandoned or in ruins.

There are also superb vintage greenhouses and others more modern, next to a farm specialized in reasoned culture of fruits and vegetables.

The site also houses several monuments and memorials dedicated to the soldiers fallen from various colonial regiments during the First World War, including the unique statue in Ile de France region dedicated to African soldiers who died for France.



Workshop Committees

Scientific Committee

Magdalena Banaszekiewicz, Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie

Giulia Crippa, Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna

Jutta Erming, Freie Universität Berlin

María García-Hernández, Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Edward Hollis, University of Edinburgh

Dominique Poulot, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Suzie Thomas, Helsingin Yliopisto

Koenraad Van Balen, KU Leuven

Organization Committee

Alain Duploux, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Maria Gravari-Barbas, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Dominique Poulot, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Isidora Stanković, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

[Workshop Website](#)

[Workshop Media Library](#)

[Una Europa Self-Sterring Committee in Cultural Heritage Facebook Page](#)

[Una Europa Webpage](#)

