

# Prague - Heritages

Past and Present - Built and Social

AMPS Proceedings Series 35.3

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## Prague – Heritages

Past and Present - Built and Social

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EDITOR:

Jitka Cirklová

EXECUTIVE PRODUCTION EDITOR:

Amany Marey

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# INTRODUCTION

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## Prague – Heritages Past and Present - Built and Social

2023 marks the twentieth anniversary of the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Heritage. It established culture as a concept to be safeguarded. That event came three decades after the World Heritage Convention. Through that, UNESCO had set up its World Heritage List of protected sites and buildings. The intervening years have seen multiple shifts in how we define heritage – as both material objects and social traditions. Today more than ever before, the distinction is blurred. The streets on which we live, and the monuments we protect are all connected to the traditions and social groupings we celebrate and preserve – whether physically, socially or, increasingly, digitally.

What we mean by heritage today then, is an open and diverse question. Our buildings and environments, our cities and neighborhoods, our memorials and our artworks, our cultures and communities are all component parts of what we understand as ‘preservable’ history. The dynamics at play are, however, complex. Conserving architectural heritage can conflict with development models. Community traditions are threatened by globalization. Monuments are often focal points for cultural contestation. Archaeological sites are valued in themselves and simultaneously erased by both the forces of conflict and ‘progress’. Digital models and modes of experience both attract a new audience and can alienate an older one.

However, the past and the present also overlap and mutually support. Placemaking sees built and cultural heritage as key to urban practice. Contextualization is central to planning laws. Museums are sites for communities and display. Digital modelling can be the only way to fully experience an ancient object or archeological site. Galleries present historical art while debating meanings in contemporary terms. Reflecting this scenario, the papers collected in this publication represent diverse perspectives of the complex and shifting concept of heritage.

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# ARTIFICIAL TOUCH: DESIGN THINKING IN RELATION TO CONSERVATION, EVOLUTION AND THE INVENTION OF AFRICAN TRADITION

Author:

**DAVID GOSS**

Affiliation:

BEN GURION UNIVERSITY OF THE NEGEV, ISRAEL; SHENKAR COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING, DESIGN AND ART, ISRAEL

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‘Traditions are symbolic constructions of the past in the present for the future.’<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

During a research visit to Botswana<sup>2</sup> I was intrigued by the pottery made by potters of the Bakgatla ba Kgafela in the Kgatleng district, since 1871. The pottery was inscribed in 2012 on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. Among other things, my interest was aroused since according to what I could see, they were not very different from other traditional pottery in Botswana. Thebe<sup>3</sup> focusing on the study of the pottery in South-Eastern Botswana, noted in his research that there were "41 potters from five *merafhe* (ethnic groups) namely, Bakgatla, Bakwena, Bakgalagadi, Bangwaketse and Balete..."<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, pottery was not the most widespread traditional craft in Botswana. Terry<sup>5</sup> when mapping all the traditional craft production in Botswana<sup>6</sup> claimed that at the time there were approximately 4,200 producers of traditional crafts, and only about 1% were in pottery. So what was I missing, and why was the pottery of the Bakgatla ba Kgafela, chosen above all the diverse traditional craft production in Botswana, and singularly inscribed? This paper explores a few examples of traditions evolution in different African contexts, focusing on the invention of traditions. Hoping to gain some insights on this preservation process.

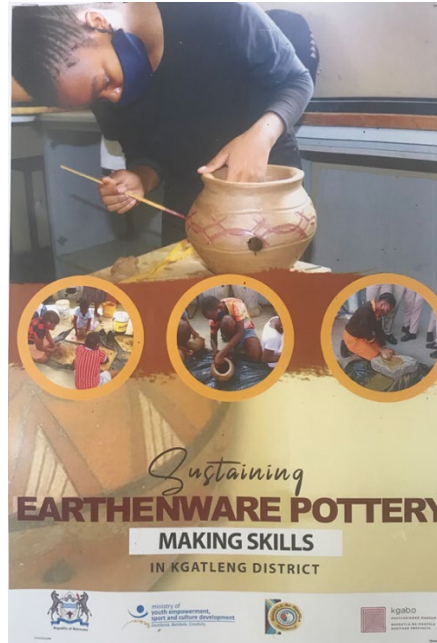


Figure 1. Poster promoting the pottery of the Bakgatla ba Kagfela, Phuthadikobo Museum, Mochudi, Botswana, 2023.

### Conservation Chain Reaction

In considering creative cultural heritages, often things are not what they seem. Traditions are continuously being created, evolving, and being invented. Yet sometimes the act of conservation - the inscription of a certain creative process is just freezing of a specific historic moment of creativity – a moment of arrested design development. By preserving, we try to freeze the moment, the way things are made, the *techne*,<sup>7</sup> or how we think they should be perceived in the future. Establishing, through retrospective judgement that a certain creative process is pivotal for cultural identity. UNESCO defined in 2021 its preservation objectives as the "...identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value."<sup>8</sup> But, what complicates these objectives, is when this preservation instigates creative development, or situations that were nonexistent originally.

Hosey<sup>9</sup> calls attention to the essence of identity, originality, in preservation, with the "Theseus Ship" characteristics of the Barcelona Pavilion. Designed by Mies van der Rohe with Lily Reich and built in 1929, then demolished in 1930, and then rebuilt anew in 1986. Claiming that the aim of preservation "...is not merely to maintain material artifacts it is to appreciate the cultural heritage of the built environment, heritage that depends on both aesthetic and historical conditions."<sup>10</sup> Questioning how these two buildings, built in different historical contexts; with different materials and technologies; be called the same. Seeing that naming, being called the same name, assumes identity.

When tradition is transferred into the present it becomes contemporary cultural production, using symbolic 'ancient materials' that are accumulated in all societies, into a new context.<sup>11</sup> Hybridizing traditional forms or concepts into contemporary utility.<sup>12</sup> These new products are intrinsic developments of contemporary culture.<sup>13</sup> This can be seen in the many examples of designers using iconography and shapes and colors of the past to symbolize authenticity, but simultaneously engaging modernity and progress in order to create a new contemporary identity.<sup>14</sup>

When UNESCO inscribed Tel Aviv's International Style architecture as the "White City" in 2003, it started a chain reaction that changed the course of the city's' urban development, creating a new

reality. After inscription, the city council adopted a decision that no high-rise buildings would be built in the city center. As Gottesman and Hoffman<sup>15</sup> noted, it was the first in a series of changes that benefitted building proprietors, entrepreneurs, and residents; and created a surge in housing demand. Accompanied by cultural activity like architecture exhibitions and books; the establishment of luxury boutique hotels; and the marketing of souvenirs, ornaments and artworks that were branded with the "White City" imagery.<sup>16</sup> These developments are considered positive parameters with considerable effect on creative culture and economic growth. So, when this chain reaction begins, we should ask why a certain tradition or cultural heritage is being inscribed and conserved?

### **Preservation and Authenticity in African Art**

As a scholar occupied with the research of design and art in Africa, many of my interests have focused on objects and creative processes that are considered traditional or authentic vernacular culture. Naturally, being aware that all traditions have an invention date, as Eric Hobsbawm<sup>17</sup> wrote, they: '... seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.' Considering traditions as an unnatural phenomenon, as social constructions of culture. Invented at a certain historic moment to fulfill needs: social, religious, or national. Writing on the dynamic characteristics of heritage, Hanson<sup>18</sup> claimed that: "Traditional culture' is increasingly recognized to be more an invention constructed for contemporary purposes than a stable heritage handed on from the past.' Even when considering the consolidation of ethnic or national identities through tradition, it seems that they are '...discursive and highly selective practice that exists primarily to give substance to the abstract imaginary of the nation.'<sup>19</sup> African societies also invent traditions as part of a political agenda to create or strengthen ethnic and national identity.<sup>20</sup>

The concepts of tradition and preservation are historically charged in the field of African art<sup>21</sup> as continuing questions regarding authenticity and originality. These questions have occupied researchers in the field since the 19th century, enhanced by the post-colonial discourse. Conservative art historians and museum custodians considered an item as authentic only if it originated vernacularly and was intended for use by the same traditional society that produced it. The introduction of cash economies with colonialism; import and export; new types of patronage from missionaries, colonial administrators, merchants, tourists, and new local elites was seen as a watershed of authenticity.<sup>22</sup>

In African art studies our most uncritical assumption has been the before/after scenario of colonialism, in which art before colonialization, occurring in most places from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century, exhibited qualities that made it authentic (in the sense untainted by Western intervention).<sup>23</sup>

So, questions like: is this an original African creation? Was this used in a traditional context? Was it used for tribal ritual? Was it produced for commercial purposes or as a souvenir? Were considered crucial when deciding if an item or process to be authentic.

Tradition and heritage construction and invention have occurred in African cultures, usually in response to colonialism and the influx of foreign cultures. Or, as seen during the last century—reiterating 'Africanness' as part of a political agenda to create or strengthen national identities.<sup>24</sup> Reacceptance and '...the invention of what was considered to be indigenous "tradition" in Africa took place in a manner in which only the practices that served the interests of the identity of indigenous elites were codified as tradition."<sup>25</sup> Generally, counter-hegemonic practices are denied traditionalization.

So, when approaching conservation of African traditional creations, one should look at the subject considering a few elementary questions. Like: what do we mean by tradition or heritage? What are the

dominant or essential characteristics, defining difference, justifying conservation? What transformation, importation, or invention are permissible without changing the traditional essence?



Figure 2. Kobo blanket, Lesotho.

### African Inventions

I would like to give a few examples of invented traditions in Africa through historic hybridizations, adoptions etc. creating cultural identities. The first is the *Kobo* (blanket in Sesotho) from Lesotho, considered national attire. "Basotho people took pride in the blanket as their traditional dress. It became an important piece of clothing considered necessary for different ceremonial activities."<sup>26</sup> Or as Bosko<sup>27</sup> noted: "Basotho are preoccupied with blankets" There are a variety of blankets (in different sizes) used for various initiations and rites of passage, "...the widespread use of the blanket presently points to a complete integration of the blanket into the socio-cultural life of the Basotho."<sup>28</sup> In language the blanket signifies warmth and its importance in Basotho culture is seen in the many proverbs and idiomatic expressions in Sesotho.<sup>29</sup> Many of these, with gender meanings and sexual connotations.<sup>30</sup> Yet, these are industrially produced British blankets in origin and were introduced during the reign of King Moshoeshe I in the 1870's. Karstel<sup>31</sup> describes the historic context of the Kobo's adoption process as the traditional dress in Lesotho. With the colonization of Lesotho in 1867 as a British Protectorate, when Western clothing and products became more available. Workers in the Kimberley diamond mines<sup>32</sup> returned with increased buying power that made these products more affordable; and the population growth necessitating alternatives to the traditional leather *kaross* previously worn. So, during the 1870's this 'borrowed' or 'invented' tradition was adopted in Lesotho.





*Figure 3. Vendor at the Juju market wearing Dutch wax print dress, Accra, Ghana, 2012.*

Dutch Wax Print textiles are another tradition that was adopted initially in West Africa during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and later spread throughout Africa. These textiles "are often referred to collectively as 'African prints, constitute a distinct genre of fabric that has come to signify African identity both within and beyond the continent'".<sup>33</sup> Yet, they are not African in origin and are an invented tradition. Initially starting out as an imitation attempt to mass-produce Indonesian batik and to resell to the then Dutch colonies in the East Indies. These textiles were unaccepted in the intended market "accustomed as they were to the absolute elegance and delicacy of the work by hand, so the European printers worked on building that West African *new* market."<sup>34</sup> The dominant producers of these textiles were Dutch companies<sup>35</sup> but a Scottish merchant Ebenezer Brown Fleming introduced them into the Gold Coast (Ghana) and other British-controlled territories in West Africa around 1890.<sup>36</sup> Today 'Dutch Wax Prints' are identified globally as an 'African aesthetic'.



Figure 4. Lady wearing Gomesi, Kayunga region, Uganda, 2017.

Another invention associated with textiles and fashion is the Busuuti or Gomesi dress worn by Ugandan women. Incorporated into many of the traditions of the Baganda, like being part of the dowry in a traditional marriage. "...in Buganda the bride's mother must be provided with a dress(*busuuti*), formerly a barkcloth, [...] and a paternal aunt, a *busuuti*."<sup>37</sup> Starting out as a wedding dress and for formal occasions, Busuuti's are now worn daily by ladies of rank in Ugandan villages."<sup>38</sup> The Baganda adopted a colonial contribution as their traditional dress<sup>39</sup> as it was developed after European contact and created by Indian tailors that arrived in East Africa due to 19<sup>th</sup> century British colonization. Its design is credited to a tailor from Goa, Caetano Milagres Gomes (hence the name Gomesi), who in 1905 designed a dress made from traditional barkcloth for the marriage ceremony of the daughter of the king of Buganda. The barkcloth of the Baganda people from southern Uganda was previously worn only for coronations and funerals.<sup>40</sup> So, apart from creating a new dress design, this inventive design added a new traditional use as a bridal dress.



*Figure 5. Contemporary Gomesi designs using Dutch wax prints, Margaret Trowell School of Industrial and Fine Art, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, 2019.*

### **Ethiopian Inventions**

The Rock-Hewn Churches in Lalibela Ethiopia are 11 medieval monolithically carved in rock cave churches from the 13th-century situated in a mountainous region in the heart of Ethiopia. Lalibela has a high place in Ethiopian Christianity and is a destination of pilgrimage.<sup>41</sup> These churches were inscribed by UNESCO as a world heritage site in 1978.<sup>42</sup> In contemporary times, other fields of craft have developed new products, based on the visual prototypes derived from these churches. A forerunner was UNESCO's Capacity Building for Human and Social Resources for the Conservation and Development of the World Heritage of Lalibela in 2004,<sup>43</sup> that initiated the design and production of tradition-based marketable products. As part of the training to enhance creativity, the participants were introduced to simple references from the churches for inspiration and adaptation to diversified market-driven products. In practice, a visual inventory based on architectural elements were used by local artisans, mediating a visual tradition, inventing new and contemporary product designs. As Dubois<sup>44</sup> states on the use of tradition in the project:

The churches windows have been regrouped as established design elements; those forms that are easily identifiable through the thick texture of time and for everyone become 'archetype' because they maintain simple principles and provide reference points for the memory of a community.<sup>45</sup>



Figure 6. Aksum chair production, Eyob Workshop, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2015.

Another Ethiopian invention of tradition is the Aksum chair, sold to the tourist infrastructure like hotels, coffee shops, and 'cultural restaurants'<sup>46</sup> as signifying part of authentic Ethiopian culture. Their production started and quickly disseminated in carpentry workshops just after the initiation of the Capacity Building project in Lalibela. Using a very similar creative process based on traditional archetypes from a historic site, transforming them into contemporary products.<sup>47</sup> The chair was a contemporary design merging: a western side chair<sup>48</sup> with imagery of the historic Aksum stelae from north Ethiopia.<sup>49</sup> This amalgamation, like the Lalibela capacity building project, emphasized the use of traditional imagery of Ethiopian heritage sites to create new products. So, though seemingly traditional and marketed and accepted widely as such, these chairs are a newly invented tradition.<sup>50</sup>

### **The Pottery of the Bakgatla ba Kgafela in Botswana**

The pottery making of the Bakgatla ba Kgafela started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Mochudi, Botswana after part of the tribe migrated there in 1871 from Moruleng,<sup>51</sup> South Africa. The pottery making is considered a process that combines a unique set of skills that are passed on to daughters and granddaughters through observation and practice.<sup>52</sup> The process has an authentic traditional spiritual aura that is conveyed through all its stages of production, like: "Most of the practitioners give spiritual recognition to their ancestors whom they believe have passed on the skills to them through visions and dreams."<sup>53</sup> Starting with the clay collecting, the potter communicates with her ancestors through meditation that she be guided to the ideal spot. Made from a soil combination that is pounded together using a mortar and pestle, then sieved and mixed with water to form clay.<sup>54</sup> The pots are formed by hand, built upwards with slabs from the base up to the rim, and then are smoothed with a wooden paddle.<sup>55</sup>



*Figure 7. Sieved soil to make clay for Bakgatla ba Kgafela pottery, Mochudi, Botswana, 2023.*

Most of these practices are also upheld by potters from the other five *merafhe* (ethnic groups) in south-eastern Botswana.<sup>56</sup> Similar traditional pottery processes are practiced in the villages of Gabane, Molepolole Manaedi.<sup>57</sup> In Molepolole I witnessed similar procedures in a pottery process demonstration of: collecting and combing of the clays; formulation -manual constructing in slabs from the base to the rim, then thinned and smoothed out with a wooden paddle; and pit fired with locally collected wood.<sup>58</sup> In all these other locations the skills are also usually transferred through the female line of the family.<sup>59</sup> When considering the pottery in south-eastern Botswana, Thebe and Sadr<sup>60</sup> questioned the assumed equation between ethnic identity and material culture ( that culture has unique material traits). Concluding, that the learning networks (apprenticeship system of learning in pottery) tend to explain any visible differences in the shaping of pots, and not language and ethnicity. So, that what is found is more of a cross ethnicity pottery tradition.



Figure 8. *Bakgatla ba Kgafela pottery utensils of Tumediso Motene, Mochudi, Botswana, 2023.*

### **DIFFERENT BAKGATLA BA KGAFELA POTS**

Above all, and directly contrary to the form in which they are constantly invoked, identities are constructed through, not outside, difference.<sup>61</sup>

Considering that pottery in Botswana is a small percentage of traditional crafts production; and the similarities in the creative processes of the various ethnicities, it raises the question: why is the pottery of Bakgatla ba Kgafela different and has justified singularity in heritage inscription? To answer this, one apparently must include other influential components of ethnic identity and tradition that create a difference. Hall writing about identity, claimed it not only deals with the past and present, but uses history, language, and culture as a resource to define what 'might be'. Identities "...relate to the invention of tradition as much as to tradition itself, which they oblige us to read not as an endless reiteration but as 'the changing same'."<sup>62</sup>

So how can pots, though from different ethnicities, with no substantial differences, using the same design process with similar material components; similar collecting processes; same technologies of production - forming and firing; all with dwindling number of female lineage of producers; and similar cultural usages, not be treated as the same? We could presume with so many similar characteristics – a 'sameness' or identity. Here enters what Hall called 'through difference' and the difference of the pottery of the Bakgatla ba Kgafela are the 'other influential components' that construct its narrative. Here the essence of the narrative is combined with two overwhelming components: the spiritual and the historical.



*Figure 9. Keseitsholetse Ditshotlo and Sephaleko Ditshekiso, making Bakwena traditional pots in Molepolole, Botswana, 2023.*

The first narrative is the spiritual essence of the process, which is noted in all documentations and presentations, that "most of the practitioners give spiritual recognition to their ancestors whom they believe have passed on the skills to them through visions and dreams".<sup>63</sup> Emphasizing that the Bakgatla potters put great ritualistic emphasis on the link to their ancestors when soil collecting, communicating through meditation to find the ideal spot, as the soil resources belong to the ancestors. If these precautions are not followed soil will not be collected.<sup>64</sup> The practitioners, or so called 'soil custodians' must also observe strict taboos during the collection and the production. Abstaining from: sexual activities; involvement in pottery during mourning and menstruation. It is believed that any 'uncleanliness' has a negative effect, so for cleansing the potters used unnamed medicinal plants.<sup>65</sup>

The historic narratives are the economic-political circumstances of the Bakgatla ba Kgafela in Botswana as compared to those in South Africa. Since separation of the Bakgatla in 1871, when the Botswana section of the Bakgatla were driven from their land by the Afrikaners.<sup>66</sup> The first difference is the extreme economic disparity between the two sections. Moruleng is situated on the Rustenburg Platinum belt, enjoying enormous mining royalties. So that since the 1990's the Moruleng section became autonomous and one of the richest<sup>67</sup> ethnic groups in South Africa.<sup>68</sup> Secondly, the legislative differences between South Africa and Botswana, have added to a shift of traditional power from Mochudi to Moruleng.<sup>69</sup> This rift and shift in power; the economic differences; and claims to traditional leadership have all been intensified with many internal disputes between Mochudi to Moruleng.<sup>70</sup>

### **CONCLUSION : CERAMIC MAGIC**

It seems that the traditional pottery of the Bakgatla ba Kgafela (the Mochudi section), a tradition that has an invention date, starting in 1871 the resettlement in Botswana. The invention is not a rare cultural phenomenon, like all inventions of traditions in all cultures. Like the African ones described. But the inscription on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding of this pottery process is more than just preservation of a tradition. Though the pottery is created through an amazing creative process, it doesn't seem to be significantly different in design and production process to other surrounding pottery traditions of neighboring ethnicities in Botswana. It does stand out through its unique narrative. This narrative is composed of spiritual and historic circumstances, emphasizing 'through difference' of what Dessai<sup>71</sup> called the 'interests of the indigenous elites'. The inscription of the pottery is intervention in the ongoing cultural, social, and political debates of the Bakgatla ba Kgafela, effecting the contemporary balance in them through the preservation. By bestowing it with an artificial touch, adding a chain reaction with heritage leverage through the safeguarding of a tradition.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Michael Owen Jones, "Tradition 'in Identity Discourses and an Individual's Symbolic Construction of Self," *Western Folklore*, vol. 59, no. 2, *The Meaning of Tradition* (Spring, 2000), 116

<sup>2</sup> The research visit to Botswana in Feb. 2023 was made possible by the African Sustainable Communities International MA Program of the Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva and the Shenkar College of Engineering, Design and Art, Ramat Gan, Israel. The visit included a seminar lecture in the Sociology Department of the University of Botswana, titled: "'Ceramic Magic' The Pottery Production in the Kgatleng District of Botswana in Relation to Conservation, Evolution and the Invention of Tradition."

<sup>3</sup> Phenyoo Churchill Thebe, *Our Past, Our Present, and, Most Importantly of All, Our Future*, *Botswana Notes and Records*, 2016, Vol. 48, A Special issue on Humanities at UB and Botswana's 50 Years of Independence (2016), 338-350.

<sup>4</sup> Thebe, 339.

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth M Terry, An overview of the Botswana handicraft sector, *Botswana Notes and Records* Volume 33, The Botswana Society, 2001, 129-130.

<sup>6</sup> Terry divided the craft production in Botswana into ten product categories..

<sup>7</sup> Techne in Heidegger's sense whereby it is not only a name for the activities and skill of craftsmen, but also in a wider sense of knowing "...also for arts of the mind and fine arts. Techne belongs to bringing-forth, to poiesis; it is something poetic." Martin Heidegger, 1951. "Building Dwelling Thinking," *Basic Writings: From Being and Time to the Task of Thinking*, edited by David Farrell Krell, New York: Harper Perennial, 2008, 318.

<sup>8</sup> Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, WHC.21/01, 31 July 2021, 12.

<sup>9</sup> Lance Hosey, The Ship of Theseus: Identity and the Barcelona Pavilion(s), *Journal of Architectural Education*, (2018) 72:2,

<sup>10</sup> Hosey, 244.

<sup>11</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence. E. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 6.

<sup>12</sup> Desai discusses how invention is simultaneously faking and making. It has elements of storytelling and fictionalization that can: 'on the one hand, be as deceptive as the stories we tell ourselves about ourselves, our identities, our communities, or, on the other hand, be as un-true and deceitful as forgery'. Gaurav Desai, 'The Invention of Invention', *Cultural Critique* 24 (1993): 122.

<sup>13</sup> Allan Hanson, "The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and Its Logic," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vol. 91, no. 4 (Dec., 1989); Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Theorizing Heritage', *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 3 (1995), 367– 380; Ian Fairweather, 'Heritage, Identity and Youth in Postcolonial Namibia', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32, no. 4 (2006), 719–736.

<sup>14</sup> On design and the construction of national identity, see Charlotte Ashby, 'Nation Building and Design: Finnish Textiles and the Work of the Friends of Finnish Handicrafts', *Journal of Design History* 23, no. 4 (2010): 351–365; David Crowley, *National Style and the Nation State: Design in Poland. From the Vernacular Revival to the International Style* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992); David Goss, The Invention of a Chair Tradition in Ethiopia: A Case Study of Liminoid Design, *Journal of Design History*, Volume 33, Issue 3, September 2020, 243–258.

<sup>15</sup> Rachel Gottesman and Jeremie Hoffmann. Actual and Intangible in Tel Aviv: A Reexamination of Conservation Strategies in a Modern City, *Reshaping Urban Conservation. Creativity, Heritage and the City* eds: Ana Pereira Roders and Francesco Bandarin, vol 2. Springer, Singapore, (2019) 473-482.

<sup>16</sup> Gottesman and Hoffman, 475.

<sup>17</sup> Hobsbawm, Introduction: Inventing, 1.

<sup>18</sup> Hanson, The Making of, 890.

<sup>19</sup> Lize van Robbroeck, 'Reimagining South African Heritage: Two Ten Years of Democracy Exhibitions', *African Arts* 37, no. 4 (2004): 43.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas. O. Beidelman, "Chiefship in Ukaguru: The Invention of Ethnicity and Tradition in Kaguru Colonial History," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1978); Peter G. Forster, "Culture, Nationalism, and the Invention of Tradition in Malawi," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3 (Sept., 1994); Goss, op. cit., Desai makes an interesting analogy between invention, colonization and the design process. Desai, op. cit., 122.

<sup>21</sup> The field of African art includes objects of utility, and is anomaly as it doesn't uphold the 17<sup>th</sup> century Eurocentric distinction between the aesthetic and utilitarian – between design and art.

<sup>22</sup> Sidney Littlefield Kasfir, *African Art and Authenticity: A Text with a Shadow*, *African Arts*; Apr 1992; 25, 2: 41.

<sup>23</sup> Kasfir, 41.

<sup>24</sup> Lize van Robbroeck, "Reimagining South African Heritage: Two Ten Years of Democracy Exhibitions," *African Arts* (Winter 2004), p. 43.

<sup>25</sup> Desai, *The Invention of*, 136.

<sup>26</sup> Khau, Mathabo., "Gender and the politics of the Basotho blanket", *Was it Something I Wore?: Dress Identity Materiality*, Relebohile Moletsane, et al. (eds). (HSRC Press, 2012), 98.

<sup>27</sup> Dan Bosko, Why Basotho Wear Blankets, *African Studies Journal*, Witwatersrand University Press, Vol. 40. Issue. 1. 1981. 23

<sup>28</sup> Myrtle Karstel and National Museum (Bloemfontein). *The Basotho Blanket Borrowed but Traditional*. Bloemfontein: Nasionale Museum. (1995) 217.

<sup>29</sup> Moresi R. Nakin and Inie J. Kock. Insights into translation and the original text: Thomas Mofolo's Chaka. *Tydskrif Vir Letterkunde*, (2016)53(2), 121.

<sup>30</sup> Bosko gives specific explanations on the sexuality and gender connotations of the Kobo in language and society. The blanket becomes a symbol of female genitals and anatomy.

<sup>31</sup> Karstel, *The Basotho Blanket*.

<sup>32</sup> Diamonds were discovered in Kimberley, South Africa during the 1860's and the mining was intensified during the 1870's.

<sup>33</sup> Boatema Boateng, Not African? Contested Origins of Wax Print and Its High-Fashion Appropriation, *The Textile Museum Journal* 2021, University of Texas Press.

<sup>34</sup> Leslie Nobler. "African Pattern, Identity, and Relevance in Contemporary Textile and Fashion Design." *The International Journal of Design in Society*, 202115 (1).

<sup>35</sup> The companies were F. Fentener van Vlissingen & Co., (later Vlisco) and HKM (Haarlemsche Katoen Maatschappij),

<sup>36</sup> It is interesting to note the incorporation and participation of local taste and women in the design and production process. As Boateng notes: "While other manufacturers simply sold imitations of Indonesian batik to the West African market, Brown Fleming offered cloth designs adapted to the tastes of customers, based on information from local women traders who were clients of the Basel Mission Trading Company and its agents. Based on that information, HKM adapted its designs to local tastes, beginning women's role in the design changes that entrenched wax prints in the cloth economies of the Gold Coast and neighboring territories. By 1910, P. F. Fentener van Vlissingen & Co. had acquired the expertise and technology needed to produce wax prints for the West African market. It merged with yet another Dutch competitor, DKM (Deventer Katoen Maatschappij voorheen Ankersmit & Co.) in 1964 and became Vlisco in 1970." Boateng, op. cit.127.

<sup>37</sup> D. D Nserenko, "The Nature and Function of Marriage Gifts in Customary African Marriages." *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 23, no. 4 (1975): 685.

<sup>38</sup> David Stairs, "Okuwangaala: The Persistent Vitality of the Vernacular." *Design Issues* 18, no. 3 (2002): 70–88.

<sup>39</sup> Stella Nyanzi, Justine Nassimbwa, Vincent Kayizzi, and Strivan Kabanda. "African Sex Is Dangerous! Renegotiating 'Ritual Sex' in Contemporary Masaka District." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 78, no. 4 (2008), 523.

<sup>40</sup> Traditional Baganda bark cloth manufacturing in Uganda that was inscribed in 2008 on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Made from bark of the Mutuba Tree (*Ficus natalensis*) it was traditionally worn like a toga by both sexes (women added a waist sash).

<sup>41</sup> Lalibela became the center of Ethiopian power during the 11<sup>th</sup> century, named after a king of the Zagwe dynasty (c. eleventh to thirteenth centuries), to whom later usually attributed the founding of the rock-carved churches inspired by a visit to Jerusalem.

<sup>42</sup> Decision CONF 010 VIII.38 Review of Nominations to the World Heritage List 1978, UNESCO.

<sup>43</sup> Capacity Building for Human and Social Resources for the Conservation and Development of the World Heritage of Lalibela was initiated in 2004 by UNESCO.

<sup>44</sup> Jacques Dubois, *Roots and Flowerings of Ethiopia's Traditional Crafts* (UNESCO Publication for the Ethiopian Millennium, UNESCO, Addis Ababa, 2008).

<sup>45</sup> Jacques Dubois, *Roots and Flowerings*, 36.

<sup>46</sup> Cultural restaurants are a new conception of the Ethiopian Tourist Bureau, since 2007. The restaurants aim to be exemplars of Ethiopian culture by promoting a positive national image with traditional foods, drink, dress, and other Ethiopian traditions.

<sup>47</sup> David Goss, The Invention of a Chair Tradition in Ethiopia: A Case Study of Liminoid Design, *Journal of Design History*, Volume 33, Issue 3, September 2020, 243–258.

<sup>48</sup> Side chairs are of European origin and used for sitting at high eating tables (not existing in traditional Ethiopian dining traditions)

<sup>49</sup> The Aksum stelae are monolithic stone monuments in the city of Aksum in northern Ethiopia, they were erected during the ancient Kingdom of Aksum (in the early Christian period between the fourth and sixth centuries AD). Goss. 243.

<sup>50</sup> Goss.

<sup>51</sup> Today the two main cultural centers of the Bakgatla ba Kgafela are Moruleng in South Africa and Mochudi in Botswana. Both locations are invested in preserving cultural traditions and heritage, through intangible and tangible cultural processes and objects. See: Katlego Pleasure Mwale & Jo Lintonbon (2020) Heritage, identity and the politics of representation in tribal spaces: an examination of architectural approaches in Mochudi, Botswana and Moruleng, South Africa, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 26:3, 281-298.

<sup>52</sup> in 2012, Seventh session Paris, December 2012, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, p. 6.

<sup>53</sup> Nomination file no. 00753, 3-4.

<sup>54</sup> The pots are made from a combination of clay soil, weathered sandstone, iron oxide, cow dung, water, wood, and grass.

<sup>55</sup> Traditionally there were six types of pots, classified according to their uses, yet today only two types are in demand: the smallest one that is used for ritual purposes and the largest used for ceremonies and water storage.

<sup>56</sup> Thebe, *Our Past Our Present*. 339.

<sup>57</sup> Nomination file no. 00753, 2.

<sup>58</sup> These processes were seen during my research visit to Botswana in Feb. 2023.

<sup>59</sup> Thebe, Phenyó C., and Karim Sadr. "Forming and Shaping Pottery Boundaries in Contemporary South-Eastern Botswana." *The African Archaeological Review* 34, no. 1 (2017), 86.

<sup>60</sup> Thebe and Sadr, 86.

<sup>61</sup> Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who needs identity?," *Questions of Cultural Identity*, edited by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, London: Sage Publications (1996), 4.

<sup>62</sup> Hall, 4.

<sup>63</sup> Nomination file no. 00753, 3-4.

<sup>64</sup> Earthenware pottery-making skills in Botswana's Kgatleng District, UNESCO Report on the status of an element inscribed on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, Urgent Safeguarding List Report ICH-11 – Form, December 14, 2016.

<sup>65</sup> UNESCO. Earthenware Pottery, 4.

<sup>66</sup> The division of the Bakgatla ba Kgafela was intensified with the establishment of the two countries: South Africa and later Botswana. The situation was further complicated for many years during the Apartheid regime in South Africa.

<sup>67</sup> "... Moruleng has assets which include farms, platinum mines, game reserves, abattoir and shopping malls worth about R40 billion whereas in Mochudi the tribe is economically struggling to sustain itself and still wholly depend on government for essential amenities and services." Joseph Kgamanyane, *Bakgatla salivate at Moruleng wealth*, *The Patriot* on Sunday, November 2, 2020

<https://thepatriot.co.bw/bakgatla-salivate-at-moruleng-wealth> , accessed August 24, 2023.

<sup>68</sup> Christine Pörsel. Unity, diversity or separation? The Bakgatla-ba-Kgafela in the borderlands of southern Africa. *Historia*. 2014. Vol. 59(2).

<sup>69</sup> "Legislation in Botswana tends to marginalise and control traditional institutions; while in South Africa traditional communities have been empowered. Consequently, traditional communities that straddle the borders of these two countries may well face challenges or gain potential advantages in this cross-border context. Pörsel. 266.

<sup>70</sup> Many legal battles that have included: claims of fraud and embezzlement; claims to rights traditional rights to power; and the emergence of opponents to tribal unity that claim that it ended with the division of the chiefdom in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The climax of these disputes occurred about the time of the inscription of the pottery by UNESCO in 2012. Pörsel, 264.

<sup>71</sup> Desai, *The Invention of*.

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# A METHODOLOGY TO PLAN FOR STAKEHOLDER INVOLVEMENT IN HERITAGE-SENSITIVE URBAN AREAS

Author:

**SUNENA ABDUL HUQ, BIMAL PUTHUVAYI**

Affiliation:

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY CALICUT, INDIA

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## INTRODUCTION

A constantly evolving urban environment is subjected to a series of changes within a limited time frame. Due to technological advancements, the rapid urbanization of towns and villages led to a population influx and economic growth, countered by rising infrastructure needs and amenities.<sup>1</sup> Urban heritage conservation is a field that aims to conserve heritage structures while also enhancing and modernizing the lives of locals.<sup>2</sup> According to the Declaration of Amsterdam, maintaining architectural integrity in urban conservation areas requires integrating it into people's daily lives; as a result, it should be considered while developing urban planning strategies.<sup>3</sup> A building form's link with the people, the original element's presence, and material authenticity are all factors that support its conservation. For developing countries, what needs to be conserved through purely sentimental means is lost unless a benefit is perceived through economic advantages.

Experts in the field of heritage conservation can handle conservation at the building level, but in booming historic regions, development is controlled by political means. As a large country, India is challenged by the need to manage centrality in conservation. Therefore, priorities among various states determine what should be conserved and what should not. Institutional bodies do exist, but they only have the authority to advise. The costs incurred in conservation, organizational structure, use of design approaches in combining old and modern facilities and infrastructure, and lack of ongoing communication resulting from top-down planning methods without community involvement or support are only a few of the variables that discourage conservation in a developing context such as India.<sup>4</sup> The following section briefly examines a heritage conservation framework in the Indian scenario.

## HERITAGE CONSERVATION FRAMEWORK

Historic buildings should not be considered single entities but should be planned along with the city's growth. Developing countries are more prone to destroying heritage assets through long-standing debates about promoting growth or culture.<sup>5</sup> The most commonly sought-after strategy is focusing on expanding the tourism industry. Economic growth justifies the protection status of heritage buildings. However, tourism consumption is one of the greatest threats to heritage.<sup>6</sup> The top-down approach in appropriating legislation is one of the causes for the disturbance in the balance between the public and private interests.<sup>7</sup> Figure 1 gives an overview of the various frameworks and their associated functions from the perspective of an urban heritage conservation project with particular emphasis on stakeholder involvement at the community level.

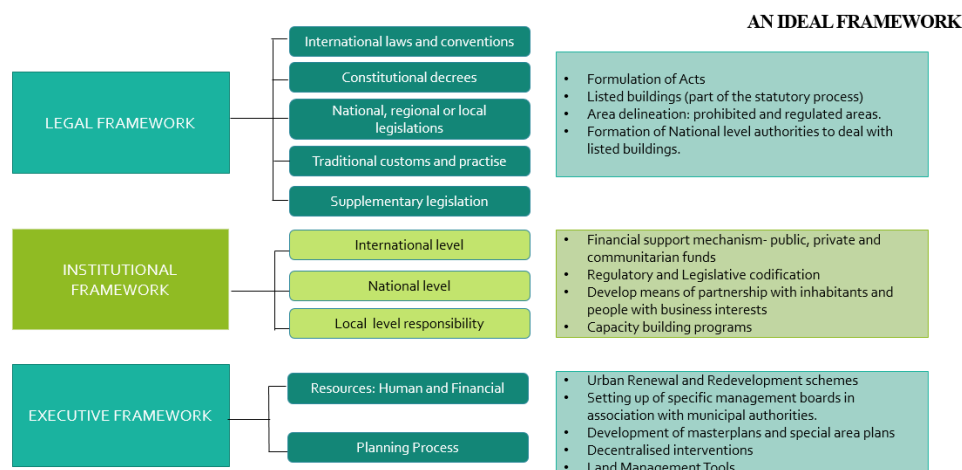


Figure 1. An ideal heritage conservation framework for an urban heritage conservation project.

### Legislative Framework

This framework acts as a mandate that empowers people and organizations to act. It tends to define, identify, protect and conserve built heritage through regional and local legislation.<sup>8</sup> The primary issue in legislation regarding heritage management is that heritage assets with high statutory protection are still monumental buildings and upper-class housing typologies.<sup>9</sup> The heritage conservation policy dimensions need to look at the larger developmental aspect of the community and should be specific to developing the heritage.<sup>10</sup>

### Institutional Framework

The legislation empowers the institutional framework. The organizations formed as part of legislation are instrumental in planning and implementing actions required for reviewing and improving work methods.<sup>11</sup> The institutional framework brings together permanent organizational structures aiding efficient decision-making. There are various levels of involvement- the International level provides recommendations, financial aid, and capacity-building programs. The national level comprises government departments acting as the primary management system. The local level is associated with organized community groups, private groups, and traditional owners. External support is provided by NGOs, heritage trusts, and other charitable organizations that truly value cultural heritage. The work is decentralized to various levels to aid in better efficiency. Still, there is a lack of empowerment of the local community in being involved with managing and protecting their heritage areas.

### Executive Framework

The executive framework enables the institutions to carry out the mandate put by the legal framework. It comprises human resources, financial resources, and tools and techniques to implement the program.<sup>12</sup> Managing heritage sites is a complex phenomenon involving a variety of resources. It impacts multiple groups at different scales since they possess different values, goals, and objectives and differ in their influence over decision-making. This stage of the framework is subjected to more frequent changes.

### Human resources

To build the capacity of the heritage management system, it should reflect the importance of human resources, which include resources at various levels, i.e. among practitioners, communities and networks.<sup>13</sup> People associated with the heritage property, who consider it their home or associate their

livelihood with it, can contribute significantly to the human resources as volunteers. As concluded in several papers, when heritage is viewed as a community asset, better collaboration is expected.

### **Financial resources**

Financial policies play a significant role in the decision-making process. Financing affects all stages of a project- pre-implementation, implementation, and post-implementation stages.<sup>14</sup> Developing self-financing mechanisms need to be incorporated to ensure the project's long-term sustainability through the involvement of local communities.

### **Planning Tools and Techniques**

The various methods employed in conservation planning are Delineating Conservation Areas, Zoning (a standard tool used for land use control), and Conservation easement (providing tax incentives in exchange for civic responsibility); buildings that have been listed are approved with a special status of protection and development plans are made concerning them. Utilizing market-based tools such as real estate taxations, land reorganization, and creating a new property market are arranged without interfering with regulations. The planning aspect looks at land use delineation methods and does not consider the social and economic factors of the site.

From the above conservation framework, it can be seen that a top-down planning approach is followed, which does not consider the stakeholders who are a part of the setting, i.e., the community. As part of planning strategies, before the development of any planning mechanism, various levels of stakeholder meetings are held to discuss the proposal that is going to be implemented. From the studies conducted in developing and developed countries, a mechanism has not been designed to involve the stakeholders in an urban heritage conservation project methodologically.

### **Planning level interventions for urban heritage projects in India**

Urban heritage conservation in the Indian scenario has various players in motion, institutionally and legislatively. The execution of these projects depends on a range of human and financial resources, followed by proper planning techniques that can eventually guide successful outcomes. Most urban heritage areas in Indian cities are labelled under 'Heritage Zones' or 'Special Area Zones' within the Masterplans and City Development Plans (CDP), ensuring that plans and policies made at the masterplan level are binding. The outcome of these tags leads to these areas being constrained by blanket by-laws and regulations that do not define historical urbanism in these zones.<sup>15</sup>

Various schemes were put in place to ensure heritage-based city development in India, such as Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) in 2009 and Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana (HRIDAY) in 2015 under the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India. As part of the JNNURM scheme oriented toward city modernization aiming to improve infrastructure facilities and quality of life in cities, only 1% of the overall projects were approved in urban heritage areas. Several policies have been in place in urban historic areas wherein the complexity of issues, such as the structure and its infrastructure, falls under the domain of housing planning. In contrast, the market factors and redevelopment requirements fall under urban planning.<sup>16</sup> Most of the cities that were earmarked as heritage cities did not have mandates on the conservation of the historic urban fabric and its setting since it does not fall under the jurisdiction of the planning department. The JNNURM Heritage Toolkit emphasized the need for a city development plan focused on heritage by identifying several elements of historic significance, followed by an additional conservation plan for the identified Heritage Zone.

The CDP Revised Toolkit of the JNNURM mentions various techniques of identifying critical stakeholders on a generic level, i.e. determining who benefits or is negatively affected by the project,



specifying who can be included according to their position and stature, followed by identifying those stakeholders that have control over resources needed for the implementation of the project. Most projects implemented in urban heritage areas aim towards enhancing the infrastructure requirement for the area, identifying and projecting historically significant assets as drivers for development, utilizing the heritage potential of the site to improve the local economy and generate employment and finally integrating the city into mainstream areas making it an accessible site.

Detailed Project Reports (DPR) are based on macro concerns associated with developing solutions for efficient city planning and attracting international capital. A specific conservation DPR for the Walled City of Udaipur was looked at, and it was found that the project emphasized enhancing several components of aesthetic requirements alone, such as conservation of the traditional character of the market, development and upgrading of physical infrastructure, development of tourist amenities, uniform development and branding of the bazaars. A similar draft DPR for the Jaipur Road Precinct of Pushkar and Ajmer also emphasized that the project worked along two phases, i.e. phase one focused on evaluating the existing situation of the heritage and their suggested recommendations, followed by phase two, which concentrated on proposals in the public realm aimed towards infrastructure improvement, traffic management and heritage conservation and plans for their detailed execution. All these stages of the project require expert-level interventions in planning and do not seek to address how the people are involved in the process other than the usual process of information, consultation, involvement and, at times, collaboration. The final degree of participation, i.e. empowerment, is always lacking.

The top-down approach of planning in heritage-sensitive urban areas is primarily supply-driven planning, wherein it is based on the views of a few select stakeholders in power with limited community consultation and involvement and more focused on the provision of specific infrastructures.<sup>17</sup> There is a need for a timely initiation of a detailed public consultation, and it should begin with the community living within the area. The Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach recommended by UNESCO also stresses the need for participatory stakeholder planning and consultation to arrive at conservation aims and objectives.<sup>18</sup> Stress is always placed on community participation, wherein it is encouraged to involve and promote participation with the local community groups to conserve and manage their heritage resources without aiming to identify what exactly warrants their satisfaction.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The study attempts to identify how the stakeholders, their interests, and their willingness to be involved in conservation projects can help delineate the influential factors that define the outcome of an urban heritage conservation project. This process can further aid in identifying the factors that need to be given due importance to enhance stakeholder satisfaction and work out a planning mechanism that mutually benefits them. The methodology follows a three-step process that involves various qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques. The first stage of the study identifies the influential factors, the second stage develops a method for the inclusion of stakeholders, and the last stage develops the conservation performance assessment model. Figure 2 gives a brief methodology of the study. Each stage is detailed in the following section.



Figure 2. Methodology of the study.

### Stage 1: Identifying Influential Factors

Every project has an outcome, which, in the long term, could tend to be a successful outcome or not. The research on the study of projects in the post-implementation phase of these urban heritage conservation projects helped identify the potential factors that could impact the outcome of an urban heritage conservation project. The conservation framework in various developed and developing countries was examined, and factors that could determine the outcome of these projects were listed. Repetitive factors were removed from the list of factors, and it was manually revised. According to Chen et al., six criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of urban conservation have been developed, combined from the works of Kocaban, Steinberg, Cohen, Su, and Orbasli.<sup>19</sup> The six aspects are physical, social, economic, cultural, political, and continuity. Several factors from the literature and expert opinions were also categorized under these particular characteristics in the criteria development process. These factors are reduced using the feature selection method of correlation, and aspect weightage is derived utilizing the Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP). Figure 3 gives the methodology for the first stage of the study.

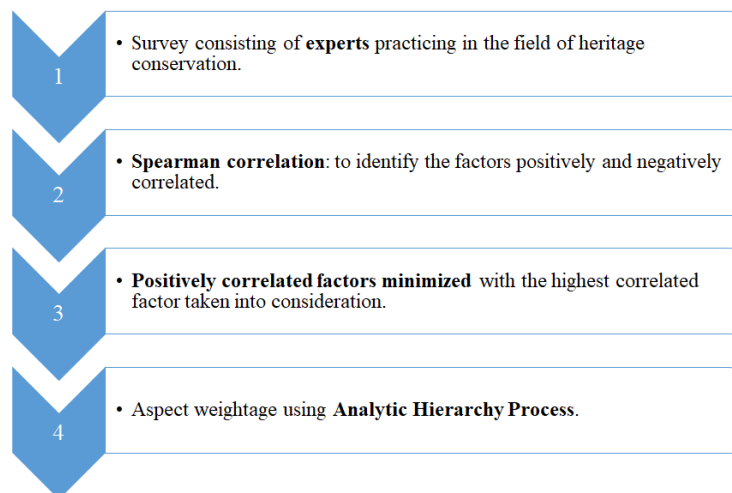


Figure 3. Methodology of stage 1.

### Stage 2: Method for Inclusion of Stakeholders

This stage of the methodology follows a three-step process- first is to identify the key actors of the network and identify the key stakeholders that will aid in the urban heritage conservation project; and to determine the stakeholder's benefits and concerns, following which an assessment framework is developed to identify whether the stakeholder group can be considered as a positive stakeholder or a negative one.

### Developing the Actor-network diagram for an Urban Heritage Conservation Project

The current study applied an exploratory analysis linked to the real-world situation to translate the ANT Terminology into urban development parameters. The system treats each aspect of people, society, and technology equally. The established technique categorizes an urban system's active components, defines their functions, and concentrates on their relationships. This stage attempts to conceptualize the network surrounding planning for heritage-sensitive urban areas, to visualize the numerous actors within the network, and to comprehend the flow of design information between them. Social Network Analysis is used to identify the components of the ANT terminology.

### Identifying Stakeholder Benefits and Concerns

A stakeholder's opinion regarding the implementation of a project is based on their expectations and concerns, which can change throughout the project's cycle. There is a need to identify and weight the benefits that a stakeholder experiences so that they serve as the baseline for comparing with their perceptions of the project. Hence, this stage focuses on an already implemented conservation project (Case study: Thiruvananthapuram Fort Area) and tries to identify the concerns and benefits of the ground-level stakeholders in the project.

### Assessment framework for the inclusion of stakeholders

The stakeholder benefit survey utilizes a fuzzy evaluation technique involving various stages in its analysis, which is adapted from Meng et al. and Wei et al.- weighting of the stakeholder groups using a first-class index, weighting of the benefits the stakeholder attributes living within a heritage sensitive urban area as a second class index, mean score ranking technique for the stakeholder benefits, fuzzy membership function for each of the benefits and developing the satisfaction level of the stakeholders based on Likert scale data.<sup>20</sup> Figure 4 gives an overview of the stage 2 of the methodology.

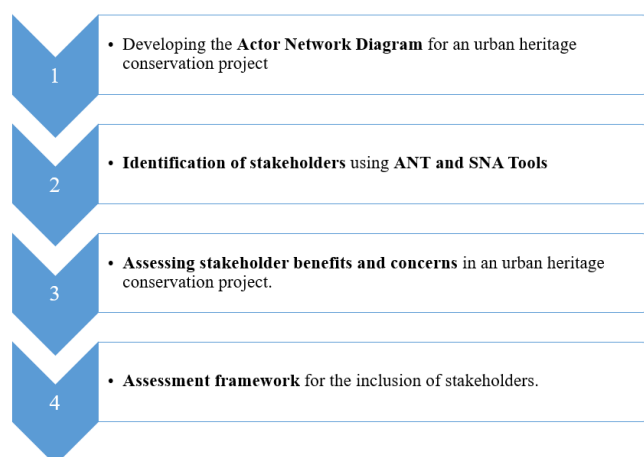


Figure 4. Methodology of stage 2.

### Stage 3: Conservation Project Performance Assessment Model

To create a conservation performance assessment model, stakeholders living within an urban heritage conservation area will further evaluate these influential factors. The ground-level stakeholders further evaluate these influential factors to understand the conflict between the perception of heritage experts and the people. Social science research frequently uses a regression model to study the cause-and-effect relationship. The model aims to explain how different influencing factors affect stakeholder satisfaction. Figure 5 gives an overview of the stage 3 of the methodology.

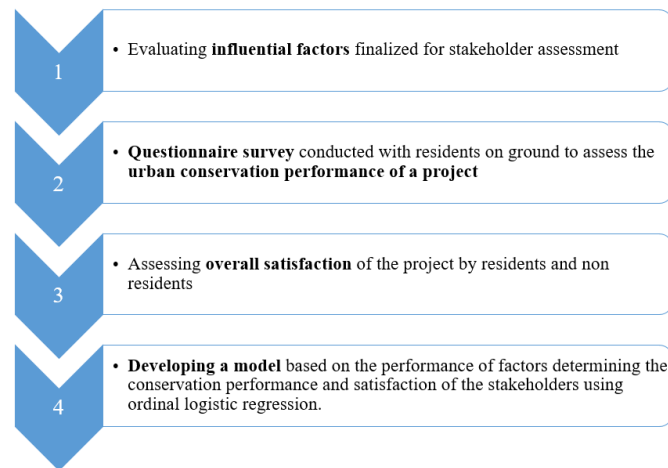


Figure 5. Methodology of stage 3.

## DISCUSSION

### Stage 1: Identifying Influential Factors

The cultural, continuity, social, physical, economic, and political aspects (in descending order) were given higher priority weights using AHP. The experts assigned the highest value to the cultural aspect (24%), followed by the continuity aspect (20%), which suggests that the project's long-term sustainability is given a higher preference over the physical aspect. This result indicates that the project's long-term viability needs to be considered to minimize the problems that emerge due to momentary planning proposals, leading to issues such as the deterioration of heritage spaces.

### Stage 2: Method for Inclusion of Stakeholders

From the Actor-Network Study, it was found that the community and its residents were considered to be critical stakeholders. The stakeholder benefit survey was formulated using the first and second-class indexes. The benefits that had a satisfaction rating above 4, or satisfied, were principally examined from the results. Regarding the social and cultural advantages of living near an urban heritage area, residents and non-residents saw more benefits. As most of the ground-level stakeholders have lived near the urban heritage area, the heritage site's existence, symbolic, and historical value were more prominent than the other advantages. Therefore, they stand to gain more from the non-use values of the urban heritage area than from its economic advantages. Concluding from the assessment process for the inclusion of stakeholders, it could be found that the stakeholder groups considered as part of the study could be considered to be positive stakeholders and could be considered for evaluation for the next stage of the analysis.

### Stage 3: Conservation Project Performance Assessment Model

The study discovered that influential factors related to the physical, economic, political, cultural, and continuity dimensions affected stakeholder satisfaction, and the important factors tended to have a positive impact on it, except for the factor "Urban economy consolidation," which had a negative value. The stakeholders' satisfaction is a crucial element relevant to stakeholders' views, which was not seen to be impacted by the social component. The findings of this stage suggest that a project trying to conserve heritage in an urban setting depends on many factors before stakeholders are satisfied.

**Application of the methodology**

The HRIDAY City plan for Puri was looked at to understand the levels of community participation in the various stages of the project. IPE Global Private Limited and CRCI India Private Limited had prepared the report. The plan has been developed with particular emphasis on heritage-responsive infrastructure development. The flowchart shown in Figure 6 was formed by analyzing the document 'City Hriday Plan of Puri', Volume 1 alone. The project was initiated in 2016, and the mission had ended in 2019. The stakeholder participation process in the project involved consultation with government bodies and the local community. The consultation with government bodies was oriented towards the project's infrastructure requirements under various sectors. In contrast, the local community is involved in dialogue regarding suggesting any sites of heritage significance that the scheme could support and documenting the aspirations and needs of the community. The city plan follows a top-down approach wherein the different government-level schemes are addressed and done with the primary intention of providing infrastructure needs and requirements of the people and improving their quality of life.

The proposed methodology in this paper follows a bottom-up approach, a starting point for demand-driven planning, wherein priority is given to the community's aspirations and heritage values. The local community's aspirations need to be addressed to mobilize community participation.<sup>21</sup> This strategy must follow area-based interventions since various areas cater to different stakeholders. The stages of the proposed methodology of community participation are superimposed on the city of Puri's HRIDAY planning framework. Considering all the aspects of the benefits perceived by the stakeholders on the ground, addressing their concerns and trying to identify the factors that positively and negatively affect the outcome of the heritage conservation project could be recognized. This stage can help in planning for and developing master plans that are legally binding documents. They can be designed so that stakeholders interested in protecting their heritage are involved in the decision-making process, and their benefits are included and maximized in the process of stakeholder inclusion. From the study results, it can be concluded that the output of the primary stakeholders involved in the process has a broader influence across the overall stages, as seen in Figure 6.

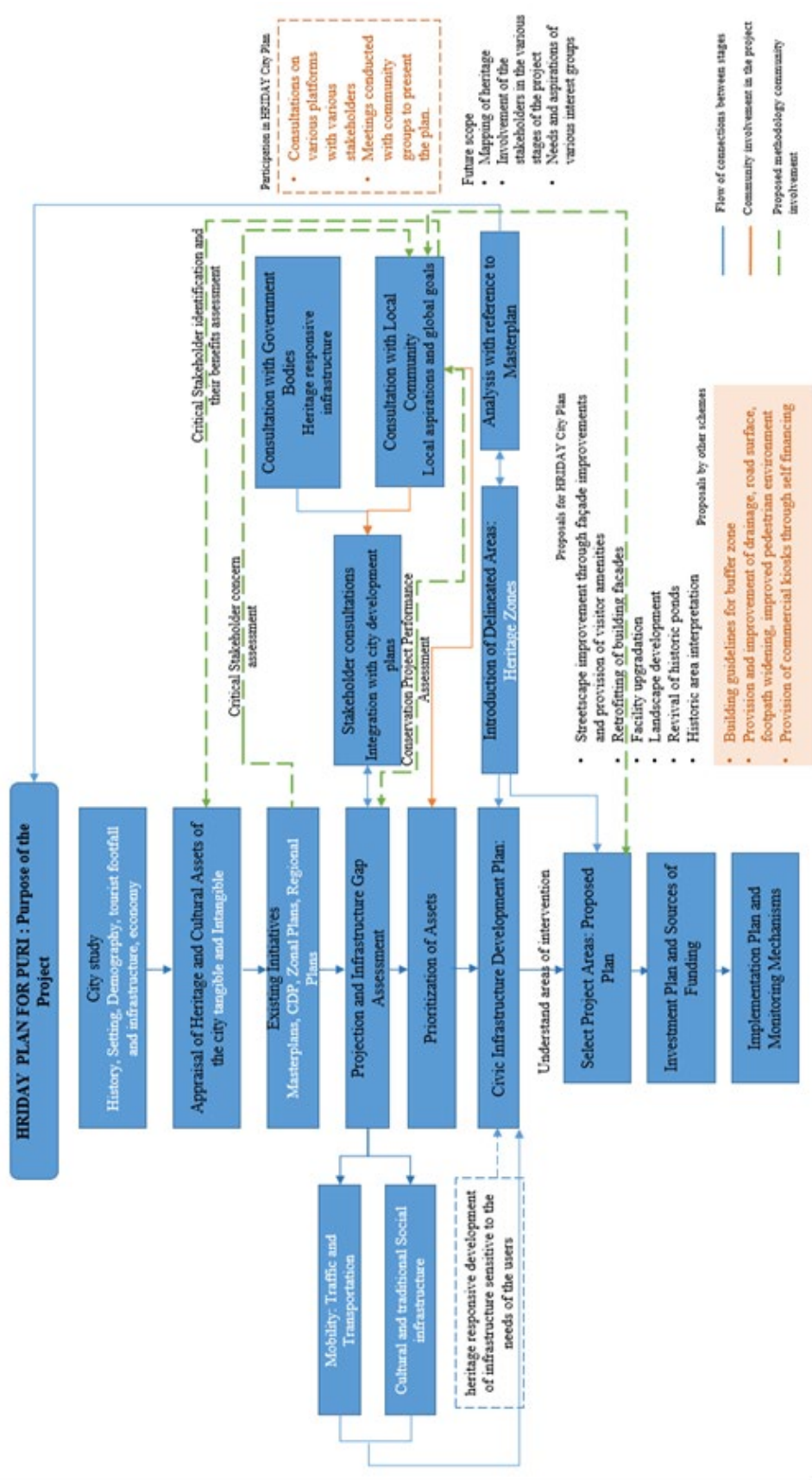


Figure 6. HRIDAY City for Puri applying the present methodology to the framework.

## CONCLUSION

When planning in heritage-sensitive urban areas, there is always a debate between development and conservation. Guidelines and regulations can be created to preserve character-specific elements and offer incentives for building preservation when an urban area has a clearly defined morphology, as in the cases of Amsterdam, York, Chester, etc. Since heritage is intricately intertwined in a developing country like India, creating a single piece of legislation is complex. Planning for these places requires taking into account several variables and stakeholders. As a result, it's essential to determine how various factors should be valued in a project to conserve urban heritage. Factors have positive and negative relationships with stakeholder satisfaction. Planning for future development in such heritage-sensitive urban areas can benefit if focus is given to these factors. Relying on sustainability as an indicator of the quality of life of the people and the driving force behind planning policies of the state, they are very much rooted towards the highest economic strata where policymaking is associated with a lack of people involvement, transparency and unaccountability in governance.<sup>22</sup>

When the local actors are associated with the development projects, the cultural value and significance of the site become a shared identity and lead to accessible communication.<sup>23</sup> There is a need for an interpretive theory hinged on the accounts of past experiences of the community that have lived there through time to identify their needs and wants. Urban heritage cannot be conserved by just legislative laws at various tiers of the planning framework; grassroots-level participation is also needed. The primary purpose behind this methodology was to ground the factors influencing stakeholder satisfaction in an urban heritage conservation project by identifying the critical stakeholders of the network and categorizing them into positive and negative. And if they are incorporated into the planning phase, the project can be reworked starting from the local development perspective. This methodology can also be expanded to include more stakeholder groups to determine how consensus may be reached among the numerous aspects influencing the satisfaction of the various stakeholder groups.

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# **ON TRANSCENDING BOUNDARIES, REDISCOVERING IDENTITY, AND SEEKING WISDOM IN THE COMPLEX OF DATA DARBAR, GAMMAY SHAH, AND DAR-UL-ULOOM HIZB UL-AHNAF**

Author:

**USMAN SAQIB ZUBERI, AMBEREEN ZAHID KHAN**

Affiliation:

**BEACONHOUSE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, PAKISTAN**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

A spectrum of dynamics emerges within Islamic sects, showcasing a parallel trio of essential elements – the preservation of distinct identities, the promotion of unity, and the accommodation of diversity. While each holds significance individually, can they harmoniously coexist? Traditional wisdom indicates that safeguarding unique identities might lead to division, much like enhancing unity could suppress diversity, thereby challenging coexistence. One historical site in Lahore, Pakistan that may challenge such wisdom is the complex of Data Darbar, Karbala Gamay Shah, and Dar-ul-Uloom Hizb ul-Ahnaf where Shite, Sunni, and Sufi worshippers have been congregating in tandem for decades. This paper outlines the splits that formed within the Muslim community over the past fourteen hundred years that led to the othering of members over time eventually leading to these three sects forming their independent places of learning and worship on the same shared site. It then goes beyond a mere recapping of events to highlight potential threats and propose designs for redevelopment that were formed by students, Awais Sharif, Maha Javed and Momina Imran, as part of their academic program at the Razia Hassan School of Architecture at Beaconhouse National University, Pakistan. These designs are a testament to architecture's relationship with society and importance to cultural continuity.

## **HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

The historical roots of the complex at Data Darbar, Karbala Gamay Shah, and Dar-ul-Uloom Hizb ul-Ahnaf in Lahore can be traced back to the early centuries of Islamic history. The emergence of distinct sects within Islam resulted in the formation of these independent centers of worship and learning, reflecting the evolution of Islamic thought and practice.

### **Early Islamic History and Sectarian Split**

The foundation of Islamic history rests on the teachings and life of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), who propagated his message in the Arabian Peninsula during the 7th century. These would go on to have a transformative impact on not only the region but the world, ultimately leading to the establishment of Islam as a major religion.<sup>1</sup>

After Muhammad's death, the question of leadership arose, leading to a schism within the community.<sup>2</sup> Two prominent contenders were Abu Bakr and Ali; Abu Bakr was the oldest friend and the appointed leader of prayers during the illness, and Ali, the Prophet's cousin, son-in-law, and father of his only grandchildren. Ultimately Abu Bakr secured position as the first Caliph.

### Emergence of Shia and Sunni Sects

The disagreement over the rightful succession led to the formation of distinct theological and political viewpoints. Those who supported Ali's claim are known as Shia, and their belief in his rightful leadership as the chosen successor to the Prophet Muhammad is central to their identity. Conversely, Sunni Muslims uphold the consensus-based leadership of Abu Bakr and emphasize the importance of community consensus in governance.

This ideological split extended into the historical and political landscape, culminating in events such as the tragedy of Karbala. The martyrdom of Hussain, the younger grandson of the Prophet and son of Ali, at the hands of Yazid I and his forces further solidified the schism.<sup>3</sup> The division between Sunnis and Shiites continues to this day. The issue of succession remains a historical and theological point of contention between the two groups, with each interpreting the early events of Islamic history differently. The Sunni-Shia divide has had profound implications on the Islamic world throughout history. This ideological rift has been exploited for political gains, leading to the misuse of religious sentiments and the manipulation of sectarian differences.

### Mystic practices and Reformist movements

Before moving forward, it is important to understand the layer mysticism and the region's colonial history bring to the site. The mystic branch of Islam is commonly referred to as Sufism. Sufism emphasizes a purification of self and strives for a direct experience with the Divine through a framework of practices, often under the supervision of a spiritual guide. Sufis (adherents of Sufism) are not classified as a sect and may fall in either of the Shia or Sunni branches. While embraced by many, its degree of mainstream acceptance differs across cultures, communities and times.

Pre-colonial India was by and large accepting of Sufism. This is proven in part due to the large body of Sufi poetry and theological literature produced in the region by the likes of Ahmad Sirhindi and Mir Dard amongst others and by the links many Mughal rulers had with Sufi teachers across centuries. In the nineteenth century however, as a reaction to the secular education system being established by the ruling British, reformist movements within the Sunni sects especially began to take root.<sup>4</sup>

For the purpose of this paper, it would do well to understand two such reformist movements- the Deobandi movement<sup>5</sup> and the Barelvi movement<sup>6</sup>. The Deobandi movement started in the later half of the nineteenth century seeking to uphold the fundamental principles of Islam and emphasized a return to the teachings of the Quran and Hadith. Followers of the movement rejected certain Sufi beliefs and denounced practices such as praying at shrines, loud dhikr (recitation) or celebration of urs (death anniversaries, celebrated by Sufis as a reunion with The Beloved). About half a century later, the Barelvi movement took root aiming to emphasize the importance of Sufi practices and the veneration of the Prophet and Sufi saints.

## FORMATION OF INDEPENDENT CENTRES

The site lies on the outskirts of the historic walled city of Lahore and is home to three prominent centers of faith. These centers have come to hold deep religious and cultural significance for members of both the Shia and Sunni sects and are host to weekly, monthly and annual religious gatherings drawing in over a million visitors during the annual festival alone.<sup>7</sup> We will first look at how each of

the three centers came to lay down roots in the site before looking at the challenges and threats faced as a result of their proximity later in the paper. All three centers along with their immediate built context can be seen in fig. 1 below.

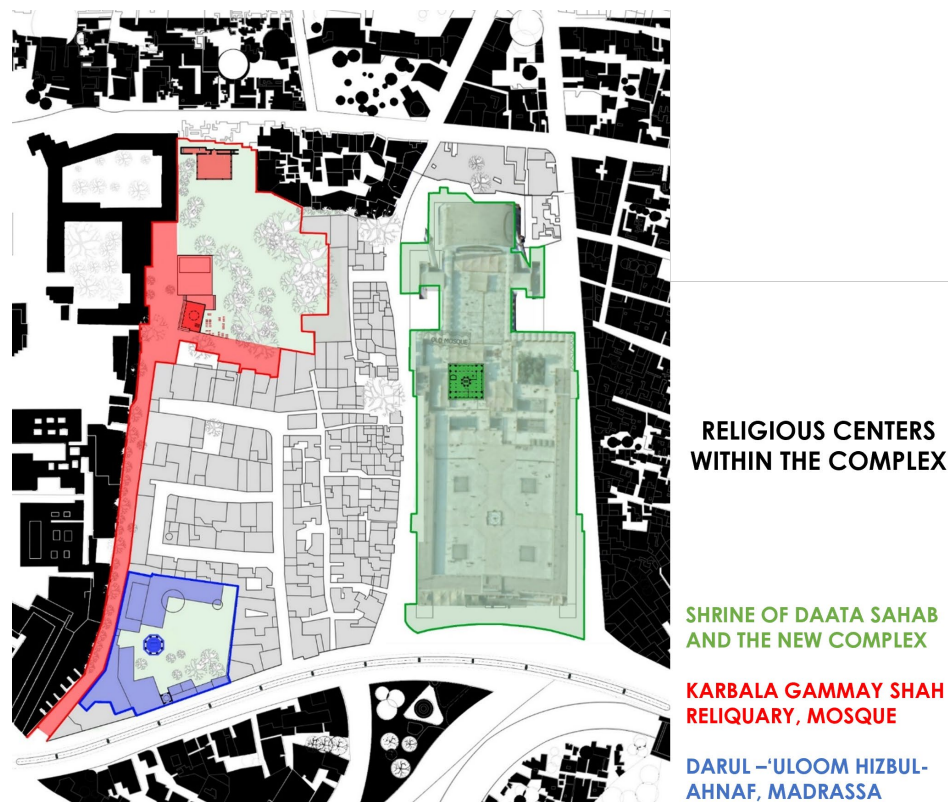


Figure 10. Boundaries of religious centers within the complex

### Data Sahab Shrine

Ali Hajveri, or Data Sahab as he is more commonly known, was born in Ghazni (present day Afghanistan) in 1009. He was the descendant of the prophet Muhammad and the fourth caliph Ali. He spent his early life seeking knowledge and spiritual enlightenment for which he traveled extensively, seeking knowledge from renowned Sufi masters. He eventually authored the book *Kash al-Mahjub* or *Revelation of Mystery*. This book was the first formal treatise on Sufism. By 1040, his travels brought him to the outskirts of the historic walled city of Lahore where he settled and became known as Data Sahab. He was revered as a scholar and a man of faith by Muslims of multiple sects. After his death he was laid to rest right next to the mosque at which he used to pray. Over the years the site has been expanded by the community and local governments to eventually turn into the huge compound that stands there today.<sup>8</sup>

### Karbala Gamay Shah

Many contradictory narratives surround the life events of Ghulam Ali Shah (more commonly known as Gamay Shah). What the majority of those narrations hold in common is that Gamay Shah was a Sufi saint, who too is believed to be a descendant of Ali, that happened to be residing in Lahore during at least part of Ranjit Singh's reign in the early nineteenth century. The narrations hold that Gamay Shah was gripped with the sorrow of the events of Karbala and often walked a specific route to grieve and commemorate the martyrdom of Hussain, a journey which ended in the place currently

known as Karbala Gamay Shah, in Lahore.<sup>9</sup> During his lifetime, many Muslims stirred with the same grief would walk behind him on the anniversary of the events of Karbala; this is a practice that over the centuries has continued till this day. The site where the procession ends, Karbala Gamay Shah, now hosts multiple processions a year all linked to key dates in Islamic history that hold specific significance for Shiite followers.

### **Dar-ul-Uloom Hizb ul-Ahnaf**

In the 19th Century in the regional history and politics of the subcontinent, the time when the Mughals were losing power and the British Raj was gaining control, there was a major concern for the future of Islam. Out of this concern, the Deobandi movement was formed. The first Deobandi madrassa was formed in 1866 in Deoband (present day India). Key to the movement's success was the expansion of such madrassas across the subcontinent. In 1920, Dar-ul-Uloom Hizb ul-Ahnaf, was founded in Lahore from where it operates till this day.

## **CHALLENGES AND THREATS**

Amid the tapestry of coexistence that these independent centers weave, a web of challenges and threats persists, testing the delicate balance maintained over decades. The rich cultural and religious diversity within the site is continuously threatened with sectarian violence and political exploitation. The challenge lies in nurturing an environment where diversity is celebrated, yet differences are managed without erupting into hostility.

### **Sectarian Violence**

The long-standing schism between Sunni and Shia sects has, at times, erupted into violent confrontations that vary in scale from minor physical altercations to suicide attacks.<sup>10</sup> Intra-sect violence is also not uncommon, as demonstrated by the Deobandi and Barelvi clashes<sup>11</sup> and stems, much like inter-sect violence, from an othering of individuals and groups whose practices are unfamiliar to some. The historical significance of the site and the emotional intensity it holds for each sect can inadvertently become a backdrop for sectarian violence. Instances of clashes during religious processions or gatherings, fueled by historical grievances, are potential flashpoints. To mitigate this threat, a multi-dimensional approach is crucial. Revisions of security measures coupled with conflict resolution mechanisms can only go so far. Initiatives to address the root causes of sectarian violence must include addressing the physical environment where this violence is triggered or perhaps even put to seed. The built form holds enormous potential in acting as a platform for representation and dialogue between sects.

### **Political Exploitation**

The magnetic pull of religious sentiment and the loyalty it commands have made this convergence site vulnerable to political exploitation. Political actors may attempt to manipulate the unity within these independent centers to further their agendas, potentially deepening existing sectarian divides. The potential for inflaming tensions and exacerbating hostilities for political gain is a tangible threat that requires vigilance. The community's awareness of such manipulative tactics, coupled with a commitment to maintaining the site's spiritual sanctity over political gains, is crucial.

## **DESIGN INTERVENTIONS**

To carve a way forward through the existing site conditions, students set out with the intention of anchoring focus on the commonalities of the different communities on the site rather than greater their differences.<sup>12</sup> The primary constraint, however, of any design proposal would be the preservation

of valuable heritage on this site that had taken centuries to form. This constraint meant that any intervention proposed by the student had to be almost surgical in intention, scale and precision to minimize disruption to the existing site. This was done through targeting three very carefully mapped out pathways for the intervention, as can be seen in Fig.2 below. The design of the complex is underpinned by three primary foci, each contributing to the creation of an inclusive environment that respects the diverse religious backgrounds of its visitors.

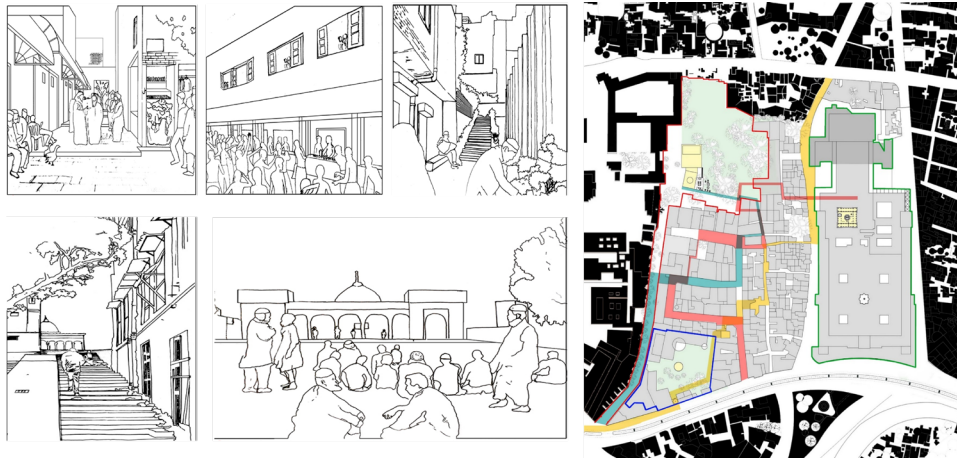


Figure 11. Line drawings portraying imagined experiences along the three highlighted pathways.

### Softening of Sectarian Boundaries

In a region marked by historical sectarian tensions, the design sets out to dissolve these barriers, fostering meaningful interactions among individuals from different sects. This endeavor is manifested through the creation of common community spaces and the reopening of pathways that were previously obstructed. By introducing shared areas where pilgrims and visitors from various sects can gather, converse, and connect, the design effectively breaks down the perceived barriers that have historically kept them apart. The potential power public spaces hold to increase understanding and mutual respect among diverse groups is evidenced the world over. The reopened pathways, once impeded by walls and divisions, now invite pilgrims to traverse the complex with ease, symbolizing the reconciliation of differences.

### Harbor and Sanctuary

Students recognized the need to rekindle the religious and social significance of the site, ensuring that it remains a sanctified space for all who visit. The design interventions aimed to guide pilgrims on a journey that is not only spiritually enriching but also deeply rooted in their cultural heritage. By thoughtfully integrating elements of design, such as restful spaces and places for prayer, the proposed designs offer a transformative experience that encourages introspection and connection. At the core of this focus is the goal to promote tolerance, understanding, and a shared sense of ownership among the diverse pilgrims who converge at the complex. The architectural elements served as conduits for fostering respect for one another's beliefs, acknowledging the common humanity that unites them despite their theological differences. The design, in essence, became a vessel for conveying the values of unity and compassion that are intrinsic to the teachings of Islam.

### **Addressing Urban Encroachments**

The final focus pertains to the sensitive issue of "Addressing Urban Encroachments." The complex's historical and cultural significance is at times overshadowed by encroachments within the surrounding urban fabric. In an effort to restore the complex's prominence and integrity, the proposed design took into account existing structures, including residential blocks, hotels, shops, mosques, and educational institutions. A delicate balance was struck between respecting the fabric's historical value and introducing interventions that contributed to a holistic revitalization. The guiding principle in this aspect was to nurture a sense of community. By acknowledging and integrating the surrounding structures, the design created a seamless transition between the historical complex and its urban context. The architectural interventions here were mindful of the complex's architectural heritage, ensuring that any new additions complemented the existing aesthetic. This approach encouraged a unified experience, where the various elements seamlessly coexisted and contributed to a thriving cultural hub.

One exemplary design intervention within the complex is the transformation of the Dar-ul-Uloom Hizb ul-Ahnaf Madrassa. In its previous state, the madrassa had a single entrance facing the front road, leading to an enclosed courtyard surrounded by classrooms, residences, and administrative spaces. However, the design intervention introduced a subtle yet impactful modification; a corner of the madrassa, previously closed off, is reimagined to foster connectivity. Through minimal intervention, the ground floor was cleared, and select walls were removed, establishing a direct link between the madrassa and the adjacent street. This connection not only enhanced accessibility but also promoted engagement with the local community. This intervention is illustrated below in Fig 3.

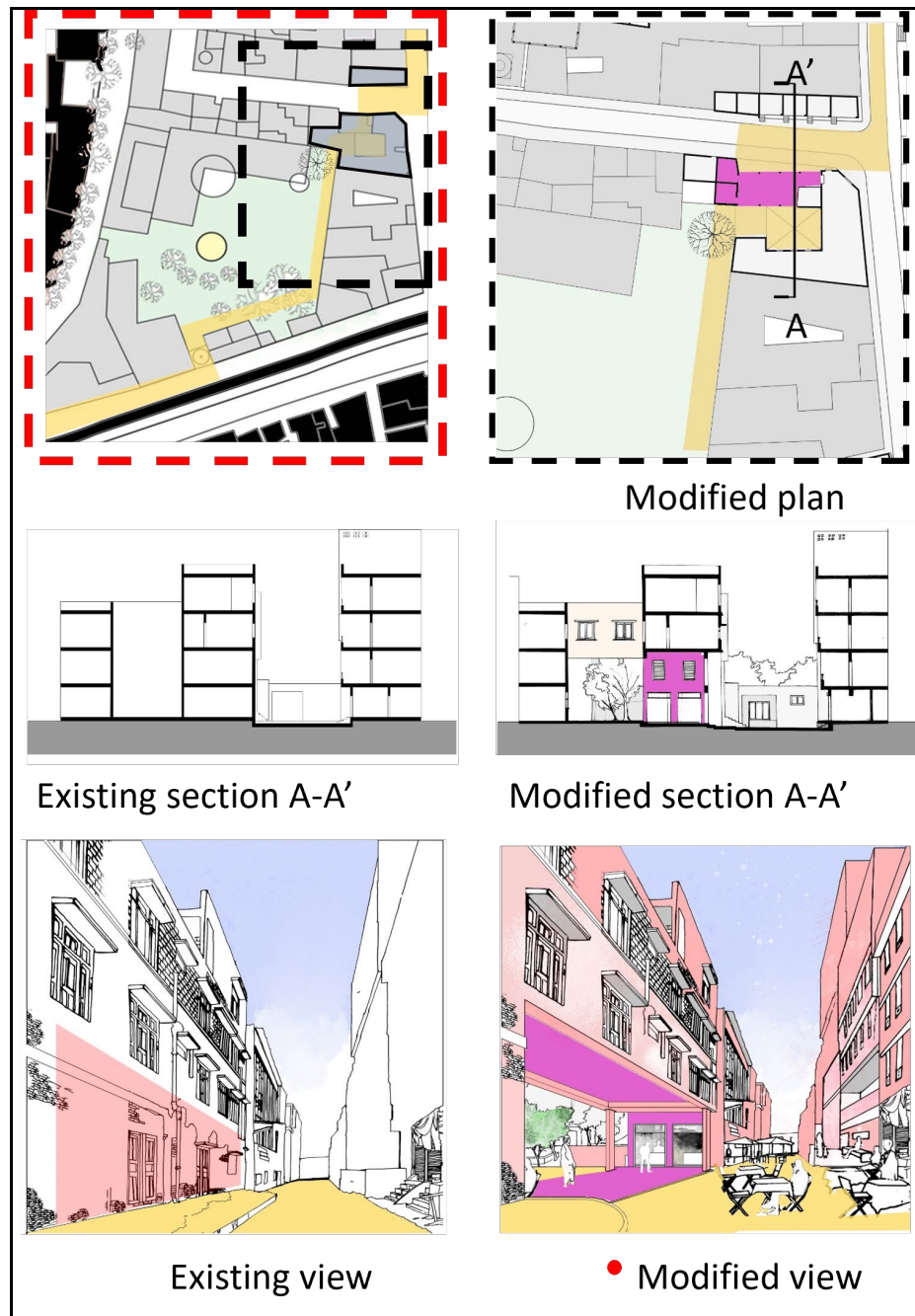


Figure 12. Existing and proposed intervention along the Dar ul- Uloom Madrasa

To cater to the needs of both residents and stakeholders, the design introduced commercial spaces that served as gathering points. This approach would transform the street into a space for socializing, where individuals could gather for conversations, tea, and even quiet moments of reading.

The strategic pathways developed across the complex were designed with the explicit purpose of facilitating convergence and interaction among pedestrians from different sects. By integrating common spaces such as tea shops, newspaper stalls, and pharmacies along these pathways, the design would spark organic interactions. Architectural elements, such as thresholds and places of interaction, would enhance the sensory experience and invite pilgrims to engage in meaningful exchanges.

In essence, the architectural interventions proposed echo the ethos of the complex itself – that of inclusivity, harmony, and coexistence. Through strategic design decisions that bridge the gap between



history and modernity, the complex could emerge as a symbol of unity, inviting pilgrims to access the site not merely as members of specific sects, but as individuals united by a shared human heritage.

## **CONCLUSION**

The historical site that encapsulates the convergence of Data Darbar, Karbala Gamay Shah, and Dar-ul-Uloom Hizb ul-Ahnaḥ in Lahore stands as a profound testament to the complex interplay of identity, unity, and diversity within the realm of Islamic sects. It is within the embrace of this shared ground that a vivid tapestry of belief systems, practices, and histories comes to life. In this paper, we have ventured to understand historical narratives, untangle sectarian complexities, and envision design interventions aimed at fostering a harmonious coexistence.

The foundational schism between Shia and Sunni sects, fueled by differing interpretations of leadership succession, casts a long shadow that persists to this day. Yet, beneath this division lies a shared reverence for Prophet Muhammad's teachings and a common aspiration for spiritual growth. The emergence of Sufism added a dimension of mysticism that transcended these sectarian boundaries, but often becomes a point of contention in the eyes of orthodox practitioners.

The very existence of Data Darbar, Karbala Gamay Shah, and Dar-ul-Uloom Hizb ul-Ahnaḥ on the same site stands as a testament to the human spirit's yearning for unity amidst diversity. Over time, these centers have not only become anchors of faith but also beacons of cultural continuity. However, the challenges that persist within this harmony are equally noteworthy.

The threat of sectarian violence hangs over the situation, where past disagreements and different ways of doing things come together in a dangerous mix. This violence isn't just about conflicts between different groups within the faith; it also shows up within these groups themselves, as new ideas clash with old ways, making the community even more divided.

In the face of these challenges, the proposed design interventions offer a visionary path forward. Through a delicate balance of respect for heritage and innovative thinking, these designs reimagine the site as a sanctuary of inclusivity. By dissolving sectarian boundaries, the designs create spaces where conversations can flow freely, fostering understanding among diverse worshippers. The restoration of the site's significance is not confined to spirituality alone; it is also an embrace of cultural heritage, enabling a transformative journey that unites faith and identity.

As we conclude this exploration, it is evident that the convergence of identities, unity, and diversity is not a mere theoretical construct but a living reality embodied by the site itself. This historical tapestry, woven with threads of faith, history, and cultural heritage, has defied traditional notions of division and discord. It stands as a living testament to the human capacity to transcend differences and coexist harmoniously.

The story of Data Darbar, Karbala Gamay Shah, and Dar-ul-Uloom Hizb ul-Ahnaḥ is a story of resilience, determination, and hope. It teaches us that while the challenges of diversity, sectarian violence, and political exploitation are real, they need not be insurmountable. The designs presented here offer a glimpse of a future where architecture acts as a bridge between sects, fostering mutual respect and understanding. This paper, rooted in history, propelled by the present, and reaching towards the future, reiterates the importance of nurturing unity amidst diversity, cultivating harmony amid discord, and upholding the spiritual sanctity of shared ground. In doing so, it reinforces the profound truth that coexistence is not only possible but imperative for a world marked by differences and bound by a shared human heritage.

## NOTES

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- <sup>2</sup> Wilferd Madelung, *The succession to Muhammad A study of the early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1–27
- <sup>3</sup> Lesley Hazleton, *After the Prophet: The Epic Story of the Shia-Sunni Split in Islam* (New York: Doubleday, 2009).
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- <sup>5</sup> Barbara D. Metcalf, *Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860–1900* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002)
- <sup>6</sup> Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India. Ahmad Riza Khan Bareilwi and His Movement, 1870 - 1920*, (New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1996)
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- <sup>8</sup> Ghafer Shahzad, “Informal and formal developments on the premises of Sufi Shrines in Punjab,” *Journal of Research in Architecture and Planning: Vol. 12 – Architecture, Urban Design and Planning* (2012): 52
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# THE MISINTERPRETATION TERMINOLOGY OF 'MARSEILLES' HERITAGE CLAY ROOF TILES IN MALAYSIA'S CONSERVATION PROJECT

Author:

**MASYITAH ABD AZIZ, MOHD. SABERE SULAIMAN, NORSIAH HASSAN, JAMILAH HALINA ABDUL HALIM AND MOHD. SAIPUL ASRAFI HARON**

Affiliation:

CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE FOR ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY (CREATE), ALOR GAJAH, MALAYSIA; CONSERVATION EXPERTISE SECTION, ARCHITECT BRANCH, PUBLIC WORK DEPARTMENT MALAYSIA HEADQUARTERS, MALAYSIA

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## INTRODUCTION

Heritage is our past that has been preserved for the present and it will be inherited for future generations. Heritage flat interlocking clay roof tiles can be considered on the declaration of National Heritage property (Act 645: NATIONAL HERITAGE ACT 2005) and has the further prospect to be preserved.<sup>1</sup> Commonly conservator practices '*Marseilles*' terminology in their reports and such conservation documentation and communication to describe any of interlocking clay roof tiles in conservation works in Malaysia. Every time, dealing 1 to 1 replacement of this old version of interlocking clay roof tiles, it was difficult to take consideration of getting the original size and type, most of the time it didn't meet the purpose of replacement work and normally will become leak again. It was very difficult nowadays to find the old type of these interlocking clay roof tiles. Generally, they just took what they have found in the market and force to fit it with the rest. Due to these problems, many of them just change all of it to the new roof tiles type. The worst situation people will change it to another material like metal decking or asbestos. This action will impact the overall character of the building as well. Although there were new products has been created to fit '*Marseilles*' replacement, but the profile just doesn't create like the original version of '*Marseilles*'. There were lines, shapes, depths, and holes to complete roof tiles form and function.

## BACKGROUND OF STUDY

The experts in conservation works faces many important terms and indeed the very basic terminology in conservation areas were misunderstood. Thus, there were such terminology that being taken for granted and just follow seriously the tradition of the common practitioner without having any precise knowledge of what it entails. The conversation and communication delivery were very common with the use of '*Marseilles*' when referring to any of flat-interlocking roof tiles.

The existing situation on terminology in conservation works

The implementation of conservation project involving various professional experts and conservation project team. With such relevant experiences and credible to do preservation works in respect of heritage buildings. *Marseilles* terminology always being used for related roof tiles in the conservation

work process, including preliminary investigation, dilapidation survey, preparation of tender documents, building conservation work, management and maintenance of heritage sites.

### Terminology in conservation

Terminology easily characterizes the communication delivery between expert and layperson. This understanding will effectively help to such specific knowledge areas. While it reduces ambiguity and increases clarity, the communication will translate very fast as it encourages an important factor in quality of the preservation of cultural heritage for future generations. Terminology for conservation helps to facilitate communication in the international professional since the word may currently have different meanings for different item. Terminology effected the understanding of the whole conversation works. It describes things easy and make deliverables communications in order to effectively be understood by others. The rapid use of terminology in daily conservation activities for all conservation projects demand a lot of times and knowledges. There are few ways in which the basic terminology of conservation can be misunderstood. Many people may simply be unaware of the basic terminology used in conservation. They may not have been exposed to the concepts or have limited knowledge about them, leading to misunderstandings. Sometimes, people may misinterpret the meaning of certain conservation terms. This can occur when they misunderstand the context in which the term is being used or misinterpret its typical definition.

### The important of the right terminology in conservation works

Over the period of time, while one by one conservation projects done, Malaysian conservation field experts accepted the *Marseilles* terminology as there are no such terminology being found for the daily approaches. Since then, we heard *Marseilles* as the term for all terracotta flat tiles. To avoid confusion of the terminology of ‘Marseilles’ clay roof tiles that will be followed through by the next generation, observation, interviews and readings from the literature reviews on terminology of the roof tiles has been done.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Exploration off St George’s Reef (carbon dating: 115 years old) contains the bricks and tiles that have the distinct inscription of Basel Mission Tile works 1865.<sup>2</sup> The discovery suggests that the vessel came either from Mangalore or Calicut because the Basel Mission Company had a number of tile factories between Malabar and South Canara however the mission had established the first tile factory at Jeppo, Mangalore in 1865.<sup>3</sup> Early terracotta roof tiles starting from decades ago. The early tiles sheltered our early community with unique character and types such as Laconian and Corinthian pan-tiles from Roman tiles type, Monk and Nun types from Chinese glazed tiles type, Imbrex and Tegula from Madieval roof tiles types, glazed Burgundy tiles, Angkorian tiles and also the Vietri Italian Renaissance glazed curved tiles type.<sup>4</sup>

It shows some evidence that ‘Marseilles’ were referring specific to French type roof tiles that developed by the Gilardoni Brothers in 1851.<sup>5</sup> It was also found in Mangalore as the pioneered manufacturer in the 1860s by The Common Wealth Trust Ltd (Basel Mission tile factory).<sup>6</sup> The interlocking clay roof types that have been used in Malaysia have the similarity and influenced by both Europe and India. However, ‘Marseilles’ terminology was commonly used in Malaysia’s conservation works which led to the misconception of the real interpretation of all interlocking clay roof tiles type.

## Overview of Marseilles Clay Roof Tiles

Marseilles roof tiles comes towards the tiles production on 1851 by the Gilardoni brothers, Joseph and Xaver from Altkirch in Alsace.<sup>7</sup> They stamped with the factory name and symbol/logo, often use an animal and object icon. Gilardoni Pressed or Beauvais Tiles one of the early productions of Gilardoni brothers. They shaped smaller than the others and had diamond shape on it.<sup>8</sup> The Marseilles then being referred as they were the popular influences throughout the region, the missionaries bring the influence then to Mangalore and set the continuous roof tiles manufacturing. They call it Mangalore tiles. It was a Mulden-type roof tiles, this pattern is believed to be inspired by France design.<sup>9</sup>

## PROBLEM STATEMENT

Unfortunately, there were no database for heritage flat interlocking clay roof tiles in Malaysia for effective and structured repair and conservation work. Without the database, it may be difficult for conservationists to identify the specific type and origin, making it challenging to source and do the replacement, also hard to determine the original feature or later addition. With no inventory it would even hard to monitor and manage the preservation works. Focusing on flat interlocking clay roof tiles samples taken from the Government buildings in peninsular Malaysia only. The study identifies the types of tiles under category flat interlocking clay roof tiles in Peninsular Malaysia and also determine the misinterpretation characteristics of 'Marseilles' flat interlocking clay roof tiles in Peninsular Malaysia

## METHODOLOGY

### Unstructured Interviews

Unstructured Interviews with relevant groups and individuals did with some questions asked like the method of manufacturing, design influences and also raw materials. The respondents were among the groups of conservationists, conservation project team, experienced roof tiles manufacturing workers from Batu Arang, Malaysia, the historic buildings owner and also lay person from the historic house owners. The results lead to weak, low, medium and high knowledges about the understandings of the flat interlocking of clay roof tiles type differences in Malaysia. The finding shows no database for heritage flat interlocking clay roof tiles was did before. The conservationists acknowledge all those flat interlocking clay roof tiles with *Marseilles* type only. When comes to roof conservations there were buildings with variety of names on the tiles recorded, they don't even match and fits the interlock part properly and then starts to leak again.

### Observation on Site

The data collection was done to the Peninsular Malaysia region. Observation on site from southern region they have places like Johor, Melaka and Negeri Sembilan. On the centered region they have Selangor, Kuala Lumpur and Ipoh. At the northern region they have Kedah, Pulau Pinang and Perlis. End up to the Westcoast region they have Kelantan, Terengganu and Pahang. Focusing on the capital city of each state, they give magnificent journey of collecting 39 types of flat interlocking clay roof tiles samples throughout Peninsular Malaysia. There were eleven (11) state in Peninsular Malaysia with eight (8) types of buildings type such as school, house, offices, museums, mosques, stores, palaces and hospitals. Data classification analysis of the brand, type, years, logos, and building types as shown in Table 1.

NO	BRAND	TYPE	YEARS	LOGO	ORIGIN	BUILDING TYPE
1.	PIERRE AMEDEEST HENRI MARSEILLE FRANCE	MARSEILLES	NOT FOUND	HEART	FRANCE	1. SCHOOL 2. MUSEUM 3. HOUSE
2.	THE MALABAR TILE WORKS FEROKE	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	TEXTUAL ELEMENT	INDIA	1. SCHOOL 2. HOUSE 3. MUSEUM 4. OFFICE 6. PALACE
3.	THE COMMONWEALTH TRUST LTD (LARGE SIZE)	DOUBLE ROMAN	NOT FOUND	TEXTUAL ELEMENT	INDIA	1. HOUSE
4.	THE COMMONWEALTH TRUST LTD BASEL MISSION (PATENT 1865)	MULDEN	1865	TEXTUAL ELEMENT	INDIA	1. HOUSE
5.	BASEL MISSION TILE WORKS (PATENT 1865)	MULDEN	1865	TEXTUAL ELEMENT	INDIA	1. MUSEUM 2. HOUSE 3. STORE
6.	THE COMMONWEALTH TRUST LTD (PATENT 1936)	MULDEN	1936	TEXTUAL ELEMENT	INDIA	1. SCHOOL 2. BANK 3. HOUSE 4. PALACE 5. OFFICE 6. HOSPITAL
7.	MALAYAN TILE MFG LTD (BUTTERFLY LOGO) 1964	MULDEN	1964	TEXTUAL ELEMENT	MALAYSIA	1. HOUSE 2. STORE 3. PALACE 4. OFFICE 5. HOUSE 6. HOSPITAL
8.	MALAYAN TILES MFG LTD (TIGER LOGO)	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	TIGER	MALAYSIA	1. HOUSE 2. PALACE
9.	BUTTERFLY (logo only)	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	BUTTERFLY	MALAYSIA	1. PALACE 2. HOSPITAL
10.	B. PINTO & CO MANGALORE	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	DP	INDIA	1. MUZEUM
11.	TUILERIES ROMAIN BOYER Usine a SIX FOURS (Var) FRANCE	MARSEILLES	NOT FOUND	SWAN	FRANCE	1. MUZEUM 2. STORE 3. HOUSE
12.	TUILERIES ROMAIN BOYER	MARSEILLES	NOT FOUND	SWAN	FRANCE	1. OFFICE 2. HOTEL
13.	Brevet' FIX S.G.D.G TUILERIES ROMAIN BOYER Usine a SIX- FOURS (Var) FRANCE	MARSEILLES	NOT FOUND	SWAN	FRANCE	1. MUZEUM 2. HOUSE

14.	THE CALICUT TILE CO FEROKE (QUEEN LOGO)	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	QUEEN	INDIA	1. SCHOOL 2. HOUSE 3. HOSPITAL
15.	THE CALICUT TILE CO FEROKE (KING LOGO)	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	KING	INDIA	1. PALACE 2. GALLERY
16.	GUICHARD & CARVIN CIE MARSIELLE ST ANDRE FRANCE	MARSEILLES	NOT FOUND	BEE	FRANCE	1. SCHOOL 2. HOUSE 3. OFFICE 4. GALLERY 5. MOSQUE 6. HOTEL
17.	TUILERIES AIXOISES LES MILLES B.D.R FRANCE	MARSEILLES	NOT FOUND	PIGEON	FRANCE	1. SCHOOL 2. HOUSE
18.	PIERRE SACOMAN ST HENRY MARSIELLE	MARSEILLES	NOT FOUND	STAR	FRANCE	1. SCHOOL 2. PERAK 3. SELANGOR
19.	SACCOMAN FRERES FRANCE ST HENRI MARSIELLE FRANCE	MARSEILLES	NOT FOUND	LIGHT HOUSE	FRANCE	1. STORE 2. MUZEUM 3. OFFICE 4. MOSQUE 5. HOUSE
20.	QUILON TILE WORKS	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	'R'	INDIA	1. STORE
21.	THE STANDARD TILE & CLAYWORKS LTD FEROKE	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	POUND MARK & MAN-HEAD LOGO	INDIA	1. SCHOOL 2. MUZEUM 3. PALACE 4. HOUSE
22.	THE WEST COAST TILE WORKS FEROKE	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	DEER LOGO	INDIA	1. MUZEUM 2. STORE 3. QUARTERS
23.	SRI KRISHNA TILES AND POTTERIES MADRAS LTD	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	'AKR'	INDIA	1. MUZEUM 2. PALACE 3. MOSQUE
24.	KERALA TILERY FEROKE MALABAR	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	TIGER	INDIA	1. MUZEUM
25.	TRANSEA BRAND	MARSEILLES	NOT FOUND	TEXTUAL ELEMENT	ITALY	1. MUZEUM
26.	ARNAUD ETIENNE ET CL MARSIELLE ST HENRY	MARSEILLES	NOT FOUND	CROSS	FRANCE	1. OFFICE
27.	KEDAH	MARSEILLES	NOT FOUND	KEDAH	MALAYSIA	1. MUZEUM
28.	G.C.I EAGLE	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	TEXTUAL ELEMENT	MALAYSIA	1. MUZEUM 2. OFFICE
29.	THE STANDARD POTTERY WORKS LTD FST 1919	MULDEN	1919	KING MARK	INDIA	1. HOUSE
30.	MODERN TILE & CLAYWORKS	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	LOTUS	INDIA	1. HOUSE


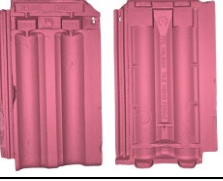






	FEROKE					
31.	PRAJAPAT TILES CO MORVI	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	BULLOCK CHART WHEEL	INDIA	1. PALACE
32.	COTTO SENESE SOC FABRICA LATERIZI S. OUIRICO DI ORCIA (SIENA) MADE IN ITALY	MARSEILLES	NOT FOUND	TEXTUAL ELEMENT	FRANCE	1. MUZEUM
33.	DE AIRED MADURACO FEROKE (tamil font below)	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	UMBRELLA	INDIA	1. STORE
34.	B.M. TILES MANGALORE Logo JHV	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	'JHV'	INDIA	1. HOSPITAL
35.	HINDUSTAN TILES MANGALORE logo APM	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	'APM' TIGER ELEPHANT BULLOCK CHART	INDIA	1. OFFICE
36.	THE STAR TILE WORKS LTD CALICUT	MULDEN	NOT FOUND	MAN-HEAD	INDIA	1. PALACE
37.	M.C.L MALATI	BEAUVAIS	NOT FOUND	'M.C.L'	FRANCE	1. HOUSE
38.	TAKLI TILES MANGALORE 1918	MULDEN	1918	TEXTUAL ELEMENT	INDIA	1. HOUSE
39.	THECOMMONWEALTH TRUST LTD. SUPER (ada Fortress logo) MADE IN INDIA. Register no. Ceylon 1120. UK 87302. (S shape tiles)	DOUBLE ROMAN	NOT FOUND	SUPER FORT	INDIA	1. OFFICE






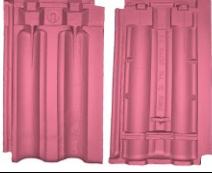

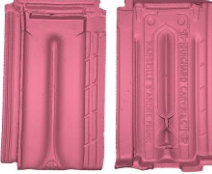

*Table 1. Flat interlocking clay roof tiles samples collection throughout Peninsular Malaysia*










### 3D Scanning on Samples








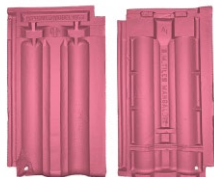

3D Scanning on tiles classification analysis reach out to the character and profile of France manufacturers roof tiles product, Indian manufacturers roof tiles product and also Malaysia manufacturers of roof tile products as what define in Table 2. In conclusions, the main influences in Malaysia's Heritage Buildings' roof tiles were from Europe and Indian region.



NO.	BRAND	3D SCANNING IMAGE
1	PIERRE AMEDEE ST HENRI MARSEILLE FRANCE	
2	THE MALABAR TILE WORKS FEROKE	
3	THE COMMONWEALTH TRUST LTD (BIG SIZE)	
4	THE COMMONWEALTH TRUST LTD BASEL MISSION (PATENT 1865)	
5	BASEL MISSION TILE WORKS (PATENT 1865)	
6	THE COMMONWEALTH TRUST LTD (PATENT 1936)	
7	MALAYAN TILE MFG LTD (BUTTERFLY LOGO) 1964	
NO.	BRAND	3D SCANNING IMAGE
8	MALAYAN TILES MFG LTD (TIGER LOGO)	

9	BUTTERFLY (logo only)	
10	B. PINTO & CO MANGALORE	
11	TUILERIES ROMAIN BOYER Usine a SIX FOURS (Var) FRANCE	
12	TUILERIES ROMAIN BOYER	
13	Brevet' FIX S.G.D.G TUILERIES ROMAIN BOYER Usine a SIX-FOURS (Var) FRANCE	
14	THE CALICUT TILE CO FEROKE (Queen Brand)	
15	THE CALICUT TILE CO FEROKE (King Logo)	
<b>NO.</b>	<b>BRAND</b>	<b>3D SCANNING IMAGE</b>
16	GUICHARD & CARVIN CIE MARSIELLE ST ANDRE FRANCE	
17	TUILERIES AIXOISES LES MILLES B.D.R FRANCE	

18	PIERRE SACOMAN ST HENRY MARSIELLE	
19	SACCOMAN FRERES FRANCE ST HENRI MARSIELLE FRANCE	
20	QUILON TILE WORKS	
21	THE STANDARD TILE & CLAYWORKS LTD FEROKE	
22	THE WEST COAST TILE WORKS FEROKE	
23	SRI KRISHNA TILES AND POTTERIES MADRAS LTD	
<b>NO.</b>	<b>BRAND</b>	<b>3D SCANNING IMAGE</b>
24	KERALA TILERY FEROKE MALABAR	
25	TRANSEA BRAND	
26	ARNAUD ETIENNE ET CL MARSIELLE ST HENRY	

27	KEDAH	
28	G.C.I EAGLE	
29	THE STANDARD POTTERY WORKS LTD FST 1919	
30	MODERN TILE & CLAYWORKS FEROKE	
31	PRAJAPAT TILES CO MORVI	
<b>NO.</b>	<b>BRAND</b>	<b>3D SCANNING IMAGE</b>
32	COTTO SENESE SOC FABRICA LATERIZI S. QUIRICO DI ORCIA (SIENA) MADE IN ITALY	
33	DE AIRED MADURACO FEROKE (tamil font below) logo payung	
34	B.M. TILES MANGALORE Logo JHV	
35	HINDUSTAN TILES MANGALORE logo APM	





36	THE STAR TILE WORKS LTD CALICUT	
37	M.C.L MALATI	
38	TAKLI TILES MANGALORE 1918	
39	THE COMMONWEALTH TRUST LTD. SUPER (ada Fortress logo) MADE IN INDIA. Register no. Ceylon 1120. UK 87302. (S shape tiles)	

Table 2. 3D Scanning Image of Heritage Clay Roof Tiles Profile

### Classification of Analysis

Throughout Peninsular Malaysia site observations, there were more than 'Marseilles' type existed. The site observation focusing on the government buildings, including schools, government offices, old quarters, museums, mosques and also palaces. There was a remarkable finding to have 'Marseilles', 'Double Roman', 'Beauvais', and 'Mulden'.<sup>10</sup> Focusing to these 4 types of interlocking clay roof tiles, these knowledges will be very useful in order to organize the method of replacing the old clay roof tiles throughout Peninsular Malaysia conservation works.

### FINDINGS

#### 39 samples throughout Peninsular Malaysia site observation

39 samples of different type of stamp marks were found and collected. Some of which had been described as related to the name of the production companies. There were 5 companies appear to be the manufacturer production like France, India, Italy, Australia and Malaysia. Somehow Marseilles from France lead the design production influences. The general product will follow the previous what is benefit and practical to use. Thus, they change the façade appearance and materials usage to make as theirs. Since the clay was very much found in India, and their cheap labour and management costs, the majorities manufacturing factories were there.

#### 4 Types of Roof tiles in categories

Referring to R.V.J Varman,<sup>11</sup> the clay interlocking flat roof tiles appears to have 4 out of 6 types that he found in Australia, it was Marseilles, Mulden, Double Roman and Beauvais. In Peninsular Malaysia we found majority of Mulden type, it was characterizing as Indian manufacturing clay interlocking flat roof tiles products, meanwhile Marseilles was the 2nd highest samples found. 1

Samples represent double roman that we found in Perlis, and the other one M.C.L Malati that we found in one of Quarters in Batu Arang, the one and only Beauvais type.<sup>12</sup>

## **CONCLUSION**

Using the right terminology ensures that project stakeholders, including researchers, scientists, policy makers, local communities, and government agencies, can effectively communicate about the project. Consistently use of specific terms and definitions reduces confusion and ensures a clear understanding of objectives, strategies, and intend outcomes. When terminologies are accurately used, it fosters effective collaboration and partnership building. It allows different groups to better align their efforts, share knowledge, and coordinate activities towards shared conservation goals. This supports the development of evidence-based conservation practices and policies, leading to better conservation outcomes. Conservation projects play a critical role in shaping conservation policies and informing decision-making processes at various levels, including local, regional, and national. By using the right terminologies, project findings, recommendations, and data can be effectively communicated to policy makers, enabling informed decision-making that prioritizes biodiversity conservation and sustainable development. It also helps ensure compliance with relevant laws, regulations, and guidelines. This can lead to successful conservation outcomes by incorporating local perspectives, traditional practises, and sustainable resource management.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> National Heritage Act 2005, Act 645 (Malaysia, 2006), Part II, Conservation and Preservation of Heritage.
- <sup>2</sup> Sila Tripathi, "Exploration of Basel Mission Company Shipwreck Remains at St George's Reef off Goa, West Coast of India: Impact of the Basel Mission Co. on Society and Culture," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* (2003): Pages 111-120.
- <sup>3</sup> Asha Sumra and Arijit Chatterjee, *Mangalore Tile Factories* (Mangalore: Office for the Commonwealth Tile Factory, 2020).
- <sup>4</sup> FM Pirjo Hamari, University of Helsinki, Department of Philosophy, History, Culture, and Art/Archaeology, submitted June 5, 2016, Proceedings of the International Conference on Roman Brick and Tile, Ghent, December 4-6, 2015.
- <sup>5</sup> Miles Lewis, "Marseille Roofing Tiles," accessed February 20, 2023. <https://acahuch.msd.unimelb.edu.au/miles-lewis-heritage-building-collection/marseille-roofing-tiles>
- <sup>6</sup> Ana G. Simões, João G. Appleton, Rita Bento, João V. Caldas, Paulo B. Lourenço, and Sergio Lagomarsino, "Architectural and Structural Characteristics of Masonry Buildings between the 19th and 20th Centuries in Lisbon, Portugal," *International Journal of Architectural Heritage* 11, no. 4 (2017): 457-474.
- <sup>7</sup> Helen A. Regis, "Ships on the Wall: Retracing African Trade Routes from Marseille, France," *Genealogy* 5, no. 2 (2021): 27.
- <sup>8</sup> Mine Turan, Esra Dipburun, and Kerem Şerifaki. "Observations on Characteristics of Suburban Historical Houses of Izmir," *International Journal for Housing Science and Its Applications* (2010).
- <sup>9</sup> Zeynep Durmus Arsan, "The Use of Saint-Gobain Glass Roof Tile in New Urban Districts of Turn-Of-The-Century Izmir" (master's thesis, Izmir Institute of Technology, 2006).
- <sup>10</sup> R.V.J. Varman, "The Marseilles or French Pattern Tile in Australia," (Sydney: The Australian Society for Historical Archaeology, University of Sydney, 2006).
- <sup>11</sup> Michel Peraldi, "Throughout its long history, Marseille has alternated between periods," in *The Marseille Mosaic: A Mediterranean City at the Crossroads of Cultures* (2023), 21:299.
- <sup>12</sup> "Le Centre Historique de Marseille - 7," *Atelier du Patrimoine de la Ville de Marseille*, Marseille, 7.

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## REFRAMING BERLIN: 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AND SITES OF MEMORY

Author:

**GÜL KAÇMAZ ERK, CHRISTOPHER S. WILSON**

Affiliation:

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY BELFAST, UK; RINGLING COLLEGE OF ART + DESIGN, USA

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This is the story of a Berlin book. The story of *Reframing Berlin: Architecture, Memory-Making and Film Locations* published in 2023 started more than 10 years ago with a brief email sent from Sarasota in Florida, USA to Belfast in Northern Ireland, UK (Figure 1).

Sent: Wednesday, February 29, 2012 3:32 PM  
Subject: Fwd: H-Memory: CFP: Screen/History/Memory conference Melbourne

**GKE,**  
**Maybe you and I could collaborate?**  
**You: film, Me: memory, Both: architecture . . .?**

Figure 1. Wilson's 2012 email that started the Berlin project.

On 29 February 2012, architecture and design historian Christopher S. Wilson invited architectural theorist Gül Kaçmaz Erk to write a joint abstract for a conference in Melbourne, Australia. Wilson's expertise is in 'architecture and memory'<sup>1</sup> (Figure 2a), whereas Kaçmaz Erk's expertise is in 'architecture and cinema' (Figure 2b). Their proposal to present a research paper that was yet to be articulated and written was accepted for the 16<sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference FHAANZ organized by the Film and History Association of Australia and New Zealand.

The authors chose the city of Berlin in Germany at the heart of the European Union for the case study, other options being Istanbul and Belfast. Wilson was familiar with the city and its film culture having lived there as a recently graduated architect, and Kaçmaz Erk had written part of her master's dissertation at Middle East Technical University in Ankara on *Wings of Desire (Der Himmel über Berlin, 1987)* and other Wim Wenders films<sup>2</sup> (Figure 2b).

When the authors began their research and sent the abstract to the conference in 2012, both worked at their current institutions, Kaçmaz Erk at Queen's University Belfast and Wilson at Ringling College of Art + Design. They had first met (online) in the summer of 2006 when Wilson was working at Izmir University of Economics in Turkey, and Kaçmaz Erk was about to move there from Amsterdam to work at the same institution. They were preparing a thematic course entitled "History of Art and Design" for all first-year design students in the School of Fine Arts and Design. Kaçmaz Erk then

presented this jointly taught course in a Humanities conference in Paris and the lecturers published an article entitled “Teaching Art History to Design Students” on their findings (Figure 2c).<sup>3</sup>

The researchers did not make it to Melbourne in December 2012. However, they continued working on this project and visited Berlin in 2013 for field work. Focusing on one politically significant period in Germany (history), one Berlin building (architecture) and one Berlin film (cinema) at a time, they wrote a chronological article entitled “Framed Memories of Berlin: Film, Architecture and Remembrance” about the concept of urban memory in 20<sup>th</sup> century Berlin and published it in 2018 (Figure 2d).<sup>4</sup>



Figure 2. Various publications that led to the Reframing Berlin book.

Figure 2a. Wilson’s doctoral thesis turned into a book: *Beyond Anıtkabir*, 2013.

Figure 2b. Kaçmaz Erk’s master dissertation turned into a book: *Architecture in Cinema*, 2009.

Figure 2c. Research collaboration on design pedagogy, Selen, Kaçmaz Erk and Wilson, 2007.

Figure 2d. Initial Berlin research, Kaçmaz Erk and Wilson, 2018 (with thanks to editor Diana Periton).

The time periods identified in “Framed Memories of Berlin” were the German Empire, Weimar Republic, Nazi Period, Post-WWII Period, Division Years: East Germany (GDR) and West Germany (FRG), and Reunification. When the authors compared their selected buildings (as represented in films) with the contemporary situation in the city, they identified a gap in the literature about the transformation of Berlin architecture and urbanism. As often referred to a city of becoming, or “a city condemned forever to becoming and never being,”<sup>5</sup> the transformations of Berlin’s built environment took place in various forms and ways, such as demolition (Hitler’s New Reich Chancellery, Post-WWII Period), mutation (Potsdamer Platz, all periods), new construction (social housing around Alexanderplatz, GDR), and supplementation (Berlin Olympic Stadium, Reunification Period).

Implemented mostly by the authorities in power such as politicians, planners/architects, and developers, and sometimes by Berliners, the authors appreciated that such ‘urban strategies’ had a significant influence not only on the development of the city’s architecture and film industry but also urban memory. They soon realized that the length of an article would not allow them to fill this gap and decided to keep the article as is (i.e., chronological) and drafted an outline for a thematic Berlin book.

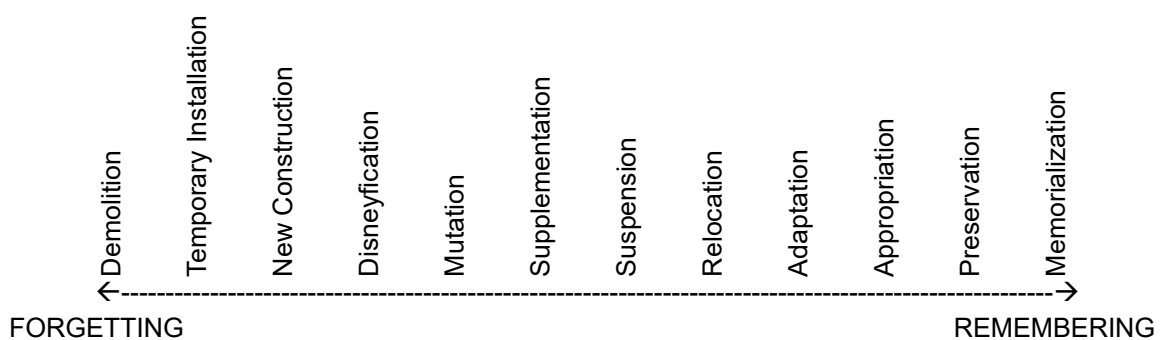
The researchers visited the cinematic city of Berlin several years later, in 2019 and 2020, and developed a book proposal that they sent to Intellect Books. Subsequently, Kaçmaz Erk fulfilled a researcher residency at ZK/U Berlin, the Center for Art and Urbanism, while conducting an urban filmmaking workshop with Dublin-based filmmaker Paddy Cahill<sup>6</sup> (Figure 3). The Covid-19 pandemic reached Germany during the weeklong workshop in March 2020. Following this Berlin visit, Cahill was diagnosed with a terminal illness and sadly passed away at the age of 44. The authors decided to dedicate their Berlin book to this influential Irish architectural documentary filmmaker.



*Figure 3. Urban Filmmaking Workshop co-tutored by Kaçmaz Erk and Cahill at ZK/U Berlin, 2020.*

Certain periods in the turbulent history of Berlin are widely covered in memory studies as well as film studies, both usually from the perspective of social sciences, including the work of Brian Ladd,<sup>7</sup> Karen Till,<sup>8</sup> Jennifer A. Jordan,<sup>9</sup> Andrew J. Webber,<sup>10</sup> Stephen Barber,<sup>11</sup> and Simon Ward.<sup>12</sup> In their novel approach, the authors chose to keep the discussion interdisciplinary, but bring their architectural viewpoint to the foreground. They created a megastructure that can be applied to any city at any time in which urban strategies are added or discarded as to the architectural history of the place. The authors' interest is not necessarily how buildings are designed and constructed, but rather how and why structures change their form, use and meaning in time. These transformations in the city, they believe, also influence the various layers of memory in the urban landscape either towards remembering or forgetting.

As visualized in the diagram below (Figure 4), the authors identified 12 urban strategies for their Berlin book. Within this megastructure, more could be added, such as Nazification/de-Nazification (Tempelhof Airport), subtraction (stripping the ornamentation of *Altbauen*, Berlin's old apartment buildings) and expectedly gentrification (Kreuzberg and Prenzlauer Berg). However, the authors decided that the twelve identified urban strategies below were sufficient for the discussion they were interested in around the concept of urban memory.



*Figure 4. The megastructure of urban strategies in Reframing Berlin on a memory spectrum.*

For each urban strategy, two unrelated case studies were chosen to show that strategies may support forgetting or remembrance, depending on the identified case study, as well as the application of the urban strategy on that structure. For example, the appropriation of the Berlin TV Tower, which was originally built to express the technological power of East Germany, into a symbol of reunited Berlin, triggered the forgetting of the socialist layer of the structure's and Alexanderplatz's memory, as framed in Figure 5, whereas the appropriation of the *Neue Wache* monument on Unter den Linden by

various regimes - be it imperial, totalitarian, socialist or democratic - multiplied the layers of memory at this prominent location. The book includes classic case studies, such as the Brandenburg Gate, Checkpoint Charlie, and more recently the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, all built and transformed by the authorities, as well as not-so-typical case studies such as Berlin techno clubs, Nazi bunkers, and escape tunnels, some of which are grassroots initiatives.

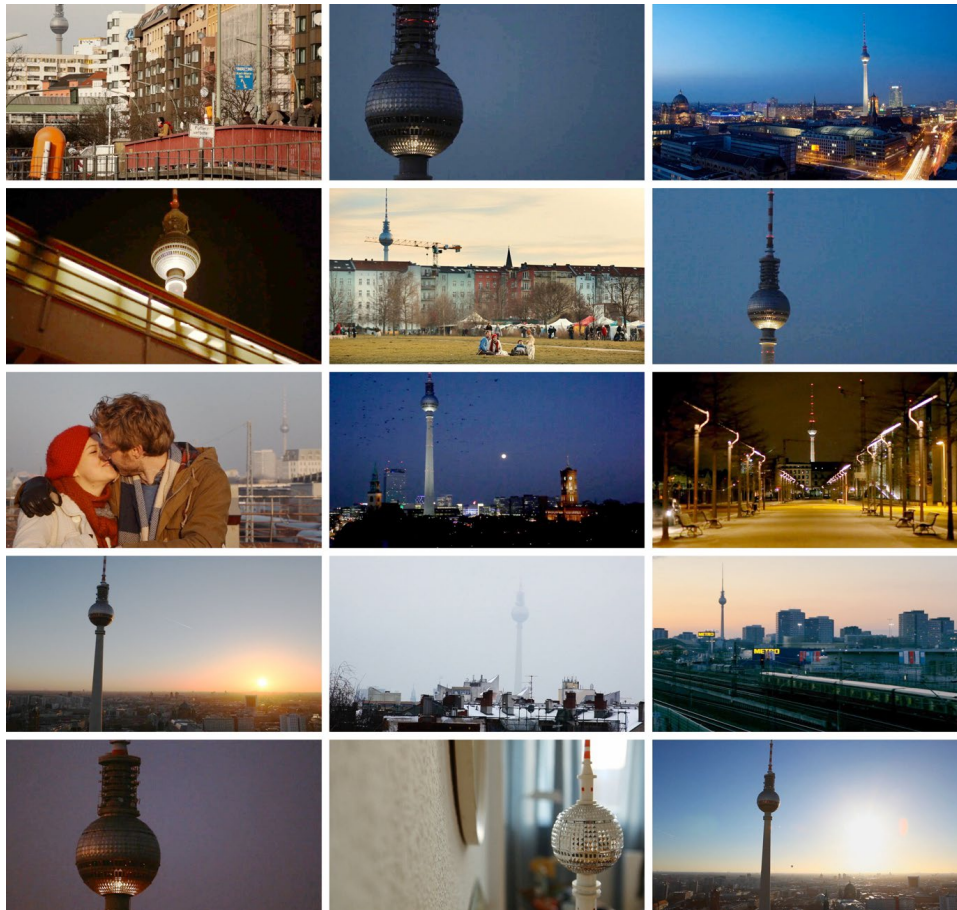


Figure 5. Collage of film stills from *Meet me in Montenegro* (Alex Holdridge and Linnea Saasen, 2014) framing the TV Tower in various sizes as a landmark and symbol of (not East but) reunified Berlin.

*Reframing Berlin* covers 12 urban strategies and 24 case studies. However, the first draft contained 14 strategies and 4 additional cases. This is because the authors ‘wrote like crazy’ during the pandemic, only later understanding that they had written too much: their contract with Intellect Books was for up to 90,000 words, but they had written 120,000. For the book, the authors then removed the case studies of the urban strategies Touristification and Replication, which analyzed GDR Museums and Info-Boxes as well as Ephraim Palace and Pariser Platz.

Dublin-based architectural historian Kathleen James-Chakraborty read the first draft of the book, chapter by chapter, and gave invaluable feedback to the authors. This was necessary for historical accuracy but also to benefit from James-Chakraborty’s expertise about the significance of the authors’ approach within literature. As the author of *Modernism as Memory: Building Identity in the Federal Republic of Germany* (2018) explains in their foreword of *Reframing Berlin*,<sup>13</sup> James-Chakraborty sees the authors’ approach as a new way of looking at the architecture and memory of the city:

“Considering the way in which Berlin has been filmed is, of course, not new. But this collection is unique in the way in which its analysis of the built environment is organized. In place of a

chronological narrative or indeed a tour of the city that follows a cartographic path, the authors analyze pairs of buildings in terms of their fate over time or, in one final and particularly meaningful coupling, their purpose. While scholarly analyses of Berlin have for 30 years been dominated by the theme of memory, Wilson and Kaçmaz Erk's typological focus on fate of buildings generates fresh pairings and perspectives that provoke us to think in new ways about how the life cycles of buildings affect our experience of the cities they shape. The transformation of their appearances, purposes and meanings across time are presented here in ways that challenge us to think anew about the multiple ways in which specific sites contribute to shaping our experience and understanding of the city as a whole."

*Reframing Berlin* is arguably the first book in English that looks at the period from 1895 to the 2020s in a scientific way to evaluate the architectural, urban and memory changes in the city through 24 case studies, using film as an archive. Notable previous research projects, some of which are mentioned before, cover certain eras such as the Cold War or Post-Reunification, or certain styles such as Nazi architecture or Socialist Urbanism. The authors did not find a study that looks at the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a whole from the perspective of the 21<sup>st</sup> in a similar way.

Architects benefitting from cinema as a spatial archive in a comprehensive study (on Berlin) is also not common. In the text, the authors constantly refer to Berlin films to make a point while they also use hundreds of film stills to visually represent these points. Film stills are collaged thematically, meaning an illustration in the book is made up of (usually eight) film stills that represent the building or structure at different times throughout the film history. Examples of film stills collaged to create a new meaning or argument by using film as an archive can be seen in Figures 5 and 6. The collage of the Victory Column, for instance, shows how the memory of the structure did not change much, although it was relocated and even made taller. The collage of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church on the other hand clearly demonstrates the changing form, meaning and memory of the building.



Figure 6. Collage of contemporary film stills depicting Frank Gehry's DZ Bank in Berlin as other buildings.

*Reframing Berlin* has other unique features. Along with a detailed bibliography and index (with thanks to Chris Dance), it includes a filmography listing more than 1200 Berlin feature films. This by no means covers everything filmed in Berlin since the invention of cinema in 1895. However, it includes most of the notable fiction films shot on location in Berlin and its UFA studios. The authors

personally watched more than 300 Berlin films and used these films and their analyses in literature to shape the book with an architectural point of view.

The authors not only excluded illustrations other than film stills but also benefitted from film quotes about Berlin as introductions to the each of the book's sections. For example, in *Berlin Alexanderplatz*,<sup>14</sup> Francis' girlfriend Mieke says, "You will see how Francis comes to Berlin. How he stumbles three times and falls. How he gets up, again and again. Only to be broken by this city once and for all." In *Berlin, I Love You* (Dianna Agron et al., 2019), when Mandy says, "Is this typical Berlin?" Nico replies: "Nothing is typical Berlin." Film quotes in the book are not always verbal. In *Wings of Desire* (Wim Wenders, 1987), arguably the best Berlin film ever made, graffiti on the Anhalter Bahnhof Bunker reads as: "Those who build bunkers throw bombs." With these deliberate touches, film is incorporated into the makeup of the book.

Having said all this, film and even architecture are 'tools' in the book, not the goal. What the authors reveal is the complex structure and layering of urban memory in the city – via tangible and intangible indicators represented in Berlin films. In this context, some of the conclusions that come out of *Reframing Berlin* can be listed as follows:

Those urban interventions that do not ignore but celebrate the many layers of a city are mindful 'memory-works'. Norman Foster's renovation of the Reichstag respects the building's many layers of memory. It turns the historical building into a modern parliament; it stages Soviet graffiti from 1945 and showcases works of art related to the past and heritage of the city. Foster and his team supplemented the parliament building with a new glass dome, which adds a new layer of memory to the mix. (Atypically, the original building also had a glass dome that looked somewhat alien to the heaviness of the building underneath.)

Attempts to erase urban memory to privilege one memory over others usually causes more harm than good. Despite protests, an iconic building constructed and occupied in East Germany, the Palace of the Republic on the Museum Island, was demolished with a political decision after the reunification, despite millions of euros were spent to clean up the asbestos in the building. *Palast der Republik* housed the parliament of the GDR and was used by East Germans of all ages as a well-liked communal space with auditoriums, restaurants, bars, disco, post office, etc. The symbolic building was constructed on the site of the *Stadtsschloss*, German imperial palace, which was damaged during the war and demolished following WWII. The decision was to replicate the *Schloss* partly and build a museum on this contested site. The result, Humboldt Forum, is a kitsch collage of historical and contemporary forms that ignores the socialist heritage in the area. Through demolition and appropriation, GDR layers of memory are mostly ignored in Mitte.

One can also argue too much memorialization in the built environment risks the saturation and devaluation of those memorials. A project that artist Günter Demnig started as a tribute to the victims of the Holocaust seems to be getting out of hand. Demnig's Stumbling Stones include hand-made personalized brass stones to be placed in the pavement, close to where a Jewish Berliner lived or worked. There are about 7,500 stumbling blocks in Berlin and about 75,000 in Europe.

Cinema is an archive for heritage studies, architectural research, urbanism, history, and memory studies. Some tangible or intangible heritage survives harsh tests of time, some do not. Either way, film provides researchers resources to study the past of a city and to look at architecture and urbanism from the filmmakers' perspective.

*Reframing Berlin* would not be published without several coincidences. It would not be out in 2023 if the authors did not work together at Izmir University of Economics in the late 2000s (with the efforts of Tevfik Balcıoğlu), if Wilson did not email Kaçmaz Erk that day in 2012 about the conference in Melbourne, if Queen's and Ringling did not support the researchers' field work, several conference presentations, and particularly their sabbatical in 2019-2020 and, it can be argued, if the pandemic did

not hit during their sabbatical so the authors had nothing but work to hold on to and each wrote 2000 words every single week to share with each other in their lengthy Friday meetings.

This has been a long and fruitful journey with concrete outputs in the end. The authors continue their collaborations to spread the word about the book via international talks and book launches. These include Belfast, Istanbul, Izmir, Johannesburg, Prague, Sarasota, and Toronto so far, and an upcoming visit is scheduled for San Francisco. They are keen to open a new discussion about Berlin's memory and bring this new methodology to other cinematic cities in the world.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Christopher S. Wilson, *Beyond Anıtkabir: The Funerary Architecture of Atatürk* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013).
- <sup>2</sup> Gül Kaçmaz Erk, *Architecture in Cinema: A Relation of Representation Based on Space* (Koln: Lambert, 2009).
- <sup>3</sup> Eser Selen, Gül Kaçmaz Erk and Christopher S. Wilson, "Teaching Art History to Design Students," *The International Journal of the Humanities* 5(7) (2007): 65-72, accessed January 25, 2024, <https://cgscholar.com/bookstore/works/teaching-art-history-to-design-students>.
- <sup>4</sup> Gül Kaçmaz Erk and Christopher S. Wilson, "Framed Memories of Berlin: Film, Architecture and Remembrance" *Architecture and Culture* 6(2) (2018): 243-263, accessed January 25, 2024, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/20507828.2018.1478513>.
- <sup>5</sup> Karl Scheffler, *Berlin, ein Stadtschicksal (Berlin, A City Fate)* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 1910).
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- <sup>8</sup> Karen Till. *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005
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- <sup>13</sup> Christopher S. Wilson and Gül Kaçmaz Erk, *Reframing Berlin: Architecture, Memory-Making and Film Locations* (Bristol and Chicago: Intellect, 2023): x.
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# **A PRELIMINARY STUDY ON EVERYDAY PLACEMAKING OF HERITAGE SITES IN THE POST-PANDEMIC ERA: A CASE STUDY OF THE HISTORIC CENTRE OF MACAO**

Author:

**WEIJIA WANG**

Affiliation:

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND ARTS, MACAU UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, CHINA

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## **INTRODUCTION**

With the most Covid-19 pandemic restrictions lifted in many parts of the world since the year of 2022, a paradigm shift in how we use urban space in the post-pandemic era calls for rethinking and reimagining ordinary individuals' everyday place in cities. Especially, publicly accessible space plays a critical role in people's quality of life in densely populated areas. The ways that high-density cities leverage their urban environment thus have a huge impact on residents' daily urban life in the post-COVID-19 era as people's way of life have greatly changed for the past three years. In dimensions from design and management, the obviously transformed patterns of people-space interactions demand for re-examining individuals' making of their own living environment. A resilient approach of designing and managing a more adaptive built environment in densely populated urban environment is thus urgently needed for the post-pandemic world.

Furthermore, in compact urban settings like Macao where legitimated historic sites are centrally located in the city center and deeply integrated into the urban fabric, how high-density heritage cities balance the past and the present to meet the constantly changing urban demands face even greater challenges as most previous conservation practices focused too heavily on restoration of the built historic environment, which even caused that "much of the everyday landscape of the city has become a monument".<sup>1</sup> After long implementing a strict zero-Covid policy, Macao has relaxed many restrictions since December 2022 including strict lockdowns and quarantine rules for visitors. It has reopened its border to both domestic and international tourists since it imposed travel restrictions in early 2020. This research selected the Historic Centre of Macao as a case study to examine and elaborate ordinary people's placemaking in a heritage city in the post-pandemic time. Design strategies and recommendations of urban heritage sites are addressed. The intersection of urban design and management and heritage conversation is where this study located.

## **THE CONCEPT OF PLACE IN EVERYDAY LIFE**

Investigating the "rich and complicated interplay between people and the environment",<sup>2</sup> this study adopts a theoretical perspective from the concept of place. As an approach to research people, space, and the relationship between the two, conceptions of place have been studied by scholars from various disciplines of human geography, architecture, and urban studies. It is a conjunction of built

environment, culture, and people, which combines location, locale, and identity and is endowed with meaning.<sup>3</sup> Focusing on common people’s daily practices and their lived experiences, human geographer Relph points out that space and place were dialectically structured in people’s everyday activities and their experiences.<sup>4</sup> He sees the meaning of place was derived from its spatial context. Tuan indicates that “the ideas ‘space’ and ‘place’ require each other for definition ... if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place”.<sup>5</sup> He contends that space endowed with human meanings was transformed into place. He also presents a place’s four dimensions that were physical, personal, social, and cultural aspects. In specific, Canter proposes a theoretical model for a conception of place. In his book *The Psychology of Place*, he elaborates that place was constituted of three major elements that were physical attributes, individual’s activities, and his conception (Figure 1).<sup>6</sup> Moreover, Canter’s trinity model of place is employed as the theoretical framework for this study to investigate common individuals’ placemaking in post-pandemic heritage sites of a densely populated city.

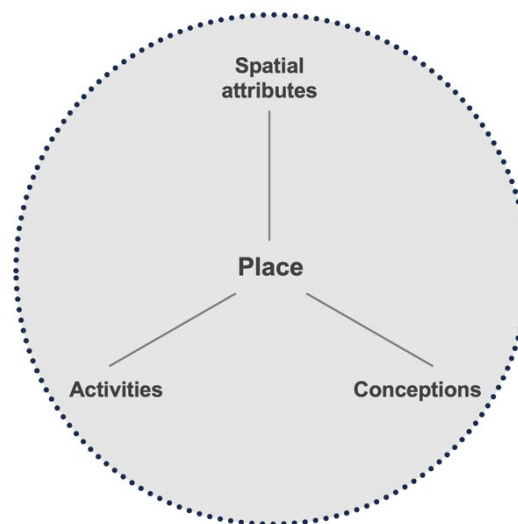


Figure 1. Canter’s theoretical model of place

In addition, as everyday life is the organization of the routine mundane events and ordinary activities, “the screen on which society projects its light and its shadow, its hollows and its planes, its power and its weakness”,<sup>7</sup> which plays an essential role in creating spatiality. It is “what we are given every day (or what is willed to us), what presses us, even oppresses us”.<sup>8</sup> In the post-pandemic era, common individuals, especially residents, tend to keep living significantly different lifestyles. In a compact high-density heritage city, the ways that ordinary people make their own everyday places demonstrate a contemporary meaning of heritage places.

## METHODOLOGY

To “investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context”,<sup>9</sup> the densely populated Historic Centre of Macao was selected as the case area (Figure 2). With a land area of 33.3 square kilometres and a population of 672,800, Macau Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People’s Republic of China comprises the Macau Peninsula and the two islands of Taipa and Coloane linked by the Cotai reclamation area, which makes the city one of the most densely populated areas in the world.<sup>10</sup>

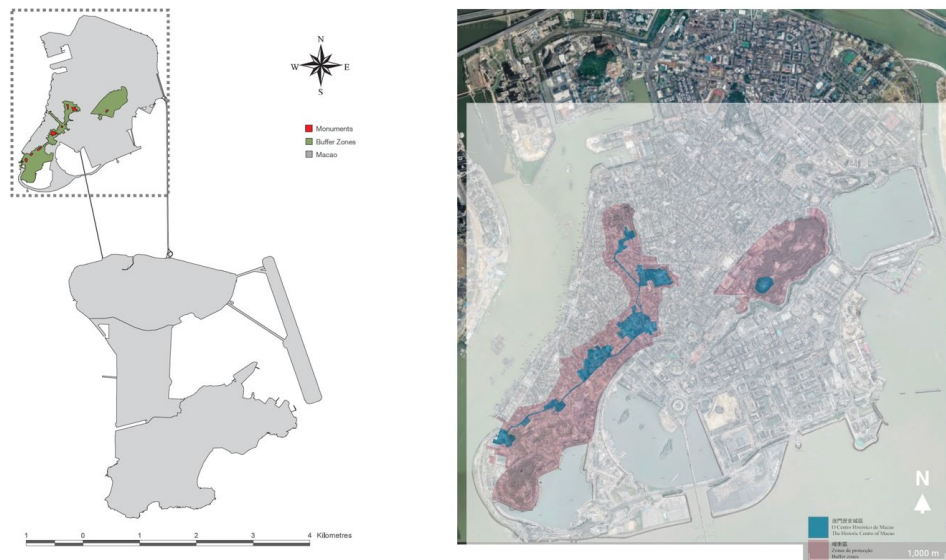


Figure 2. The Historic Centre of Macao and its buffer zones

Source: The figure is edited by the author, which is based on images extracted from “The Historic monuments of Macao. Application to UNESCO for inscription on the World Heritage List by Macao SAR, formally submitted by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of PRC” and Google Satellite images.

Designated as a UNESCO world heritage site in 2005, the Historic Centre of Macao and its buffer zones are collections of architectural legacies of the city's cultural heritage, which comprise more than twenty ancient monuments, various historic streets, residential and religious buildings, and public spaces interwoven in the heart of the mixed used Macau Peninsula. On the one hand, it provides a unique testimony to the mix of eastern and western influences, which is primarily based on the vibrancy of international trade. Particularly, it is under the Cultural Heritage Protection Law, so all constructions are strictly restricted and regulated. However, on the other hand, the Center and its buffer zone occupy a land of almost 90 hectares in one of the city's prime locations, which primarily constitutes an important part of the supply of urban space. Thus, the case area is an ideal and lively site to examine ordinary people's everyday living in the post-pandemic era rather than simply focusing on heritage conservation.

Regarding specific data collection methods and following Canter's trinity model of place, this preliminary study employs spatial survey, walk-by observations, and in-depth interview respectively to examine physical attributes of the Historic Centre of Macao and its buffer zones as each component could possibly “has left a lasting, visible, and mysterious imprint in the present,”<sup>11</sup> to investigate residents' daily people-environment interactions, and then to explore their conceptions of the making of everyday place in the post Covid-19 historic city. That is, centrally located urban heritage like the Historic Centre of Macao needs re-examining its roles within the consideration of everyday functions as the way that high-density historic cities leverage their heritage sites in the post-pandemic era have a significant impact not only on visitors' travel experiences but also especially on ordinary residents' daily urban life. It is this kind of study which is the core of this research project.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### Heritage sites could potentially complement the city's urban function.

Located in one of Macao's prime urban neighborhoods, the Historic Center of Macao and its buffer zones have a land area of about 90 hectares. Deeply integrated with local urban fabric, they primarily provide indispensable urban space for the daily life of residents in the city. Being publicly accessible

and relatively open, these legitimated historic sites afford common individuals' high-density contemporary urban living (Figure 3). With relatively high degree of accessibility and proximity to the surrounding densely populated neighborhood, highly localized squares particularly in the historic center to a great extent could complement the city's urban function to potentially accommodate individuals' daily recreational and social activities to meet their dynamic urban needs. In the context of a high-density city with a serious shortage of land supply, centrally located the Historic Center of Macau thus moves beyond its historic significance to respond to the constantly changing present urban demands.

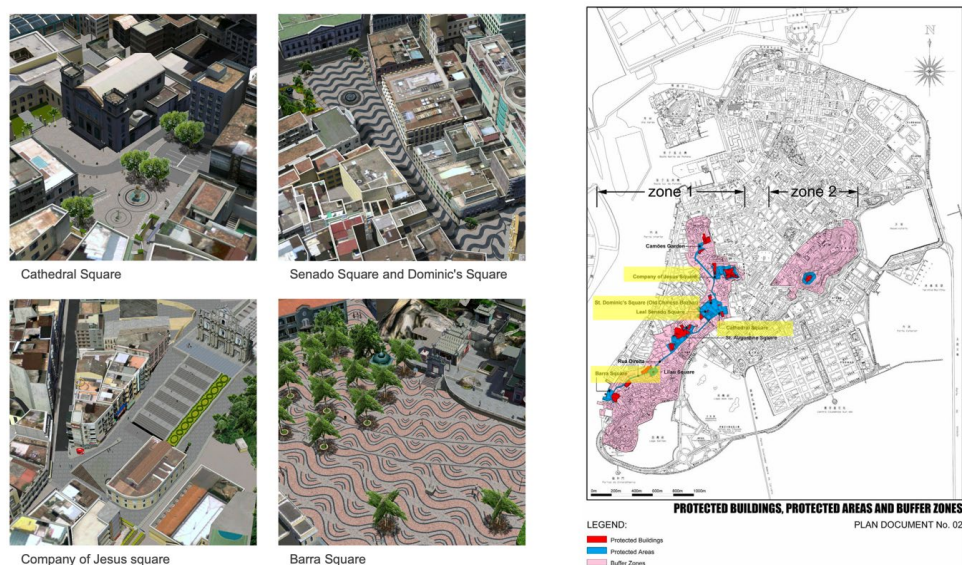


Figure 3. Urban open heritage sites

Source: The figure is edited by the author, which is based on images extracted from “The Historic monuments of Macao. Application to UNESCO for inscription on the World Heritage List by Macao SAR, formally submitted by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of PRC” and screenshots from <https://webmap.gis.gov.mo/InetGIS/chn/index.html>.

### Heritage sites as individuals' lived places

In the post-pandemic era, the Historic Center of Macau and its buffer zones tend to keep being widely used by residents as they do during the pandemic. Outdoor seats and openness of space afford people to stay and live their own daily life. Through common people's everyday appropriated spatial uses, a generally tourist-centered heritage site transforms and reveals itself to various mundane everyday scenarios, which makes legitimated historic sites into individuals' lived places. At different times of a day, various groups of individuals utilize heritage sites to meet their own diverse urban needs. Children play in the squares and elderly residents spend most of their day on the benches to enjoy as much sunshine as possible. At late night, people gather and even walk their bikes in the historic square. In this sense, heritage sites have evolved into individuals' lived places where people freely conduct their daily practices, through which heritage settings are endowed with the present meanings rather than simply appreciated with the historic significance (Figure 4). To answer the critical question “What time is this place?” asked by Lynch,<sup>12</sup> the Historic Center of Macau and its buffer zones are filled with everyday reality, which moves beyond its defined and designed monumental values.



Figure 4. Everyday placemaking at night

Source: The figure is edited by the author, which is based on screenshots from

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ctYalRx7kY4&ab\\_channel=%E6%BE%B3%E9%96%80%E7%89%B9%E5%88%A5%E8%A1%8C%E6%94%BF%E5%8D%80%E6%94%BF%E5%BA%9C%E5%B8%82%E6%94%BF%E7%BD%B2IAM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ctYalRx7kY4&ab_channel=%E6%BE%B3%E9%96%80%E7%89%B9%E5%88%A5%E8%A1%8C%E6%94%BF%E5%8D%80%E6%94%BF%E5%BA%9C%E5%B8%82%E6%94%BF%E7%BD%B2IAM) .

### Residents' conceptions of “everyday heritage”

When asking residents “what is an ideal heritage site from the perspective of everyday life”, most responses tend to pay attention to both the past and the present, the visitors and themselves. To balance the tourists’ experiencing and with residents’ daily needs can help maintain the vitality of the heritage site. However, as residents have dramatically experienced the overcrowding of visitors before the pandemic and almost no tourists during the Covid-19, in the post-pandemic era, the moderate capacity of visitors are particularly addressed by many interviewees, which asks both residents and visitors “to maximize opportunity and minimize disruption”.<sup>13</sup> In addition, adding more attractions to let people stay is mentioned when the respondent thinks about making his own everyday heritage.

### CONCLUSION

It is concluded although centrally located heritage site is still possibly “a landmark that will put the city on the tourist’s mental map”.<sup>14</sup> In the meantime, it tends to keep constituting a resilient urban environment to facilitate and sustain ordinary individuals’ daily lives in the post-pandemic era in the densely populated urban context. The appropriated historic places leverage spatial capacity into the mundane everyday lives. Especially in the context of high-density historical cities, everyday placemaking of urban heritage needs unlocking, which achieves “a form of spiritual unity between humans and the material world”.<sup>15</sup>

### LIMITATIONS

At last, it should be mentioned that this preliminary study only stated since early this year when Covid-19 restrictions were lifted. In addition, it should also be noted that this research employed a single case of the Historic Centre of Macao and its buffer zones to investigate, which could possibly not generalize to the greatest extent, as, for instance, different urban historic places own different cultural norms and social values. Therefore, the scope of this research is to elaborate a representative case site rather than proposing a “one size fit all” scenario.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank the Higher Education Fund (NO. M22-0000376452) from the Education and Youth Development Bureau of the Government of the Macau Special Administrative Region for the support of this study.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Michele Lamprakos, "The Idea of the Historic City," *Change over Time* 4, no. 1 (2014): 9.
- <sup>2</sup> Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 11.
- <sup>3</sup> John A Agnew, *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society* (Boston, MA: Allen and Unwin, 1987), 26-28.
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- <sup>6</sup> David Canter, *The Psychology of Place* (London: Architectural Press, 1977), 105-127.
- <sup>7</sup> Henry Lefebvre, *The Critique of Everyday Life, Vol. 1* (London: Verso, 1991), 18.
- <sup>8</sup> Michel de Certeau, Luce Giard and Pierre Mayol, *The Practice of Everyday Life: Volume 2: Living and Cooking*, trans. Timothy J. Tomasik (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 3.
- <sup>9</sup> Robert K Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (London: SAGE, 1994), 13.
- <sup>10</sup> "Macao in Figures 2023," Government of Macao Special Administrative Region Statistics and Census Service, accessed July 11, 2023.  
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- <sup>11</sup> John G Robb, "The Ritual Landscape Concept in Archaeology: A Heritage Construction." *Landscape Research* 23, no. 2 (1998): 163.
- <sup>12</sup> Kevin Lynch, *What Time Is This Place?* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1972), 1-28.
- <sup>13</sup> Karen Franck and Stevens Quentin, *Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life* (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2006), 94.
- <sup>14</sup> Briavel Holcomb, "Marketing Cities for Tourism," in *The Tourist City*, eds. Dennis R Judd and Susan S Fainstein (London: Yale University Press, 1999), 58.
- <sup>15</sup> Paul Knox and Heike Mayer, *Small Town Sustainability: Economic, Social, and Environmental Innovation* (Switzerland: Birkhäuser, 2013), 76.

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# THE IMPACT OF GRAFFITI IMAGES ON IMAGE OF THE CITY AND VISUAL QUALITY IN HASHEMI SHAMALI, AMMAN

Author:

**MAJD ALBAIK**

Affiliation:

THE HASHEMITE UNIVERSITY, JORDAN

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## INTRODUCTION

Recently, Graffiti art has been strongly getting out in Amman the capital of Jordan on the walls of alleyways to bring a touch of beauty to the place. Where Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) has encouraged this action of change dead walls in Amman to colored walls. The Hashemi Shamali District has become a hub for this art, with many buildings and retaining walls transformed into colorful landmarks. This has also drawn in artists from around the world to participate. Therefore, the purpose of this research is studied the relation between design graffiti and visual quality of city, showing the impact on humans who are the part of nature. Also, protecting the art that has become a part of the city's urban.

Graffiti can be considered a form of artistic expression that involves creating images or writing on public spaces without permission.<sup>1</sup> While it can be seen as a way to express one's thoughts or ideas, it is also often considered a form of vandalism and can result in legal consequences.<sup>2</sup> Some people may view graffiti as a way to challenge societal norms or to convey political messages,<sup>3</sup> while others may simply see it as a form of visual art.<sup>4</sup> Ultimately, the meaning and intent behind graffiti can vary widely depending on the artist and the context in which it is created. It's important to acknowledge that there are different perspectives on this issue and to consider the cultural and social factors that contribute to these views. By exploring the aesthetic meanings of graffiti and understanding the perceptions of the local community, the research help to challenge negative stereotypes and promote a more nuanced understanding of this art form.

In Jordan, the creation of images or murals in public spaces may be regulated by the Greater Amman Municipality, which means that it may not necessarily be considered graffiti in the traditional sense of the term. While graffiti is often associated with unauthorized and often illegal art in public spaces, the creation of public art through authorized means can still be a form of artistic expression. The meaning and intent behind these images may still vary, but the fact that they are created with the approval of the municipality suggests that they are viewed differently from traditional graffiti.

Numerous research studies have explored the phenomenon of graffiti, which has become an inherent part of our daily visual culture, whether intentionally or unintentionally. By analyzing graffiti within urban environments, valuable insights can be gained into the behavior, attitudes, and social processes of specific societies.<sup>5</sup> Academic investigations focusing on the historical development and socio-cultural context of graffiti in the United States and Europe have garnered increasing interest.<sup>6</sup> While

contemporary society has raised concerns regarding the criminal associations linked to graffiti in urban settings,<sup>7</sup> it is important to recognize that graffiti holds a wealth of information and can be viewed as external expressions of diverse subcultures.

The significance of this research is to purposefully highlight the art of graffiti, and emphasize the aesthetic meanings of graffiti art, where it was generally common that there are some misunderstandings about the art of graffiti, which state that it is not always connected to a gang but is the culture and perception of a social class. Also, to explore the advantages of street art and graffiti for urban cities.

The research timeline was set to span from February 2022 to September 2022. The commencement of interviews and the administration of questionnaires took place in June, taking into consideration the availability of participants. The study aims to investigate the correlation between graffiti found in the vicinity of public spaces in Amman and the visual quality within those areas. To accomplish this, a quantitative methods approach was employed, specifically utilizing an explanatory sequential quantitative method design.

### Research Setting

The study was carried out in Amman, Jordan, which is separated into twenty-seven regions, one of which being Basman. This region is divided also into several neighborhoods, one of which is Al Hashmi Al Shamali, it is one of the densely populated residential areas (see figure 1). toxicity of this name relative to The Hashemites. it includes many neighborhoods, mostly relative to Palestinian families, such as AlAkarmeh neighborhood, Naifeh neighborhood, and Zaghatet neighborhood. Hashemi Shamali, a low-income neighborhood that, due to its low cost/high service access combination, has become the home to thousands of refugees over the past 15 years. The study area in Naifeh neighborhood is a small area where it can be accessed through the main street "Al-Bathaa Street ", where irregularly arranged buildings belonging to one land are organized (see figure 2). Add to that, the construction material of their buildings is brick.

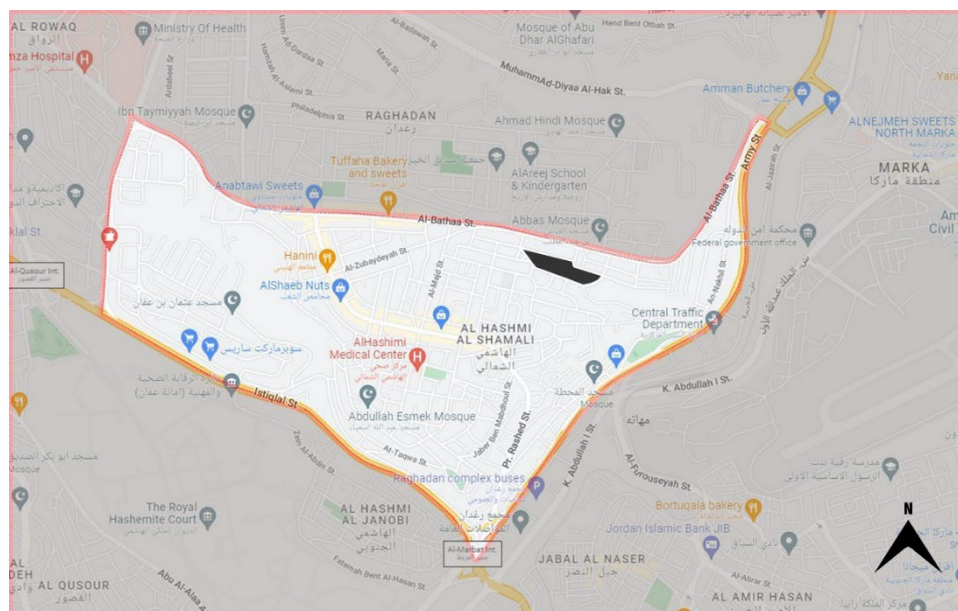


Figure 1. Al Hashmi Al Shamali region. Source: Amman City GIS Edit by Researher.





Figure 2. Map of focus area in Naifeh neighborhood. Source: Amman City GIS Edit by Researher.

In this part of the area many projects have been completed to insert the color and enhance culture to this area. It began in 2017 when the annual Baladk Urban Arts Festivals created a mural map with the help of international artists, local artists, and a few civil societies. Most of the murals are in this area of Amman.

### Literature Review

Suppose that art is a means of communication, a way to convey the creator's most deeply ideas and feelings to the audience, then art must be accessible to a wider audience than just the select group of artists. Because the artist does not produce works to please his contemporaries or to portray his humanity, emotions, or social skills.<sup>8</sup> Art should not only be found in museums but also in public spaces like the street. A street can be simply defined as a paved road connecting buildings. It is a crucial component of any Civil Environment's surrounding areas and serves as a space where people can congregate freely to converse and travel. A flat street is possible.

The phrase "street art" acknowledges that any form of art may be exhibited in public spaces, even if it typically refers to unrestricted art rather than projects supported by the government. However, a variety of other media and technologies, such as the arts of light, mosaic, and fresco, have been used into street art. This type of art has gained popularity in a typical and quick manner and has become a stand-alone method of advertising. An artistic contract has occasionally been signed by artists and businesses. However, artists who want to preserve their work and are independent of political power frequently refer to their discipline as "graffiti" in official documents. As of right now, this form.<sup>9</sup>

According to definitions, graffiti is a text-based art form that entails writing one's name or the name of a significant to the artist object on a public surface.<sup>10</sup> Street art stresses the visual image, the contextual use of space, and a greater variety of materials that go beyond the spry can while being less concerned with lettering. While street art is more meticulously organized, more creative, and frequently displays a message for the public, graffiti is used to occasionally broadcast coarse remarks to the globe.

Numerous studies have been done on graffiti as a form of communication that, whether intentionally or not, enters our daily visual culture. Understanding a society's behavior, attitude, and social processes can be greatly aided by an investigation of graffiti in the urban environment. Growing interests has been shown in academic studies examining the sociocultural background of graffiti in

Europe and the United States as well as its historical history. The criminal stigma that has been connected to graffiti in metropolitan areas has recently drawn more attention from our society, yet graffiti is still full of information and can be understood as the outer expressions of many different subcultures.

The concept of Visual Quality refers to the varying degrees of aesthetic appreciation and subjective opinions that individuals hold regarding living organisms, objects, and the surrounding environment.<sup>11</sup> According to,<sup>12</sup> visual qualities in an environment possess both perceptual and objective characteristics, encompassing numerous variables within its scope. This complexity makes 'visual quality' one of the most challenging phenomena to analyze and measure in any given setting.

When considering its theoretical aspects, aesthetics serves as a pivotal criterion in environmental design, influencing the preservation and enhancement of 'landscape visual quality' within ecologically sustainable landscaping.<sup>13</sup> In this regard, researchers often find it beneficial to employ spatial applications for analysis. Common methods for evaluating environmental quality involve the use of photographic images and digital drawings.

When considering contemporary graffiti as an essential part of visual culture, I consider<sup>14</sup> approach most useful. She indicates that, in addition to the study of images, the field of visual culture includes questions of vision, visual production, power relations and aesthetic values. The visual aspects of the images, such as format and content, are extremely important features to be considered in the research of visual culture. To further clarify the impact of these visual elements in graffiti.

In Amman, the primary hub for graffiti, there is a noticeable lack of comprehensive research examining the impact of graffiti on the image of the city. Despite the prevalence of graffiti as a prominent form of urban expression, there is a dearth of studies that explore how graffiti contributes to shaping the overall perception and visual identity of Amman. The existing research in this area is limited and fails to provide a comprehensive understanding of the transformative power of graffiti on the cityscape. Therefore, there is an urgent need for further research to investigate and analyze how graffiti influences the image and reputation of Amman as a dynamic and culturally rich city. By delving into this topic, researchers can uncover the nuanced relationship between graffiti and the city's visual representation, ultimately contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the role of street art in shaping the urban landscape.

## **Methodology**

This research conducted the landscape analysis work in an objective way, the studies include observation, analysis, and synthesis, and these undergo the cognitive process of the human brain. On the other hand -within the scope of assessing qualitative values- visual quality, including the liked and disliked, is an emotional process which consists of people's preferences. Therefore, in this context, the components are analyzed, and the preferences are evaluated. A method designed and conducted the study defining strategies, data collection procedures, hypotheses, variables, and targeted groups.

By testing this hypothesis that is "There is a relationship between urban graffiti in areas surrounding public spaces in Al Hashmi Al Shamali and visual quality of this area".

Through observation of the site at different times the mural sites were dropped on the map locations (see figure 3). Where the whole neighborhood is featured is an open-air museum, a street-level exhibition of a decade's worth of spectacular murals painted by both local and international artists.



Figure 3. Map of Murals Locations. Source: <sup>15</sup>



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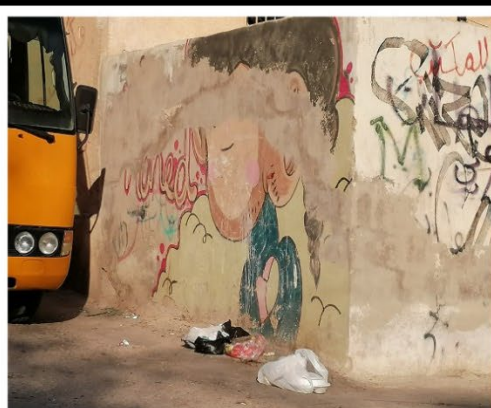
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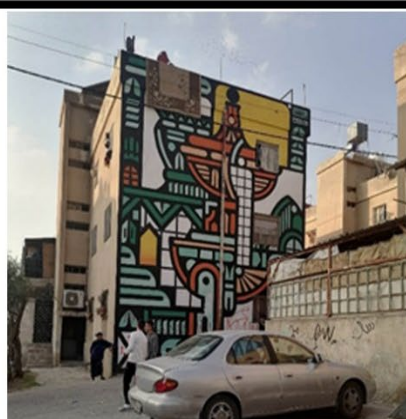
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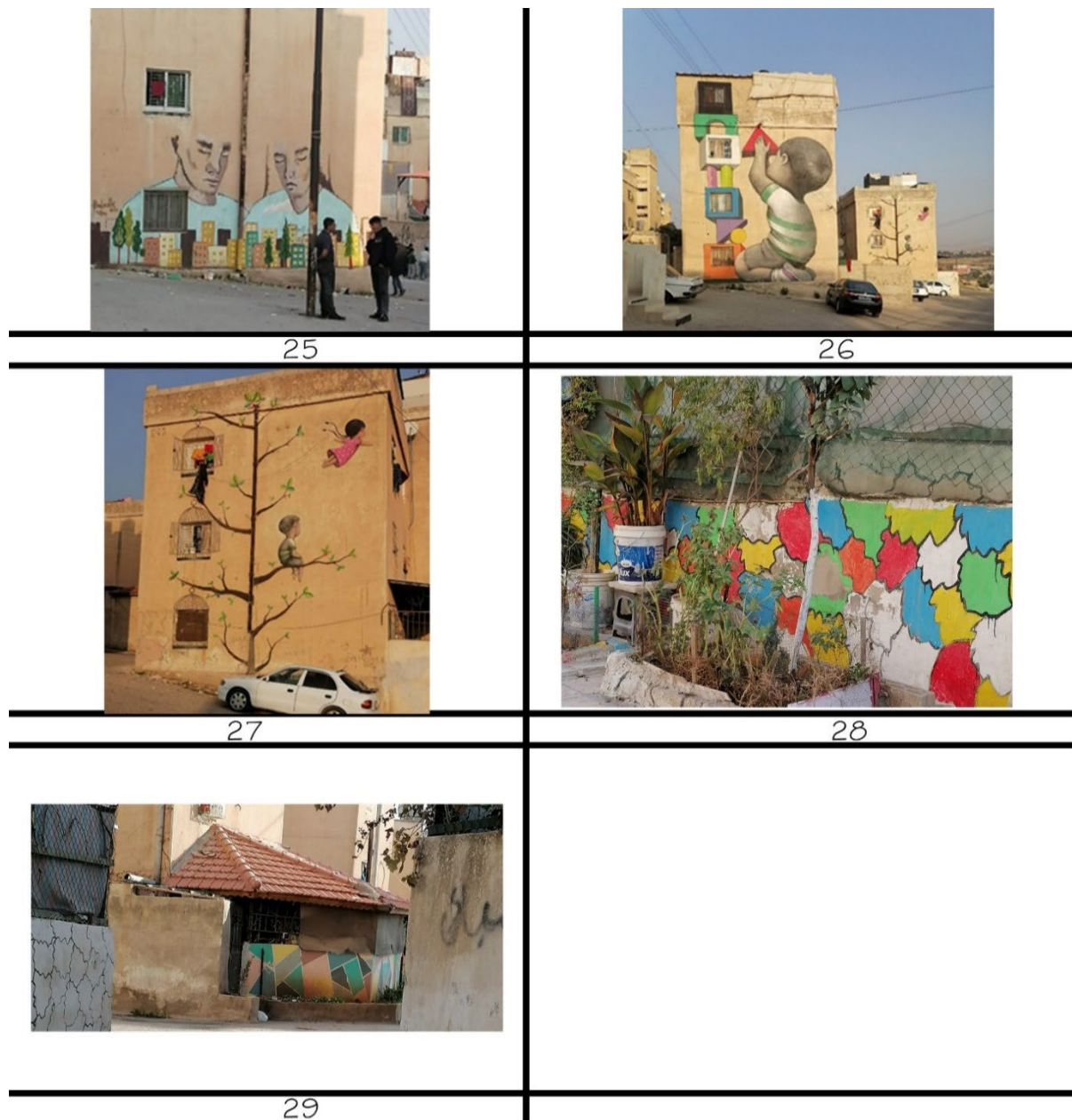


Figure 4. Murals in The Sites. Source: Researcher

### Measures/Variables

There are many factors that define the general hypothesis; urban graffiti is the independent variable in this study. The variables that will be measured are:

Image of graffiti: can contain writing, notation, and pictures.

- Tags as a signature:

A tag is a designed signature of a writer's name, usually made with a marker pen and in rather small size. It denoted only written names, which meant nothing and therefore could be considered empty signifiers. I will be measured by a photo questionnaire, show photos for tags on walls and relation with context and ask, what is aesthetic value in this type?

- Piece

Piece is short for masterpiece, which is a large multicolored mural with detailed design, including both text and pictures; emphasis on the act of drawing and painting rather than writing and the

purpose of the piece is artistic or simply expressive. I will be measured by a photo questionnaire, show photos for pieces on walls and relation with context and ask, what is aesthetic value in this type?

- **Bomb**

Bomb is to cover something completely with graffiti. I will be measured by a photo questionnaire, show photos of bombs on walls and relation with context and ask, what is aesthetic value in this type? The dependent variable is visual quality, and it has many variables that will be measured.

- **Imageability**

Imageability is the quality of a place that makes it distinct, recognizable, and memorable. A place has high imageability when specific physical elements and their arrangement capture attention, evoke feelings, and create a lasting impression.<sup>16</sup>

- **Legibility**

Legibility refers to the ease with which the spatial structure of a place can be understood and navigated as a whole. The legibility of a place is improved by a street or pedestrian network that provides travelers with a sense of orientation and relative location and by physical elements that serve as reference points.

- **Aesthetic value**

Aesthetic value is the public opinion of interactions between people and their built environments. Formal qualities are the descriptive features of environment, independent from the viewer (e.g. textures, colors, rhythm, contrast) and sensory qualities — affective or judgmental responses (e.g. empty–dense, calm–exciting, interesting–boring, useless–useful).<sup>17</sup>

- **Continuity**

continuance of edge or surface (as in a street channel, skyline, or setback); nearness of parts (as a cluster of buildings); repetition of rhythmic interval (as a street-corner pattern); similarity, analogy, or harmony of surface, form, or use (as in a common building material, repetitive pattern of bay windows, similarity of market activity, use of common signs). These are the qualities that facilitate the perception of a complex physical reality as one or as interrelated, the qualities which suggest the bestowing of single identity.<sup>18</sup>

- **Likability**

Likability represents a psychological construction which includes subjective assessments about the environment.<sup>19</sup> Likability includes two types of variables. They are: Physical environment and User's reaction.<sup>20</sup>

#### Confounding Variables

Gender: male and female

Age: between 15-45 years

#### Target Population of Unit of Analysis

In this study the target population is from the local community mainly from Al Hashmi Al Shamali neighborhood, males, and females, of different ages between 15-45. The unit of analysis was the youth through random sampling technique. A face-to-face structured questionnaire, administered by the researcher, was used to elicit data.

#### Sampling Technique

A total number of 40 questionnaires were filled out by households' members living in each building in the main area. The questionnaire consisted of two main parts. The first sought simple demographic information while the second part is about images of graffiti and characters of visual quality.



In order to test the hypothesis, a questionnaire was developed to explore the aesthetic value of a set of murals found at the research site. The questionnaire aimed to investigate participants' perceptions of various factors related to the graffiti, including Imageability, Legibility, Aesthetic value, Continuity, and Likability, which served as the dependent variables in the study. Participants were asked to evaluate each graffiti artwork based on these criteria, providing their subjective opinions and assessments. By employing the questionnaire, the study aimed to gather valuable insights into how individuals perceive and attribute aesthetic value to different graffiti pieces within the research site. This data collection method allowed for a comprehensive examination of the impact of graffiti on the aforementioned dependent variables, shedding light on the intricate relationship between the artwork and the perception of its aesthetic qualities.

## **DISCUSSION**

In the analysis of the data, it was found that 70% of the sample preferred pictures, while 30% preferred tags and notations as forms of graffiti.

Regarding the questions related to visual quality, the findings are as follows:

**Imageability:** 58% of the participants stated that pictures helped them to remember the place and increased its identifiability.

**Legibility:** 60% of the participants emphasized that pictures made it easier for them to navigate and understand the street network. They also mentioned that the sites were linked relative to the pictures.

**Aesthetic value:** The aesthetic value was determined based on the public's opinion of the intersection between people and their environment, regardless of the texture, color, rhythm, or contrast of the pictures. The findings were as follows:

86% preferred dense pictures over empty ones.

52% preferred exciting pictures over calm ones.

91% preferred interesting pictures over boring ones.

89% preferred pictures that have meaning over meaningless ones.

**Continuity:** 84% of the participants expressed a preference for pictures that had a continuity pattern, as it reflected a positive image for their neighborhood.

These findings shed light on the participants' preferences and perceptions regarding the visual quality of graffiti in the studied area. The majority favored pictures, emphasizing their impact on imageability, legibility, aesthetic value, and continuity.

## **CONCLUSION**

The research identified that the murals which are distributed on the walls share untold stories. And filling its streets with countless stories of people living there, painted in youthful bright colors. While street art was once considered an illegal act of vandalism, it's now being viewed positively as a crucial tool to build peace and transform conflicts in the Jordanian society.

In addition, pictures that are mostly accepted by locals, even though it is not innovative by them, it's painted by international artists. where we notice in pictures number (11, 18, 29, 28) in the pictures table above, the shy attempts of the local community to express their admiration and imitate the whole image of their neighborhood.

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## ‘PRESERVABLE’ HISTORY AND THE CITY OF MOSCOW

Author:

**MATTHEW ARMITT**

Affiliation:

THE UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL LANCASHIRE (GRENFELL-BAINS INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTURE ), UK

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### INTRODUCTION

Some of the world's most majestic and remarkable Constructivist buildings from the 1920s and 1930s are found in Moscow. Over the last two decades, the crisis confronting Moscow's architectural legacy has spread beyond the limits of post-Soviet Russia and piqued the interest of the international architecture community. Given the capital's rich history and the political, economic, and cultural influences expressed in its built environment, we have been challenged to reconsider our perception of the city's constructivist buildings and their place within the urban context of the city. There are two categories of historic buildings in Moscow: those designated as 'architectural monuments' and those located in protected historic districts. The significance of preserving the city's Constructivist buildings has grown; however, preservationists and historians remain concerned as restrictions governing the restoration and reconstruction make them less appealing to preserve or even redevelop. Due to pressure for 'redevelopment' in the city, such risks range from minor adjustments to total demolitions or even significantly distorted 'reconstructions.' Some of Moscow's most iconic landmarks, including Moisei Ginzburg's Narkomfin building (since restored) and the Shukhov's Radio Tower, had been neglected for years (Fig. 1). While the intended demolition of the Shukhov Tower in 2014 was delayed following a major local and worldwide campaign, the fact that such a ridiculous concept was even considered is symptomatic of the tremendous threat these buildings face today. If preserving Constructivist masterpieces were difficult enough, convincing people of their significance and their inclusion into the city's urban context and the value this approach can bring is an even more difficult task that will continue to unfold in the coming years.

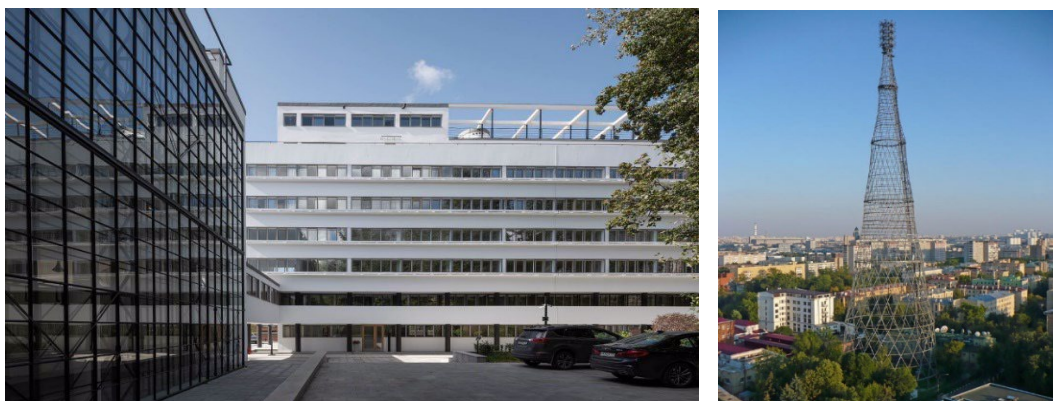


Figure 1. Left: The since restored Narkomfin Building (1928-1930), Moscow. Right, The Shukhov Radio Tower (1922), Moscow.

Moscow's Constructivist buildings are specialised, which made them efficient during the Soviet Constructivist era, but they lack the diversity that stimulates innovation and excellent modern life in Moscow. Unlike the city's previous administration, which never expressed much concern about the preservation of Moscow's architectural heritage and was frequently accused by preservation and historical activists of authorising the demolition of prominent buildings, Mayor Sergei Sobyenin has made it clear that chaotic construction in the city centre and the destruction of historic buildings must cease.<sup>1</sup> Moscow has three thousand, two hundred and fifty-one architectural heritage buildings (according to the state protection, preservation, utilisation, and popularisation of cultural assets) from 2012 to 2016, as prepared by City Hall's Department for Cultural Heritage. Eight hundred and thirty-six of them require renovation, while another two hundred and thirty-nine require immediate attention.<sup>2</sup> There are great examples of historical buildings being restored or adapted for modern use, having impacted the urban context, such as Melnikov's Bakhmetevsky Bus Garage, now a museum, or Ivan Nikolaev's student dormitories (Fig. 2), which are now housing students again. What can be seen is the number of buildings being restored is far too few for a city with such a fascinating architectural history, and there are still too many buildings at risk of being lost.

Buildings of the Russian Constructivist era had a lasting impact on world architecture, but it is still uncertain how to safeguard this heritage and ensure its inclusion in the city's urban context. While there are significant differences between these buildings from building type to condition. The development of urban green infrastructure today is said to be one of the Moscow government's top priorities. The Russian Federal Government's main goal is to diversify Moscow's economy, focusing on improving the urban environment and public space to improve the quality of life and foster positive socioeconomic processes. Green areas including urban forests, and city and district parks cover more than half of the city area<sup>3</sup> and provide important ecosystem services, among which climate mitigation, air quality control and recreation are considered the most valuable.<sup>4</sup> The Garden Ring where many of these green spaces are located, is the greatest project in the Moscow government's 'My Street' initiative and one of the most complex improvement projects in Moscow's contemporary history.<sup>5</sup> The initiative contains a 16-kilometre route that runs around the historic defence walls and serves as the principal circular ring road surrounding central Moscow.<sup>6</sup> The city's fascinating urban context and its existing Constructivist buildings to be restored or redeveloped present an opportunity to integrate Moscow's historical legacy into the city's developing urban context.



Figure 2. Left, Konstantin Melnikov Bakhmetevsky Bus Garage, Moscow Right, Ivan Nikolaev, Student Village, courtyard view, Sanitation Block and Instruction Block entrance, 1929–1930, Moscow.

## Research Aims

An approach to the city's historic context has frequently resulted in 'old buildings' being repaired separately from their context. This pushes restoration to the margins.<sup>7</sup> While a 'historic building' is regarded as something distinct from urban regeneration, there remains a 'siloed' approach to both contexts rather than an integrated one. The use of these historic assets to foster economic, social, and cultural regeneration through an "urban renaissance" is what restoring Constructivist buildings should be. The objective is to continue to create awareness about the threat to Moscow's Constructivist architectural buildings and legacy and to advocate for the preservation of the city's remaining Constructivist architecture through their inclusion in the city's changing urban context. This research aims to give a record of the current situation of Constructivist buildings as well as justification for their repair beyond their historical relevance. Some of the city's historic structures have already experienced irreparable changes, while the fate of others is unknown, if not foreboding,<sup>8</sup> discussing how these buildings might be better accommodated in the city's urban context. This will be accomplished by mapping the city and its Constructivist buildings to identify their value to existing green spaces and offering a strategy for integrating these buildings into the city's urban context, assisting in the city's long-term historical regeneration.

## METHODOLOGY

The research uses a set of analytical approaches for understanding Moscow's history and urban context without undertaking physical assessments. Historical maps are a significant resource when examining geographic environments where maps in digital form in conjunction with current maps provide several advantages, including the ability to detect and determine changes in the urban environment through time. In addition to historical maps and using MapCruzin through Geographic Information System (GIS) data investigation and analysis, visiting Moscow was not possible owing to the tragic events currently occurring.

The research case studies chosen as part method are based on the author's physical observations from previous travels to Moscow and sourced photographs. Because the expected buildings may vary in condition and relevance, the chosen location of case studies will be selected to benefit the research aims. The method of case study selection chosen will be multi-case based on the historical significance and position of the building.<sup>9</sup> Coding will be utilised to analyse images of chosen buildings, and a multi-analysis coding approach will extract a good level of detail.<sup>10</sup> Much of the rigour of photograph analysis is dependent on the structure of categories employed in the coding process because the categories will stay objective, only defining what is really in the image.<sup>11</sup>

The research further uses a combination of classic urban design principles for 'better city life' by Jan Gehl<sup>12</sup> and Jane Jacobs,<sup>13</sup> operationalized through a multidimensional analysis through the work of Jan Gehl's 'How to Study Public Life' to transform observations into analysis, following five key questions: How many people are present passing by every street, square, or park in one city? Who are the people crowding or strolling by all those places? Where do those people prefer to spend their time? What do people do in each corner of the city? How long do people stay in public spaces? The five questions are a technique for gathering the city's collective understanding. The research characterises activities inside the Garden Ring and the city's existing public parks and spaces in a systematic and consistent manner. Several ways for data gathering for mapping and researching public life in the city have been employed through the mapping of the city, using EUROSTAT and Statista.<sup>14</sup>

One of the more important methods, based on the focus of the research, is comparative analysis which allows the research to uncover new findings between the historic and the contemporary. Analytically, the comparative approach will be indispensable for answering the research aims and helps to distance

oneself from the case one knows best. It will have a de-provincializing, eye-opening impact on the research analysis and will allow the existing historical fragmented narrative to be pieced together allowing for a comprehensive understanding of ‘preservable’ history in the context of the city of Moscow.<sup>15</sup>

### **‘PRESERVABLE’ HISTORY**

Roughly six hundred and ninety-eight Constructivist buildings dating from 1918–1941 remain in a variety of conditions and building types (Fig. 3, Left, Right). Many residential or office buildings remain in disrepair, ranging from old residential blocks to past institutions and government offices, with a small amount having been restored or currently in the process of being restored, such as “the Dormitory of the Communist University of National Minorities of the West” “the administrative building House of Books”, and the beautifully restored “Mostorg department store by architect Aleksandrovič Vesnin.” However, many further buildings of lesser significance appear to have been overlooked such as the “Novosukharevsky Market Office” by Konstantin Melnikov where parts of the façade appear to remain in dire condition and many of the city's residential buildings spread across the city remain out of sight and in dire state of deterioration. Many buildings that remain in poor condition appear to be the many residential blocks built to house the factory works during the Constructivist period with a handful of government buildings falling within this category, portrayed as architectural monuments, and located in several districts across the city (Fig. 3, Left).

In conjunction with the many buildings in need of restoration, several buildings have already been restored, such as the renovation of Moscow’s “Izvestia Building” by Ginzburg Architects, “The Narkonfin Building” again by Ginzburg Architects, “the Melnikov House”, and the “Vasily Pushkin House” on Staraya Basmannaya Street. Other buildings are the residential building of the cooperative “Zamoskvoretsky worker and the Scientific Research Institute of Chemistry and Pharmacy”, and Ivan “Nikolaev's Student Village, Social Block,” 1929–1930. However, not all remain connected to the city's urban context. The view is that Constructivist buildings of more obvious historical value have received more attention in terms of preservation through past architectural media help towards restoration. An example of preservation and maintaining works from the Constructivist era and the impact of this on the city’s urban context is seen through Nikolaii Ladovskii’s “Red Gate.”<sup>16</sup> The function of the train station entrance is a different building type from many of the Constructivist buildings that are in need of restoration; however, the emphasis on the value of restoration and the impact this can have on the city’s urban spaces is seen to have had a major impact on its surrounding area through regenerative green spaces and access, increasing the urban context of use in a largely abandoned and derelict space adjacent to the site, which used to act as an overfilled car park, revealing how restoration and inclusion into the city’s urban context can work. Unfortunately, what remains is a vast number of Constructivist buildings in need of repair spread across the city, many of which remain near major green public spaces, while others are sometimes hidden behind existing structures, making them difficult to view or integrate into the city’s urban context.

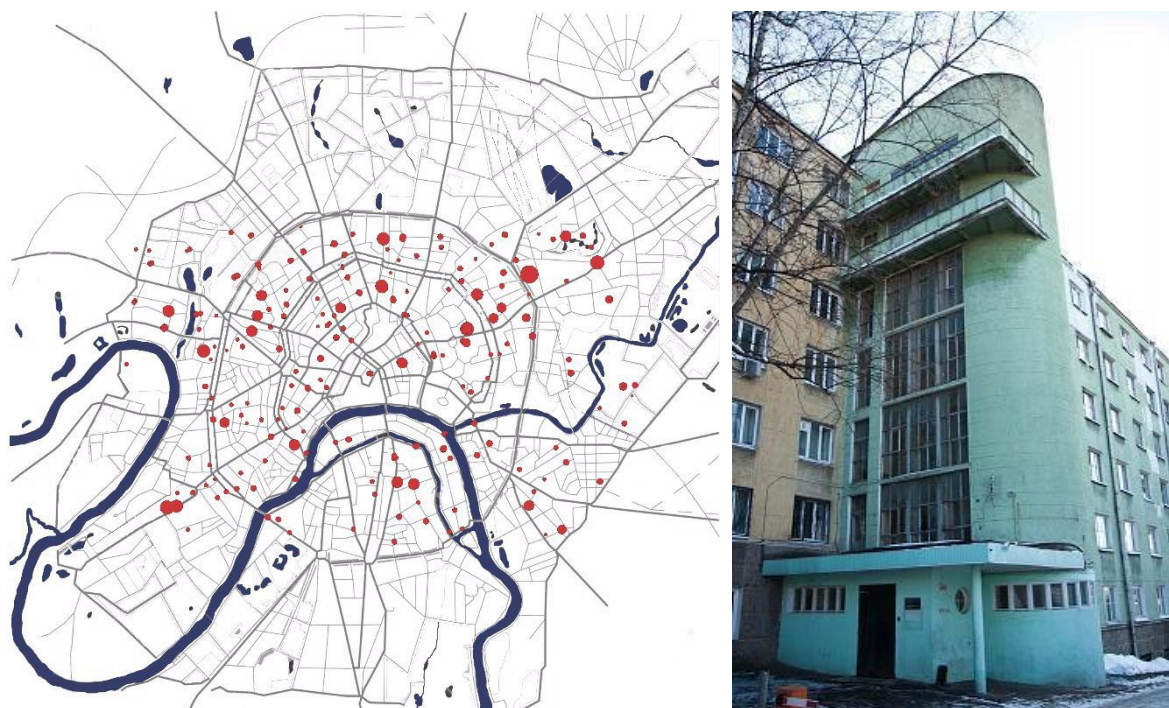


Figure 3. Left: Map of the city of Moscow depicting existing Constructivist buildings today. Right: The existing condition of the Dormitory of the Communist University of National Minorities, Moscow.

### MOSCOW'S URBAN CONTEXT

The development of urban green infrastructure can be seen to be amongst the main priorities of the Moscow government seen through the city's many parks and public spaces now evident across the city (Fig 4, Left).<sup>17</sup> Green areas, including urban forests, city and district parks, courtyards, and green lawns, cover more than half of the city area.<sup>18</sup> From analysis, the use of the city's green spaces remains the most popular for public engagement; in 2019, Gorky Park received over 10 million visitors, or 30 thousand visitors each day on average. The most prominent routes inside the garden ring connect to the city's existing and new green spaces, with around half of Moscow already made up of green spaces in anthropogenically modified areas (Fig 4, Right). The city's 'Greening Project' has sat alongside an increase in pedestrianised zones, encouraging city dwellers to leave their cars at home and walk around their neighbourhoods, allowing more use of the city's public space. Roughly 422 streets and public spaces have been landscaped in the city, equivalent to 370km. The city continues to have a vibrant social scene with a wide range of cultural events and a younger population, with the city going through gentrification that has caused many of the urban areas to become social hubs. The parks and green areas represent where most people spend their time and represent two different types: a centrally located park with much infrastructure and open landscapes (Gorky Park) and parks located on the outskirts of the city centre with a more forested landscape and little infrastructure (Timiryazevski and Sokolniki Parks). These public spaces are very well used, safe, and depoliticized while being carefully planned, controlled, and ordered, characterised by the detailed mediation of public life and interaction by means of reprogramming. Much of the Soviet park tradition was reinvented to match the modern demands of the city's society, where the green spaces are touted as a 'public good', while the idea of a 'public good' itself is discursively reworked so that consumption is envisioned as an integral part of how residents and visitors experience the city. Not only are services and activities now subject to consumption, but so too is the atmosphere created by



the renewed green space and the ability to associate with the ‘creative,’ ‘hip,’ and cultured’ Europeanized lifestyle.



*Figure 4. Left: A map of Moscow's green spaces and green corridors. Right: The city's urban renewal on the Garden Ring.*

## **DISCUSSION**

The city's historic identity and green urban spaces are both key elements in achieving an urban renaissance. Many of the city's fascinating Constructivist buildings provide an opportunity for the historical regeneration of Moscow in conjunction with its modern urban identity. The importance of the remaining Constructivist buildings in the context of urban regeneration means that what remains is a rare collection of buildings to be restored or repurposed. From the historical and urban context

analysis, we find that several buildings of importance remain in a prominent position in the city's urban context within numerous districts, such as the "Novosukharevsky Market Office" and the many residential buildings that remain in decay. Very often, these historic buildings can act as the hub of a much wider area regeneration process, provided by the existing building of merit, creating a robust and successful framework for further development and organic growth, as seen through Ginzburg's "Narkonfin Building" and Ladovskii's "Red Gate." There is a balance between what can be kept and what can be afforded, which must continue to be discussed in a very open way between the city's government, the development industry, the local planning authority, and residents. There is a huge amount of waste generated by the construction and demolition of historic buildings, where around 24 percent of all waste is generated. It is simply better in terms of sustainability to re-use and restore rather than demolish and build new, integrating these buildings into the city's green infrastructure vision. Constructivist buildings have a crucial role to play in regeneration, where they can further help define the identity of Moscow and give it economic and competitive advantages. In many parts of Moscow, historic buildings have been a positive catalyst for achieving structural economic change and attracting higher-value investment. Investment in building preservation as opposed to general industrial investment could deliver far higher incomes in terms of heritage-based tourism, and money spent particularly on historic environment attractions could account for vast amounts of expenditure in the wider economy. It is, therefore, essential that there be greater recognition of the importance of historical buildings in the changing context of the city, as a well-maintained building gives a positive message to its local community and the city's global image, whether it directly benefits from its activities or not. The attachment to these buildings could provide readily accessible green space in an otherwise concrete-bound urban environment. The urban context and green spaces that are already well-used by visitors and residents and do not necessarily require any physical changes in the foreseeable future only to include these buildings as part of the city's preservation approach and their inclusion into the city's green strategy.



Figure 5. Constructivist buildings in the context of Moscow's urban green context.

## **CONCLUSION**

Moscow has the financial resources but doesn't spend enough on preservation work for its own history, as many buildings still need to be restored. A stronger long-term vision and flexible approach to the reuse of these historic buildings are clearly needed with an emphasis on buildings close to the city's existing green infrastructure. Moscow has thousands of important buildings. However, there is a reluctance to maintain or invest in preserving them for modern usage. Beyond the immediate physical restoration of structures, there is rarely any overview of the strategic aim to integrate both realms together. These historic buildings lend character to areas in the city and have deep-seated associations with residents and communities. They offer a foundation for regeneration initiatives by reinforcing a sense of community, making an important contribution to the local economy, and acting as a catalyst for improvements in the wider area by carrying forward the city's green initiative. They should not be retained as artefacts or relics of a bygone age. New uses should be proposed for the buildings, and sensitive adaptations should be facilitated when the original building is no longer relevant or viable. Moscow needs to incorporate into their regeneration strategies a clear role for their historic buildings, and there will remain difficult decisions about what to preserve before they collapse. A shift in resources being used for other purposes is hindering preservation. Restoring one building at a time will have very little impact on the city. Raising awareness of the threat to cultural heritage and promoting the preservation of Constructivist buildings in the city's fast-moving context should always be the city's ambition. It must recognise that successful preservation will occur only by ensuring that those responsible for historic buildings and those responsible for economic growth and development work together to maximise such benefits. The duty of the government should be to continue to safeguard the historic buildings while also raising knowledge, understanding, and appreciation as a separate conversation and to look hard at the value these buildings, which are currently sitting idle, can bring to the city's future.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Passport Moscow. “Has Moscow’s architectural knock-about ended?” Accessed August 11th, 2023, <http://www.passportmagazine.ru/article/2438/>

<sup>2</sup> Passport Moscow.

<sup>3</sup> Mikhail Varentsov et al. “Projecting urban heat island effect on the spatial-temporal variation of microbial respiration in urban soils of Moscow megalopolis.” *The Science of The Total Environment*, no 2 (2021) 786, doi: 10.1016/j.scitotenv.2021.147457.

<sup>4</sup> Diana Dushkova et al. “Human-nature interactions during and after the COVID-19 pandemic in Moscow, Russia: exploring the role of contact with nature and main lessons from the city responses.” *Land*, no 11 (6), (2022) 822, doi: 10.3390/land11060822.

<sup>5</sup> Elena Trubina. “Sidewalk fix, elite maneuvering, and improvement sensibilities: The urban improvement campaign in Moscow.” *Journal of Transport Geography*, no 83(6) (2020), doi:10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2020.102655.

<sup>6</sup> The design involved the renovation of the streets to provide a more pedestrian- and bicycle-friendly environment and required innovative solutions in streetscape design, new public spaces, and the spatial configuration of the intersections with the side streets.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Conservation’ is viewed as something dominated by academically based historic building architects protecting the physical fabric of buildings, often to the detriment of the needs of modern uses and sometimes obsessively concerned with preserving Byzantine details of dubious relevance to the building, its future use, or society in general. This is old-fashioned preservation for the sake of preservation.

<sup>8</sup> In the space of six months in the winter of 2003-04, three central Moscow landmarks were destroyed. First, the Military Store building, an Art Nouveau block designed by Sergei Zaleskii in 1912, was torn down in October 2003. Aleksei Shchusev’s monumental Hotel Moskva, which opened in 1935, followed suit a few months later. Then, on 14 March 2004, a fire ravaged the roof of the Manezh, a former stables- turned-exhibition space that had stood adjacent to Red Square since 1817.

<sup>9</sup> Sample sizes vary depending on the purpose of the study and can be affected by various factors based on research questions. Case studies for the research are the preferred strategy when ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions are posed.

<sup>10</sup> Coding covers factors, such as building conditions, function, and location. Specific case studies will depict varied meanings, explaining the need for multiple types of coding.

<sup>11</sup> Don Slater. “Analysing cultural objects: Content analysis and semiotics.” p. 236 in Seale, C, “*Researching Society and Culture*.” London: Sage (1998).

<sup>12</sup> Jahn Gehl, *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space* (Island Press: Washington, 2011). See also Jahn Gehl, et al, *How to Study Public Life* (Island Press: Washington, 2013).

<sup>13</sup> Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Vintage Books: New York, 2016).

<sup>14</sup> Jennifer Roback. “Wages, rents, and the quality of life.” *Journal of Political Econ*, no 90, (1982): 1257–1278, doi:10.1086/261120. The method was further introduced by Sherwin Rosen, to categorize urban areas based on the ability of similar population groups to access and/or afford a set of urban amenities. Public participation GIS tools can provide a relevant solution to capture the spatial distribution of recreational activities attached to urban green spaces.

<sup>15</sup> Jürgen Kocka, ‘Comparison and Beyond’, *History and Theory*, no 42 (1) (2003): 39-44, doi: 10.1111/1468-2303.00228.

<sup>16</sup> Ladovkii was not a constructivist but a Rationalist having played a prominent role in the development of Space teaching at the architecture school called VKhUTEMAS.

<sup>17</sup> Victoriya R Bitjukova. “Transformation of Environmental Problems in Moscow; Sociological Dimension.” *Geography Environment Sustainability*, no 9(4) (2016): 77-91, doi: 10.24057/2071-9388-2016-9-4-77-91.

<sup>18</sup> Mikhail Varentsov et al. “Projecting urban heat island effect on the spatial-temporal variation of microbial respiration in urban soils of Moscow megalopolis.” *The Science of The Total Environment*, no 2 (2021) 786, doi: 10.1016/j.scitotenv.2021.147457. See Diana Dushkova et al. “Human-nature interactions during and after the COVID-19 pandemic in Moscow, Russia: exploring the role of contact with nature and main lessons from the city responses.” *Land*, no 11 (6), (2022) 822, doi: 10.3390/land11060822.

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# ANGRA'S EARTHQUAKE IN 1980: UNESCO INTERVENTION AND THE POLITICS OF HERITAGE

Author:

**ANTONIETA REIS LEITE**

Affiliation:

CENTRE FOR SOCIAL STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF COIMBRA, PORTUGAL

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## INTRODUCTION

On January 1st, 1980, at 15:40, a violent earthquake, with a magnitude of 7.2 on the Richter scale, caused great destruction in Angra do Heroísmo (Terceira island, Azores – Portugal), leaving hundreds homeless. Though initially there were fears of many more fatalities, the effects were disastrous: 73 fatalities, more than 400 injured, and more than 20,000 displaced, out of a population of 86,000 in Terceira, São Jorge, and Graciosa islands. Regarding material losses, the damage assessment showed that in Angra do Heroísmo, about 80% of the buildings were ruined and that the ones that were remaining standing were badly damaged.<sup>1</sup>

Since the islands are volcanic, throughout the centuries of the settlement process of the archipelago, many events of this kind took place, leading to great loss and pain. In fact, there is no place and no generation in the islands' settlement history that hasn't been marked by an event such as a volcano or an earthquake (to say nothing of storms, floods, and landslides that too often devastate the islands). The history, the literature, and most cultural and religious manifestations, all prove that, since the very first beginning of the islands' colonization, in the Fifteenth century, settlers found themselves dealing with a very harsh environment. How Angra do Heroísmo dealt with the 1980 event is the main question of this paper.



*Figure 1. View of Rocha street, 1980*

## **DEALING WITH CATASTROPHE**

Despite previous catastrophic experiences in Terceira island, such as the two times that Praia the other existing city on the island (only 20 kilometers away from Angra do Heroísmo) was destroyed by earthquakes, first in 1614 and later in 1841; or the seismic crises in the 1950s, that introduced major changes in Angra do Heroísmo's buildings, for instance, the indiscriminate use of concrete floor slabs (that later in the '80s fell like cards), or the obligation to dismantle the old and large chimneys that defined the constructive silhouette inside the blocks (which were, after that, occupied with new and dissonant constructions); or even the tsunami that hit Angra do Heroísmo's bay following the Lisbon earthquake in 1755, leading to a renovation of the waterfront area; just to point some examples - despite all that - the 1980's earthquake was unprecedented, since for the first time Angra do Heroísmo, the historical capital of the Azores archipelago, was razed to the ground.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, a strong dynamic emerged from this tragedy. Powered by the resilience of the population and by a new, young, and democratic regional government, a strategy was rapidly imposed, which included the option for the city to reconstruct itself and request assistance from UNESCO.

### **The politics of heritage**

In Angra do Heroísmo's case, like in so many other places coped by UNESCO strategy, rebuilding the city and achieving World Heritage status, meant the same.<sup>3</sup>

Within four years, and after three UNESCO missions to the island, Angra do Heroísmo managed to get the classification of World Heritage, the first urban area in Portugal to achieve such status.

Looking back to those days, one can sense that the spirit of the times must have been decisive in the process. Only five years had passed since the democratic revolution in Portugal and four years since the governmental autonomy had been implemented in the archipelago. Moreover, when the World Heritage classification was achieved, in 1984, Portugal was only two years away from being a member of the European Community.

So, Angra do Heroísmo's reconstruction became a flag of the young regional government, as a proof of maturity and evidence of decision-making capacity. While, at the republic government scale, it was an indication of the national desire for modernity, and an opportunity to get international recognition, namely by interacting with UNESCO.

### **Urban history and heritage**

Heritage, as a concept, can be defined as the contemporary use of the past. As such, knowing and studying the past should be one of the main goals of heritage management. However, in Angra do Heroísmo's case, the extraordinary circumstances, imposed by the earthquake's destruction, namely by the urgency of the moment concerning relocating the affected population, led to some careless approaches regarding Angra do Heroísmo's urban history. In part to support the UNESCO candidacy, new studies emerged, some authored by architects, others conducted by historians or geographers. Most of them emphasize the exceptional character of Angra do Heroísmo urban plan - one of the first to be established by the Portuguese in its overseas domains, pointing to the need to restore its fabric and its buildings "as it was before the earthquake", which was, in fact, very much aligned with the UNESCO's doctrine at the time.

However, all this scholarship, on the architectural and urbanistic history of Angra do Heroísmo, was made based exclusively on only one piece of antique iconography of the city and grounded in few documents. As such, a poor critical approach, concerning urban history, did not justify the methodology to achieve the UNESCO classification.<sup>4</sup> Dating from the Eighteenth century, the iconography representing Angra do Heroísmo did not portray with accuracy the morphologic

expression and evolution of the city. Therefore, the architectural and urbanistic theoretical grounds for the candidacy were based on a misconception. Following these theories, it was even suggested that the Angra do Heroísmo plan was the first Renaissance urban plan ever drawn by the Portuguese from scratch, leaving a “medieval layer” of urban history hidden in the landscape and in local memory.

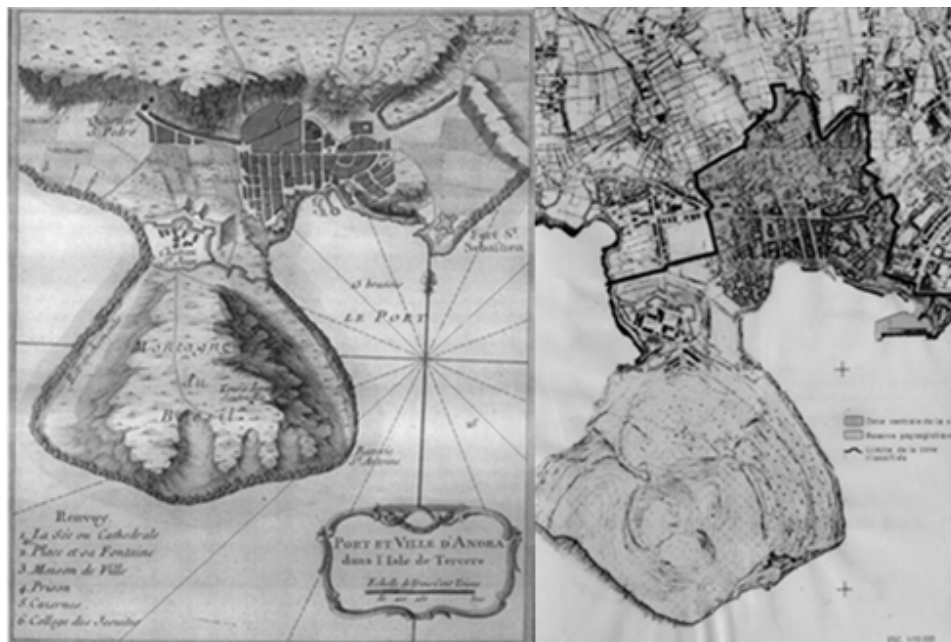


Figure 2. On the left the 1764 chart by Jacques Nicolas Bellin, “Porte et ville d’Angra dans L’isle Terceira”, which helped defining the first limits for the area of protection, as defined in the 1983 image on the right. UNESCO World Heritage Convention “Central zone of the Town of Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores-Map of the inscribed property 1983”, The list: Central Zone of the Town of Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores, accessed April 13, 2023, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/206/documents>, .

Actually, the narrative synthesized for the application to UNESCO evolved a little between the first report, still in 1980, and the last one, dated 1983, as the documents on the Angra do Heroísmo case reveal. Concerning the material assets, in the 1980 document, only the isolated monuments were mentioned, stressing the Sixteenth-century fortifications and most especially the Spanish fort of São Filipe (renamed São João Batista, after the restoration). Very little was added to the urban fabric, mentioning only the streets that connected the port area and the central square. The documents from 1982 and 1983, produced after the first mission to the island and integrating more data already, recognize the importance of the urban fabric itself. Nevertheless, suggesting it was “based on an original layout: the characteristic checkerboard plan of new cities” which “was altered to take into account the prevailing winds”,<sup>5</sup> crystalizing the existence of an ideal plan, that research cannot validate.

Furthermore, the later report integrated, the already mentioned, reproduction of an Eighteenth-century map of Angra do Heroísmo, by Bellin’s, which wasn’t very accurate regarding the urban plan layout. Despite that lack of accuracy, it clearly conditioned the definition of boundaries for the area under safeguard, overlapping the area represented in the chart to the contemporary plan and leaving an important area, misinterpreted by Bellin’s drawing, out of the protected area.<sup>6</sup>

Later, the Portuguese/Azorean heritage authorities, revised the limits of the perimeter under safeguard, including all the area represented in the 1595 Linschoten chart of Angra do Heroísmo, which, even if dating from Sixteenth, was much more accurate regarding the urban plan layout, than



the one dated from the Eighteenth-century, though it did not incorporate the Fort of São João Batista, built afterward.

Finally, in 2004, those limits were added with a conservation area, bringing new challenges to heritage management.



Figure 3. Excerpt of Jan Huygen van Linschoten "A Cidade de Angra na Ilha de Iesu Xpo da Terceira Que Esta em 30 Graos ...", 1596

### ASSESSING HERITAGE PRACTICES

With the data available today it is possible to point out many fragilities in the theses that fundament not only the World Heritage achievement but also the strategy imposed in terms of reconstruction philosophy, namely, for example, by defining wrong dimensions to the openings in the facades, as well as wrong proportions between constructed areas and void spaces, or even promoting the use of heavy construction material, like concrete (taking as an example the left tower of the cathedral). Although without prejudice to the value of Angra do Heroísmo's urban fabric, still is important to expose that a historical (re)construction excessively imaginative, which was not supported by evidence, was used as an argument to choose the rebuilding plan, leading to a reconstruction process that was too concerned about the image of the facades, and not concerned at all with the maintenance of the urban structure as a whole were, in fact, is the material value of this heritage, beyond the undeniable historical value of the site (which, as a matter of fact, above all justified Angra do Heroísmo's inclusion in the World Heritage UNESCO's list, following criteria IV and VI).<sup>7</sup>

It is also a fact that the decision-making process was all too sudden, just like the earthquake that destroyed Angra do Heroísmo, leaving behind the possibility of publicly discussing different approaches to the problem, such as abandoning the ruins of the city and rebuilding Angra do Heroísmo in another place or overlapping the ruins with a new plan after the area was clean and the old plan erased.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, leaders as well as the inhabitants confirm that, at the time, the priority and most desired plan was to regain what they had lost on the earthquake as soon as possible, in terms of materiality but also in terms of (place/local) identity.<sup>9</sup>

That, together with the UNESCO assistance (and doctrine), were certainly the main reasons to justify that different approaches, not even got to be a project, although other strategies and cases were possible at the time.

For instance, reallocating the town to a different place, was the chosen strategy, some years before (1968), in Sicily – Italy, the towns of Gibelina and Poggioreale were abandoned to be ruins, and new

towns were built some kilometers away, a very well-known case among architects and heritage managers, especially during the later decades of the twentieth century. Actually, in 1983, the original Gibelina was transformed into a memorial, by the hand of Burri, is now a World Heritage site.

### A unique independent approach

In Angra do Heroísmo's case, the unique exception was a draft of a plan by Luis Cunha, an important architect of his generation from the Oporto school, who had been working on projects on the Azorean islands for some time. It was brought up to discussion in the summer of 1980, when the option for the reconstruction was already decided, and ended up published in a cultural journal of the islands, the *Atlântida* magazine.

Luis Cunha, who traveled to Terceira island in July 1980, just to visit Angra do Heroísmo after the earthquake, was overwhelmed by the scenario he found. The destruction was too impressive, but the method already going on, that advocated rebuilding each of the edifices, also worried him. Namely, because in his opinion, it could lead to another tragedy in the future, while Angra do Heroísmo was missing an opportunity to become an “extraordinary city – unique in the world – if all agreed to work accordingly to a single plan”.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, he also registers this sense from his visit:

“In apparent contradiction to the ruined image of the city, the streets vibrated with people and activity, quite different from what I remembered from previous visits. It seems that the earthquake has succeeded also to awake people, throwing them in a dynamic current.”<sup>11</sup>

By visiting and experiencing Angra do Heroísmo, only a few months after the disaster, he understood that people were still very much attached to the place, therefore, reallocating the city to another place would be impossible. On the other hand, he also considers in his analyses that it would be totally unmanageable, technically and economically speaking, to reconstruct the ruined buildings.

Based on that reappraisal and on the involvement with the public perception, the architect felt free to present to the local authorities a hybrid plan proposal, that consisted “not in rebuilding the city over the ruins, but with the ruins”.<sup>12</sup>

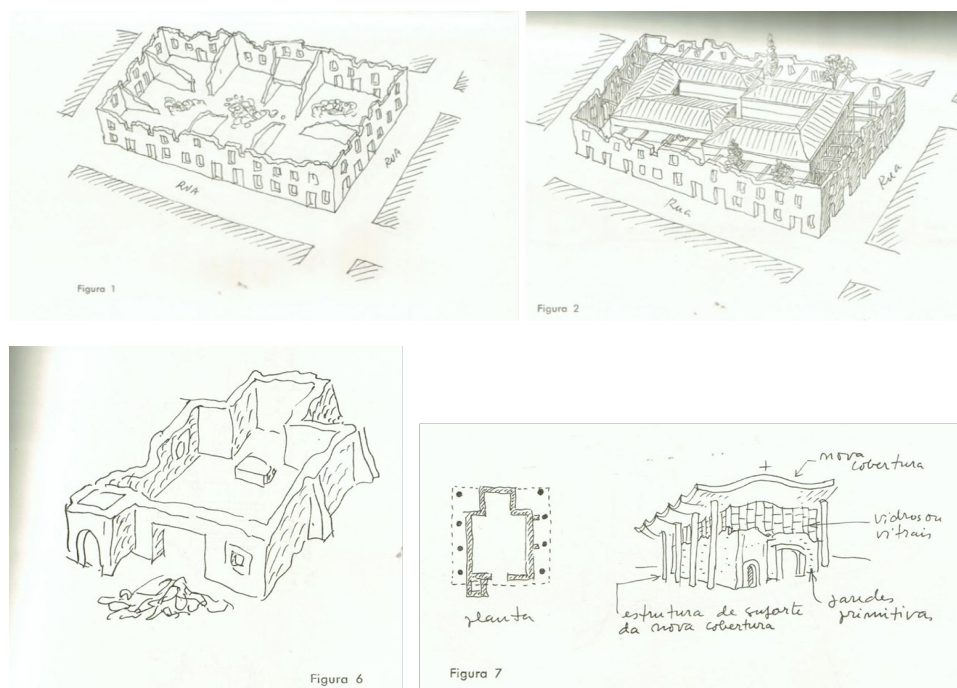


Figure 4. Proposal perspectives by Luis Cunha.

The draft plan presented by Luís Cunha included maintaining the urban fabric alignments, as well as the street-block shapes, by sustaining the ruined facades through consolidation work, but also, introducing new constructions in the demolished and disemboweled space inside the original blocks, leaving sidewalks in the space left empty between the ruins and the new houses and apartment buildings.

In this envision of the new Angra do Heroísmo, exceptional buildings, such as churches, should also be preserved as ruins, and later completed with contemporary constructions and building materials.

Nevertheless, such a plan, looking to maintain not only the city location, the memory of what the urban fabric used to be, but also the memory of the catastrophe itself, since the ruins were to be preserved, was totally refused by the city. Moreover, the plan, even though accepting the value of the place to the people, did not recognized any historical value to the site, ignoring its history and cultural meanings.



*Figure 5. The marina, and Marina Hotel in 2011 and 2016.*

### Collective memory

Above all this, and for the truth, the strong sense of collective memory and identity must be underlined, since it was decisive to justify the option for rebuilding the city.<sup>13</sup> In fact, one of the most remarkable aspects of this process was how, for the first time in Azorean history, there was no population exodus after a large catastrophe, which can in part be explained by the already mentioned spirit of the time, that together with the democracy, brought hope into the future (as well as access to public funds and bank loans), but also with an authentic common will of the people of Angra do Heroísmo to regain their life's, their homes and their city.

### CONCLUSION

As it is well known in heritage studies, sometimes, in order to recognize the great value of things, it is necessary to (almost) lose them. That seems to be the case in Angra do Heroísmo and its heritage classification process.

Being incorrect in many ways, namely, because it followed a very narrow interpretation of the UNESCO doctrine on the preservationist and museological process,<sup>14</sup> the chosen strategy also brought positive achievements to Angra do Heroísmo, like the possibility of a rapid reconstruction process and cognitive and normative contributions.<sup>15</sup>

Once the decision to rebuild the city, in the “same” place and with the “same” urban plan, was made, in order to regulate the course of action, new and innovative (in the Portuguese context) legislation was introduced and a new municipal department created, charged with the supervision of the rebuilding process.

In the last 10 to 15 years, however, the heritage protection process lost its vigor, and the original legislation was never deeply revised, as it should have been, maintaining the same historical misunderstandings and technical errors, that nowadays have no excuse to exist.

In fact, what happened was that the legislation was abandoned for general regulations, and the special department created to supervise de heritage management was extinct, leading to a void of technical knowledge in the decision process, at the municipal level, that was undertaken by political and economic power, not so concerned with the cultural value of heritage, although willing to explore it as an important economic resource, but not understanding how important it is to acknowledge and preserve it.

UNESCO has for two times now threatened to remove the title of World Heritage to Angra do Heroísmo, but the technicians always turned back on their decision based on the argument (that was explained to them by the local government) that the new buildings, that have been constructed disregarding the regulations and all theories on heritage preservation, are bringing economic sustainability to the city and to the heritage itself.

Until now, nothing like that happened, and just to show how hard it is to understand this strategy, the Marina five-star hotel (financed with public funds) built in the bay, is closed most months of the year, the marina (that now occupies Angra do Heroísmo's bay) is home only to boats from locals, who decided to move out of town, abandoning the city that their parents and grandparents, rebuilt to live.

The question now is, not only, which heritage are we talking about, but who is this heritage from and what does it serve?

## NOTES

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- <sup>2</sup> Antonieta Reis Leite, *Açores, cidade e território: quatro vilas estruturantes* (Angra do Heroísmo: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura, 2014).
- <sup>3</sup> Christina Cameron, and Mechtild Rössler, *Many Voices, One Vision: The Early Years of the World Heritage Convention*. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
- <sup>4</sup> Antonieta Leite, and João Leitão. "The New Town of Angra (Terceira, the Azores): Confirming a Contested Urban Planning History Using Reverse Historical Analysis and Flood Modelling Tools." *Urban History* 48 (1) (2021): 22.
- <sup>5</sup> UNESCO World Heritage Convention "Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS) / Évaluation de l'organisation consultative (ICOMOS) 1983" *The list: Central Zone of the Town of Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores*, accessed April 13, 2023, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/206/documents>.
- <sup>6</sup> UNESCO World Heritage Convention "Central zone of the Town of Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores-Map of the inscribed property 1983", *The list: Central Zone of the Town of Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores*, accessed April 13, 2023, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/206/documents>.
- <sup>7</sup> UNESCO World Heritage Convention "Report of the 7th Session of the Committee" *The list: Central Zone of the Town of Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores*, accessed April 13, 2023, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/206/documents>.
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- <sup>9</sup> Gregory John Ashworth and Brian Graham (eds), *Sences of Place: sences of time and heritage* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).
- <sup>10</sup> Luís Cunha, "Angra: Cidade e a Sua Reconstrução" *Atlântida* (1983): 27
- <sup>11</sup> This is my own translation from Portuguese. In the original: "Em contradição aparente com a imagem arruinada da cidade, as ruas vibravam de gente de atividade de modo bem diferente daquele que eu recordava das visitas anteriores. Parece que o tremor de terra teve o condão também de sacudir as pessoas lançando-as numa corrente de dinamismo que para mim foi verdadeiramente inesperado." Luís Cunha, "Angra: Cidade e a Sua Reconstrução" *Atlântida* (1983): 26
- <sup>12</sup> Luís Cunha, "Angra: Cidade e a Sua Reconstrução" *Atlântida* (1983): 27
- <sup>13</sup> Tim Benton (ed.), *Understanding heritage and memory*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press: Open University, 2010).
- <sup>14</sup> Concerning this UNESCO practices and risks in a critical way, see Michael A. Di Giovine, *The Heritage-scape: UNESCO, World Heritage and Tourism* (Lexington, 2009).
- <sup>15</sup> Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2013).

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# IMAGE AND DIGITAL FILM ARCHIVES AS EFFECTIVE TOOLS IN SOCIAL MEMORY CONSTRUCTION; FILMMIRASIM.KTB.GOV.TR EXAMPLE

Author:

**NİHAN GİDER IŞIKMAN**

Affiliation:

BAŞKENT UNIVERSITY, TURKEY

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## INTRODUCTION

The relationship between image and social memory is complex and multifaceted. Images have the power to evoke memories and emotions, and they can shape the collective memory of significant and cultural events. The effect of images on social memory can occur with visual representations of historical events, characters. Image can also serve as cultural touchstones that help us remember shared experiences and values. In this context, the evidentiality of the image also comes to the fore. Although images can be a powerful tool for shaping our understanding of the world, it is also important to be aware of their ideological function and to approach them critically, as well as their potential to mislead and manipulate.

The digital age has revolutionized the way we store, manage and access information, including images through film archives. Digital film archives offer several advantages over traditional film archives, such as protection, accessibility, and cost effectiveness. Digital film archives, including interactive features, can provide a rich and dynamic platform for the preservation and dissemination of audiovisual materials.

In this conceptual framework, Republic of Türkiye, Ministry of Culture and Tourism's [filmmirasim.ktb.gov.tr](http://filmmirasim.ktb.gov.tr)<sup>1</sup> digital film archive is considered as a case study. In addition to the movies uploaded to the system, how the keywords used in searches by the users, the texts entered through information form, the images requested for use, and the images sent by users to be uploaded to the system are evaluated within the framework of the analysis. Thus, it had been possible to crystallize the construction of image and social memory through a participatory practice.

## Image

The relationship between images and social memory is complex and multifaceted. Images have the power to evoke memories and emotions, and they can shape our collective memory of significant events and cultural phenomena.

One way that images can influence social memory is through their representation of historical events. Images can also serve as cultural touchstones that help us remember shared experiences and values. As the media processes all kinds of information like image, sound and text, many people nowadays reach the information and therefore form an opinion through these materials. It has become widespread to get information by watching the imagery. The thing that is seen is presented as 'real' and is

perceived as ‘real’. ‘Seeing’ indeed is the first and most important step of the process of getting informed. That a person turns his/her head around and tries to see where the sound that he heard comes from, is a basic example of this fact. Image associates all the senses like hearing, touching, tasting and smelling with a physical existence and links them all with reality.<sup>2</sup>

Modern world is more like a phenomenon that can be “seen”.<sup>3</sup> An image can serve as a form of evidence and can be used to support a claim or argument. This is referred to as evidentiality. An image can be used as evidence to prove or disprove a claim, depending on the nature of the image and the context in which it is presented. However, it's important to note that images can be manipulated or altered, which can affect their evidential value.

As Sartori puts it “The person that sees is in the hands of the person that shows”.<sup>4</sup> The manipulative aspect of the image arises both from the preferences of the producer of the image and also from the social codes that dictate the perception practice of the viewer. It must be noted that the image can't be an exact recording of the reality and the superiority of a decent audio visual narrative lie in its ability to reach places that the common eye can't reach. The camera can only reach a reality in which there are things that the common eye won't notice this way and only through this way the images will become the supportive narrative elements of the reality presented anew.

The individuals are under the influence of ideology for their whole lives as they get information about the rest of the world starting with their own language and their ways of interaction, through the people and the groups they associate with, the objects around them, the institutions of the society, various forms of mass communication and educative narrative.<sup>5</sup> Ideology and the representations that are formed are important to come to power and to reproduce the power. The representations that dominate a culture have vital ideological power. They play a crucial role in deciding which figures and which lines will predominate over others in the forming of social life and institutions in the context of shaping social reality. For this reason, controlling the production of the cultural representations have a critical role in maintaining the social power. Anthony Giddens has organized the institutional dimensions of modern political power in his work, *The Consequences of Modernity* as supervision (to control the society by supervising the information directly or indirectly), capitalism (to ensure the continuance extensiveness of technological innovation as a result of its competitive and expansionist nature), industrialism (transformation of the nature, development of artificial environment) and military power (the control of the vehicles of violence in context of the industrialization of the war).<sup>6</sup> Althusser in his famous work, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* lists communication and culture among other six ideological apparatuses.<sup>7</sup> Both Horkheimer and Adorno<sup>8</sup> perceives the goods that are consumed culturally as apparatuses serving the political power in infusing their legitimacy into the people.

Power comes not from only accumulating things but from the way how they are brought together to design the ‘reality’ and to rebuild the cultural memories. LeCompte<sup>9</sup> claims that the history belongs to the ones who write it, he mentions that the modern techniques including audio visual records provide competent forms in history writing.

### **Digital Film Archives**

The digital age has revolutionized the way we store, manage, and access information, including film archives. Digital film archives refer to the digital storage of films and other audiovisual materials in a format that can be easily accessed and searched using computers and other digital devices.

Digital film archives offer several advantages over traditional film archives, including:

- **Preservation:** Digital archives provide a more secure and durable way of preserving films compared to traditional methods, such as physical storage or film reels. Digital files can be stored on servers and backup systems that are designed to withstand natural disasters and other threats.



- **Accessibility:** Digital archives allow for easier and faster access to films and other audiovisual materials. Digital files can be accessed remotely and searched using keywords and other search criteria, making it easier to find and retrieve specific materials.
- **Cost-effectiveness:** Digital archives are often more cost-effective than traditional film archives, as they require less physical space and can be accessed by multiple users simultaneously.
- **Interactivity:** Digital film archives can also offer interactivity, which is the ability for users to engage with the content and customize their viewing experience. For example, searchable metadata allows users to search for films based on a wide range of criteria, such as genre, year of release, content or director. This makes it easier for users to find films that are relevant to their interests, and also allows for more precise and targeted searches.

User-generated content is another form of interactivity that can be incorporated into digital film archives. This can include user reviews, ratings, and comments, which allow users to share their opinions and insights with others.

- **Participatory Culture:** Besides, digital film archives have the potential to facilitate participatory culture and to create a more diverse and inclusive community around film. By providing a platform for users to contribute their own content and engage with others, digital film archives can help to democratize the culture around film and cinema, and to empower users to take an active role in shaping the future of the medium.<sup>10</sup>

However, there are also some challenges associated with digital film archives, such as the need for ongoing maintenance and the risk of data loss due to technical failures or cyber-attacks. Additionally, the digitization process itself can be time-consuming and expensive, requiring specialized equipment and expertise.<sup>11</sup>

Overall, digital film archives represent a significant step forward in the preservation and accessibility of audiovisual materials, and they are likely to continue to play a vital role in the management and dissemination of cultural heritage and historical records in the digital age. The archives set out to collect material which fell outside the traditional categories of fictional feature films and documentaries but also preserved other amateur gauges, as well as local television material, eventually amateur video and even historic photographic materials. Although underfunded and precarious by the standards of the “national” archives, this has meant that they offer a rich resource for new forms of documentary and television focused on “the everyday”.<sup>12</sup> Non-profit, national film archives conserve vast and valuable holdings of moving images. These holdings are a treasure from the cultural standpoint because they represent the history, the diversity and the identity. They also have a significant economic and commercial value in the context of their re-use in broadcast, film, multimedia production and distribution. This added value is of strategic importance to the media and entertainment industry.

Some prominent national film archive can be listed as follows:<sup>13</sup>

#### **British Film Institute (BFI)**

The British Film Institute was founded in 1933 and is one of the largest film archives in the World.

#### **CINEMATEK - Royal Belgian Film Archive (CRB)**

In 1938 by Henri Storck, André Thirifays and Pierre Vermeyleen founded The Royal Belgian Filmarchive (Cinémathèque Royale de Belgique), now called CINEMATEK.

#### **Fondazione Cineteca Italiana (FCI)**

The Fondazione Cineteca Italiana has a stock of some 20,000 films

### Deutsches Filminstitut - DIF

Founded in 1949, the Deutsches Filminstitut – DIF is the oldest institute for film studies in Germany and also Germany’s largest cinematic institutions.

### Lithuanian Central State Archive (LCVA)

Lietuvos Centrinis Valstybės Archyvas, the Lithuanian Central State Archive, is the biggest one within the state archival service.

### Magyar Nemzeti Filmarchívum (MNFA)

Magyar Nemzeti Filmarchívum (Hungarian National Film Archive) is tracing back to a plan of Béla Balázs. The Archive has the most extensive film collection in Hungary.

### eye Film Institute Netherlands

The Netherlands Filmmuseum, which is contributing catalogue data to filmarchives online underwent a merger with Holland Film, the Netherlands Institute for Film Education and the Filmbank

### Nasjonalbiblioteket (NB)

The National Library of Norway is responsible for collecting, preserving and restoring the Norwegian film heritage in order to make it available for research and documentation.

### Tainiothiki tis Ellados (TTE)

Founded in 1950 in Athens, the Greek Film Archive is holding the largest and most important film collection in Greece.

Not limited to these institutions, it is obvious that shared knowledge on best practices, terminology, and other issues, across a range of industry professionals at institutional and industry level, can facilitate the use of open-source tools and encourage collaborative preservation and access solutions, as Vagonaki focuses on her work “Digital Film Preservation: A Survey of Ten Non-Profit European Film Archives”.<sup>14</sup>

### **About filmmirasim.ktb.gov.tr (filmheritage)**

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Türkiye digitizes and restores the films in the archive created by the General Directorate of Cinema to preserve for future generations historical films that serve as important visual records of the country's cultural heritage.

Film Heritage was opened by the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism on December 6, 2022 and was established as a website where the contents of the General Directorate of Cinema of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism are published. As of 29.05.2023, the collection consists of 862 videos.

Nitrate-based films have been digitized by the Professor Sami Şekeroğlu Cinema and Television Center of the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University. The information and commentary on the films on this site were provided by Atatürk High Institution of Culture, Language and History; The Turkish Historical Society; The Turkish Language Association and the Directorate General of Cinema.

Films are categorized through periods as

1895-1918 (71 results)

1918-1938 (129 results)

1938-1950 (194 results)

1950-1960 (175 results)

After 1960 (209 results)

Other (84 results)

Films can also be searched according to voice recording. 472 of the content are videos with sound.

Through, interactive and participatory structure of the platform [filmmirasim.ktb.gov.tr](http://filmmirasim.ktb.gov.tr) is open to donations. They welcome donations of 35 and 16mm films and explain the aim of this to help preserve Türkiye's cultural heritage for future generations. It is declared that all donated films will be securely stored in an appropriate environment under suitable conditions, and donors will be provided with a high-quality digital copy of any film they donate.

Users can fill the information form by clicking on the “Information Form” button under the relevant film, to notify the editors of any information (including dates, people, topics, events, etc.) about a film that they think should be added to or updated in the film's explanation section. All submissions are declared to be carefully evaluated.

Users can request films as well. Use of the images and films on this site is subject to the conditions laid out in the “Periodic Use Directive” of the Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Users submit their film requests by clicking on the “Film Request” button under the each relevant film.

This interaction is based on privacy and copyright policies. The images and films on this site may not be used for commercial purposes or otherwise distributed, rented, reproduced, or altered without permission from the Directorate General of Cinema. Excerpts may be used so long as the material is appropriately cited. It is declared that, The Ministry of Culture and Tourism accepts no responsibility for any of the information on this site and reserves the right to change the information, images, and films on the site without notice.

Uploading movies to the platform still continues and new content is announced to users with the recently added section. As new content is uploaded to [filmmirasim.ktb.gov.tr](http://filmmirasim.ktb.gov.tr), it is shared with users on the platform's social media accounts. In addition, the contents of historical days such as national holidays and official special days in the collection are highlighted on social media accounts, thus ensuring that users are directed to the platform.

The contents that users access the most are offered for easy access in the most popular section. Users can reach the content by searching with keywords such as person, place, topic. Users can quickly share the videos they reach via their social media accounts with the Facebook, Whatsapp, Twitter buttons under the video. The similar films section also accelerates users' access to similar content via person, place, topic, and facilitates the user experience. The content on the platform can also be accessed via the mobile application. It has functionality in order to increase and expand the user experience.

## CONCLUSION

Reaching the information, verifying it and extending it appear to be the main concerns in memory studies. Although online accessibility of the information is important, work needs to be done about forms of interpreting this information. In strengthening the sense making, audio visual narratives such as video narratives should be regarded as a tool regarding the correlation between the image and the reality.

Still, the importance of a physical archive (along with an online archive) should not be ignored. To keep today's records for future, videos along with other material should be safely restored and their clarity and accessibility should be ensured. By making the collected data usable for others in an interactive manner the narratives and the videos would not only stay as a purpose but also as a tool.

Although it is a very new platform, it can be said that the “filmmirasım” (film heritage) platform has a strong potential with its participatory, interactive and easy-to-access design. It is a successful synthesis of its predecessor different national video archives. In this context, it is important to

encourage the videos to be re-edited and become functional with different narratives. As a different usage area, it is necessary to encourage the use of social scientists, especially in the sense that the rich data set that videos carry in social, political and economic terms, as a source for different researches. Practices in which videos will become functional like this can be paved with various calls and events. Overall, interactivity can enhance the user experience and make digital film archives more engaging and accessible. By incorporating interactive features, digital film archives can provide a rich and dynamic platform for the preservation and dissemination of audiovisual materials in the digital age.

Digital film archives can also foster participatory culture, which is a form of culture where users are actively involved in creating and sharing content, rather than simply consuming it. Participatory culture is facilitated by the accessibility and interactivity of digital media, and can be seen in a wide range of online communities, including those focused on film.

It is a fact that as it is remembered, as it is talked about, as it is put in a written form and as it is visually recorded, the past is always interpreted anew. In other words the past would always be open to new readings and therefore would shed light to today and the future. In this sense, the relationship between images and social memory is complex and dynamic. While images can be a powerful tool for shaping our understanding of the world, it is important to be aware of their potential to mislead and manipulate, and to approach them with a critical eye.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Film Mirasım (Film Heritage), website - app opened on December 6, 2022. Accessed May 29, 2023, <https://filmmirasim.ktb.gov.tr/>
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- <sup>3</sup> Chris Jenks, "The Centrality of the Eye in Western Culture", *Visual Culture*, (London: Routledge. 1995), 2.
- <sup>4</sup> Giovanni Sartori, *Görmenin İktidarı, Homo idens: Gören İnsan*. trans. Gül Batuş & Bahar Ulukan, (İstanbul: Karakutu Yayınları.,2004), 10.
- <sup>5</sup> Teun A. Van Dijk, "Söylem ve İdeoloji: Çok Alanlı Bir Yaklaşım", in *Söylem ve İdeoloji*, ed. Barış Çoban et al. (İstanbul: Su Yayınları, 2003), 22.
- <sup>6</sup> Anthony Giddens, *Modernliğin Sonuçları*, (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yay.,2004), 62-64.
- <sup>7</sup> Louis Althusser, *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*, (İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları.,2006), 63.
- <sup>8</sup> Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Aydınlanmanın Diyalektiği, Felsefi Fragmanlar-II*, (İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınları.,1996), 7-62.
- <sup>9</sup> Elizabeth LeCompte, Who Owns History? *Performing Arts Journal*. Vol. 6. No. 1. (1981): 53.
- <sup>10</sup> Giovanna Fossati, "Found footage filmmaking, film archiving and new participatory platforms" *Found Footage: Cinema Exposed*, (2012): 177-184.
- <sup>11</sup>Jon Wengström, "Access to film heritage in the digital era–Challenges and opportunities" *Nordisk kulturpolitisk tidsskrift*, 16(1), (2013): 25-137.
- <sup>12</sup> Ian Christie, "What Are Film Archives For? (and Why We Need Them to Change), or: Adventures in the Archive World". in *Exploring Past Images in a Digital Age: Reinventing the Archive*, ed.Nezih Erdoğan et al. (Amsterdam University Press, 2023), 29.
- <sup>13</sup> Film Archives Online. Accessed May 20, 2023, <http://www.filmarchives-online.eu/partners>
- <sup>14</sup> Elina Vagionaki, Digital Film Preservation: A Survey of Ten Non-Profit European Film Archives. *Journal of Film Preservation*, 108, (2023): 55.

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# TESTIFYING THE MODEL FOR CLASSIFYING THE LEVEL OF ENGAGEMENT: A CASE STUDY OF THE HISTORIC CENTRE OF MACAU

Author:  
**TENG WAI LAO**

Affiliation:  
UNIVERSITY OF MACAU, CHINA

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## INTRODUCTION

Aiming to reflect the progression of improving the level of community engagement, particularly for heritage education, a model for Classifying the Level of Engagement from performance was proposed by TW Lao in 2022.<sup>1</sup> Being part of the research project of Community Engagement with Heritage in Macau, the model was developed to testify the effectiveness of community engagement strategies, as well as to act as an appraisal of their performance. With the intention to examine its level of community engagement and give suggestions, this analysis is first half of the application of the proposed model. Using the Historic Centre of Macau to review Macau's performance in cultural heritage management and the satisfactoriness of her participants. This paper will first introduce the Historic Centre of Macau and her management strategies, then evaluate the collected data, classify the levels of engagement with the model and lastly comment on deficiencies of current implementation.

## The Model for Classifying the Level of Engagement

There are numerous models proposed and various terms used to describe the approaches to community engagement by researchers within the field for the purposes of outreach, lifelong learning and engagement with partners.<sup>2</sup> However, 'these existing spectra of participation do not fit so effectively to fulfil the aim of reflecting the progression of improving the level of community engagement'.<sup>3</sup> For this reason, the Model for Classifying the Level of Engagement was developed based on the inspiration from three different spectra of participation. This model has four levels of classification ranked from the lowest engagement level, from left to right (fig.1) and the justification of each level is listed (table 2).

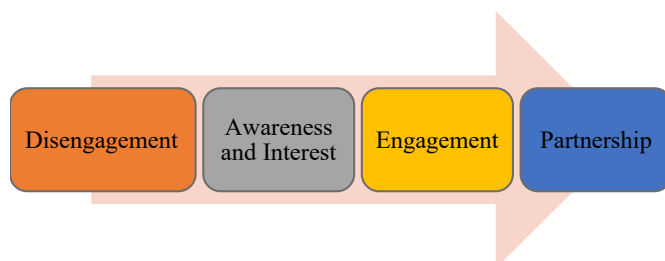


Figure 13. Model for classifying the level of engagement from performance

Model for classification	Disengagement	Awareness and interests	Engagement	Partnership
SDCP		-Being Informed -Being Asked	-Commenting on decision -Developing solutions	-Delivering services
IAP2		-Inform -Consult	-Involve -Collaborate	-Empower
National Trust		-Giving information -Gathering information -Inviting action -Consulting to be influenced	-Deciding together -Acting together	-Supporting others

Table 14. Equivalent classification of level of engagement

## THE HISTORIC CENTRE OF MACAU

In order to testify the model, the Historic Centre of Macau was used as a case study. It was included on the UNESCO World Heritage Site List in 2005 with the claim of ‘unique testimony to meeting of aesthetic, cultural, religious, architectural and technological influences from East and West’.<sup>4</sup> The site is a collection of 22 buildings and 8 plazas, which can be divided into four main categories: Chinese Temples, Western Churches, Residences and Others. The entire site bears witness to the coexistence of Chinese and Portuguese cultures in Macau, revealing the true identity of Macau and showing the achievement of a 400-year-long Eastern and Western cultural exchange.<sup>5</sup>

### Governmental Management and Presentation of the World Heritage Site

The term “World Heritage” was first announced in 2006 by the Macau government in the Macau Policy Address (MPA). Prior to 2005, those historic buildings were not particularly valued, nor were they seen as important remains from the past, thus formal management plan was definitely lacking. Legislation related to the World Heritage Site (WHS) in Macau was not formulated until 2013 after four years of consultation.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, although the Act (No.11/2013) is now being executed, serious issues arose in the eight-year gap between the UNESCO listing and the legislation. Having been overdeveloped for economic gain became the major concern resulted from this failure.

The Historic Centre of Macau, like most of the WHS in the world, has been used as a gimmick to attract tourists. Businesses such as souvenir shops and restaurants were opened near the site, and the buffer zone has been developed as a commercial area to satisfy only the needs of tourists, whereas the local community was largely ignored during the period of regrettable site development for tourism entirely.<sup>7</sup> Stating in MPA 2013, the government will continue to renovate streets to create point-to-point heritage visiting for tourists.<sup>8</sup> This reflected not only the interests of the Macau government, especially on the question of who are the target audience for the Historic Centre of Macau, but also the governmental attitudes towards the ethical concerns of whose heritage this is and what is heritage for. It appeared that the needs of the local community ranked at the bottom in governmental interests in heritage management in Macau.

### Community Engagement with Heritage in Macau

The awarding of WHS status means a lot to the locals from both social and cultural perspectives, transforming the attitudes of locals from “culturally insecure” to “culturally proud”.<sup>9</sup> However, Macau residents were not supported for such transformation.

Being not the core population of interest to the Government, locals gained no additional engagement about their “culturally proud”, which resulted in sharing the same level of engagement with tourists. Lam highlighted that Macau residents experience mostly so-called the “touristic experience”, which

delivered a shallow level of engagement with heritage. This did not only imply a disconnection between heritage and the community, but also showed the ignorance of the local's needs. The Macau Government has been warned by the World Heritage Committee due to her inadequate management plan, particularly regarding the issue of community disengagement with the WHS.<sup>10</sup>

### Official Cultural Statistics

The following statistics of participation of residents in cultural activities were collected between 2013 and 2018 through the Employment Survey officially. The reference period of participation was six months prior to the date of answering.

With a total sample size of 2,100 units, the response rate was between 68% and 77.43%, of which 2013 had the highest response rate. From figure.3, the participation rate of Macau residents in cultural activities started from 57.0%, then reached the peak of 59.2%. Among all cultural activities, 25.6% of respondents visited museums or World Heritage Sites in 2013 while 24.8% visited WHS. Although the overall participation rate in cultural activities increased, there was a significant reduction in the participation rate of visiting WHS in 2015. The percentage of people visiting WHS decreased by 9.6% in two years and the ratio of visiting WHS was enlarged to 1:3.8 individuals from 1:2.3. In the following two years, despite the fact that all participation rates were growing, the ratio between overall participation and visiting WHS retained at approximately 1:3. When all participation rates dropped in 2018, the rate of visiting WHS reached its bottom at 14.9%. The percentage of visiting WHS among all diminished from 43.1% to 26.3% within five years. In general, the average visits to WHS in Macau per participant was in the range of 2.1- 2.4 times per year.

Participation rate of Macau residents in cultural activities

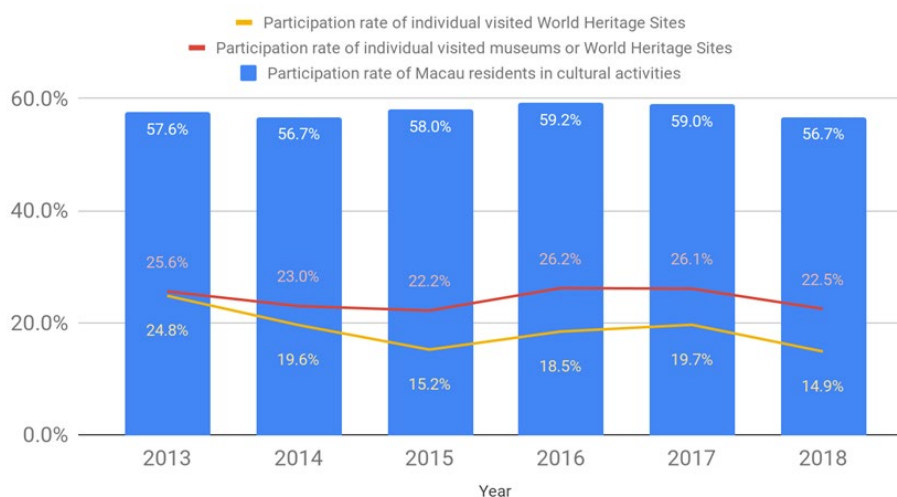


Figure 15. Participation rate of Macau residents in cultural activities (the Government of Macau Special Administrative Region Statistics and Census Service, 2013-2018)

Survey respondents gave potential reasons for the overall reduction in the participation rate of visiting WHS in Macau (fig.4). Between 2013 and 2015, the main reason given for not visiting was lack of time, while a lack of interest ranked the second. In 2016, more participants showed no interests in participating in cultural activities, including visiting WHS, whereas fewer people said they had no time to participate. Participants also reported that it was unnecessary to revisit since 2016. All these reasons reflected the locals' attitudes toward the Governmental performance within the heritage sector in Macau. The rate of lack of interest in participating was at its peak of 68.5% in 2018. The



community showed a strong negative attitude toward participating in cultural activities since 2016 when the willingness of participation was less than 50%. Serious attention needs to be paid to improve the level of engagement through regular reviews and adjustments to retain public awareness and to ensure the sustainability of the Historic Centre of Macau.

Reasons for not visiting World Heritage Site

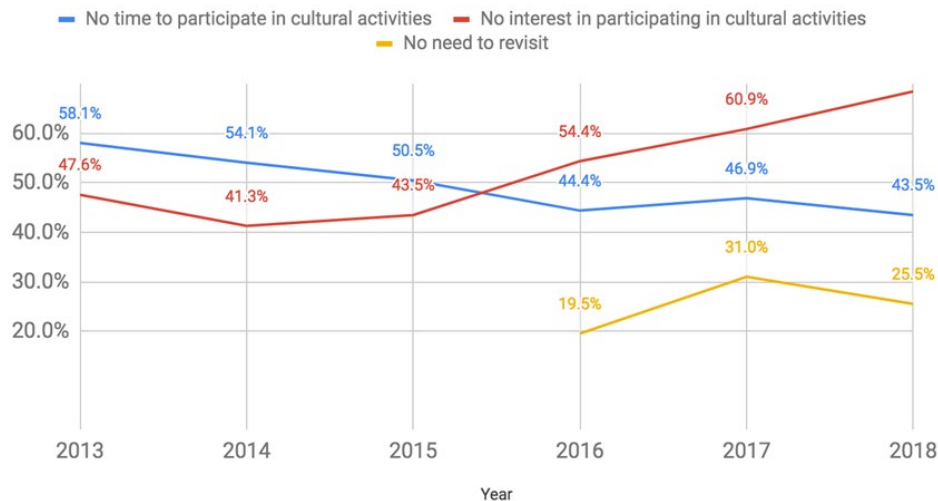


Figure 16. Reasons for not visiting World Heritage Site (Government of Macau Special Administrative Region Statistics and Census Service, 2013-2018)

### Collecting data for evaluation

A questionnaire was designed to identify the level of community engagement with heritage in Macau; to test the effectiveness of the current WHS management plan in engaging the public community by exploring the views and experiences of Macau residents during their visits to the Historic Centre of Macau (WHS 1110).

### Methodology

The questionnaire targeted respondents who had valid Macau ID only. There were 17 questions in total from three sections. It asked respondents to provide demographic information and their experiences of learning about or visiting WHS in Macau. They were also asked to respond to several Likert scale and open-ended questions. The data was collected through Google survey in May / June 2019.

### Results

Unlike the official survey, this questionnaire referenced no specific time period; in other words, the results are based on the lifelong experiences of the respondents. According to the data (fig.5), more than half of the total 378 individuals' responses have learnt Macau history or heritage-related information at school. Nearly 90% knows what the Historic Centre of Macau (WHS 1110) is without given indication. People mostly accessed information about WHS through the internet. Television was the second most common way while education ranked the third. Nearly 3/4 of respondents visited the Historic Centre of Macau once a year (to any of the 22 buildings) with the top three purposes for visiting being coincidence, as part of a visit by family and friends, or an event or fair held at the site.

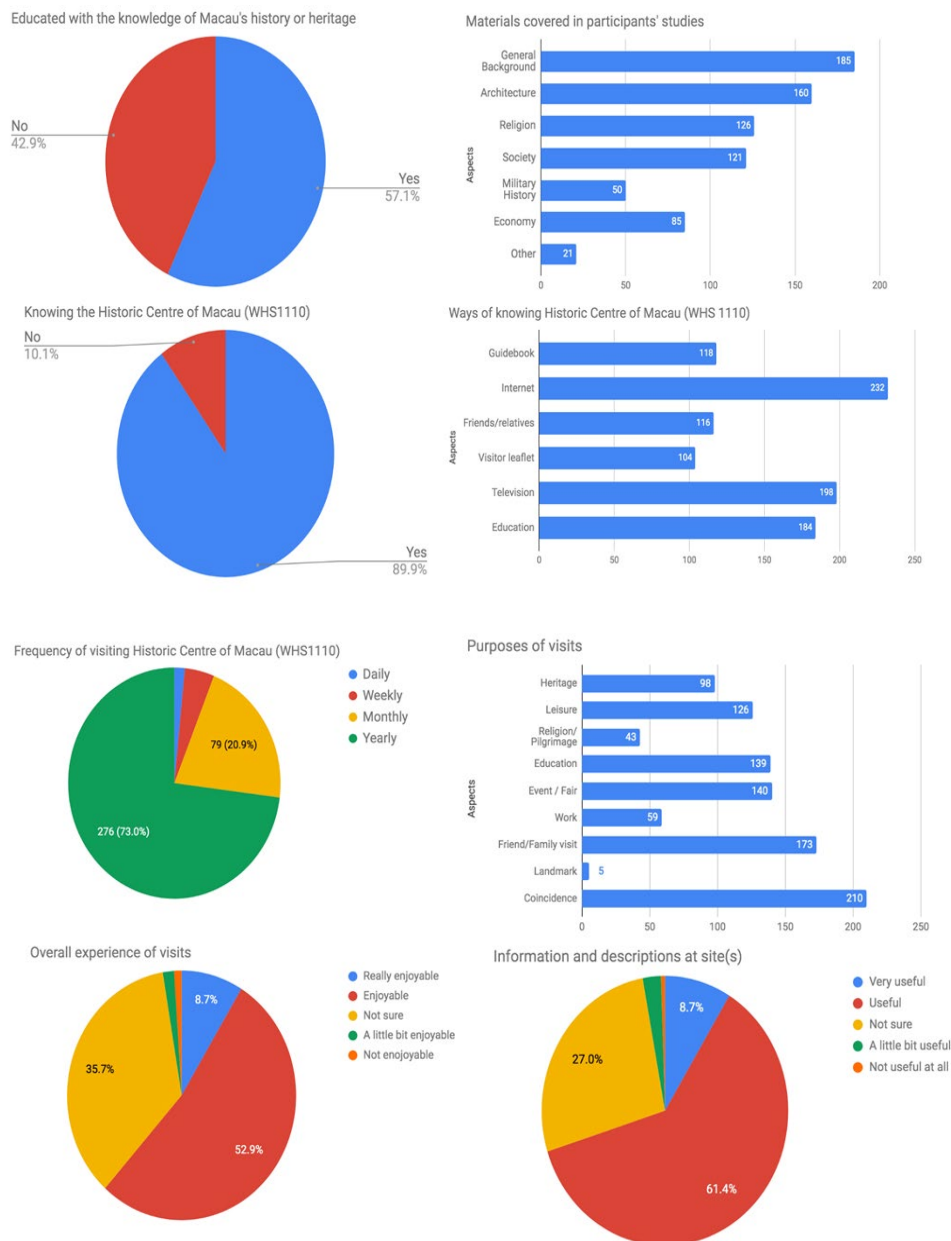


Figure 17. Data about the perception and visiting experience of respondents

Respondents were asked for their total number of visit to every below listed 22 different buildings, and selected the answer from four given choices (fig.6). Among all, the St. Paul Ruins was the most frequent visited site in Macau. By category, the most visited Chinese temple was the A-ma temple whereas Sam Kai Vui Kun only got 18 visits. The St. Paul Ruins were visited the most among Western Churches while the Sir Ho Tong Library and the Monte Fonte ranked top in their categories.

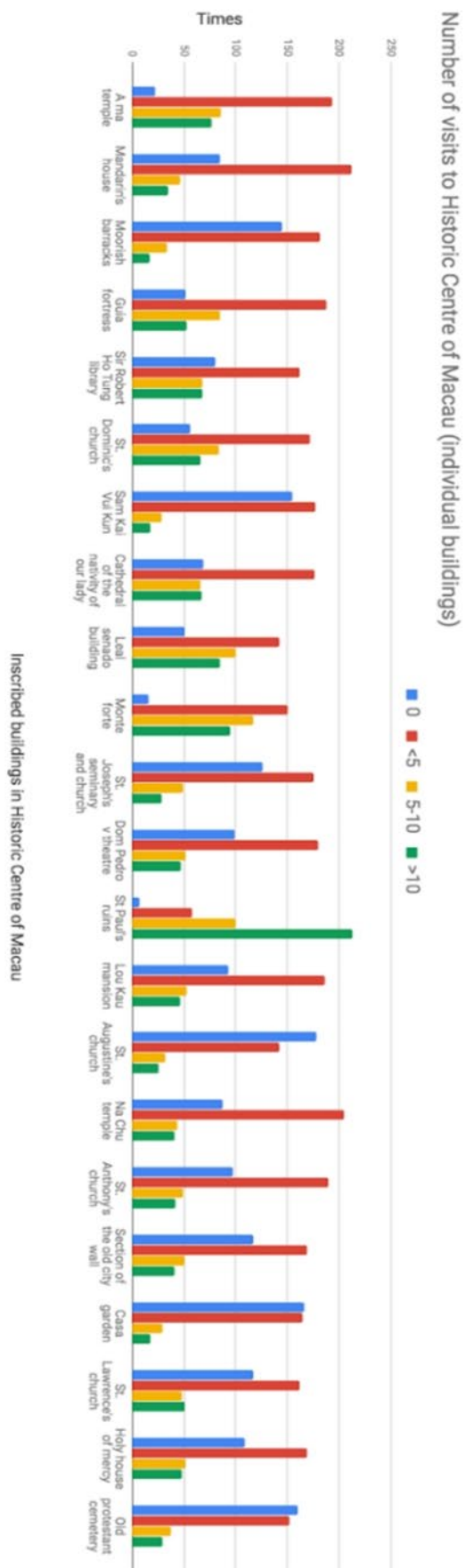


Figure 18. Number of visits to individual buildings of Historic Centre of Macau by respondents

Although approximately two-thirds did feel engaged with the site, mainly in history, culture and architectural style aspects (fig.7), almost half of the respondents reported that they might not visit the site again, mostly because of overcrowded with visitors which referred to tourists. Three quarters said did not get involved in any kind of cultural heritage related events in Macau.

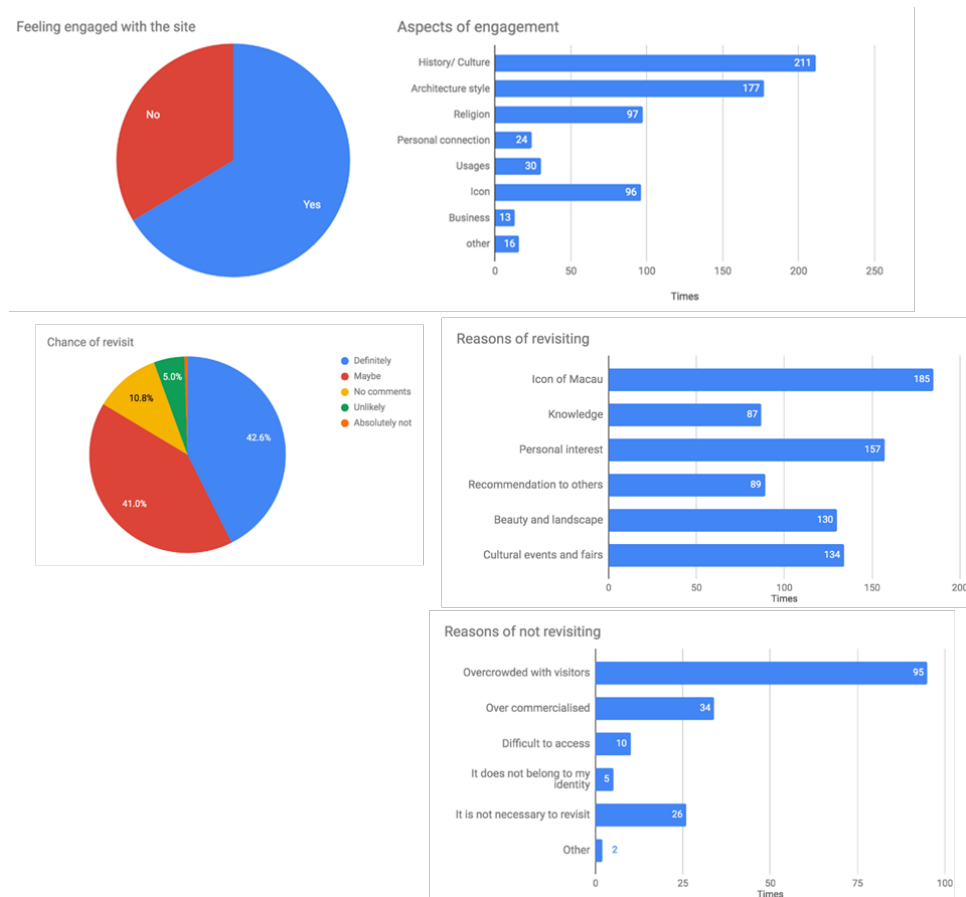


Figure 19. Data about the community engagement with heritage

In the final part of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to express their attitudes toward the introduction of heritage education at school, and how they feel about being the target of heritage promotion in Macau through the Likert scale (fig.8) and open-ended questions. More than 70% agreed or highly recommended that knowledge of cultural heritage should be introduced in schools formally. Some responded negatively by saying it is better not to teach if the information is biased, and if the government does not care about popularizing Macau history, including heritage to students, what is the point? Nevertheless, 70% either agreed or highly recommended that Macau residents should be the primary target of Macau’s heritage promotion.

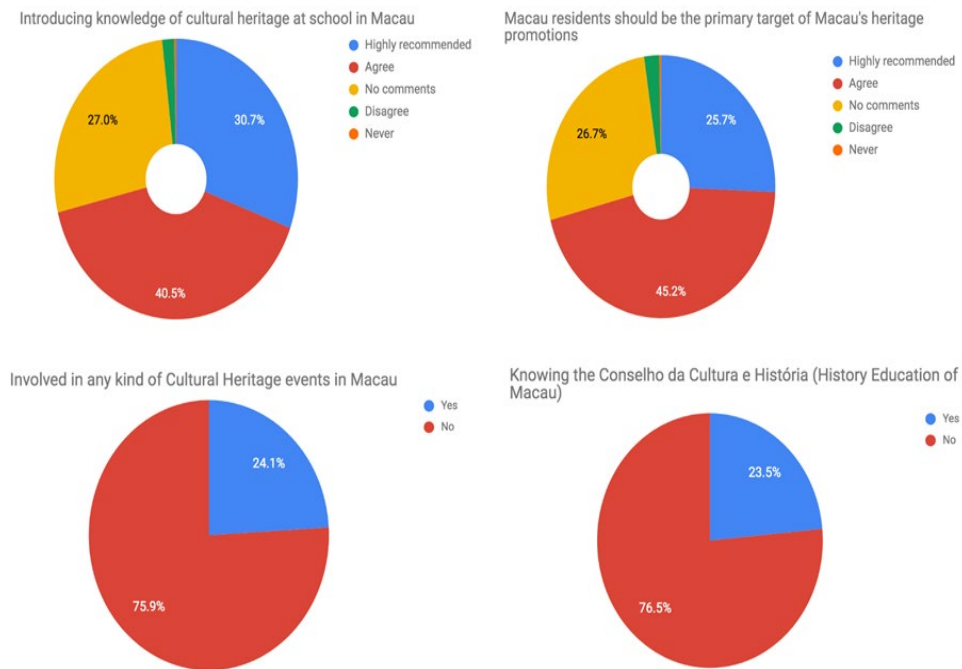


Figure 20. Data about the personal attitude towards heritage education in Macau

**EVALUATION OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT**

The results above suggest that Macau residents had a low level of engagement by showing weak awareness and interests towards WHS in Macau (fig.1 and table 9). This was mainly because the Government focused her interests on the development of heritage tourism whereas the community engagement was roughly considered. Two sets of statistics will further justify this classification of current community engagement level.

↓

Model for classification	Disengagement	current level interests	Engagement	Partnership
SDCP		-Being Informed -Being Asked ❌	-Commenting on decision -Developing solutions	-Delivering services
IAP2		-Inform -Consult ❌	-Involve -Collaborate	-Empower
National Trust		-Giving information -Gathering information ❌ -Inviting action ❌ -Consulting to be influenced ❌	-Deciding together -Acting together	-Supporting others

Table 21. Current community engagement level

**Attitudes and Interests of Local Residents**

In contrast to the extremely high level of recognition, the low participation rate does speak volumes about the attitudes and interests of local residents towards the WHS. Positively, the data showed two thirds of respondents felt engaged with heritage at a certain level during their visit(s) and more than 40% will definitely revisit in the future. However, it was also indicated that Macau residents tended to lose interest in site visits and in participation of cultural activities. For example, a large proportion of respondents (210/378) reported the purposes of visit(s) were mainly due to coincidence and family

and friends visiting from overseas. This suggested that their visits were rarely self-motivated and had no real aims. Furthermore, over 15% claimed they will not visit again particularly because the site was overcrowded with tourists and over commercialized. The trend of losing interest and weakening awareness can also be highlighted from the 20% increase of votes to no interest in fig.3 and 4. This thought of disagreeing with the necessity of revisiting was an effective proclamation of weak awareness and lack of interest. It is arguable that people might not have time for visit(s) rather than lacking of interest, but still, the participation rate of WHS visits dropped to the lowest level that year.

### **Inadequate Management and Promotion**

The low participation rate was the result of inadequate planning and management of the site. It did not only provide shallow cultural experiences and low level of engagement with heritage, but also brought poor motivation to the community. Therefore, locals were discouraged from being involved. Reflecting from the number and frequency of site visits, the way which the Government has been managing the Historic Centre of Macau was problematic in terms of community engagement and sustainability. In fact, the information of the site was being shared to Macau residents through limited advertisements on the internet and TV, which were primarily for tourists (fig.6). This contention was supported by the frequency of visits to individual buildings at the Historic Centre of Macau. The St. Paul's Ruins and the A-ma Temple, which were promoted as the icons of Macau, were visited the most among Macau residents. Whereas a high percentage of respondents have never been to the buildings which were rarely mentioned in the advertisements; four of such buildings have never been visited by over 40% of the respondents. Respondents were not motivated to visit as they did not know what can be offered during the visit apart from the "touristic experience". The high level of recognition was the result of a successful promotional strategy for heritage tourism without considering engagement from the local level.

### **What have been flagged?**

Clearly, a proper community engagement strategy has not been developed in Macau at the moment and people struggled to be engaged with heritage (33% felt disengaged during visits and 76% did not involve in cultural heritage related activities). Yet, this is vital for attracting and retaining people's awareness and interest to heritage site. The decisions of the Government is one of the push factors that heavily affect the level of engagement. As the residents assumed that the heritage site was only for tourists, they distanced themselves thus developed a perception that heritage site is not for them. For this reason, heritage sites seemed less attractive to locals and led to a situation where Macau residents showed weak awareness and interest to WHS. As a result, it became very unusual for locals to visit. Some respondents commented that the current approach of engaging the public with heritage is ineffective and insufficient. The significant reduction in the percentage of WHS visits and the boost in the number of people showing no interest in participating in cultural activities should alert the Government to these concerns. Several respondents pointed out that the management is an issue, while others said that 'the promotion to locals is not enough and not encouraging' (QC81), and it might be true that too many tourists affect the willingness of locals to participate in events and visits. Weak public interest implies the current management plan failed in engaging the community. It is crucial for the Government to review their policies and decisions regarding the Historic Centre of Macau.

## **CONCLUSION**

The ground for discussion was set based on the proposed model and data collected. The results of the case study show that the interests of the Government focused on the development of heritage tourism and disregarded the needs of her residents in the usage of heritage site in Macau. Decisions by the Government affect heavily the level of engagement experienced by locals, while the interests of Macau residents in the heritage sites will hardly be increased by having only shallow cultural “touristic experiences”. Responses from the Official Cultural Statistics and the evaluation of community engagement with WHS in Macau indicated a low level of community engagement based on respondents’ experiences and comments. Official performance in community engagement with heritage were ineffective and discouraging from locals’ perspectives. Respondents suggested that the Government should promote more heritage related activities for locals to enhance their experience. Furthermore, one interesting finding is that, regardless of having a low level of engagement with heritage in Macau, locals showed a strong willingness in being engaged further with their heritage via education. Compare to works proposed for developing heritage tourism at site, Macau residents benefited relatively little from it becoming a listed WHS. For the benefit of the Historic Centre of Macau and the sustainable development in Macau cultural affairs, improving the level of engagement for the local community is fundamental, utilizing the heritage site as a tool for experiencing the past, justifying the present and preparing for the future.<sup>11</sup> Thus, a deeper approach for improving the level of engagement for residents is required. However, due to the limited length, heritage education, which I consider as a possible approach for putting forward a solution for enhancing community engagement with heritage in Macau in the future can not be discussed here. To preserve our heritage in Macau for a more sustainable future, action should be taken immediately for long-term success.

## **Author’s remark**

The data collection and evaluation of this research were completed in 2019, just before the outbreak of COVID-19 so this paper has been postponed for publication and presentation. But now, fortunately, the pandemic is over and I believe it is the timing for proceeding this research project to track the impacts of the pandemic that would bring to the society, particularly towards the attitudes and interests of local residents in visiting heritage sites and museums, as well as in cultural education. Having this set of data published, it will be useful for upcoming trend comparison with new round of data collection which is now undergoing.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Teng Wai Lao, "Heritage Education as an Effective Approach to Enhance Community Engagement: A Model for Classifying the Level of Engagement," in *Heritage 2022 International Conference Vernacular Heritage: Culture, People and Sustainability* (2022): 631-638.

<sup>2</sup> "What is Public Engagement?" National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement, accessed August 3, 2019, <http://www.publicengagement.ac.uk/about-engagement/what-public-engagement>; National Trust, "The Spectrum of Participation." Resource from lecture of International Cultural Heritage Management, Durham, UK, March 14, 2019; "Core Strategy and Development Plan 2015-2033" (Sunderland City Council, UK, 2020), 1-202.

<sup>3</sup> Teng Wai Lao, "Heritage Education," 632-633.

<sup>4</sup> "World Heritage," UNESCO, accessed July 7, 2023, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>.

<sup>5</sup> "Macao Heritage Net Launched," Cultural Affairs Bureau (ICM), accessed August 3, 2023, <http://www.macaoheritage.net/mherit/NewsDE.asp?nid=5766>.

<sup>6</sup> "Macao Heritage Legislation", ICM, accessed August 3, 2023

<http://www.macaoheritage.net/Decree/indexE.asp>; Cultural Affairs Bureau, "The Consultation for the Management Plan of the Historic Centre of Macau" (Macau: Cultural Affairs Bureau, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> Man Wai Leong, "The Strategies of Heritage Tourism in Macau," *Journal of Macau Studies* 4, (2015): 6-9.

<sup>8</sup> MSAR, Macau Policy Address (Macau: The Government of Macau Special Administrative Region, 2013), 49.

<sup>9</sup> Shoutong Zhu, "The Presentation and Inheritance of the Cultural values within the Historic Centre of Macau," *Journal of Macau Studies* 4, (2015): 12-13.; Fat lam Lam, "Ten thoughts about the Historic Centre of Macau," *Journal of Macau Studies* 4, (2015): 14-15.

<sup>10</sup> Weng Fat Ieng, "The Preservation and Sustainability of the World Heritage in Macau," *Journal of Macau Studies* 4, (2015): 20-24.; "A Descriptive Information on the Inquiry of the World Heritage Center on the State of Conservation of the Historic Centre of Macao" (UNESCO World Heritage Convention, 2017, 1-14), <https://whc.unesco.org/document/157566>

<sup>11</sup> Ulrike Sommer, "Methods used to investigate the use of the past in the formation of regional identities," in *Heritage Studies* (Routledge, 2009), 121-138.

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# MUSEUM AS A PHARMAKON OF MEMORY: THE DIALECTICS IN REPRESENTING DIFFICULT HERITAGE AS COMMUNITY HERITAGE IN NARITA AIRPORT AND COMMUNITY HISTORICAL MUSEUM

Author:

**WALTER CHUN HAY CHAN**

Affiliation:

LIBERTAS CULTURE STUDIO, HONG KONG

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## INTRODUCTION

Joining a study tour about community building and social innovation in March 2023, I visited Narita Airport and Community Historical Museum (NACHM). Having been to Tokyo via Narita Airport for a few times, I was surprised to learn about the presence of such kind of museum. Not only are the stories behind and memories it carries intriguing, the exhibition was curated and has been operated by the Narita Airport Authority (NAA) dealing with difficult heritage, which is “recognised as meaningful in the present but also contested and awkward for public reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity”,<sup>1</sup> as well as negative heritage, as “a conflictual site that becomes the repository of negative memory in the collective imaginary”.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the case is quite unique in the context of museum studies. In Asia, museums coping with difficult heritage are not uncommon. The museums at Nagasaki and Hiroshima deal with the tragedies of atomic bomb in Japan while memorial museums for 228 Incident and sites in Taiwan deal with the state violence in the Cold War period, both addressing a quite settled historical issue (though controversial yet by and large the events have been quite distant from the present). I argue that the case of NACHM is unique in the museum’s positioning as a community historical museum which deals with the social memory still active today whereas the NAA itself is one of the key stakeholders in the course of history. Given the case of NACHM has not been discussed in museological context (though several writings available in historical and political discussion by scholars such as Apter and Sawa, as well as Uzawa), this paper aims to fill the blank area of academic research in the case itself, and writ large, museums’ role in response to difficult heritage still active in the present, and in facilitating efficacy for the community. The case reveals both the possibilities and limitations, opportunities and risks, in representing the difficult heritage with a by and large objective, historical approach. As alluded by the concept of pharmakon of being both remedy and poison, when the museum intended to inscribe the social memory through its exhibition to facilitate the well-being of the community through a linear narrative as such, it also risks denying ongoing conflicts and voices of memories otherwise, driving the community to divergence rather than co-existence. Before delving into details, an introduction to the background of Narita Airport and NACHM with relevant history and social memory will be offered and followed by the analysis of its curatorial strategies and the discussion of the museum’s efficacy.

## CONTEXT

A series of protests and demonstrations, namely the Sanrizuka Struggle, took place in Japan during the 1960s and 1970s, centered around the construction of Narita Airport, which was being built in the rural area of Sanrizuka, located in the Chiba Prefecture of Japan. The Japanese government announced its plans to build Narita Airport in 1966. The government began acquiring land from local farmers and residents, but many of them, who have been inhabitants in the area for at least decades, if not generations, and made a living with agriculture, refused to give up their land.

This led to a series of protests and demonstrations, which were organized by the local residents and their supporters. An opposition alliance was formed, named Farmers League Against the Narita Airport Sanrizuka-Shibayama United Opposition League against Construction of the Narita Airport, and the social activism was named the Sanrizuka Struggle. The beginning was characterized by its use of non-violent resistance, which included sit-ins, hunger strikes, and other forms of civil disobedience. In 1971, the government responded by using force to evict the residents and demolish their homes, with the introduction of police force. The confrontation escalated into a national scale issue when new leftist groups in Japan joined and supported and violent conflicts broke out. Though the government managed to secure the control of the airport site and built the 1st runway, there were still ongoing struggles. The airport was constructed and began operation in 1978. Though the opposition alliances occupied the control tower over a short period of time, the government regained control and established emergency law on Narita and dissolved the opposition groups. Still, the subsequent 2nd phase of construction faced ongoing opposition, leading up till today.

It was only in the 1990s when the Narita community and the government started reconciliation. The roundtable conferences in 1991 brought together scholars, local residents, and government officials to discuss the issues and seek solutions. The Japanese government's apology in 1995 was a significant step towards acknowledging the harm caused by the construction and displacement of local residents. The establishment of committees such as the Preparation for Co-creation House and the History Inheritance Committee demonstrate a commitment to involving local communities in the decision-making process and preserving the historical legacy of the airport – the Narita Airport and Community Historical Museum was drawn as a plan and opened in 2011 serves as a reminder of the complex history and ongoing efforts towards reconciliation. Still, there are present confrontation in current resumption of land for further expansion of the airport and farmers went on working on the fields encircled by the airport.

The Museum serves as a tool for preserving memories and curating narratives. It was constructed by the Narita Airport Authority and co-organised by the "Regional Development Liaison Council" in 1990, which included Hiromichi Ishige, a former opposition member of the Atsuta school. As stated by the Museum, its aim to “carry out activities to accurately convey history to the next generation”, and to “pass down history not only to visitors to the museum but also to many people who are interested in the museum”.

## ANALYSIS

### Affordability

Naming of the museum itself, as a place to tell the stories of the area, is a political issue. The whole series of historical events, has to be reduced to space, while the name of such a space is critical because it is where people visit and call it. It might be called the Sanrizuka Incidents, leftist oppositions, airport struggles, as from our introduction to the event. And why is it called as such? My view is that Narita Airport, as the subject, suggests its relationship with the airport authority, and the current importance of the airport to the whole area, instead of the farms or farmers, while community

implies a more local rather than political sense in referring to the farmers, a more general picture, a title which may interest tourists who has no prior knowledge of the conflicts.

The Japanese name is even more poetic. If we literally translate the term, it will be the sky and the earth/land historical museum. The sky understandably refers to the airport (the project for flying in the sky) while the land will be the land of the farmers in Narita), although its more poetic than the English version, it subtly points to the gist of the historical events, the conflicting desires of getting the land for the sky or the earth itself. The naming, however, in a general view, is intended to distance the museum from conflicts and frame the memories in a poeticised community history.

### Spatial setting

The spatial arrangement of the Narita Airport Community Historical Museum is designed to create a balance of narrative in temporality, and to set the tone of the narrative. The museum is located as part of a visitor complex with the Museum of Aeronautical Sciences, and its space and aura are characterized by natural light and openness (figure 1), which serve to diminish the brutality of the events depicted. Overall, the spatial arrangement of the museum is designed to create a tone that is educational, transparent, and objective.



Figure 1. View of exhibition from entrance

The exhibition is divided sections depicting the events related to the construction of the airport as follows (figure 2).



Figure 2. Layout of NACHM

- Where to build 1945-1965

- The new airport – how it started – 1960-1970
- Society around the 70's
- Days of confrontation 1968-1978
- Special Contents (Documentary)
- Narita Airport opens 1978
- The long, gloomy days 1978-1992
- A ray of light shed on the community 1995-1998
- Narita Airport – now and in the future – 1999

These constructs a linear timeline, and a narrative from violence (beginning to “Days of confrontation”, designed with a red colour tone) to harmony (starting from “Narita Airport opens”, designed with a greenish-bluish colour tone).

### Curatorial Strategies

#### Panel texts and photographs

The use of panels comprising photographs accompanied by a chronological description is adopted in the exhibition (figures 3 and 4), as an effective way of telling a story. This method of storytelling is logical and linear, providing a clear and objective sequence of events. The panels are often presented in a manner that is consistent with the viewpoint of a single authoritative narrator, who remains unseen throughout the exhibition.



Figure 3. Chronological framework of incidents shown on panel texts and photographs



Figure 4. Chronological framework of incidents shown on panel texts and photographs

The photographs presented on each panel offer a visual representation of the events being described, giving the viewer a deeper understanding of the story being told. The chronological description of each panel provides context and helps the viewer understand the sequence of events.

By utilizing this method of storytelling, the exhibition creates a sense of order and structure, making it easier for the viewer to follow the story being told. This type of storytelling is particularly effective in historical exhibitions, where the aim is to present a factual account of events.

### Objects

The panels are accompanied by written or printed documents, newspapers and personal testimonies such as letters, yet constituting only small proportion (figure 5). Some objects irrelevant to the social incidents are also included to contextualise the events, including farming tools about the traditional lifestyle of inhabitants, as well as posters in the 1970s to illustrate the global cultures in Japan (figure 6). These contextual objects attempts to make sense of the incidents for the visitors and developing a kind of familiarity for the lay witness, facilitating a linkage for individuals to place themselves in the context of their study to enable comprehension.<sup>3</sup>

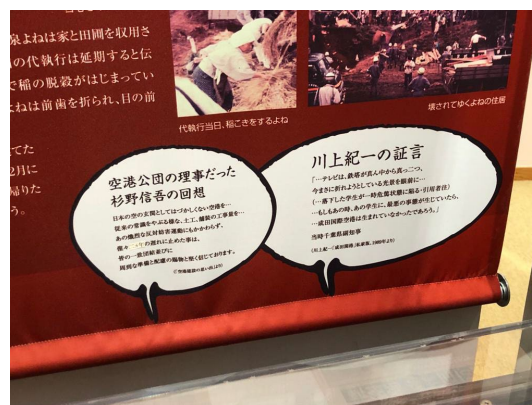


Figure 5. Display of testimonies of officials



Figure 6. Display of Posters in the 1970s – Global cultures in Japan

Tangible objects used by the activists are also displayed, yet through a quite sanitising selection - apart from replicas of molotov cocktails neatly arranged on ground level (which could barely be

noticed), weapons used by both sides, the opposition and the police, are not presented in the exhibition (figures 7 and 8).



Figure 7. Display of a drum writing “destroy the airport” and molotov cocktails

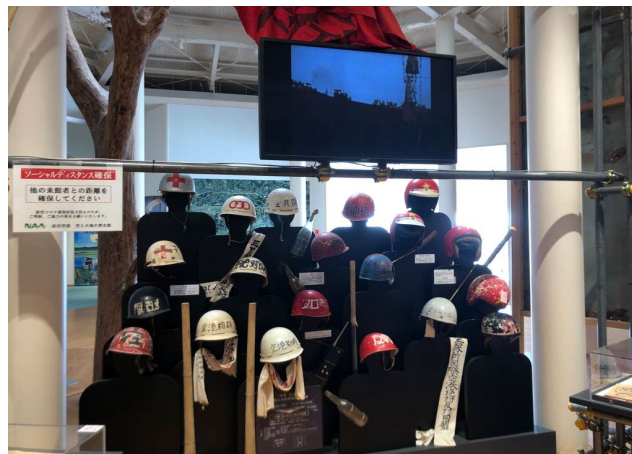


Figure 8. Reconstruction of the outfit of the opposition with helmets and a few clubs

### The documentary section

The documentary is categorised as an individual section in the exhibition, cutting the exhibition into two halves – the sections afore were about the violence confrontations while the latter were about the acts for reconciliation. My question is that why, otherwise, instead of working with the documentary, projecting the moving and voicing characters which render even more lively character witness, the exhibition is only listing the film with some filming equipment in a corner. I argue that because of the subjectivity of the documentary, which is out of the control of the museum’s curatorship inside the film, the museum may risk the narrative being a spectral voice of the opposing forces. By putting into a category of special content as a restricted space in the middle, to specify the fact that they are filmed by the participants, visitors have stronger sense of distance of the documentary with the overall narrative of the museum. Writ large, this shows the strategy of historicization, framing the documentaries as a neutral cultural phenomenon, a medium or art form, by displaying not video but movie-making devices such as films and shooting equipment (figures 9 and 10). This not only asserts positive meaning the social incident left as legacy to the community rather than its function as a propaganda by the opposing alliances, but also downplay the unsettled political issues.

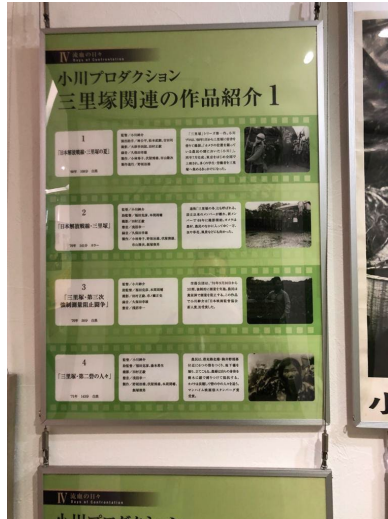


Figure 9. Panel introducing documentaries on Sanrizuka



Figure 10. Display of movie-making devices

## Summary

The curatorial strategies of the exhibition at the Narita Airport and Community Historical Museum aim at constructing an accurate, objective and neutral narrative, by listing out facts in a linear timeline, or reducing documentary as a cultural phenomenon, in which social conflicts have been resolved through peaceful means, while personal, interactive perspectives could barely be found in the exhibition. The curatorial approaches are thus creating an invisible “expert witness”,<sup>4</sup> which narrates the memory as an accumulation of knowledge, but at the meantime, reducing the whole incident to facts and figures and rationalise the events by constructing a temporal linearity. The very usual approach of listing images in a panel creates the effect of what Sontag calls, an image anesthesia,<sup>5</sup> as Jacques Rancière similarly speaks of the ‘disappointed belief in a straight line from perception, affection, comprehension and action’<sup>6</sup> – without weapons or significant physical traces of violence among the exhibited objects, visitors only exposed to a tidily arranged album of images are distanced from emotion in the conflictual context.<sup>7</sup>

## DISCUSSION

Given such curatorial approaches, the museum certainly serves the function of presenting an optimistic narrative with records of the past. However, as addressed afore, the curatorial approaches are choices made to construct an expert witness of the social incident in Narita. Are such approaches efficacious to promote well-being within the community as the museum intended to?

From the museum’s perspective, it attempts to play a role in two ways: first, the narrative offers a closure of history, by recollecting and organizing the social memories by presenting facts and figures

in a rational framework, i.e. as a part of the community history surrounding Narita Airport. It is so written on the introductory page of the museum's catalogue, "From the standpoint of those who recognised that the Narita Airport issue is still unresolved, some people say that the movement should not be made history so easily, but now that half a century has passed, it must be done." By offering an end to the Sanrizuka Struggle, the museum intends to intervene the community by stabilizing the understanding of history to emphasise the passage of events while solution have been made. The former president of NAA, Kosaburo Morinaka, said in the opening of NACHM, "We were able to exhibit a well-balanced display. I want to tell people that this happened at Narita."<sup>8</sup> A transparent, comprehensive perspective is intended to be offered to the visitors, so that justice can be done to all parties. Further, the museum believes such a narrative transforms the negative heritage into meaningful lessons from history "for the future generations". It is a form of "hermeneutic" memorial work subtly done by the museum, by organizing and legitimizing discursive structures of the "lessons of history", to secure representations of the past that can be integrated into a communal definition of a harmonious future,<sup>9</sup> to reconcile and promote co-creation, community well-being, and social sustainability, with a democratic civil society as a key element,<sup>10</sup> as conveyed in the later parts of the exhibition.

However, the representation of the memories by the museum has been counteracted by the Opposition Alliance. The Alliance declared, "we will not allow the activities of the Museum to destroy the actual battle by making the Sanrizuka Struggle an object of tradition". In their perspectives, the museum's closure of history in the exhibition is an objectification, mummification of the unresolved legacy of the past, forging a closure will be a negligence, or forgetting of the negative heritage, and the alienation of the Alliance, described to be in the past, but still active in present. Such a museum representation of controversial past, especially in a narrative without including the recent voice of its stakeholder, may risk further divergence of the community, given that the Alliance is still actively working against the expansion of the Narita Airport.

The "expert" curatorial approaches on the other hand also deprive of affective narratives. I am not saying that an emotional narrative must be efficacious but memories otherwise, such as personal perspectives or collective affections may not be well-conveyed in the exhibition. The importance of affective side, if aiming for a reconciliatory narrative, is the recognition and appreciation of the people in the community. Although divergence appeared, people were, out of their passion for protecting their land and neighbourhood, writ large, the ideology and ideal the leftist activists pursued, in the expense of their safety or even life. Without such perspectives, visitors are distanced from the lived experiences behind such conflicts, and may fail to gain thorough understanding of the opposition, and their concurrent activism. I am not saying the visitors must be convinced or to sympathise with the opposition by presenting affective narratives, but an "expert" narrative does not help narrow the gap among stakeholders within the community but risks misunderstanding.

Quoting the famous Foucaultian idea, "my point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous".<sup>11</sup> The case of NACHM can be understood as a pharmakon on community well-being. Following Butler's proposition, a "pharmakon" denotes ambivalently the cure, but also dangerously, the illness or its cause.<sup>12</sup> Such a complex and contradictory nature is present in the use of heritage. It can be both a source of harm and a tool for healing, depending on how it is approached and used. In the case of NACHM, the exhibition is intended to prompt the well-being for community, if not a remedial gesture of the NAA towards the local residents, by recognizing the violence conflicts and the plausibility of a peaceful resolution by the collaboration of stakeholders, serving as a cure. Meanwhile, the curatorial strategies of NACHM risk a flattened representation of the negative heritage and the denial of its legacy in the present, leading to divergence with the opposition alliance, such that the museum itself becomes a harm.



The presence of other memorial works going on in the community further suggests the limited scope of NACHM's exhibition in addressing local memories. The *lieu de memoire*, the ruins and remains of stronghold by Opposition Alliance, an honouring monument for land contributors set up by the Narita Airport Authority in 1978, and a graveyard for the late police in the event, and an altar for deceased opposition members, still commemorated recently, all suggest the authentic ways of memory works done by the local communities, in each stakeholder's own ways, some being contesting the NACHM's narratives. To frame the community history of Narita, NACHM might be able to address part of its negative heritage but not able to serve as a fair and open memorial institution.

## CONCLUSION

The case of NACHM shed light on how museums can intervene in social conflicts as the Sanrizuka Struggle but it also shows the representation of memory can also be a dangerous pharmakon – taking the conflicts as a course of community history is, on one hand, an attempt to bring constructive perspectives to the past and local community with a harmonious conclusion of the social conflicts, but on the other hand, it is offering a sanitised discourse which exclude memories otherwise, still haunting the local community, in a way that the discourses of the museum could not reconcile with ongoing oppositions.

However, the case does not limit the possibility of promoting heritage efficacy. Edith Wyschogrod suggests the idea of a “community of hospitality”,<sup>13</sup> which requires a form of public history that acknowledges and respects the historical experiences of others, embracing alternative perspectives. A museum, to better address the complex social issue such as that in NACHM, as a community historical museum, can seek not necessarily a stable narrative, but instead, the crucibles of conceptual, ethical, and aesthetic confrontation<sup>14</sup> and a vibrant ‘agonistic’ public sphere of contestation where different hegemonic political projects can be confronted.<sup>15</sup> It is not the most important to come up with a concrete consensus with all stakeholders in representing the past, but museums can be a nexus to negotiate, and even experiment, how the past can facilitate the well-being of the present.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Sharon Macdonald, *Difficult heritage: Negotiating the Nazi past in Nuremberg and beyond* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 1.
- <sup>2</sup> Lynn Meskell, “Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archaeology,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 75, no. 3 (2002): 557–574.
- <sup>3</sup> George Hein, *Learning in the museum* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).
- <sup>4</sup> Ross Wilson, “Social sustainability and witnessing difficult heritage,” in *Routledge Handbook of Sustainable Heritage*, ed. Kalliopi Fouseki et al. (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2022), 110.
- <sup>5</sup> Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Picador, 1977), xx.
- <sup>6</sup> Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator* (London: Verso, 2009), 103.
- <sup>7</sup> Bernadette Lynch, “Disturbing the Peace: Museums, Democracy and Conflict Avoidance,” in *Heritage and Peacebuilding*, ed. Diana Walters et al. (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 111.
- <sup>8</sup> “‘Undō no hanashi’ sanrizuka ‘sora to daichi no rekishikan’”, Nakano Yukiko, accessed August 25, 2023, <https://bund.jp/?p=34915>.
- <sup>9</sup> Roger Simon, *The touch of the past: Remembrance, learning and ethics* (New York and Basingstoke: Springer, 2016), 3–4.
- <sup>10</sup> Kristen Magis and Craig Shinn. “Emergent principles of social sustainability,” in *Understanding the social dimension of sustainability*, ed. Jesse Dillard et al. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 38.
- <sup>11</sup> Michel Foucault, “On the Genealogy of Ethics: An Overview of Work in Progress,” in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rainbow (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 343.
- <sup>12</sup> Beverley Butler, “Heritage as pharmakon and the Muses as deconstruction: problematising curative museologies and heritage healing,” in *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation* ed. Sandra Dudley et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).
- <sup>13</sup> Edith Wyschogrod, *An Ethics of Remembering: History, Heterology, and the Nameless Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 241.
- <sup>14</sup> Timothy Luke, “The Museum: Where Civilizations Clash or Clash Civilizes,” in *Museum Philosophy for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Hugh Genoways (Lanham: Altamira, 2006), 22.
- <sup>15</sup> Chantal Mouffe, *On the Political* (London: Routledge, 2005), 3.

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# MY (CULT)PLACE – THE INTERACTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE AND LOCAL YOUTH COMMUNITIES

Author:

**ANI ISTATKOVA**

Affiliation:

SOFIA UNIVERSITY ST. KLIMENT OHRIDSKI, FACULTY OF HISTORY, BULGARIA

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## INTRODUCTION

The public significance of cultural heritage implies a shared responsibility for its memory, preservation, socialization, and management, through its inclusion in the life of the community. Cultural heritage bears the marks of historical times and socio-cultural and political regimes and is a field of interaction of different social groups. My place, which is related to identity (local, national, regional) and which is known and recognizable, is not always realized and included in the life of the community as a Cultural place. This dichotomy is a provocation to research interest and approaches are sought to provoke the youth audience to seek interaction with the urban environment through cultural heritage and education. The article presents research approaches to analyze memory and attitudes about emblematic buildings and places from architectural history and derives a micro-model for beneficial interactions between cultural heritage and stakeholders through school education.<sup>1</sup>

From a methodological point of view, Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive development from the 1940s<sup>2</sup> and Haury and Rillero's concept of "learning by doing"<sup>3</sup> is important. Striving to engage children through play and by allowing them to interact with artifacts has an essential place in their contact with cultural heritage. This is related to the recognition of children as important participants in the educational process (not just its recipients) and facilitates the memorization and transmission of scientific information.<sup>4</sup> In this sense, educational and technological modern trends intersect with priorities for bringing cultural heritage to a leading place in policies as a resource for social and economic development.

## PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

Cultural heritage is not seen as an isolated system of objects and practices existing parallel to the modern city, with the sole purpose of preserving historical memory. It is a field of interaction of different interests and contains the potential to connect communities, to develop the environment sustainably, to be a carrier of knowledge and a resource for prosperity and preservation of values, and to ensure the connection between regions and cultures.<sup>5</sup>

The analysis presented points to some deficits regarding the interaction of the social environment with the cultural heritage such as: Absence or impaired dialogue between the stakeholders; Inability to "complex thinking" and apply an integrated approach to cultural heritage; The inability of the local community to identify its participation interests; Incapacity for participatory governance; Lack of responsibility of professional and local communities in the preservation and socialization of cultural

heritage; Lack of awareness and underutilization of the interaction between educational programs and cultural heritage.<sup>6</sup> Finding them helps us identify issues and seek mutually beneficial interactions between stakeholders.

### RESEARCH APPROACHES (CITY OF SOFIA AS AN EXAMPLE)

The main approaches used in the present research, for the study of cultural heritage in an urban environment and the youth community with the aim of building a model for beneficial interactions, are: 1. Diachronic analysis and establishment of unused potential for development; 2. Synchronous analysis and 3. Stakeholder identification and cross-sector, inter-institutional and interdisciplinary network building. The Venice Charter: International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (1964) first defined cultural heritage as "spiritual messages from the past which must be transmitted to future generations in all the richness of their authenticity in order to preserve precisely their value of witnesses to history".<sup>7</sup>

The diachronic research of the development of the cultural landscape of the city of Sofia presents a city with historical layers of millennia. The architectural wealth, together with the archaeological remains of the ancient and medieval settlement, are cultural heritage forming the identity of the city.<sup>8</sup> In total, over 1,600 immovable cultural heritage properties are registered on its territory, of which 811 are located in the central part of the city and 147 are of national importance. The cultural heritage of Sofia is composed of all the main categories of cultural heritage - architectural, archaeological, park and garden art, historical, industrial, cultural landscape, etc. The largest share of objects is related to historical events and personalities, but the concentration of architectural properties and archaeological sites is also significant.<sup>9</sup>

The established deficits in the interaction of the cultural heritage and the local community and the meaningful needs in the development of the modern urban environment provoke reflection and require critical research (Figure 1.).

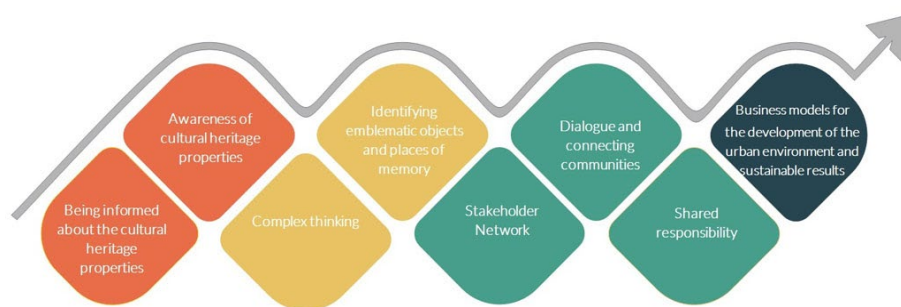


Figure 1. Sustainable development potentials of cultural heritage through interactions

In order to make a synchronous analysis of memory, attitudes, and existing interactions, the information available through Google search was studied according to different criteria. Stakeholder research, discussion with them, a study of curricula and programs for school education (grades 5-12), research of legislative acts, good practices, and initiatives had been also conducted. Possible institutional and management solutions and steps towards the building of "cultural heritage communities" were derived. The research was conducted in two directions - memory and attitudes (1) and educational programs (2).

The study of the stored memory, consciousness, and attitudes about cultural heritage properties of Sofia goes through 4 steps: 1. Self-identification through the eyes of the local authority through the official website of the municipality - coat of arms, slogan, visual materials and strategic vision in the

documents; 2. Google search, filtering the results by tags (symbols/emblems/landmarks/historic buildings of Sofia; historical routes; presentation aimed at foreigners) and using different criteria (order of results, frequency and number of mentions, sequence of the release of results, initiatives, and events dedicated to or held at a specific site 3. Documentary research of bibliographic, and archival sources and 4. of visual materials (postcards - old and new, lithographs, photos and photo albums, works of art).

The self-identification of the city of Sofia by the local government<sup>10</sup> emphasizes the historical layering and value, but also its dynamic modern development - "Growing but not aging!" The symbols of the city's cultural heritage, included in the coat of arms, bind the city's Roman past, the natural wealth of the Vitosha mountain, and the healing mineral springs in the city. In addition, in a symbolic sense, continuity with the old capital Veliko Tarnovo is demonstrated, which reaffirms the sense of historicity. As emblematic of immovable cultural heritage properties, with which the capital is identified are highlighted the National Theater "Ivan Vazov", the National Palace of Culture, the St. Alexander Nevsky cathedral, as well as some places from the park environment of the city. When searching on Google, filtering the results by tags,<sup>11</sup> or when searching for images of buildings or symbols and landmarks of Sofia,<sup>12</sup> St. Alexander Nevsky cathedral is the undisputed emblem. Along with it and the already mentioned objects, the Russian Church of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker, the St. Nedelya church, St. Sofia Church, the Parliament, the Rotunda St. George, the Boyana Church, the Rectorate of the Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", Prince's Palace, the Largo, Eagles Bridge, etc. In the different sites, they move their positions or new ones are added, but in terms of frequency of mention, the listed cultural objects are leading and the first three positions most often overlap. The objects' prominence is primarily due to their inclusion in the urban environment, their perception as landmarks in the infrastructure, with a recognizable appearance, value, and function in the life of the community in different periods of the city's development. The study of bibliographic, archival sources, and visual materials confirms this thesis by showing objects that are considered representative precisely because they are functionally included in the life of a city and are accessible.<sup>13</sup>

### **Preserved memory of cultural heritage**

In 2023, a study was conducted on the topic "Memory for the cultural heritage of the city of Sofia. Awareness, attitudes, and commitment" among students, teachers and principals.<sup>14</sup> The results show a slight discrepancy between the two groups of students (grades 5-7 and grades 8-12) regarding emblematic cultural heritage properties of the capital city. As recognizable (with limit to the first five positions), the respondents from grades 5-7 indicate the National Palace of Culture, the Lion's Bridge, the Eagle's Bridge, the National Theater "Ivan Vazov" and the St. Alexander Nevsky cathedral. Most of the answers speak of a relatively good connection of the objects with the historical periods from which the cultural objects belong. The same is the state of stored memory among this student group in relation to extinct cultural objects and knowledge of the functionality of objects, even in cases of repurposing in modern times. However, the level of knowledge remains unsatisfactory. In the 8-12th grade age group, this dependence is also preserved, although with a certain positive trend, for more knowledge on the listed indicators, as well as for better orientation in architectural styles and the development of the city's cultural landscape. When pointing to recognizable objects, there is no such definiteness and there is more dispersion of responses for different objects. This may be the result of better knowledge for the urban environment with the expansion of the living environment in the older age group. The mentioned objects are known because of their place as landmarks, key in the city's communication infrastructure, and with clear functionality.

### **Educational programs**

Essential for preserving memory is working with the youth audience and the main means are the educational programs (school education and non-formal education), as well as youth-oriented initiatives. It is clear from the conducted sociological survey that the recognition of the city's cultural heritage sites is not related to educational programs. They contribute to the accumulation of knowledge about them, which unfolds in the different classes and thematic cycles of the educational content, but there is much to be desired in this direction, to speak of a useful interaction. We can talk about a discrepancy between knowledge and awareness, since for the majority of respondents from grades 8-12, despite their good orientation in the cultural values of the city (in the historical layering, influences, and recognizability of the objects), the designation as recognizable and/or emblematic objects depends rather on their inclusion in the life of the community and their establishment as landmarks in the urban infrastructure. Educational programs contain untapped potential regarding the cultural heritage of the city and the examples in the lessons, although they surround us in the urban environment, often the youth audience is not aware of their cultural value.

In the History and Civilization Curriculum, a "Cultural Heritage" module is provided and distributed as highlights in certain lesson units and in different thematic sections. The expected results of the training are related to national and world cultural heritage, distinguishing characteristic cultural heritage properties of national and world significance; describing the emergence of religions and their main elements and giving examples of mutual influences between different cultures; discovery of synchronicity in the cultural development of different societies; assessing the importance of European contributions to world cultural heritage; recognizing different architectural styles and giving examples of European influences on the spiritual life of the Balkans. The knowledge and, accordingly, the expected results are accumulated in the different classes of the junior high school and high school stages of school education. Describing them is not the goal of the present work, but a complementary emphasis in the analysis, looking for a useful interaction of the development of the urban environment - the cultural heritage and the youth audience. The "Cultural Heritage" module would be more effective from an educational and cultural point of view if delivered independently, in separate teaching units. In addition, it is necessary to place more emphasis on accessibility, visualization, workshops, and active involvement of the youth audience. The cultural objects that surround us are the living and accessible history that can speak to students far more comprehensibly and accessible through the method of "learning by experience" before unfolding the big picture of European and world heritage.

### **Identification of stakeholders and interactions**

Cultural heritage is perceived by a number of authors as part of a dynamic socio-cultural system actively interacting with the environment. Contemporary ideas about the role of cultural heritage in the goals of sustainable development can be illustrated by the following, widely popular diagram (Figure 2.), which points to the possibilities of transforming cultural value into social significance.

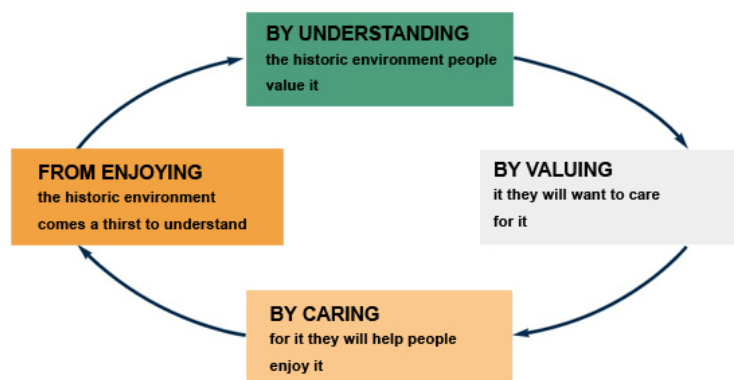


Figure 2. Social interaction of cultural heritage - diagram by Simon Thurley<sup>15</sup>

In the updated National Concept for Spatial Development for the period 2013-2025, cultural and natural heritage are given a leading place.<sup>16</sup> According to this document, the stakeholders in forming beneficial interactions with the cultural heritage are the local government, cultural and educational institutions, non-governmental organizations, businesses, the local community, and specifically the local youth community, and their active involvement is a basic prerequisite for achieving a qualitatively new approach, in the management, combining top-down and bottom-up initiatives.<sup>17</sup>

From a survey conducted among teachers and principals in 2023, the results show that the accumulated knowledge about cultural heritage leads to a change in the criteria for recognition and significance of objects and to a rearrangement of positions. It is about awareness of a historical, cultural, and emblematic place in an urban cultural landscape, although the analysis of the obtained results shows the need for work to achieve better awareness not only of the youth audience but also of the specialists involved in the educational institutions.

According to the results of the survey on attitudes and commitment, the necessary approaches for better knowledge of the cultural heritage are highlighted - first of all, the organization of visits (66.5% of the responding students from 5-7 grades, 74.4% from 8-12 class); at more events (48.9% - grades 5-7 and 65.1% - grades 8-12); open lessons (47.3% - grades 5-7 and 46.5% - grades 8-12); more information (48.9% - grades 5-7 and 32.6% - grades 8-12). When asked what is missing in order to fully reach the youth audience, the predominant answers are a lack of commitment, due to a lack of awareness about the value of the city's cultural heritage, (36.4%), lack of initiatives to involve young people (25.8%) and insufficient visits (18.2%). Pedagogical experts believe that in order to reach children and young people through education are necessary projects aimed at building and developing interaction between institutions for better knowledge of cultural heritage by young people (50%), organizing more events (45.5%), visits to sites (45.5%) and targeted state policy (36.4%). The predominant answers of the respondents (teachers) show an awareness of the potential of the interaction of cultural heritage with the urban environment and improving the quality of life.

Local examples of good practices aimed at the interaction of cultural heritage with the local community and the youth audience are the projects and initiatives "Cultural-Historical Monuments in the Sofia City District", financed under the "Youth in Action" program (with the inclusion of young people and through which an electronic catalog of the cultural heritage of the Sofia-city region was created, 2012), "The coat of arms of Sofia through innocent children's eyes" (2016),<sup>18</sup> The ancient festival "Serdika is my Rome" (2021, 2022, 2023),<sup>19</sup> various activities aimed at building a vision for the city - innovative Sofia,<sup>20</sup> Sofia - digital, smart, dynamic, with a targeted policy of the local government, but also of non-governmental organizations, organizing various events, developing cultural routes<sup>21</sup> and tourist products based on cultural inheritance.



## A MICRO-MODEL FOR BENEFICIAL INTERACTIONS AND BUILDING "CULTURAL HERITAGE COMMUNITIES"

A micro-model for beneficial interactions between the local youth community and cultural heritage can be both "inside-out" and "outside-in", and both approaches have the potential to be realized by reflecting the main influencing factors (Figure 3.).

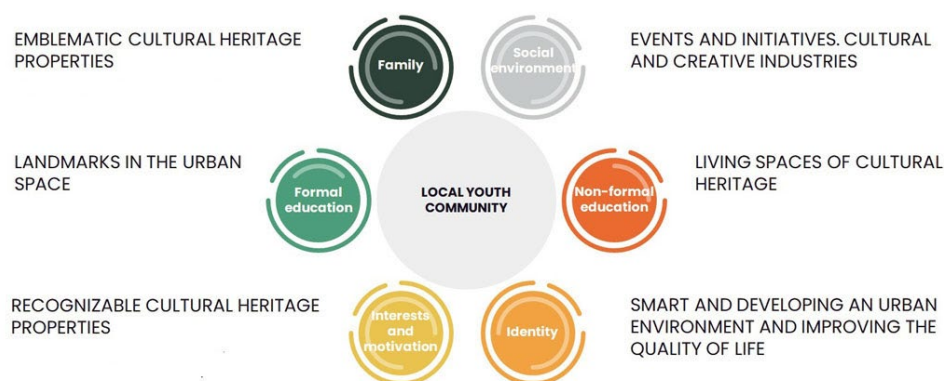


Figure 3. Micro-model for beneficial interactions

The conducted research indicates several steps for interaction with a youth audience, namely through: initiatives to engage the youth audience - in an urban environment and at school; using the possibilities of the "open classroom" and interaction with cultural institutions and interactivity in the exposition; the topic of the cultural heritage of Bulgaria with global, national and local importance should be presented not in emphasis, but in separate lesson units; organizing presentations and thematic discussions; strengthening the role of the teacher and more opportunities for projects with activities aimed at connecting communities. Strategic thinking and a visionary approach are required, following an established methodology and the modern course of development of societies, of the urban environment, and of the inclusion of cultural heritage in the life of the community with the exchange of good world practices and their adaptation to the national identity. At the same time, the rapid development of knowledge necessitates continuous renewal of cities and requires preservation of memory, connectivity, sharing, and commitment from all stakeholders, given the strategic goals of building innovative cities,<sup>22</sup> to which Sofia also strives.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The research is carried out as part of the activities in the implementation of a Community Research Awards (CRA) grant of the project “UniverCity - Strategic Partnership of Higher Education for Community,” contract with the Center for Human Resources Development No. 2020-1-BG01-KA203-079271-KA203-HE-33-15.10.2020.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Piaget, *The Origins of Intelligence in Children* (New York: International University Press, 1952).

<sup>3</sup> David L. Haury and Peter Rillero, *Perspectives of Hands – On Science Teaching* (Ohio: ERIC, 1994).

<sup>4</sup> *What Research Says About Learning in Science Museums*. Vol. 2. ed. M. Borund, Sheila Grinell, Peter McNamara and Beverly Serrel, (Washington, D.C.: Association of Science Technology Centres, 1993), 22.

<sup>5</sup> “Program for Sofia, Identity and Cultural Heritage of the Capital Municipality,” accessed December 27, 2023, [https://sofiaplan.bg/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/l.8\\_%D0%9A%D1%83%D0%BB%D1%82%D1%83%D1%80%D0%BD%D0%BE-%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%B4%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B2%D0%BE\\_%D0%A0%D0%B5%D0%B7%D1%8E%D0%BC%D0%B5.pdf](https://sofiaplan.bg/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/l.8_%D0%9A%D1%83%D0%BB%D1%82%D1%83%D1%80%D0%BD%D0%BE-%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%B4%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B2%D0%BE_%D0%A0%D0%B5%D0%B7%D1%8E%D0%BC%D0%B5.pdf)

<sup>6</sup> Ivan Kabakov and Milena Koleva-Zvancharova, “Cultural heritage and its preservation, socialization, and management: what could be done?,” in *Legislation and Professional Development in the field of Cultural Heritage. Historical reconstruction and current situation in the Republic of Bulgaria*, ed. Ivan Kabakov. (Sofia: Sofia University Press “St. Kliment Ohridski,” 2020), 223, accessed August 26, 2023, <https://kinnpor.uni-sofia.bg/resources/item/55-zakonodatelstvo-profesionalno-razvitie>; “Program for Sofia, Identity and Cultural Heritage of the Capital Municipality,” 2023.

<sup>7</sup> “International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites,” IInd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, Venice, 1964, accessed December 27, 2023. [https://www.icomos.org/images/documents/charters/venice\\_charter\\_en\\_2023.pdf](https://www.icomos.org/images/documents/charters/venice_charter_en_2023.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> The settlement was founded by the Thracian tribe Serdi and is called Serdika. During the time of the Roman emperor Trajan, the city established itself as an important regional center within the empire, and from that time there are a number of preserved cultural values bearing the characteristics of a typical Roman city. In 809, the city was annexed to the Bulgarian state by Khan Krum and took the name Sredets, and at the end of the Second Bulgarian State, it was renamed Sofia. Until the Liberation from Ottoman rule, Sofia was the administrative center of a vilayet, and then as the Bulgarian capital it developed dynamically and the foundations of modern urban planning were laid. The existing religious and public buildings at that time were perceived and developed as structure-determining anchor points of the planning activities. Built public spaces were unknown until then in the Oriental city. Thus, the modern city center was gradually formed. Miroslav Krastev, “Possibilities for evaluating the cultural heritage of Sofia as a resource for sustainable urban development,” accessed August 26, 2023, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/357688853\\_vzmoznosti\\_za\\_ocenka\\_na\\_kulturnoto\\_nasledstvo\\_na\\_sofia\\_kato\\_resurs\\_za\\_ustojcivo\\_gradsko\\_razvitie](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/357688853_vzmoznosti_za_ocenka_na_kulturnoto_nasledstvo_na_sofia_kato_resurs_za_ustojcivo_gradsko_razvitie)

<sup>9</sup> On the territory of the city there are two national cultural reserves – The historical and archaeological reserve “Serdika - Sredets” and Knyaz Boris' Garden. The central urban core of Sofia was declared a historical-archaeological reserve in 1976. The territory of the reserve covers part of the historical core of Sofia, which covers the areas of ancient Serdika and medieval Sredets. The reserve of garden and park art Boris Garden with its security zones has been declared a monument of the culture of garden and park art, with the category of “national importance,” in State Gazette no. 96/1988; “Program for Sofia, Identity and Cultural Heritage of the Capital Municipality,” 2023.

<sup>10</sup> Sofia Municipality, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/sofia-municipality/sofia>; Discover Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/sofia-municipality/discover-sofia>

<sup>11</sup> Welcome to Sofia the capital of Bulgaria, accessed July 17, 2023, <https://www.visitsofia.bg/en/>; Things to Do in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, [https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g294452-Activities-Sofia\\_Sofia\\_Region.html](https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g294452-Activities-Sofia_Sofia_Region.html)

<sup>12</sup> Must-See Landmarks in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://opoznai.bg/travelideas/view/402>; 10 of the emblems of Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.10te.bg/lyubopitno/10-ot-embemite-na-sofiya/>; 26 Attractions | Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.rooms.bg/zabelejitelnosti-sofiq.html>; Sofia Municipality. For Tourists, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/tourism-in-sofia/sofia-in-the-first-half-of-the-xx-century>; 5 iconic buildings for Sofia and their architects, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.lifebites.bg/5-znakovi-za-sofia-sgradi/>; The most beautiful buildings in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, [https://www.peika.bg/statia/Nay\\_krasivite\\_sgradi\\_v\\_Sofiya\\_1\\_chast\\_l.a\\_i.114773.html](https://www.peika.bg/statia/Nay_krasivite_sgradi_v_Sofiya_1_chast_l.a_i.114773.html); Tourist attractions in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.nasamnatam.com/grad/Sofia-zabelejitelnosti.html>

<sup>13</sup> Sofia Municipality, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/sofia-municipality/sofia>; Discover Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/sofia-municipality/discover-sofia>

<sup>14</sup> Welcome to Sofia the capital of Bulgaria, accessed July 17, 2023, <https://www.visitsofia.bg/en/>; Things to Do in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, [https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g294452-Activities-Sofia\\_Sofia\\_Region.html](https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g294452-Activities-Sofia_Sofia_Region.html)

<sup>15</sup> Must-See Landmarks in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://opoznai.bg/travelideas/view/402>; 10 of the emblems of Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.10te.bg/lyubopitno/10-ot-embemite-na-sofiya/>; 26 Attractions | Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.rooms.bg/zabelejitelnosti-sofiq.html>; Sofia Municipality. For Tourists, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/tourism-in-sofia/sofia-in-the-first-half-of-the-xx-century>; 5 iconic buildings for Sofia and their architects, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.lifebites.bg/5-znakovi-za-sofia-sgradi/>; The most beautiful buildings in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, [https://www.peika.bg/statia/Nay\\_krasivite\\_sgradi\\_v\\_Sofiya\\_1\\_chast\\_l.a\\_i.114773.html](https://www.peika.bg/statia/Nay_krasivite_sgradi_v_Sofiya_1_chast_l.a_i.114773.html); Tourist attractions in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.nasamnatam.com/grad/Sofia-zabelejitelnosti.html>

<sup>16</sup> Sofia Municipality, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/sofia-municipality/sofia>; Discover Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/sofia-municipality/discover-sofia>

<sup>17</sup> Welcome to Sofia the capital of Bulgaria, accessed July 17, 2023, <https://www.visitsofia.bg/en/>; Things to Do in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, [https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g294452-Activities-Sofia\\_Sofia\\_Region.html](https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g294452-Activities-Sofia_Sofia_Region.html)

<sup>18</sup> Must-See Landmarks in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://opoznai.bg/travelideas/view/402>; 10 of the emblems of Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.10te.bg/lyubopitno/10-ot-embemite-na-sofiya/>; 26 Attractions | Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.rooms.bg/zabelejitelnosti-sofiq.html>; Sofia Municipality. For Tourists, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/tourism-in-sofia/sofia-in-the-first-half-of-the-xx-century>; 5 iconic buildings for Sofia and their architects, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.lifebites.bg/5-znakovi-za-sofia-sgradi/>; The most beautiful buildings in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, [https://www.peika.bg/statia/Nay\\_krasivite\\_sgradi\\_v\\_Sofiya\\_1\\_chast\\_l.a\\_i.114773.html](https://www.peika.bg/statia/Nay_krasivite_sgradi_v_Sofiya_1_chast_l.a_i.114773.html); Tourist attractions in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.nasamnatam.com/grad/Sofia-zabelejitelnosti.html>

<sup>19</sup> Sofia Municipality, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/sofia-municipality/sofia>; Discover Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/sofia-municipality/discover-sofia>

<sup>20</sup> Welcome to Sofia the capital of Bulgaria, accessed July 17, 2023, <https://www.visitsofia.bg/en/>; Things to Do in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, [https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g294452-Activities-Sofia\\_Sofia\\_Region.html](https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g294452-Activities-Sofia_Sofia_Region.html)

<sup>21</sup> Must-See Landmarks in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://opoznai.bg/travelideas/view/402>; 10 of the emblems of Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.10te.bg/lyubopitno/10-ot-embemite-na-sofiya/>; 26 Attractions | Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.rooms.bg/zabelejitelnosti-sofiq.html>; Sofia Municipality. For Tourists, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/tourism-in-sofia/sofia-in-the-first-half-of-the-xx-century>; 5 iconic buildings for Sofia and their architects, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.lifebites.bg/5-znakovi-za-sofia-sgradi/>; The most beautiful buildings in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, [https://www.peika.bg/statia/Nay\\_krasivite\\_sgradi\\_v\\_Sofiya\\_1\\_chast\\_l.a\\_i.114773.html](https://www.peika.bg/statia/Nay_krasivite_sgradi_v_Sofiya_1_chast_l.a_i.114773.html); Tourist attractions in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.nasamnatam.com/grad/Sofia-zabelejitelnosti.html>

<sup>22</sup> Sofia Municipality, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/sofia-municipality/sofia>; Discover Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/sofia-municipality/discover-sofia>

<sup>23</sup> Welcome to Sofia the capital of Bulgaria, accessed July 17, 2023, <https://www.visitsofia.bg/en/>; Things to Do in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, [https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g294452-Activities-Sofia\\_Sofia\\_Region.html](https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g294452-Activities-Sofia_Sofia_Region.html)

<sup>24</sup> Must-See Landmarks in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://opoznai.bg/travelideas/view/402>; 10 of the emblems of Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.10te.bg/lyubopitno/10-ot-embemite-na-sofiya/>; 26 Attractions | Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.rooms.bg/zabelejitelnosti-sofiq.html>; Sofia Municipality. For Tourists, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.sofia.bg/en/web/tourism-in-sofia/sofia-in-the-first-half-of-the-xx-century>; 5 iconic buildings for Sofia and their architects, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.lifebites.bg/5-znakovi-za-sofia-sgradi/>; The most beautiful buildings in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, [https://www.peika.bg/statia/Nay\\_krasivite\\_sgradi\\_v\\_Sofiya\\_1\\_chast\\_l.a\\_i.114773.html](https://www.peika.bg/statia/Nay_krasivite_sgradi_v_Sofiya_1_chast_l.a_i.114773.html); Tourist attractions in Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.nasamnatam.com/grad/Sofia-zabelejitelnosti.html>

<sup>13</sup> The first postcards with images of Sofia appeared on the eve of the twentieth century. Created according to European pattern and fashion, and the images are created according to real photographs. Colorful and decoratively designed, the cards combine several shots of recognizable buildings or places from the city with an appropriate congratulatory inscription. Most often, the postcards from Old Sofia depict the Royal Palace, the Knyaz Boris' Garden, the Parliament, the Mosque, the Lion's Bridge, the Eagle's Bridge, the Panah Grand Hotel, the Saint Sophia Temple, and the tomb of Prince Alexander I Battenberg. In modern cards, perhaps the only object that is independently depicted is the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral. In addition, they can be seen the Presidency (with the guard), the National Palace of Culture, the church St. Nedelya, the National Theater "Ivan Vazov", the Rectorate of the Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski", Eagle's Bridge, the Seminary, the Faculty of Theology, the Rotunda St. Georgi, the building of Hotel Bulgaria.

<sup>14</sup> Although its results do not claim to be representative according to sociological principles, they provide a good basis for studying trends, based on the 254 responses received from respondents in different age groups.

<sup>15</sup> Krastev, Possibilities for evaluating the cultural heritage of Sofia, accessed August 26, 2023, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/357688853\\_vzmoznosti\\_za\\_ocenka\\_na\\_kulturnoto\\_nasledstvo\\_na\\_sofia\\_kato\\_resurs\\_za\\_ustojcivo\\_gradsko\\_razvitiie](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/357688853_vzmoznosti_za_ocenka_na_kulturnoto_nasledstvo_na_sofia_kato_resurs_za_ustojcivo_gradsko_razvitiie); Source: Simon Thurley, "Into the future. Our strategy for 2005-2010," Conservation Bulletin [English Heritage], 2005, 25, accessed August 26, 2023, <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/conservation-bulletin-49/cb-49/>

<sup>16</sup> "Program for Sofia, Identity and Cultural Heritage of the Capital Municipality," 2023.

<sup>17</sup> Ivan Kabakov, "Management approaches in the field of culture," Strategies of educational and scientific policy 30, no. 4 (2022): 353–368, doi: <https://doi.org/10.53656/str2022-4-2-man>

<sup>18</sup> The Coat of Arms of Sofia Through Innocent Children's Eyes, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://bnr.bg/post/100737491>

<sup>19</sup> "Serdica is my Rome" accessed December 27, 2023, <https://www.serdicaismyrome-bg.com/en/home/>

<sup>20</sup> Direction "Digitalization, Innovation and Economic Development" of the Sofia Municipality, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://innovativesofia.bg/>

<sup>21</sup> Historical Routes Sofia, accessed December 27, 2023, <https://historicalroutes.bg/> Opportunities to offer various digital and real cultural routes - Sofia's monuments, Sofia's houses, Sofia's temples, Sofia's controversial heritage, Sofia's parks, Sofia of poets and writers, Sofia of artists and musicians, Sofia's cafes, Wars and Sofia, Sofia's schools, Sofia's fortresses, Sofia's mineral springs, Sofia's Bridges, Sofia's Streets, Sofia's Squares, Sofia's Clocks, Sofia's Styles, Sofia's Roofs – look up; Sofia from above (from the air) – discover the sights; Color the past of Sofia - the old photos; Photography; Sofia in work of arts.

<sup>22</sup> Knowledge is an essential resource for development in modern societies, and the concept of the "knowledge economy" is not just a narrative, but a current approach in the strategic goals of building innovative cities. Among the seven elements that make a city innovative are the presence of an open organizational culture, a sense of local identity, an urban environment, and infrastructure, and when highlighting different types of innovative development, it is broken down through the ratio of legacy/new cities and developed/fast developing economies Peter Drucker, *The Age of Discontinuity; Guidelines to Our Changing Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969); Charles Landry. *The Creative Citypp. A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* (London: Earthscan Publications Ltd., 2000), 67–87; John D. Macomber. *The 4 types of cities and how to prepare them for the future*, 2016, accessed August 26, 2023,

<https://hbr.org/2016/01/the-4-types-of-cities-and-how-to-prepare-them-for-the-future>; It can be summarized that the innovativeness of cities is determined by their ability to provide opportunities and for the realization of new ideas to solve the problems facing their development. Rositsa Chobanova, "Innovative cities – a modern concept for their development," Scientific works of the University of National and World Economy 3 (2018): 63–64. The potential of cultural heritage for the development of the urban environment is just such an opportunity to extract added value for the life of local communities. This is possible by looking for synergy between sectors and institutions and with targeted efforts to interact with the youth audience.

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# **A STUDY OF THE HABITUS OF ARTISTS IN BEIJING SONGZHUANG ARTS VILLAGE**

Author:

**QIN WANXIN, SIMON SOON SIEN YONG, ONG SIEW KIAN**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY MALAYA, MALAYSIA

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## **INTRODUCTION**

This paper examines the history of Songzhuang Arts Village, the biggest arts village in Beijing China, exploring its origins, development over time, and current state. Based on Pierre Bourdieu's concept, Songzhuang Arts Village will be seen as an art field. Through a narrative inquiry approach this paper try to describe the social relations and experiences of the artists within Songzhuang arts village through historical memory and to explore the preserve and vanish of Songzhuang arts village. To this end, 4 artists who used to live in the arts village Songzhuang for at least one period (1993-2003, 2004-2009, 2010-2019, 2020-now) were being interviewed. Sources such as interviews with local artists, historical documents, and media reports are used to understand the present changes of Songzhuang and its relationship with the artists.

## **BACKGROUND OF SONGZHUANG ARTS VILLAGE**

Since 1990, there were multiple arts villages gradually formed all over China. Among all the arts villages, Songzhuang arts village is "China's largest original art cradle".<sup>1</sup> From the perspective of Beijing Municipality's administrative division, Songzhuang arts village should be called Songzhuang Zhen (town) actually. Songzhuang Town located in the northern part of Tongzhou New Town in Tongzhou Qu (district) in Beijing. Songzhuang covers an area of 116 km<sup>2</sup> and administers 47 administrative villages, 22 villages have artists lived in. Among these villages, Xiaopu is the most concentrated village with artists. By the year 2018, there were more than 5000 artists living in Songzhuang. More than 30 art museums, over 200 galleries and more than 4500 artist studios are located in Songzhuang.<sup>2</sup> Because of the biggest capacity and longest history among all the arts villages in China, Songzhuang arts village has attracted many scholars to study it.

Some scholars have focused on the artists themselves, and investigated their operating conditions, because the big population made these artists especially important with the development of the arts village. The demographic of artists in Songzhuang and their art genre are the subjects of such studies.<sup>3</sup> Some scholars were interested in social forces and urban development behind the change of Songzhuang arts village. They have paid extra attention to the changing attitude of the government revealed in their policies.<sup>4</sup> The other researchers were interested in the relationship between the arts village and the urbanization process in contemporary China. They have taken both globalization impact and the city development plan into consideration.<sup>5</sup> On the meanwhile some other researchers concentrated on art district Songzhuang turned to be and run by the government. They have analyzed

its basic characteristics, the competitive advantages and the back-up policy.<sup>6</sup> Some scholars introduced the concept of field, *habitus*, capitals and practice in their research. The concept is based on Pierre Bourdieu's theory which can be applied to study cultural practice and the relation between people and place. They define Songzhuang arts village as a contemporary art field. Then try to trace back its origin and build up its power structure.<sup>7</sup>

However, nearly all the research has shown concern about Songzhuang arts village's future. Over-commercialized of Songzhuang has been mentioned a lot.<sup>8</sup> They were afraid of artistic freedom under the monitoring of the national government and local administration.<sup>9</sup> The other concern is "the confusion of survival and art".<sup>10</sup> The artists tend to feel more uncertainty and insecure living in an arts village.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, upon these concerns, the present changes of China's largest arts village—Songzhuang and its relationship with the artists, and the preserve or vanish of Songzhuang arts village would be worth looking into.

### **Pre-history of Songzhuang Arts Village**

According to studies and memoirs, Songzhuang arts village had embraced its first batch of artists in 1993.<sup>12</sup> It can be said that the establishment of Songzhuang arts village is closely related to the emergence and development of Chinese contemporary art. In 1978, the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Party Congress was held, since then China has begun its economic reform. The atmosphere in the arts field was also gradually opening, and the earliest unofficial arts exhibitions were held at that time. In the end of September 1979, a group of artists formed *Xingxing huahui* (Stars group) and displayed about 140 works on the fence of China's National Art Museum without the official permission.<sup>13</sup> In 1985, Chinese artists started to try new observation angles and to explore new styles of artistic language with the influence of Western modern philosophy. Since then, there were nearly 80 independent art groups across China being active in hosting art conferences and exhibitions. A bunch of new journals and magazines about literature and art were published at that time, which also helped to push the changes happening in China's art world. This movement was first called 85 Art Movement or 85 New Wave by Gao Minglu. He also called the "salon phenomenon"--85 Art Movement--as "first contemporary art movement in China".<sup>14</sup> Contemporary art in China has since begun. The way Chinese contemporary art has unfolded has also given rise to the habit of group living and salon-style activities of Chinese contemporary artists.

In the year 1989, the 85 New Wave had met its climax with the China/Avant-garde Exhibition.<sup>15</sup> The exhibition has been shut down because of one performance art with two gun shots. Three months later, Beijing students started to demonstrate on the street, and ended up with the Tiananmen event in June.<sup>16</sup> The exhibition was considered responsible for these following incidents. The independent artists had to stay out of the public and keep a low profile. Addition with the habit of gathering in a salon-like art community and traditional Chinese philosophy-- the idea of "BISHI"(away from the mortal world in *Taoism*), village life has become the artists' Utopia.<sup>17</sup> Thus the first arts village in China--Yuanmingyuan painter's village—was quietly formed in 1990.

In the year 1995, the government acted to disperse the Yuanmingyuan painter's village. Some Yuanmingyuan artists have moved into Songzhuang arts village. The artistic spirit from Yuanmingyuan painter's village – to express their understanding of social life in art, to explore the artistic language and to chase the purity of art – has deeply influenced the art atmosphere of Songzhuang arts village. Songzhuang arts village then is often to be seen as inherited from Yuanmingyuan painter's village.<sup>18</sup>

## Development of Songzhuang Arts Village

According to artists' recollections, scholars' research, and the Beijing city plan, Songzhuang arts village's development can be divided into the following four stages: 1993-2003 established as arts village; 2003-2009 became Cultural and Creative Industry Cluster; 2009-2019 Songzhuang crisis; 2020-now became Beijing municipal administrative center.

In the first stage, Chinese contemporary art gained popularity internationally in 1993.<sup>19</sup> The polarization between the rich and the poor artists also started at that time. In the end of 1993, several artists include Fang Lijun, Yue Minjun, Li Xianting and Zhang Huiping, who were the first batch of rich and famous Chinese contemporary artists at that time, found Songzhuang town as a replacement for Yuanmingyuan painter's village, and then bought houses there. Because of their reputation in the art world at that time, more artists had followed their steps to move into Songzhuang.<sup>20</sup> At that time, people in China still have biases on the self-employed person, let alone independent artists. So the population of the artists in Songzhuang increased slowly, until 2004.<sup>21</sup>

From 2004 to 2009, the second stage, Songzhuang arts village, met with its fast developing period. In 2004, the local government issued the “2004—2020 Implementation Outline of Songzhuang Built as Cultural Town”.<sup>22</sup> By the year 2006 the bottom-up art community was officially taken over by the municipal government, and changed its name as Songzhuang Cultural and Creative Industry Cluster.<sup>23</sup> In this stage, news about whopping price art works was not rare. Population of artists in Songzhuang arts village has increased to over 500.

However, from 2010 to 2019, Songzhuang arts village's development met its crisis. The global economic crisis that happened in 2008 led to a dramatic decrease of investment in Chinese Contemporary art market, which was especially favored by western world.<sup>24</sup> The consequence for Songzhuang was that more artists began producing Chinese traditional painting, which had a higher demand in the domestic market. What's more, since the decision of building the sub-center of Beijing and the relocation of Beijing Municipal Government to Tongzhou District was made, the constantly rising price of real estate had led to a lot of property disputes between the artists and the original villagers. Instead of the artists, varieties of commercial facilities became new “inhabitants” in Songzhuang arts village. Songzhuang arts village has met with a decline of artist's population since 2009. Therefore, Songzhuang arts village had to bear more political meaning and turned to be unfriendly to artists in 2019.

By the year 2020, because of the Covid-19, re-entering Beijing has a lot of restrictions. The artists who were not Beijing citizens had to wait in other cities but with their studios rent paying. The strict policy -- mandatory mask-wearing, temperature checks, and quarantine for international travelers -- stopped until the end of 2022. Three years of strict policy for Covid-19 has had a profound impact on Chinese society and its economy, let alone China's art market. A large number of public art events were canceled. Apart from the early periods' “moving into Songzhuang”, now “get out of Songzhuang” is a more common idea for the artist community.<sup>25</sup> In 2022, Songzhuang arts village had only about 8,500 art institution practitioners and artists left.<sup>26</sup>

## HABITUS OF SONGZHUANG ARTISTS

As artists continue to leave Songzhuang arts village, is it possible that contemporary Chinese artists no longer need an arts village? Has the relationship between artists and the village changed in the new era? To look at the interaction between the place Songzhuang arts village and the Songzhuang artists, the concept of field and *habitus*, which was proposed by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, have provided a good view. It can be seen as a concept to analyze the socialization of individuals and help to explain how the people's practice is acting both in the past and the future.<sup>27</sup>

According to the theory, the arts village Songzhuang can be seen as a cultural field, built up by the complex position and capital distribution of the agents and institutions--artists, galleries, art schools and art museums etc. Pierre Bourdieu defined fields as networks structured under the relations of different agents' positions.<sup>28</sup> It has its own form of accumulation and distribution of capitals, then to produce different "relations and forces".<sup>29</sup> The particular form of capitals, historical relations and forces between positions will be inherited and internalized by the individuals within the field. Then it consists of the *habitus*. Artists in a field follow the *habitus* to acquire kinds of capitals (economic, social and cultural capital). Then these compose the social practice.

Therefore, people's memory about a particular field is also shaped by their *habitus*, which in turn is shaped by their social position, cultural background, education, and experiences. The field itself is also shaped and transformed by the *habitus*. Then the memories about Songzhuang arts village of the artists from different classes or status can provide a way to understand Songzhuang arts village as an art field, and then analyze the *habitus*. Therefore both of the artists' memories and the field structure of Songzhuang arts village are needed to look at.

### **Songzhuang in Artists' Memory**

The artists' memory of Songzhuang arts village is inevitably related to the changes in Songzhuang during the past 30 years. Because people constructed their memory under the influence of the society.<sup>30</sup> So the memory can be analyzed in conjunction with kinds of social structures. Then how the artists remembered Songzhuang arts village can be the key to reveal both the history of Songzhuang arts village and the influence of Songzhuang arts village on the ways of thinking and behavior of the artists.

Artists' memory showed relatively similarity when they talked about their experience in Songzhuang arts village. They coincidentally described Songzhuang arts village as the Songzhuang of the past and the Songzhuang of the present. They showed the same attitude about these two phases, although the artists that were being interviewed used to live in Songzhuang arts village at different times. For the past of Songzhuang arts village, which the artists preferred, is corresponding to the first two stages of Songzhuang arts village's development. For the present Songzhuang arts village, as they said, *it's not Songzhuang anymore*, started from the third stage of Songzhuang's development.

For the past of Songzhuang arts village, what artists missed most was its free and creative atmosphere. During this period, Songzhuang arts village has hosted many art festivals, art exhibitions, independent film festivals, and most of them were self-organized by Songzhuang artists. Songzhuang arts village was famous for these. The Songzhuang artists built the Songzhuang Way (style) since then. The relationship between the artists and the government has gradually eased, moving to cooperation for the development of Songzhuang.

For the present Songzhuang arts village, due to the economic crisis in 2008, the U.S. - China trade war, and the Covid-19 pandemic, the development of the contemporary art market in China was seriously hampered. In 2013, China changed to a new leader. Censorship of artistic activities and art works have recommenced. Artists' creativity was also hampered. Together with the implementation of building the sub-center of Beijing and the relocation of Beijing Municipal Government to Tongzhou District, not only has it caused constant demolitions within the art village, but it has also caused an increase in housing prices. Coupled with the strict anti-epidemic policies implemented in China since the Covid-19 pandemic, has led to a growing disillusionment with Songzhuang arts villages and an exodus of artists.



### **Power Structure of Songzhuang Arts Village**

Songzhuang arts village's power structure has changed from different perspectives. From the inside of Songzhuang, first, in terms of the artist community, the discourse power in Songzhuang arts village has shifted from Yuanmingyuan artists to Songzhuang “YIDAI” (first generation) to younger generation of artists who have created their own unique artistic style within the village. Initially, artists moved to Songzhuang from the Yuanmingyuan painters' village and tried to replicate the original Yuanmingyuan model there. However, some artists who moved to Songzhuang directly tried to change the old *habitus* in Yuanmingyuan painter's village and build Songzhuang as a free and open village. They are the Songzhuang “YIDAI” (first generation). Second, in terms of artistic style, artists who were mainly engaged in contemporary art have lost their dominant position to traditional Chinese painter in the Songzhuang power system due to the subsequent economic crisis and the involvement of government authorities.

From the outside view, the government replaced the artist community's control over Songzhuang's development. The government's efforts to build a cultural town and hold art festivals and exhibitions helped to make Songzhuang arts village to a city brand. Moreover, the sub-center plan also had an impact on the village's cultural identity. The village's significance shifted from being a hub for artistic expression to being a tourist destination.

### **HABITUS CHANGE AMONG SONGZHUANG ARTISTS**

With the changes in the power structure inside and outside the arts village, as well as the changes in artists' attitudes towards the arts village, it can be seen that the *habitus* of Songzhuang artists is quietly changing.

In the beginning, artists came to Songzhuang with the idea of “BISHI” (away from the mortal world). Besides, the tradition of maintaining a certain distance from mainstream society to ensure artistic independence and autonomy comes with the development of contemporary Chinese art history. The history of demolition of art villages in the history of Chinese contemporary art has also led to many artists' distrust of authority. Thus, when Songzhuang arts village was first established, artists came here to seek success outside of mainstream society, such as establishing their own artistic style and identity. Of course there were some artists fantasizing about success like the famous Songzhuang artists secretly.

However, in the new era, the younger generations of artists' admirers are created through new media. They do not just identify themselves as Chinese contemporary artists, but enjoy labeling themselves in more details, and often existing outside of mainstream culture. That's because since the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic, some artists have turned to online platforms to showcase their work and connect with other artists. Kinds of online tools can help people connect and promote, both their art works and themselves. The power of capital is gradually replacing the discourse power of the older generation of artists. Large galleries and other art institutions are much more effective in packaging and publicizing new artists than, for example, Li Xianting, the godfather of Songzhuang arts village. Art celebrities are no longer just a niche in the art world, but are being created by new media to reach the masses. With the development of China's economy, most of the parents of the new generation of artists have completed the accumulation of capital, so they have fewer financial burdens and no longer need to live in the countryside with cheap rent. As a result, arts village like Songzhuang, used to be a place for artists to socialize, to trade and to settle down with cheap studios, has already lost its attraction because of the new *habitus* of the artists.

## CONCLUSION

Due to the change of *habitus* of Songzhuang artists, Songzhuang arts village turned from an intangible place to a tangible one. Based on the memory of Songzhuang artists and researches, Songzhuang arts village used to be a spiritual pillar in Chinese artists' mind. When they talked about Songzhuang arts village, they were talking about its free and open atmosphere, the artists' community and various artistic activities organized by artists on their own initiative. It symbolizes artistic success and is a mecca for finding artistic style and identity.

However, when the artists talked about Songzhuang of the present, they showed a sense of detachment, as if the land no longer belonged to them. It is more like a city brand of Beijing in China. What Songzhuang arts village is famous now in Chinese social media are the large-scale art museums. Not famous for the exhibition it held but for the architecture itself, good for taking pictures. Under the government's publicity and re-planning, Songzhuang arts village now has become a new landmark for art-related tourist places.

Songzhuang arts village's development highlights the complex and challenging nature of sustaining an artistic community in a rapidly changing economic and political landscape. The village's future remains uncertain, but it is clear that the challenges facing Songzhuang arts village are part of a broader trend in China's art world, and addressing these challenges will require a nuanced understanding of the relationship between art, commerce, and government policy.

## NOTES

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<sup>2</sup>“Creative Tongzhou”

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# **BETWEEN SHANSHUI AND IMPRESSIONISM: A STUDY ON CULTURAL PERCEPTION OF LANDSCAPE COMPOSITION BASED ON ATTENTION MECHANISMS IN PAINTINGS**

Author:

**SU YAOHUI**

Affiliation:

ENVIRONMENTAL ART DESIGN AT THE ACADEMY OF ARTS & DESIGN, TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY, CHINA

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## **INTRODUCTION**

German philosopher Immanuel Kant highlights the connection between visual mechanisms and the understanding of aesthetics by arguing “the aesthetic process of perceiving things can directly evoke aesthetic experiences” in Critique of Judgment. Attention<sup>1</sup> is a psychological concept closely linked to vision and involves a cognitive mechanism that enables individuals to concentrate on specific goals or events while disregarding other stimuli. The Attention Mechanism<sup>2</sup> is a common term used to refer to this mechanism. In deep learning,<sup>3</sup> researchers have incorporated an attention mechanism in deep learning that mimics human attention. This mechanism scans global images, identifies key focus areas, and annotates them. Various fields, such as painting image vision research, have applied this innovation, significantly enhancing the performance of neural networks.

With the advent of deep learning, the field of art has undergone a revolution in digitization and intelligence. Digitizing cultural information has achieved significant progress, which includes classifying painting genres by artificial intelligence, automatically recognizing painting authors and stroke directions, and dynamically analyzing paintings. These achievements result from various image processing methods and an enriched dataset, leading to advancements in computer-aided design. However, there is still a need to strengthen research on landscape perception from a cultural perspective. The attention mechanism is well-suited for design research, as it can quickly explore the methods, patterns, and pathways of cultural information transmission in painting perception.

## **RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA ACQUISITION**

### **Research Framework**

The visual attention mechanism is crucial in gathering image information, stimulating senses, and evaluating the same. Landscape images, in particular, need a more precise focal point and have scattered attention points. Traditionally, landscape attention testing uses eye movement methods, which can be costly, device-dependent, and subject to individual differences. However, automating the recognition of landscapes in a high-speed manner can increase the sample size of data by thousands, improve experimental efficiency, reduce costs, and enhance persuasiveness. While some people use semantic segmentation methods to identify elements in the landscape and conduct statistical analysis, this approach fails to verify the attractiveness of each component. The

incorporation of an attention mechanism can resolve the problems mentioned above, the following figure 1 introduces the particular research procedure.

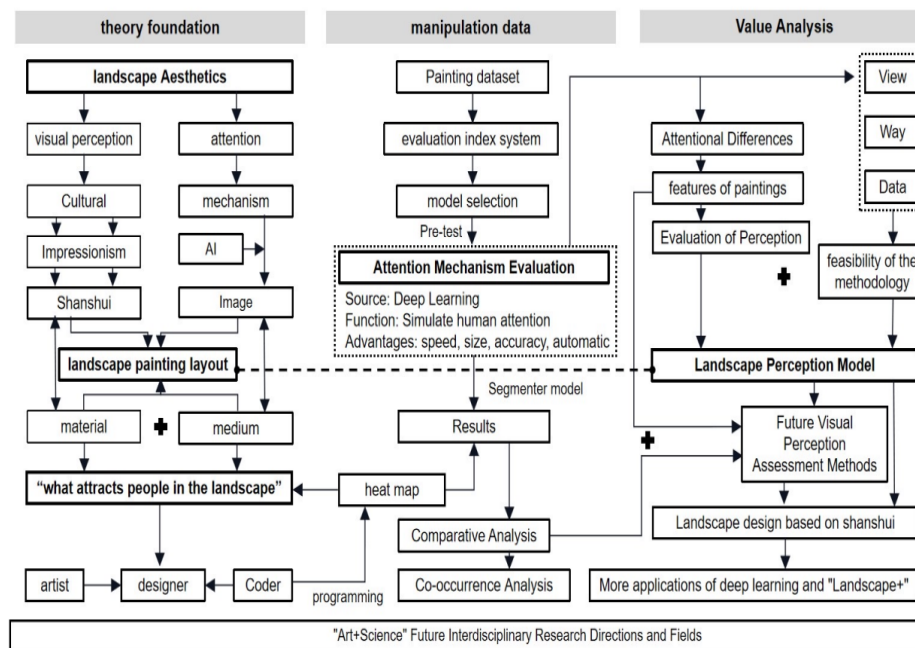


Figure 1. Research Framework (Source: Self-drawn)

## Data Acquisition

### Datasets

To study the attention mechanism of Eastern and Western paintings, we choose to collect digital paintings of well-known Impressionism<sup>4</sup> and shanshui<sup>5</sup> paintings. This way, we form high-definition data sets, input attention mechanism models, and output attention heat maps.

The open-source Chinese Landscape Painting Dataset (CLP)<sup>6</sup> is available on GitHub for digital paintings of Chinese landscape paintings. This dataset contains 2,192 high-quality traditional Chinese landscape paintings. The dimensions are all 512x512. The sources are from Princeton University Art Museum, 362 paintings; Harvard University Art Museum, 101 paintings; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 428 paintings; Smithsonian Freer Museum, 1,301 paintings.

For the Impressionism dataset, we retrieved Impressionism digital paintings from Wikiart<sup>7</sup> and got 4,346 images, using 'selenium' to simulate user to crawl data. There are 2,422 landscape paintings after we remove figures and still-life paintings. The attention mechanism model was used to automatically identify and crop the composition to 512x512 to unify with the Chinese landscape painting dataset. At the same time, the Impressionist dataset (ILP) (Su, n.d.) was uploaded to GitHub<sup>8</sup> for reference by later scholars.

### Model Selection

As a deep learning technique, the attention mechanism emulates the visual attention of humans to recognize multiple targets. It partitions the image into several patches and utilizes a Transformer encoder to process them in layers. With the integration of pre-training and extensive datasets, this model demonstrates remarkable proficiency in image classification. The multi-head attention

approach distributes resources from various angles to capture image intricacies, but it may also lead to the accumulation of errors.

Experiments have found that the attention mechanism model trained from photos may have domain gaps in artistic paintings, resulting in a decline in prediction performance. As shown in Figure 2, the ViT model sometimes makes it difficult to explain the attention of landscape paintings because the images of landscape paintings can be converted to each other, the content is symbolic, and it is difficult to recognize. In addition, blank space<sup>9</sup> is a characteristic of Chinese landscape paintings, and the rules of spatial boundary delineation differ from those in realistic paintings or landscape photos. Therefore, it is necessary to compare the differences in the output results of different models with the same image input to screen the models suitable for this study.

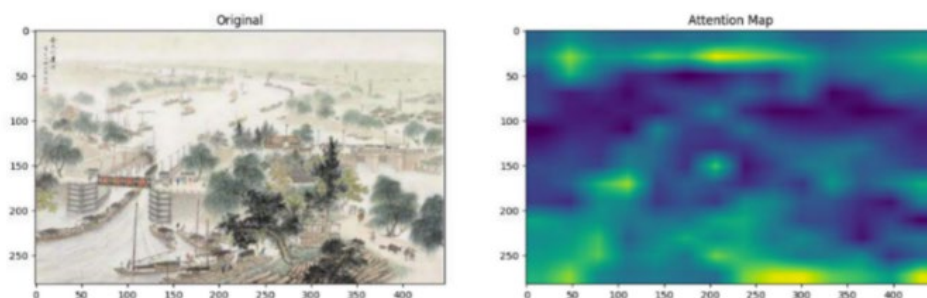


Figure 2. Chinese landscape painting test (Transformer) (Author: Canal, Song Wenye)

After comparing publicly available models, researchers determined that the Segmenter model<sup>10</sup> performs well in processing freehand paintings. Upon examination, they observed that when both the 3-headed Segmenter model and the 12-headed Transformer model<sup>11</sup> were used to recognize the same painting (Figure 3), the Segmenter model focused on three specific attention points: "small boat," "building top," and "water edge reflection." Conversely, the Transformer model only tested the attention point of the "small boat." The Segmenter model demonstrated a precise focus distribution and area range of attention, while the Transformer model exhibited a higher attention trend and faster speed. As our primary concern was the focus of attention, parameter adjustment was employed to balance the difference in strength. Additionally, the dataset utilized in this study exhibited minimal differences in magnitude and calculation time. Therefore, the researchers selected the Segmenter model for experimentation.



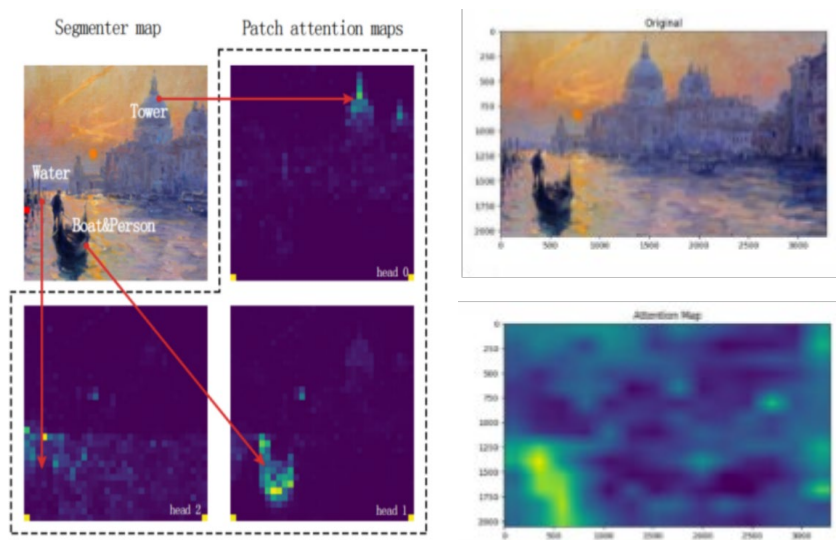


Figure 3 Segmenter model and Transformer model test on the same painting (Author: Sunrise, Venice, Edward Noot)

### Model Introduction

The Segmenter model as shown in Figure 4, introduced in December 2021, utilizes a Transformer encoder-decoder structure with an attention mechanism. It does not rely on convolution<sup>12</sup> and instead captures the overall context of an image through its design. This model is known for its simplicity, flexibility, and speed while delivering competitive performance. During the training of the Segmenter model, a significant number of urban scenery images were used, including 5000 images from 50 different cities with 19 semantic categories. The training set consisted of 2975 images, the validation set had 500 images, and the test set had 1525 images. This diverse training set contributed to the Segmenter model's exceptional performance in processing freehand paintings.

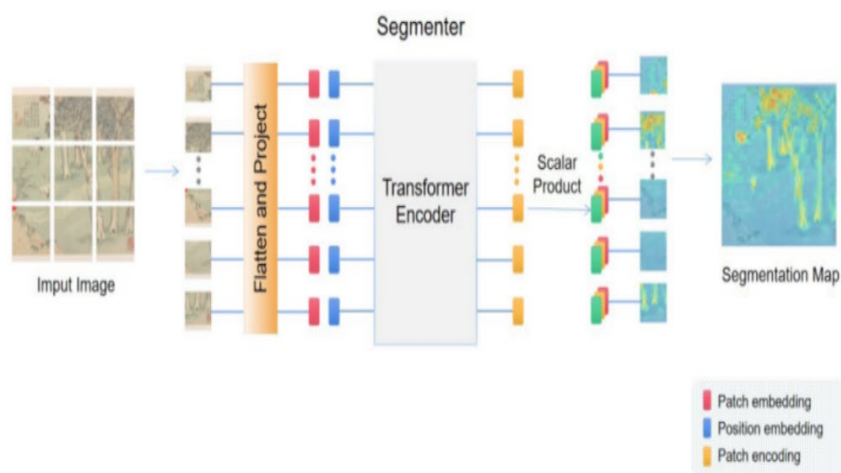


Figure 4. Schematic diagram of the segmenter network (Author: Self-drawn)

## RESEARCH CONTENT

The task is to utilize the Segmenter model to conduct attention focus analysis on a dataset of 5620 images. The model employs various heads segmented into distinct channels, each representing diverse viewing perspectives and angles. The original artwork is placed as a background at the bottom, and the attention is illustrated through a heat map. The heat map highlights areas of higher attention in red and less attention in blue. In cases where there are no significant attention areas, red will not be visible. This methodology enables a comprehensive understanding of the visual focus and viewing angle within each painting, allowing for a deeper comprehension of the artwork.

### Layer Transition

In Figure 5, Examining the attention garnered from three distinct perspectives and their overlaying to produce a heat map enables us to uncover the distribution of attention in the painting regarding distance and spatial transition. The Impressionism landscape painting on the left utilizes a flat color block gradient to achieve the spatial transition. The focus of attention in this painting is primarily on the distant clouds, the middle mountains, and the nearby land, indicating a high level of attention. In contrast, the landscape depiction on the right employs voids as a means of spatial progression, inducing a feeling of spatial remoteness and conferring a diaphanous and otherworldly quality upon the image. In this artwork, emphasis is primarily placed on the far-off mountains, the central pathway, and the adjacent body of water, resulting in a relatively dispersed arrangement.

Upon closer observation, researchers have determined that each head of the attention mechanism exhibits attention toward proximal, medial, and distal ranges, respectively. This multi-faceted attention mechanism enables us to gain a more profound understanding and analysis of the traits and configurations of diverse painting works regarding distance and spatial advancement, thereby endowing researchers with more comprehensive perspectives and insights.

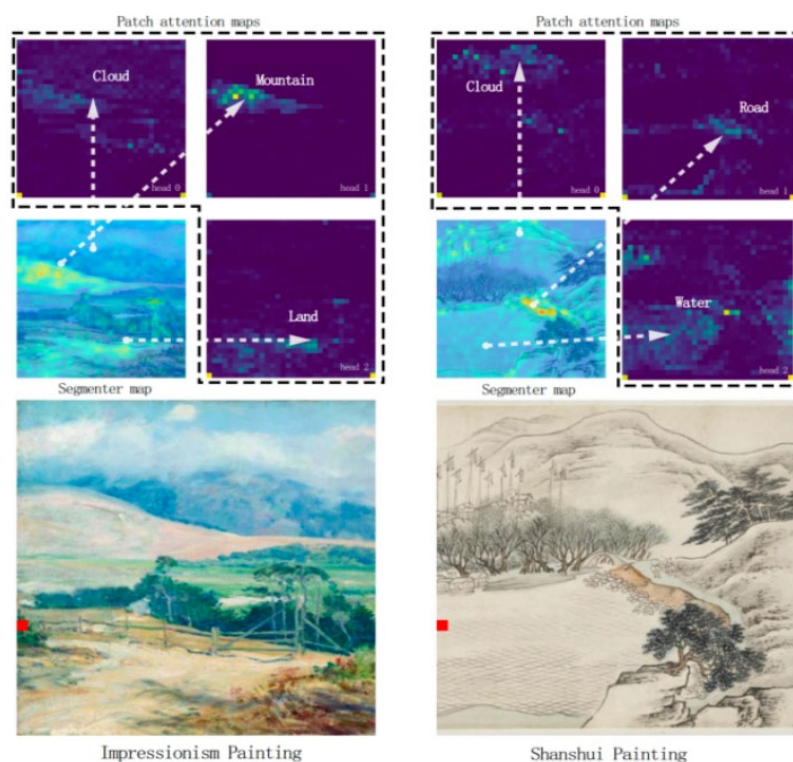


Figure 5. Attention overlay analysis of paintings (Author: left: Carmel Hill, Guy Orlando Rose; right: unknown)

## Color Rendering

We selected the top 100 Chinese painting aesthetic composition scores in the data set. We integrated their original images with the attention analysis results.<sup>13</sup> In the analysis atlas, these results show that the attention mechanism performs very well in Chinese paintings and is hardly affected by problems such as blurred boundaries and blank spaces. However, there are still a small number of paintings where the focus of attention could be more apparent, showing a single color channel. This indicates that there is indeed a domain gap in the application of the current attention mechanism model in the field of painting, resulting in a specific deviation between the attention heat map and the evaluation results of aesthetic composition. To facilitate further browsing and analysis, we organize the analysis results with the dataset (100CLP)<sup>14</sup> and upload them to Github.

## Visual Focus

As we can see in Figure 6, A more in-depth examination of the descriptive content reveals significant disparities in the visual aspects of Eastern and Western paintings. Western art illustrates the landscape beneath the horizon, encompassing rivers, mountains, and farmlands. Typically, the primary focal point of these paintings is located below the horizon, indicating that Western art tends to focus more on portraying the ground and nearby surroundings during the creative process.

In contrast, landscape painting in the Eastern tradition excels at conveying the atmospheric imagery between mountains and rivers. This encompasses remote peaks, tumbling waterfalls, and modest structures dotting the terrain. In these paintings, the primary focus is typically situated above the horizon, underscoring the significance of the far-off landscape and the celestial realm in the artistic process.

Western Impressionism paintings are characterized by a high level of visual focus, with numerous points of attention and intense heat. In contrast, Eastern landscape paintings exhibit a high attention distribution accuracy, featuring clear and straightforward focal points with distinct layers.

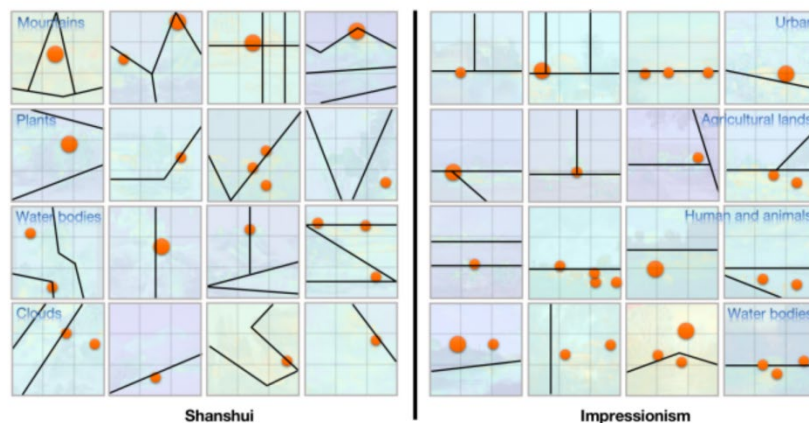


Figure 6. Analysis and comparison of Eastern and Western painting content (Author: self-drawing)

## Scale Blank

Analysis in Figure 7 shows that the Segmenter model exhibits superior adaptability regarding virtual scene performance. Chinese landscape painting high use of blank spaces, weakened perspectives, and overlays in such paintings as a means of expressing the essence of nature through fantastical elements. The Segmenter model has demonstrated that elements such as clouds, ridges, waterfalls, and rivers depicted using these techniques receive high levels of attention.

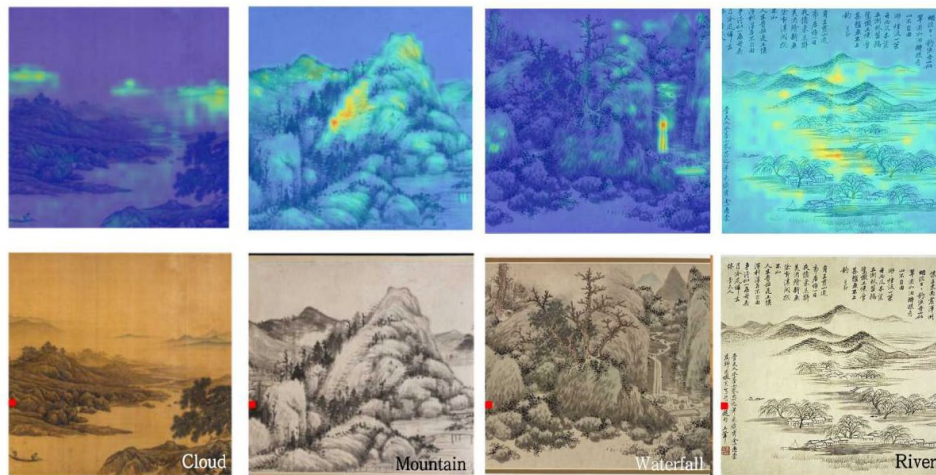


Figure 7 Attention analysis of freehand blank paintings of landscape paintings (Author: self-painted, pictures fishing landscape, Li Tang; Landscapes in the styles of old masters, Wang Jian Chinese; Map of Qin Trees in Shu Mountain, Shen Zhou; Landscapes after old masters, Wang Hui)

## RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS

### Analysis of Similarities and Differences of Paintings

The study employs attention mechanisms to compare and interpret these paintings extensively, delving into the cultural perception and spatial layout principles of landscape aesthetics and presents enlightening conclusions for landscape design, summarized in Table 1.

	Features	type of paintings		Application in Landscape Architecture
		Impressionism	Shanshui	
Similarities	Elements	Highest proportion of attention of people and water		Consider the waterscape design (such as lakes, waterfalls, fountains, etc.) Organise activities so that the crowd can form a landscape
Differences	Composition	Concentration	Distraction	Arrange landscape elements reasonably Balance visual focus Guide people to tour in the space Set up unique landscape nodes
	Perspective	Using focal Perspective to describe nature.	Using Scattered perspective to express artistic conception	Consider the effect of depth of field to create a layered landscape space
	Color	Multiple Colors	Shade of ink	Emphasize the main color and atmosphere Use colors flexibly, focusing on the harmony of color matching
	Layer transition	Utilizing various approaches to convey complex tiers.		Pay close attention to the arrangement of foreground, mid-range, and long-range, as well as the effective utilization of borrowed scenery Apply the principles of two-dimensional painting to three-dimensional landscape design to create a dynamic and rich landscape experience Use landscape elements with varying heights, shapes, and materials, as well as the strategic implementation of light and shadow effects
	Visual focus	Combining with ground landscape construction	Combining with the creation of overhead atmosphere	Ground elements : grass, roads, rivers, etc. Overhead atmosphere : mountains, towers, waterfalls, etc.
	Scale and blank	Small scale for most of the paintings with little blank space	Discernment of the petty from the major, combination of virtualness and reality	

Table 1. Summary of Impressionist and Landscape Painting Types (Author: Self-drawn)

### Landscape Composition Model

Converting two-dimensional images into three-dimensional space is imperative in applying landscape painting's composition techniques and aesthetic principles to landscape design. This is because human perception in three-dimensional space is gradual, unlike the immediate visual impact presented on screens. The shifting of landscape design has continuity and inflection in space and time. As a result,

we have identified three key aspects: space composition, visual characteristics, and objects in the landscape, as illustrated in Figure 8.



Figure 8. Landscape composition model analysis (Author: self-painted)

## DESIGN EXTENSION

As shown in Figure 9, An attention mechanism is a valuable tool for analyzing and comparing images from different periods and identifying similarities and differences in content and style.<sup>15</sup> This mechanism can also facilitate the efficient transmission and composition of cultural information. Landscape composition models and attention mechanisms can aid designers in conducting an environmental diagnosis, with the primary criterion being whether the landscape attracts individuals. Environmental diagnosis has become a prevalent topic in high-density urban areas, and attention mechanisms can serve as a scientific tool for conducting ecological checks and tests. Visual algorithms, comparative analysis, and big data can provide reliable foundations, approaches, and solutions for contemporary design.



Figure 9. From traditional painting to contemporary design (Author: self-drawing, picture reference from xdegree)

Deep learning has the potential to aid in the creation of realistic images by drawing inspiration from artists and enhancing design schemes. Landscape painting represents natural scenery that is abstract, filtered, and understood by the artist. On the other hand, landscape design create the scenery depicted in the painting, and the two are interdependent. Utilizing the "filter" overlay function of landscape painting with appropriate style conditions for Neural style transfer<sup>16</sup> (NST) (Figure 10), Landscape architecture enhances the focus and artistic appeal of the design scheme. but attention should be paid to the research conclusion of the attention mechanism, aiming to create attractive landscapes. For instance, in the image below, the designer explored the possibility of adding autumn leaf trees, enriching the color of ground vegetation, and using water reflection to enhance the atmosphere after style transfer.

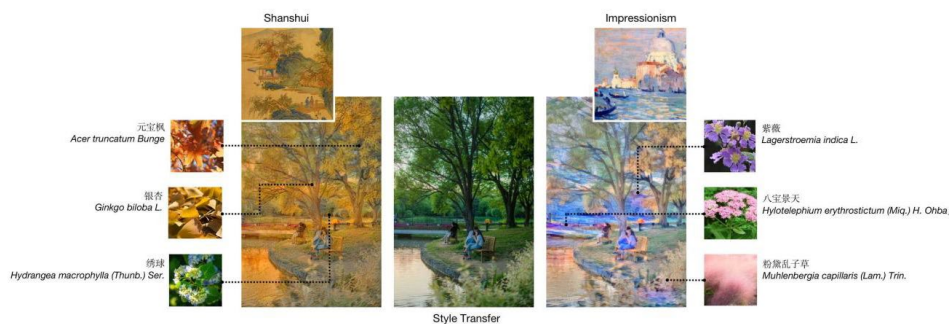


Figure 10. Overlay of the natural landscape and painting style (Author: Oriental painting: Landscape with two figures on the bridge, Chinese; Western painting: The Salute, Venice, Clarence Gagnon)

## INNOVATION AND PROSPECT

### Innovation Points

The attention mechanism and Segmenter model have undergone rigorous experimentation in this study, affirming their applicability in Landscape Architecture. The attention mechanism can be employed in various visual environment design applications. It is particularly well-suited for "landscape+" because it relies on photographs as the primary training dataset component. By utilizing computer techniques to extract features from paintings, it can provide a quantitative response to the elusive question of "what draws people to the landscape", thereby furnishing reliable data support for constructing landscape models.

This paper has utilised multi-party network data to gather a vast collection of high-definition digital electronic art albums, which serve as a crucial operational foundation for this study. These albums can function as datasets for future training of relevant models and as reference templates for constructing landscape design. Art, a carrier of culture, provides perceptual confidence and logic for contemporary landscape design, enabling designers to accurately assimilate its aesthetic characteristics and apply them to modern landscape practice.

### **Deficiencies and Prospects**

The rapid advancement of artificial intelligence has resulted in an unprecedented proliferation of computer-aided design applications. Despite the numerous emerging studies, many challenging problems must be fully addressed. One such issue pertains to the attention mechanism, which primarily identifies objects through their semantics or shape. As a result, research findings on Chinese painting, a form of art dominated by line drawing, have been more successful. However, Impressionist paintings, characterised by rich colors, pose a challenge as they tend to attract too much focus, affecting attention judgment. Furthermore, the current model still has limitations in color analysis, and further training and optimisation are necessary.

Utilizing a model based on actual photographs rather than paintings in this study inevitably creates a significant gap in the analysis. Despite the careful model selection and multiple pre-experiments, there is still potential for method optimization. Additionally, the current dataset size is adequate, and future research will involve labeling the dataset, training models suitable for paintings, and conducting relevant analyses. This approach will significantly enhance the accuracy of attention point analysis and contribute to its future application in large-scale design analysis.



## NOTES

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# CREATING HOLISTICALLY: CULTURE, COMMUNITY, WISDOM, AND CONTEMPORARY ART

Author:

**DEBORAH GILLIES DA MOTA, GRAÇA MAGALHÃES**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY OF AVEIRO, PORTUGAL

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## INTRODUCTION

Contemporary art is where the medium once thought as something specific enters complex relationships with ideas and conventions.<sup>1</sup> However, as the medium is reinvented, reinterpreted and art expands within itself it contradicts restrictive cultural systems. Centralization in culture capitals, over stacked conventions can potentially limit contemporary arts playing field and overshadows its capacity to bring important ideas into the public realm for reflection. This paper presents a research-based art-practice project's methodology that attempts to keep this art form contemporaneous by working towards social innovation through community art making. The project responds to a community need and makes art in a deep and meaningful way as to make a difference in individual lives and community.

## CONTEMPORARY ART WORKING WITH CULTURE-BASED-CREATIVITY

Art has been seen to have a role in the in regeneration of communities but often kept at the periphery.<sup>2</sup> This paper demonstrates how art can be effectively used for social innovation in a research-art-practice-project using the methodology of community art making. Entitled, *Entrelinhas (Between the Lines)* and made through a protocol between the University of Aveiro and the Maritime Museum of Ílhavo, Portugal, over a twelve-month period during 2022-2023, in the town of Ílhavo, Portugal. That has a population of approximately 40 000 and a long history tied to the North Atlantic cod fishery. Today, it's port in Gafanha de Nazaré is home to Portugal's modern long range fishing fleet. The first action taken in the methodology is contemporary art joins culture-based creativity. A term developed in studying art and culture that works toward innovation to enrich society and economics.<sup>3</sup> Social innovation of the sake of this project is seen as targeting a community need for addressing silence. Which according to anthropologists can mean oppression, unrecognition, under representation, and other realities yet not readily seen or recognized by society.<sup>4</sup> Community history is extensively recorded in a vast modern maritime museum. Information and artifacts tell the life of captains and crew. Vessels are replicated, fishing sagas are documented. Collections of sea life including a cod aquarium are available to publics. Many pedagogical activities are organized to educate the public. Yet, the voicelessness of women's contribution is deafening, in museum, the community and within the women themselves. As an artist with a background in nursing, natural of St. John's Newfoundland, Canada, I moved to Portugal in the 1990's, part of a mass migration of local people from my homeland after the Northern Cod fish moratorium in 1992. Working with community and

interest in maritime culture has always been an interest. Perhaps in part a reason why as artist I developed a non-identification with contemporary arts cultural system. Past artworks made had to go far attempting to make a difference elsewhere, becoming all about me the artist. Though inspired and made with people in my community. This led to looking for ways to make art in my own community that began with speaking with local women to exchange experiences regarding women in fisheries. However, constantly the conversations turned to the associated male experience. Only after several encounters did they start speaking about their own experiences; surprised I wanted to know their story. Eventually relating the ingenuity and relentless of their mothers and grandmothers. Drawing the conclusion this heritage will be lost when their generation as witness, no longer passes on verbally this knowledge. I return to the local maritime museum that I have visited many times before looking to find someone that looks like me. As a female artist I realize my own blindness. It is in part inspiration for this project.

The methodology of this research-based-art-practice project centers on creating new kinds of interactions between people, places, and things to promote co-learning and egalitarian relationships as to break conscious and unconscious biases. Calling on the symbolic and the affective to form a wide network for affective communication capable of promoting innovation beyond artistic achievement and creative content.<sup>5</sup> Affective communication lies on a different level than verbal or nonverbal communication. Rather it refers to the forces that are prior to verbal and nonverbal communication and predetermines any interaction on a pre-reflective level.<sup>6</sup> By removing the artist normally presumed teacher the community teaches. Daily skills and objects become art making tools as their knowledge is promoted for its cultural value. Contemporary art shows it in a new light; history is reflected on for its revaluation. Many communities' creative groups participate. Seniors from community forums that state their creativity gains a new freedom with age are a project driving force. As are skilled trades people whose work often too is also invisible, especially in art, experiment their own creativity. New kinds of interactions between these and other participates create self-other overlap, allowing us to see ourselves and others in a different light and in exchange change the way we see ourselves. Together participants build an art installation for the partnering maritime museums atrium. This art form takes into consideration the space and audience viewpoint to create a heightened viewer experiences as how the objects are positioned.<sup>7</sup> The work takes a collective signature, DOC, the codfish spelt backwards. Creating opportunities for community women to cross over into physical and mental spaces normally reserved for men is the foundation for news kind of interactions. Done to target the female self- concept, "how one perceives oneself over time. It starts in infancy and continues throughout later ages; people construct a changing image about themselves that gradually becomes clearer and more comprehensive over time."<sup>8</sup> It depends on our relationship with others, self-acceptance, the living up to our own ideals with respect of achievement.<sup>9</sup> Celebrating contributions of women and others is seen important to redefine achievements so they reflect on the self-concept and bring well-being to participants. While raising community consciousness to become more egalitarian and inclusive society.

The dory boat, a one-man wooden boat used in the traditional fishery is the central element in the art making process and art installation. Referred to in the community as the "little hero", it represents bravery, pride, but also loss and trauma. It carries a sensitivity in the community and has a deep social-historical context. It's physical and mental presence is vital for creating a wide network of affective communication. It creates a community mood, something felt in the air. Another silence I associate as suggested by anthropologists a "form of protection against painful thoughts; respect; a quiet empathy".<sup>10</sup> Community art making often employs free expression of materials within parameters to reduce stress associated with errors and increase enjoyment.<sup>11</sup> This project takes a different approach and relies heavily on repour making skills to nurture relationships. A deep

emotional investment of the artist is needed. The sharing the common experiences from different perspectives to explore connected ideas through art is part of the art making process. People bring individual skills and do specific tasks so monitoring participants for signs of stress and reassuring errors are important is important. Intangible cultural heritage, folklore, as the “unofficial language about the world, ourselves, our communities, our beliefs, our cultures and our traditions, that is expressed creatively...”<sup>12</sup> bonds and engages participants. “As members of collectives, we avoid anomie in search of well-being.”<sup>13</sup> Using this premise I as artist orchestrate new kinds of encounters between people using folklore to draw a line through the community tying people together. The artwork and the museum are important but the art making process takes precedent in reaching the objective of creating a wide network of affective communication. Project process and participant testimonies are recorded in a film. It carries the project title, *Entrelinhas*, and plays in loop next to the artwork in the museum’s atrium. Observers can hear and see the hands that made. Institutional recognition is given to women.

This project turns the “I” into a “we”, a trickle up instead of a top-down approach to making art more inclusive as well by using the “compassionate Imagination”<sup>14</sup> a term and idea Wyman uses in the reimagining of art central to a functioning democracy. Art making here takes influence from anthropology, women’s studies and art therapy. From the later adopts the premise that “de-centering technique may eliminate hierarchical inclusion and enhance members’ interest in one another by allowing art-based routines (e.g., making, viewing, and discussing) to take precedence. In this way, art becomes the center of a social process ... and can build rapport and communication.”<sup>15</sup> Having affiliations with several transatlantic communities brings an awareness that the moving tectonic plates dividing continents brought nations together through fisheries. Unfortunately, differences are celebrated in global forums yet on a the humanistic level there are connections. Though this project centers on creating local dialogue the potential for intercultural ones is seen. Making the sharing of artistic experience in multidisciplinary forums important, especially in front of globalization.

### **HERITAGE AS A MEDIUM IN ART MAKING**

The cities St. John’s, Newfoundland, Canada and Ílhavo, Portugal, signed a friendship agreement in 1998. Representing a relationship grown out of centuries of people and places making a living from fisheries on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, Canada. Historically the Portuguese long range fishing vessels were laden with stacks of small one-man wooden boats called the dory boats which were launched into the North Atlantic upon arriving the fishing grounds. As stated, this boat is a central element in the construction of the art installation. It acts as a magnate promoting large public engagement as did the opportunity for people to see their daily work, hobbies, in a museum alongside esteemed cultural artifacts. Some participants admitted never having entered the museum, associating it with another class. Just as contemporary art was thought to be complicated, over academic, and artist egocentric. Ílhavo, Portugal, in 1960 had actively 17% of the male population participating in this North Atlantic cod fishery, it involved fishing trips up to five months duration. These absences molded the female reality and influenced community expression.<sup>16</sup> In the museum references to women are limited to, the sowing of sails, the making of gloves, hats, and travel bags. A booklet printed by the Cod Fisheries Ship Owner’s Guild, directed at fisherman’s wives give instruction to ensure children, family are “good, healthy, strong and brave”. Reflecting the doctrine of Salazar’s the authoritative regime that lasted 40 yrs., only ending with Portugal’s 1974 revolution. Yet, women’s contributions were much more extensive. As seen in figure 1. they were major contributors to the local workforce and local economy. They worked the land, creating other endeavors to supplement the family income, taking on many roles in the absence of men.



*Figure 1. Fisherman fishing in dory boat, image ©Museu Marítimo/Câmara Municipal de Ílhavo and women washing and extending codfish for drying in Ílhavo*

During that period, it was not “possible to have organized social movements, and as such the secondwave feminism did not have a significant influence in Portugal” states women’s studies specialist Tavares<sup>17</sup> as quoted in Ferreira. In 2021, Portugal ranked 24<sup>th</sup> in European Gender Equality Ratings. It’s most pronounced inequalities are time, ranking lower in the sub-domain of social. Women spend a higher percentage of time caring for other, doing domestic work, and less with social activities<sup>18</sup> Regarding fisheries the same institution reports in 2017 that “in most fishing communities women play key roles and to make significant contributions to industry. Despite their contribution, women remain largely invisible and their roles unacknowledged.”<sup>19</sup> Over time there has been an embedded and systematic recognition of men’s work as the dominant narrative. Heritage as a medium attempts to expand histories narrative, so today ways of acting and thinking are more inclusive.

### **CREATING NEW KINDS INTERACTIONS**

To better understand the new kinds of interactions created a brief description of the artwork as seen below in Figure 2. is needed. Three elements made from iron rods are welded together and represent the traditional wooden dory boat. Iron cables stretch over and back across the maritime museum’s two story open concept atrium. One cable segment suspends a dory boat in the horizontal position that is lined with crochet. Strips of crocheted “granny squares” are sew together and represent the planks of wood used to make the traditional boats. The other cable segment secures two unlined dory boats hanging in a vertical position. Secured by a modern hook from a crane that catches their bow like cod caught on fishing gear. The contrasting differences of position and materials, allow for building conventions and ideas. The crochet and horizontal position represent buoyancy, the home, women’s encompassing contributions. The absence on the other iron elements the inverted position downwards represents opposing thoughts, negative consequences, a world without their contributions. The stretched cables are a timeline that takes a turn as does community identities tied to traditional activities. All elements carry a meaning, even the museums own physical space as it allows an immersive experience.



*Figure 2. Entrelinhas, art installation, DOC, 2022, Maritime Museum of Ílhavo*

The exact meaning is not important but is the promise for potentiating a deep personal experience within the observer.

Over the one-year project six months involve weekly working session with senior women in community forums in several communities. It involves studying boat making plans and model dory boats, making sowing molds and strategizing how to cover the iron rod forms being made by skilled trades people at a local fishing enterprise. Where it was also ceded a space to set up a temporary atelier. Local artisans act as advisors to ensure a faithful representation of the dory boat, as this was determined essential to capture the engagement of those who's daily lives were connected to dory boat. Crochet a popular craft known in the community is often done in a social setting and allows for free-flowing conversation. More knowledgeable people help the less experienced. Women try to men, grandsons but unfortunately their participation in that area did not go far but brought humorous moments. Sometimes the iron forms made in the workshops were brought to senior's forums. Many participants had mobility issues, and this allowed for more widespread participation. Intermittently seniors visited the workshops to follow the making of the structures. They also worked in the atelier at the enterprise during the starching, drying and final fitting of the crochet over the forms. The making was not only about crossing over into physical spaces, but mental ones as well. The women see their work alongside men's work, adding to it, bringing an extra cultural perspective. Normal domestics routines and items, aprons, clothes pins, and sowing needles became art making tools and took on a certain glamour. Having contact with industrial materials and processes, entering into spaces accessed by women as seen in Figure 3. was a small step towards the larger goal as previously stated, the reaching of their self-concept.

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Figure 3. Community women working at a local enterprise, *Entrelinhas*, 2022

Participating welders state feeling a new found joy in welding. One expressed feeling he was walking in the steps of his ancestors and incorporates his grandfather's oarlocks into the artwork. Times such as this indicated the community was talking on project ownership. The museum also did a public call for participation through social media and sent out craft kits to those who registered. The completed crocheted squares returned posteriorly to the museum. They also are responsible for commissioning the film made and an inaugural theatrical performance by a local theater group. Enabling younger generations to share center stage with seniors, a joining of stories and literally tying the community together as seen in Figure 4.



Figure 4. Inauguration, *Entrelinhas*, 2022, Maritime Museum of Ílhavo.

The final positioning of the art installation was kept as a surprise so participants could share the moment with rest the community, as to build anticipation. The inauguration was described by museum director Sr. Nuno Costa, was “a one in life experience”. Whole families came, many for the first time. widespread joy was visibly seen and heard. This kind of modern museology, which according to Fromm is the reweaving of ethnographic museology and intangible cultural heritage that embraces and trusts community members to revitalize culture <sup>20</sup> was determinate in reaching project objective, the creation of a wide network of communication for social innovation.



## CONCLUSION

Studies on artists who practice community-based arts state this form of art making not only breaks preconceived notions of artists but allows artists to work as an activist in their community while promoting personal growth.<sup>21</sup> I identify with those findings and as I disintegrated myself into the community it led to a certain reconfiguration within. Discovering what was missing in my art was a closer tie to my community and culture. More importantly the project examples how artist, museum, and other community institutions can promote each other's full potential by using culture-based-creativity for social innovation. Contemporary art brought important ideas into the public realm and created a wide network of communication. UNESCO publishing on sustainable cultural policies state creative sectors are recognized for their ability to advance cultural outcomes and drive societal transformations particularly in the realm of social inclusion.<sup>22</sup> Here contemporary art as socially engaged art shows the capacity to bring art from the periphery and bring such cultural policies from paper to the people.

This project refutes the myth that old age-old is a burden. A recent U.K study showed there this age group though economically inactive contributes to their communities more than any other age. Especially through volunteering, the provision of unpaid care and support of others.<sup>23</sup> This reflects many seniors in this project that have these kinds of roles but yet active in the community creating many symbiotic relationships in the communities live creative ecosystem created. They brought their knowledge, institutions, and people together. As important to this paper I am a sexagenarian returning in later life to academics. Knowledge gained from lifelong experiences can feed into many systems. The importance of inclusivity into cultural systems is once again seen.

In this community there were conditions to nurture and show local talent. Strategic use of time and available resources were essential but without the proper communication skills creating holistically would not have been possible. Especially as “older adults must trust that they will be respected and that their contributions as valued”<sup>24</sup> as to potentiate creativity and engagement. The artist works with the community the community does not work for the artist. Respect and empathy become art making tools. The aesthetics of art joins that of nature and relationships outside of the traditional frame. Folklore units us but contemporary art expands us.

## NOTES

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# LOOKING THROUGH THE WINDOWS OF A WATERFRONT HOUSE: TRACING THE COASTAL TRANSFORMATION FROM THE INSIDE OUT

Author:

HANDE ATMACA, TUBA DOĞU

Affiliation:

IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS, TURKEY

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## INTRODUCTION

The changes in Istanbul's coastline since the 1950s have drastically altered the relationship of the built environment and residents of the Bosphorus neighborhoods with the sea. The most poignant point of this transformation is the 1200-meter elevated road project launched in 1988 in front of the mansions in Kuruçeşme-Arnavutköy, which severely damaged the relationship of these structures with water. Previous studies on this coastal road have mainly addressed the recreational aspects of the reclaimed area, without considering the implications of the transformation on everyday life. However, this paper presents a distinct approach by suggesting that coastal transformation is a contradictory phenomenon, where the political aim of the coastal vehicle road to increase mobility for modernization purposes led to homogenizing the relationship with the Bosphorus by extending land,<sup>1</sup> resulting in a shift from experiencing to merely observing the sea. The best way to witness this is not only looking at the coast from a distance, but also looking out from inside the buildings that have ceased to be on the waterfront but turned into roadside apartments.

Building on the seminal work of Bruno Latour,<sup>2</sup> and moving from matters of fact to matters of concern, this paper offers an alternative perspective for reading the recent history of the Arnavutköy-Kuruçeşme elevated coastal road. Through the windows of the waterfront mansion that was owned by Makbule Atadan, the sister of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who founded the Republic of Turkey, this study employs both physical and literal means to illustrate the evolution of the coastline over the years and reveal how urban policies have impacted the built environment, everyday life, and cultural practices. In this regard, the mansion's former cultural and political significance, coupled with its present state of being literally "butchered" on the eye level by the elevated road, serves as evidence of this dramatic urban transformation. This paper aims to observe this transformation and thus everyday life practices through the glance of one prominent building, a cultural heritage, to unfold the myriad consequences of Turkey's 1980s urban modernization policies.

## Encounter with the Waterfront House

Evening strolls along the Bosphorus are a cherished tradition among both the residents and visitors of Istanbul. The enchanting charm of the Bosphorus' glittering mansions often mesmerizes walkers to the point that they forget to gaze at the sea. It is not surprising that one begins to wonder about the inhabitants of these magnificent mansions and the lives inside. Amidst this fascination, one particular

mansion, situated on a corner plot between the road and the shore, never fails to capture walker's attention due to its partially submerged state in the water (Figure 1). This article stems from the unique state of the Makbule Atadan mansion, which serves as the starting point for exploring its intriguing story and shaping the structure of this research.



Figure 1. Arnavutköy, Sarrafburnu No:1, Makbule Atadan Villa. Source: <https://gezilmesigerekenyerler.com/gezilecek-yerler/kurucesmede-gorulmesi-gereken-mekanlar.html>.

The particular interest in the mansion in this article has to do with the significant changes that have occurred along Istanbul's coastline since the 1950s, profoundly transforming the relationship between the built environment and the residents of the Bosphorus neighborhoods with the sea. The most striking instance of this transformation occurred with the introduction of the 1200-meter elevated road project in 1988, which was positioned in front of the mansions in Arnavutköy and had a detrimental effect on their connection with the water. As we examine the existing literature, we can observe that previous studies on the extension of the coastal territory have predominantly focused on the recreational aspects of the reclaimed area,<sup>3</sup> overlooking the broader implications of the transformation on everyday life. However, we embrace a retrospective approach and argue that reclamation is not only a spatial phenomenon that expands ground to make it accessible and suitable for use but also a socio-political phenomenon with consequences for urban public space and the lives of buildings neighboring the reclaimed territory. Consequently, this research contends that coastal reclamation is conflictious, as it envisions yet-to-exist spaces on the reclaimed territory, while determining the fate of the existing building stock adjacent to natural confines. Before delving into the methodology of our research, it is important to reflect on the mansion formerly owned by Makbule Atadan. This exceptional mansion holds immense historical and cultural significance, another reason to which is why the mansion has been selected as the focal point of this study.

### **Mansion's Historical Significance and Compelling Contextual Relevance**

The available records pertaining to the mansion date back to 1912 when a goldsmith constructed the mansion for his daughter. However, the mansion is known as the residence of Makbule Atadan, sister of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who lived there. According to the Kalaycıoğlu,<sup>4</sup> prior to his death in 1938, Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey, had a strong affinity for this area and frequently visited his sister here. This historical connection, combined with the building's unique architectural features, such as its art-nouveau style, multi-storey structure with balconies supported by

projecting and recessed columns, and rooftop rooms, adds further significance to the mansion (Figure 2). The building was registered by the Council of Heritages and Monuments in 1971.<sup>5</sup> Also in 1983, Irina Bokova, the head of Unesco of that period initiated the preservation of the mansion. Currently, there are seven mansions registered in the block, but this mansion, where Atatürk lived, held a very special place.<sup>6</sup>



Figure 2. Arnavutköy, Sarrafburnu No:1, Makbule Atadan Villa. Source: <https://kulturenvanteri.com/tr/yer/makbule-atadan-yalisi/#16/41.063118/29.040569>

Besides its historical significance, another important aspect of the mansion lies not only in its architectural features, value as a cultural heritage, or the importance of people who occupied it, but rather in its intriguing contextual relationship. Indeed, until 1988, the structure was situated in close proximity to the water. In 1988, with the implementation of a road project, mansions along the coast became physically separated from the water. The physical separation caused by this situation not only disrupted the building's connection with the water, but it also had far-reaching consequences for various aspects of everyday life and cultural practices. Activities like fishing, swimming, docking boats near their homes and casually taking boat rides in the Bosphorus, as well as other water-related activities, were severely interrupted.

### MOVING FROM MATTERS OF FACT TO MATTERS OF CONCERN

The primary political objective of the coastal vehicle road was to enhance mobility for modernization purposes, yet it has resulted in homogenizing the relationship between the Bosphorus and the residents by extending land, leading to a shift from actively experiencing the sea to merely observing it. Building upon these concerns, we propose a distinct viewpoint to contend coastal transformation as a contradictory phenomenon. To truly comprehend this phenomenon, we argue that it is crucial to not only gaze at the coast from a distance but also look out from within the buildings that were once situated on the waterfront but have now become roadside apartments. In this context, Makbule Atadan mansion serves as a crucial focal point through which we can obtain an immersive viewpoint.

We dwell on the methodological approach of Bruno Latour and acknowledge buildings as a matter of concern rather than a matter of fact,<sup>7</sup> viewing buildings not as physical objects that are detached from their surroundings but rather as social concerns that are socially situated and historically embedded.<sup>8</sup> In other words, we begin with understanding the contextual circumstances of the mansion, utilizing the firsthand spatial narratives of the building as a way of exposing the resulting consequences, pressures and conflicts associated with the piled road project. In this regard, content and context are not mutually exclusive; instead they intricately shape one another. According to Latour and Yaneva,

"[E]very new project modifies all the elements that try to contextualize it, and provokes contextual mutations... In this sense, a building project resembles much more a complex ecology than it does a static object in Euclidian space".<sup>9</sup> With this in mind, we propose a reading from the inside out, concerning the relationship between the coastal and architectural scale. The paper questions particularly how the intertwining of the coastal and architectural scales, through the lens of reading from the inside out, does contribute to a deeper understanding of urban reclamation. The following narrative structure builds on several research methods, including semi-structured interviews conducted with the mansion owners and oral history recordings collected from long-time neighborhood inhabitants to shed light on the neighborhood's evolving social and cultural landscape; and, archival research that involved gathering cartographic and historical documents pertaining to the road development and the mansion, such as old photographs, newspaper clips, and municipal records. Prior to delving into the discussion regarding the mansion's relationship with its surroundings and the sea, it is essential to examine the internal changes that have occurred as a result of the shift from extended to nuclear families. The transformation of these mansions also serves as an indication of migration, thus the increase in urban population during the early stages of modernization. When a large family, such as the current owners from the Black Sea region in this research, purchases one of these mansions, it gradually undergoes a division into separate apartments, although this alteration may not be immediately evident from the exterior. Consequently, the mansion begins to function as an apartment building while still maintaining its outward appearance as a mansion. This phenomenon is also observable in other historical buildings in Kuruçeşme, signifying a broader cultural transformation taking place at a regional level.<sup>10</sup> Nedret Kalaycıoğlu, the present owner, confirms this perspective with her own statement:

*"My father-in-law passed away in 1968, in the same year the mansion was purchased. After his death, we resided in the mansion all together- my mother-in-law and her three sons' families. We had a lavish lifestyle with five maids and one butler. This magnificent place boasted 17 rooms. When we first arrived at the mansion in 1968, it hadn't been divided yet, and we moved in as the Kalaycıoğlu family. Throughout the years, I have never altered the facade of the mansion, determined to keep its historical essence intact... but after my mother-in-law's passing away in 2002, our family fell apart, and it was a deeply saddening time. The mansion underwent a complete renovation, and the interior was divided. We kept the original stairs and repurposed it within the interior."* (Interview, 1 May 2023)

This social-spatial transformation occurred alongside the functional changes in the structure, coinciding with the gaining popularity of Kuruçeşme in the 1960s. In 1964, the then-owner established Yalı Disco, pioneering the concept as the first disco in Turkey and importing all the necessary equipment from abroad. Situated at the entrance level of the mansion, near the sea, the club quickly gained popularity among university students. It is worth noting that the owner himself was a college student at that time. However, due to various factors such as marriage and increasing responsibilities, the owner decided to close the club in 1969. Subsequently, the space was rented out and underwent another transformation, becoming a renowned restaurant called Şölen, which also attracted a significant following (Figure 3). The transition from a disco to a restaurant exemplifies the evolving nature of the structure and its adaptability to meet the changing needs and preferences of its users and the surrounding community.



Figure 3. Şölen restaurant, 1970s. Source: Kalaycioğlu Family Archive (2023)

The functional and spatial transformation of the structure has been further triggered with the changes in the global political climate, and its implications in the nation. During the latter half of the 20th century, urban waterfront development processes emerged globally, leading to the allocation of diverse functions to coastal territories. However, this transformation brought about several challenges, including limited interaction with the water, reduced physical accessibility, and a loss of historical identity, ultimately impacting the availability of open spaces.<sup>11</sup> Turkey has also experienced its share of this development, and since the 19th century, the alteration of Istanbul's waterfronts has occurred concurrently with urban growth. However, the absence of a comprehensive planning strategy in Turkey has led to common challenges in the country's coastlines.

Reinforced in 1956 with Article 6785, the principle that the coast is public property was established, reserving a 10-meter-wide space along the water's edge for public benefit.<sup>12</sup> These protection regulations designated coastal areas as preserved, prohibiting private property establishments within this zone. Such a regulation inevitably has had a profound impact on the relationship between the buildings and residents of the Bosphorus villages with the sea. It has also affected the lives of those who rely on the Bosphorus for fishing, transportation, and daily activities. The most significant turning point in this transformation occurred in 1988 with the introduction of the piled road project along the Bosphorus.<sup>13</sup> Initially presented as a plan to convert the coastal area into a public recreational space, this project ended up causing substantial damage to the city's connection with the water.

The construction of the piled road, initiated by Mayor Bedrettin Dalan of that time, began in 1988 and was completed within seven months with a budget of 4 billion Turkish Liras. The primary aim of this road, supported by 720 steel piles, was to alleviate the growing traffic congestion in Istanbul.



However, concerns arose regarding the historical status of the second-degree mansions located along the road. During the opening ceremony, Mayor Bedrettin Dalan proudly walked on the piled road in front of the mansions, asserting that the construction did not harm them (Figure 4). He anticipated that the mansion owners, initially skeptical, would eventually appreciate the initiative. Although the Administrative Court issued a decision to halt the execution, it was subsequently overturned, allowing the road's construction to be completed.



Figure 4. A critical article of the piled road in 1994 reads “Automobile road hits the historic mansions”, January 16. Source: Cumhuriyet Newspaper Archives (2023).

### Reading from the Inside Out

By following the proposed methodological structure, which primarily involves examining the situation from the inside out, two significant consequences resulting from the execution of the piled road can be observed. One of these consequences is the disruption of the direct visual and physical access to water due to the difference in levels caused by the road construction. This alteration in the landscape is particularly evident in the house, which was once harmoniously integrated with its surroundings but now appears literally "butchered" at eye level by the imposing road. This serves as compelling evidence of the dramatic urban transformation that has taken place (Figure 5).



Figure 5. A view from inside the Makbule Atadan mansion toward the coast. Source: Authors, May 2023.



*Figure 6. A view from the mansion's backyard toward the sea. Source: Authors, May 2023.*

The piled road execution has further consequences for the mansion. Due to the close proximity of the road passing in front of the house and the speed of the vehicles used on the coastal road, the mansion below the road level was exposed to vehicle accidents. At first, there was an old-style chain system in place between metal pillars on the road, which aimed to preserve the historical ambiance. This feature still exists on the coast. However, due to incidents where cars flew off the bend, changes were made. Four separate instances occurred where cars went airborne (Figure 6). At that time, there was no steel barrier in place. The current barrier is designed to propel the cars back upon impact. It was the late mayor Kadir Topbaş, who oversaw the construction of this barrier, with the assistance of a construction director.

Topbaş further took it upon himself to ensure the preservation of the mansion, which was teetering on the brink of collapse. To achieve this, divers strategically installed 152 piles around the mansion, skillfully avoiding any disruption to the neighboring mansions. This intervention was crucial, as the consequences of neglect would have been catastrophic. However, despite these efforts, the distance between the road and the mansion, initially 3.5 meters, has steadily decreased over time due to vibrations and movement. Today, the mansion is clearly under threat, with only a tiny gap remaining, scarcely wide enough to fit one's fingers (Figure 7-8-9). As a result of continuous vibrations over time, visible structural cracks have emerged in the walls and columns within the mansion, as well as in the Ottoman-era fountain located in the backyard, further exacerbating the precarious situation. These cracks serve as visible evidence of the detrimental impact the road has had on the mansion, posing a serious threat to its overall stability and preservation.



*Figure 7-8-9. The threat the road poses to the structure. Source: Authors, May 2023.*

Originally, the terrace of the mansion served as an open space, functioning as an active threshold with a lookout. However, in the present day, it has undergone a transformation into a winter garden, not for aesthetic reasons, but primarily as a response to the issue of noise pollution. Through this compelling narrative of the mansion, we can grasp the harsh reality of how a place that was once adorned with boats moored at its front and provided direct access to the sea for fishing has now become a victim of the consequences of contemporary urbanization.

## **CONCLUSION**

This study highlights the need for further research on the impact of the piled road project on the historical character of the Bosphorus line, as this aspect has been largely overlooked. The road has significantly disrupted the daily lives of the mansion owners, severing their ties with the sea, and not only does the mansion react structurally to the piled road, but it also exhibits spatial adaptations in response to its presence. This not only affects individuals on a personal level but also jeopardizes the historical and cultural integrity of the Makbule Atadan mansion, which holds immense cultural heritage. It is imperative to reevaluate the design decision and consider alternative approaches within a new policy framework to ensure the preservation and appreciation of the mansion's cultural significance, as well as the rest of the coastal line of Bosphorus. This study is instrumental in raising awareness and giving voice to the owners, allowing them to share the mansion's history and present condition. Additionally, the increasing expansion of filled areas in Istanbul raises concerns about potential future threats to various regions, including the historically significant Bosphorus line. Engaging in political and architectural discussions surrounding these issues will contribute to the development of alternative design and planning strategies for the future.

## NOTES

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- <sup>6</sup> Nedret Kalaycıoğlu, Personal Interview, May 1, 2023, İstanbul.
- <sup>7</sup> Bruno Latour, "Why Has Critique Run Out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern," *Critical Inquiry*, 30 (2008): 225-248.
- <sup>8</sup> Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till, eds., *Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture*, New York: Routledge, 2011.
- <sup>9</sup> Bruno Latour and Albenä Yaneva, "«Give Me a Gun and I Will Make All Buildings Move»: An ANT's View of Architecture », *Ardeth [Online]*, 1 (2017): 103-111.
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- <sup>12</sup> Rana Başak Serim et al., "Kıyı Kanunundaki Değişimlerin Kıyı Yerleşmelerindeki Arazi Kullanım Değişimine Etkisi: Kuşadası Merkez Örneği", *Planlama Dergisi*, 32(1) (2002):57-76.
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# **TRADITIONAL REPAIRMENT AND MAINTENANCE SYSTEM OF CHINESE QING DYNASTY OFFICIAL BUILDINGS - A CLARIFICATION OF MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE CONSERVATION IN EAST ASIA**

Author:

**XUEQING HU, DONGQING MA**

Affiliation:

POLITECNICO DI MILANO, ITALY

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Due to the differences in cultural backgrounds, there are misunderstandings between the East and the West regarding the conservation of cultural heritage. One of the most significant is that the international stereotype of heritage conservation in East Asia is that the reconstruction of architectural heritage is a traditional practice. However, the practice of maintaining and repairing the previous generation of buildings to extend their lifespan was practiced in ancient China. reconstruction exists only in exceptional cases and in special circumstances.

## **CHANGES IN THE DEFINITION OF AUTHENTICITY SINCE THE NARA DOCUMENT**

The contemporary discourse surrounding the notion of authenticity traces its initial origins to the Venice Charter of 1964, wherein the underlying emphasis rests upon authenticity denoting the quality of being 'genuine' or 'original'.<sup>1</sup> A consequential development transpired three decades subsequently, as evidenced by the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) arising from the conference convened in Nara, Japan. This document underscored the multifaceted dimensions of authenticity, encompassing historical and cultural diversity, and elucidated the intricate interplay between authenticity assessment and both tangible and intangible informational elements. During the 1999 International General Assembly of ICOMOS,<sup>2</sup> the document was formally adopted and became a part of the body of doctrine supported and promoted by ICOMOS, which balances the Eurocentric situation in the approach to cultural heritage conservation.<sup>3</sup>

Before and after the Nara document, there has been an ongoing debate over the definition of authenticity.<sup>4</sup> This divergent construal of authenticity subsequently gives rise to disparate methodologies in the realm of heritage conservation. In one vein, Western nations, typified by Italy, persist in endorsing a material-centric approach that is inherently dedicated to the transmission of comprehensive historical insights regarding cultural heritage for posterity.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, Eastern countries, exemplified by China and Japan, display heightened attentiveness towards the intangible, contextually relevant, and variegated facets of authenticity. In this regard, the reconstruction of

cultural elements, founded upon sources of information that command credibility and trust, finds acceptance within the traditional context of local societies.<sup>6</sup>

However, the existence of differences should not mean that the heritage conservation attitudes of the East and the West are the absolute opposite. Due to the development of various international cooperation and international conferences,<sup>7</sup> the East and the West have begun to understand each other on that topic, under the premise of respecting their cultural backgrounds. European researchers are beginning to recognize the value of tradition and building craftsmanship in heritage.<sup>8</sup> Chinese researchers became also more open to the world and try to preserve the authenticity of cultural heritage materials as much as possible.<sup>9</sup>

Almost 30 years later, a certain degree of consensus has been reached between the East and the West on the conservation of architectural heritage, but there are still some misconceptions that need to be clarified due to the barriers to communication. For example, the international stereotype of heritage conservation in East Asia is that the reconstruction of architectural heritage is a traditional practice. However, repairing and reusing buildings have also been an important Chinese tradition since ancient times, and reconstruction exists only in exceptional cases and in special circumstances.

### **ANCIENT CHINA'S ATTITUDE AND UNDERSTANDING OF MAINTENANCE**

The Chinese perspective on maintenance existed during the Qing Dynasty (1636-1912). Many of the large buildings of the Qing Dynasty were inherited from previous generations, which made the maintenance and daily management of existing buildings particularly important. During its nearly 300 years of existence, the Qing Dynasty enacted several legal systems for the construction of buildings, from which we can get a glimpse of the attitudes and management patterns of building maintenance in the Qing Dynasty of China.

#### **Introduction of The Rules and Regulations of the Ministry of Industry**

The Rules and Regulations of the Ministry of Industry was the body of law compiled by the Ministry of Industry which set out detailed regulations on technical construction practices, material requirements, and regulatory responsibilities (Figure 1). During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Ministry of Industry continued compiling the Rules and Regulations, which were regularly revised. There were about 100 copies of the Rules and Regulations of the Ministry of Industry, among them, "The Rules and Regulations of the Ministry of Industry Compiled by Imperial Order" (Hereinafter referred to as Regulations) and "The Additional Rules and Regulations of the Ministry of Industry Compiled by Imperial Order (Hereinafter referred to as Additional Regulations) are typical, with a clearer and more rational structure and more complete content than the previous ones.<sup>10</sup>

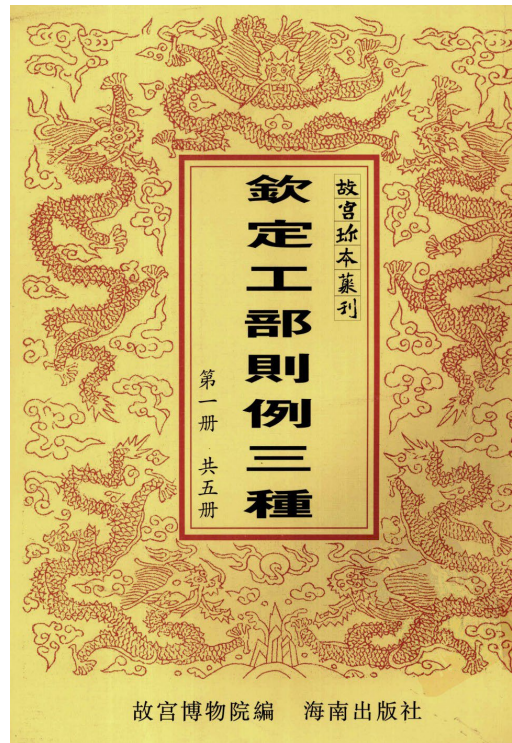


Figure 22. *The Rules and Regulations of the Ministry of Industry Compiled by Imperial Order. Edited by The Palace Museum, published by Hainan Publishing House, June 2000*

The Regulations and The Additional Regulations contain a wealth of content, in a total of one hundred and forty-two volumes, related to construction, munitions, manufacturing, craftsmen, cantonment, water conservancy, transportation, and other matters recorded in detail and specifically.<sup>11</sup>

The construction and water conservancy parts contain a large number of building repairs and maintenance of the provisions. By collating and analyzing these provisions, we can understand the repair and maintenance mechanism of Qing Dynasty government buildings.

### **Ready repair and regular repair and Guarantee period system**

Regulations and Additional Regulations are provided for an inspection department and its jurisdiction to detect the poor state of buildings promptly. If a building is found to have a problem, it will be repaired at any time if the problem is minor, which is called ready repair. This system is similar to what we now call maintenance.<sup>12</sup> The ready repair system includes, for example, repairs to the royal temples, the city wall, river works, structures inside and outside the imperial city, and its facilities when tiles fall off, puddles leak, are missing, walls dump billets, and other damage. The city wall should be inspected in summer and autumn after the water has been encountered. Items that need ready repairs were not required to be declared to safeguard the timeliness of repairs, which influenced the subsequent declaration requirements for Chinese heritage conservation projects.

In addition to ready repair, there are also regular repairs. Regular repairs are divided into annual and yearly repairs. Annual repairs refer to maintenance at a fixed time each year. Annual repairs are more common in the maintenance of buildings and are mostly used for buildings exposed to the outdoors, such as granaries, temples, city walls, and river works, where each barn is repaired at any time of the year. Yearly repairs, meaning that there is a gap of several years between repairs, are mainly concentrated on the repair of ships, with fewer provisions for the annual repair of buildings.

The Qing Dynasty Construction Law set a Guarantee period for new or repaired buildings, which is the period of responsibility of the contractor (Table. 1). In the case of damage within this period, the



person responsible is generally liable to pay the cost, while the cost of repairing damage outside this period may be reimbursed.

	Temple Shrine		Decorated archway	Official house	Government office	Storehouse
New Construction	-	-	-	15	15	10
Replacing or straightening wooden structures	12	15	10	8	10	8
Changing tiles	-	10	6	6	8	6
Patch and mend	-	-	3	3	-	3

*Table 1. Guarantee period for new or repaired buildings Unit: Year*

In general, the regulations indicate that a system of maintenance and repair of buildings already existed in China during the Qing dynasty. The idea of repairing at any time coincides with the core of daily maintenance that we now refer to as preventive conservation, suggesting that daily maintenance measures were in line with the Chinese concept of the conservation of buildings. However, during the Qing dynasty, China had not yet developed the concept of heritage conservation that we refer to in modern times and did not link routine maintenance to the preservation of the authenticity and historical value of the heritage, understanding routine maintenance as a help to the building mainly from the point of view of economy and use.

## **CURRENT CHINA'S ATTITUDE AND UNDERSTANDING OF MAINTENANCE**

The current understanding of maintenance in the field of heritage conservation in China can be discussed from two perspectives: the policy perspective of heritage conservation projects and the current scholarly research perspective on heritage conservation theory.

### **The policy perspective of the maintenance in heritage conservation**

The main materials of the policy perspective of heritage conservation projects: the Administrative Measures for Heritage Conservation Projects, and the Guidelines for the Conservation of Cultural Relics and Monuments in China.

According to the Measures for the Administration of Heritage Conservation Projects, heritage conservation projects in China can currently be divided into five categories: rescue and reinforcement projects, maintenance projects, repair projects, protection facility construction projects, and relocation projects (Table. 2). Maintenance works refer to routine, seasonal conservation works for minor damage to heritage, and are the type of works most relevant to the maintenance we are discussing.<sup>13</sup> Unlike other works, however, maintenance works do not require the approval of the approving authority and are included in the annual work plan and budget by the heritage user and reported to the provincial, autonomous region, or municipality directly under the Central Government's cultural heritage administrative department for the record.<sup>14</sup>

Categories	Description
Rescue and reinforcement projects	When there is a sudden danger to cultural relics, due to time, technology, funding, and other constraints, that cannot be completely repaired and reversible temporary rescue and reinforcement measures for cultural relics
Maintenance projects	Routine, seasonal conservation works for minor damage to heritage
Repair projects	Structural reinforcement and repairs necessary for the conservation of the heritage object, including local restoration works in conjunction with structural reinforcement
Protection facility construction projects	Additional safety and security works for heritage conservation
Relocation projects	The relocation or relocation of cultural relics in whole or in part, for conservation purposes, when no other more effective means are available

*Table 2. Five Categories of heritage conservation projects in China*

Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China also refers to the need for maintenance in the conservation of architectural heritage, which is an accepted code of practice and the essential standard for conservation professionals in China.<sup>15</sup> Article 25 in chapter 4 sets out that:

Maintenance and monitoring are fundamental to the conservation of heritage sites. Maintenance is the timely removal of potential problems that could cause damage or deterioration and also ensures it is kept clean and orderly. A maintenance program should be established and implemented at every heritage site.

And some commentary is also given:

Maintenance refers to measures taken regularly or promptly, based on monitoring, to eliminate any potential problems that could lead to further deterioration. Examples of maintenance include the timely repair of roof tiles, the removal of weeds and vegetation that may negatively impact the site, ensuring that drainage and fire-fighting equipment are in good working order, and maintaining the cleanliness of the site and its setting.

### **The current scholarly research perspective of the maintenance in heritage conservation**

In 1957, Mr. Shan Shiyuan proposed a strategy of 'emphasis on maintenance, emphasis on restoration, comprehensive planning and gradual implementation' for the current situation of the Forbidden City in Beijing, emphasizing that maintenance works were the main task. This is the earliest known account of the importance of maintenance to the conservation of architectural heritage.

There are currently 64 Chinese papers related to the routine maintenance of heritage retrieved from the CNKI. Most of these papers were published after 2010, with the number of publications increasing (Figure 2), indicating a growing recognition by Chinese scholars of the importance of routine maintenance in heritage conservation. By collating these keywords and carrying out a cluster analysis, the results are shown in the figure (Figure 3), where the size of the circle represents the frequency of mentions, and the thickness of the connecting line represents the frequency of both occurring together). This figure reflects the fact that architectural heritage and preventive conservation are the most frequently mentioned keywords in the papers related to the daily maintenance of heritage and that they are often mentioned together, indicating that the development of preventive conservation is closely related to the development of architectural heritage maintenance in China.

Preventive conservation was introduced to China more systematically in 2010 by Dr. Wu Meiping from Belgium, where the theory and practice of preventive conservation emphasize the importance of routine maintenance.<sup>16</sup> Although the concept of maintenance was introduced in the 1950s, it has been more widely discussed based on the development of preventive conservation theory.

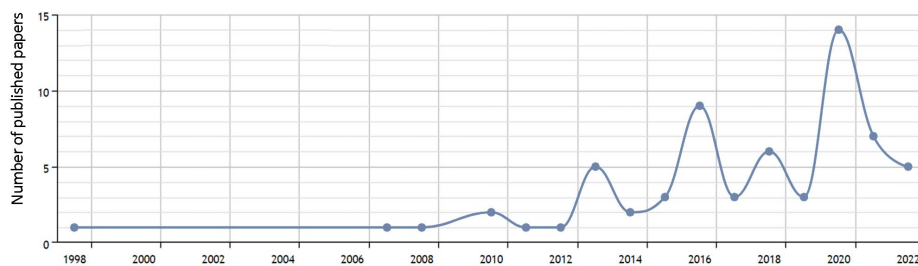


Figure 23. Number of papers on routine maintenance in China

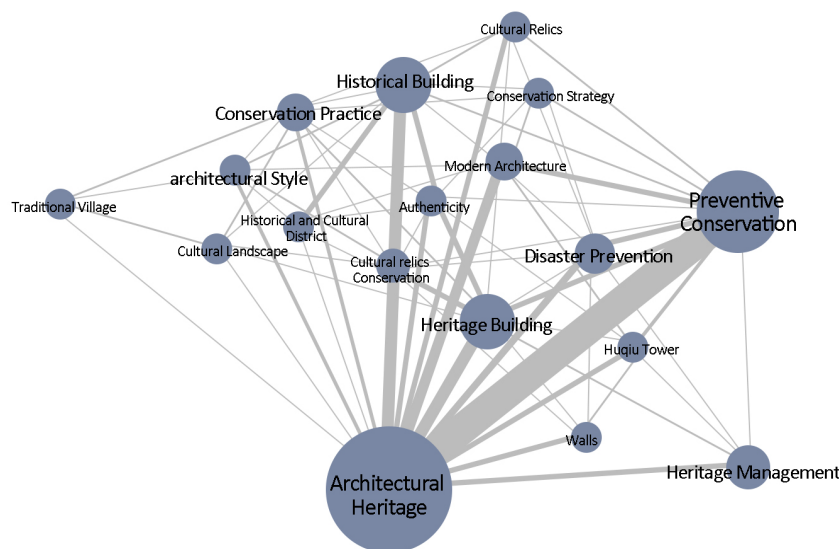


Figure 24. Cluster analysis result of keywords in papers on routine maintenance in China

It is now generally accepted that routine inspection and monitoring of heritage provides data to support maintenance measures, and that inspection and monitoring, and routine maintenance are integral parts of preventive conservation. Maintenance aims to identify minor health and safety hazards in the built heritage and to remove them in time to maximize the preservation of the value of the built heritage.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to theoretical research on preventive conservation and the maintenance of architectural heritage, there is also some practice in China. The Forbidden City in Beijing is the most typical example of architectural heritage maintenance in China, while the Longmen Grottoes,<sup>18</sup> the Shanhaiguan Great Wall,<sup>19</sup> and the Nanjing City Wall<sup>20</sup> have also been tested.

The Forbidden City in Beijing has developed a relatively mature system of inspection and maintenance. The daily inspection and maintenance of architectural heritage is the first priority of heritage conservation measures. They try to give clear priorities and requirements from the point of view of comprehensive conservation of built heritage using status inspections and assessments. In addition, they have standardized and scientifically managed the daily inspection and maintenance of built heritage through the development of a sound management system and technical standards.<sup>21</sup>

In general, Chinese scholars' understanding of the concept of maintenance has been strongly influenced by Belgium. Although there have been some research and practical attempts at maintenance in China, on the whole, passive conservation and large-scale repairs are still the mainstays of architectural heritage conservation projects.

## **CONCLUSION**

By reviewing and collating the Rules and Regulations of the Ministry of Industry, this paper argues and analyses the mechanisms of restoration and maintenance of official buildings in the Qing Dynasty (the system of Ready repair and regular repair and Guarantee period system), and extracts the concepts of science and sustainability that existed in the restoration of ancient buildings, which will in turn shed light on the attitudes towards architectural restoration activities as a cultural tradition in East Asian contexts, and seeks to clarify the international stereotypical perception of overly radical conservation measures for architectural heritage in East Asia. Finally, this paper calls for the search for the latest scientific and technological means in the exploration of cultural heritage preservation, but also for the examination of regional traditional techniques. Only by combining traditional restoration techniques with their own characteristics and advanced conservation theories can architectural heritage conservation in East Asia inherit and promote traditional culture while having an international outlook.

## NOTES

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# DIGITAL MEDIUMS AND THEIR CURATORIAL CONSEQUENCES

Author:

**TATJANA CROSSLEY**

Affiliation:

ARCHITAG, UK; WENTWORTH INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, USA

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## INTRODUCTION

Humanity has always represented its aspirations and motivations through art and design. Leading concerns of each era have made their way into the themes of these ‘virtual spaces’. These forms constitute a narrative of their times that reflect bigger issues of politics, culture, society, and ecology. Ultimately, they supply a representation of heritage, providing insight to succeeding generations on the social hierarchies that have existed before. Historically, nationalistic agendas, religion, and utopian escapes have largely shaped the aesthetics of these representations, which used various mediums to immerse their viewers into these ideological spaces. 360 fresco rooms surrounded people with content from which to create discourse, panoramic imagery engulfed viewers in patriotic scenes,<sup>1</sup> and experimental prototypes attempted to provide multisensory immersions.<sup>2</sup> Architecture itself has been used to immerse society into specific narratives and realities. However, the mediums themselves are also part of this active process of curation. Today we are faced with new and rapidly evolving technologies that provide a different medium from which to describe and experience our current moment and therefore redefine the way we collect and curate information.

New digital technologies supply different ways of thinking about spatial relationships and the collection of data. They collect and curate digital objects that hold meaning in that they are a reflection of our collective heritage and culture. Just as with previous technologies and mediums, they inform how humans choose to represent space and the artifacts they select to populate this space. In many cases, they become simulacrum of objects and architectures in reality but there are also examples of overlapping and evolving ones that reinterpret these objects and their meanings becoming something entirely different. These simulacrum and generative forms take on their own relevance, distinct from their ‘real’ counterparts. This is seen throughout history, for example, in the form of representations of deities and their holy objects, or as various ‘exquisite corpses’ that reflect a more collective interpretation of the values at any given time. This paper will begin to dissect the relevance of the digital artifact and how we can understand heritage as an ever-evolving idea that is directly linked to its modes of representation.

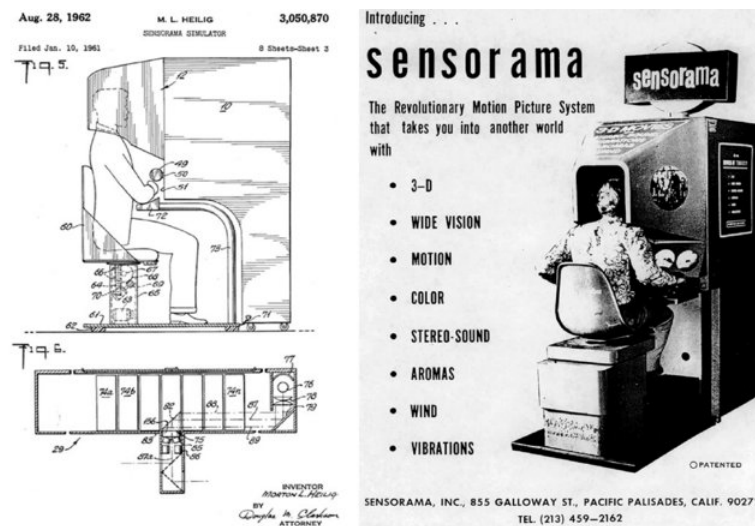


Figure 1. M.L. Heilig Sensorama, drawings, and poster, 1962. (image credit Alessandro Basso, “Advantages, Critics and Paradoxes of Virtual Reality Applied to Digital Systems of Architectural Prefiguration, Phenomenon of Virtual Migration.” 2017.)

## Context

Over the last few years, there has been a rapid development of digital virtual reality space. What was once before accessed predominately by VR enthusiasts and gamers, is now a space that more closely resembles forms of public space, being more accessible to more people and providing various forms of engagement. People can upload their content and create their curatorial expressions that can be read together as a collective curatorial project of our time. Various platforms such as Spatial<sup>3</sup> and Mona<sup>4</sup> are attempting to provide democratic avenues for sharing digital virtual realities and many of those existing endeavor to create societal systems that are decentralized and inclusive. Designers are working with VR and AR technologies to produce mixed realities that question society through the overlay of imagery and artifacts.<sup>5</sup> Even non-digital forms of representation have higher visibility through digital platforms that allow for the cultivation of cultural and societal knowledge. Within these spaces, particular objects and scenes are collected and curated that are significant in what they represent. What may seem as arbitrary or insignificant as making or placing a (sometimes common) object, these artifacts reflect subconscious and conscious connections with the current events and sentiments of the people who make and place them. Human society has always assigned meaning to objects, which will be discussed later in the paper, so this curation provides important insights that reflect both the subjective and collective. This paper asserts that these artifacts and spaces serve as a direct reflection of contemporary culture, its flaws, and its aspirations providing a digital time capsule that preserves this cultural moment. However, this is not entirely a new phenomenon; virtual reality is not a new technology, though the mediums today may be. In the following text, the paper will examine how virtual realities and the objects that are ‘collected’ within these spaces, both in the present and the past, can reveal social and cultural conditions and subjective readings of space. They hold profound embedded symbolism that speaks to the preservation of narratives that are vital to human heritage. The text examines this while also presenting the opportunity provided by VR to rethink the process of object curation and artifact preservation, in museums and beyond, that represent culture.



### Some Theory

Before examining virtual reality and its objects, the paper will briefly define the virtual and its relationship with perception and subjectivity. Important to philosophical notions of virtuality, David Chalmers' argues that virtual reality is reality in his text *Reality +*. He describes the philosophical issue that Descartes first addressed that we cannot know anything about the reality outside of ourselves and poses the question: 'Does it even matter?'<sup>6</sup> This concerns the fact that human perceptions of reality are produced by the mind- reality is, therefore, produced by the mind- providing a compelling argument to consider the 'real' and 'virtual' as equals.<sup>7</sup> Jean Baudrillard, in *Simulacra and Simulation*,<sup>8</sup> asserts the important role of the symbol and how this perceived reality is directly linked to understandings of subjective experience, society, and culture.<sup>9</sup>

The importance of the body in the production of perception and reality is also examined by other philosophers such as Heinrich Wölfflin who makes the statement, "Physical forms possess a character only because we ourselves possess a body."<sup>10</sup> In other words, the world exists because we have a body to perceive it. Sartre in *Being and Nothingness*<sup>11</sup> similarly addresses the phenomenological relationship between the subject and the object and perception. These philosophers, amongst others, acknowledge the virtuality of experience that allows this text to assign the same value to the virtual artifact and space as the 'real.' Both manifestations demonstrate aspects of society that humans have found important to document, collect, and curate.

Returning to the relationship between the virtual and the real, Deleuze provides an analogy in architectural theory with the concept of the fold.<sup>12</sup> This paper applies Deleuze's concept to the virtual reality, looking at it as a fold in the same thread that is created by the conditional forces of society and culture on it. While the fold produces an inside and an outside,<sup>13</sup> all thoughts, all creations, and all realities, virtual or otherwise, are shaped by these outside conditions. This is a premise that Elizabeth Grosz finds promise in that virtuality creates "endless openness"<sup>14</sup> that allows for the production of different forms of knowledge rather than the "re-production of a real".<sup>15</sup> "It is a mode of production"<sup>16</sup> that reflects the contexts that have shaped it. Grosz references Lacan's writings on the mirror<sup>17</sup> and the value of the virtual in the production of identity. Because of this, virtual spaces throughout history have profoundly revealed subjective experiences that express societal values and cultural contexts.

### Some History

Virtual reality is not limited to the digital spaces of the contemporary. As Lacan asserts, it is vital to the development and our understanding of identity as humans have projected their experience of reality into virtual reality spaces throughout history. Oliver Grau catalogs many of these spaces in his text *Virtual Art: From Illusion to Immersion*.<sup>18</sup> He expands the definition of what constitutes a virtual reality from the term that Jaron Lanier initially used in the 1980s by focusing on human modes of representation, both two-dimensional and three-dimensional. These modes of representation have conveyed narratives that have immersed their users into these extended realities. The spaces produced could function as forums to disseminate and propagate the knowledge held within the representation.<sup>19</sup> This paper considers the virtual reality in two ways: the mediums and modes of representation; and what is represented. The former consists of the tools of perspective (linear or otherwise) and the material methods used to produce immersion, which will be discussed later in the paper. The latter consists of the narratives portrayed.

Bettina Bergmann writes specifically about ancient Roman frescos and the role of images in the production of memory.<sup>20</sup> Frescos, which were painted throughout ancient Roman villas, could serve as memory theaters that could be read in nonlinear ways. Though a private space, the villa became an extension of the public space. The rooms provided smaller forums for political and cultural discourse. Since written text was not common in Ancient Rome, using images for memory and retelling stories

was very important.<sup>21</sup> A viewer could move through the villa and remember pieces of a story that would come together to convey the overall message. What makes this unique from written narratives is that the images could be pieced together non-linearly, producing a variety of messages based on their experienced order. The frescos also produced a different spatial relationship with the physical, demarcating and expanding the villa while also virtually connecting different parts of the villa.<sup>22</sup>



*Figure 2. Section of the Villa Livia Fresco, at the National Roman Museum, Palazzo Massimo. (image credit Tatjana Crossley)*

The role of the represented artifact was vital since memory was assigned to the depicted objects. Referencing Baudrillard once more, these artifacts acted in a symbolic way that went beyond their literal representation, representing entire societal concerns. What is especially powerful in studying these historical VR spaces is that both subjective and collective experiences can be extrapolated from the narratives.<sup>23</sup>



*Figure 3. Cubiculum from the Villa of P.Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (image credit The MET)*

Throughout history, humans have incorporated various methods to convey narratives pertinent to their context. These virtual realities were used to create participatory spaces that could address societal values related to aspects such as politics, religion, and nationality. They used the representation of objects and spaces to communicate larger messages. Rather than understanding these spaces entirely at face value for what they depict, the representations can be interpreted and understood more profoundly.



*Figure 4. Frescos in the Villa of Marco Lucrezio Frontone in Pompeii (image credit Wikimedia Commons)*

## MEDIUMS

As Grau describes, multiple modes of representation have been used throughout history that have capitalized upon artistic and architectural methods to produce immersions. His text focuses on artistic practices and how they evolved. Notable in the history of the VR space was the jump from the panorama room to using architecture more fully as a device or apparatus for immersion as seen in the illusionistic spaces that were built during the Renaissance and the panorama rotundas that were built up towards the end of the 1700s and early 1800s. This shift also came at distinct points in human history, setting up these mediums alongside particular motivations.

In Western contexts, prior to the Renaissance, painting largely used atmospheric perspective to provide a sense of depth and realism. Instead of setting up lines of perspective, as in linear perspective, the artist creates bands of depth and as the content of the image is further away, those bands are shown less saturated in color and blurrier to create a general atmosphere of spatial reading. Innovations in mathematics and sciences prompted new approaches to art and architecture (while taking large inspiration from classical antiquity). With the Renaissance and Brunelleschi's 'rediscovery' of linear perspective,<sup>24</sup> this more mathematical approach to painting overtook representation. It was also important in architectural illusion, as seen in Borromini's Palazzo Spada and the scenery at Palladio's Teatro Olimpico. Later in art history, towards the late 1800s and early 1900s, more abstract forms of representation in art developed that integrated qualities more similar to atmospheric perspective. They were a reaction to current events and the homogenizing nature of the institution. Monet's waterlilies at the Orangerie provide an example of a return to the fresco room (though they are painted on canvases) that uses impressionism to produce an immersion taking the viewer to the surface of Monet's ponds in Giverny.<sup>25</sup>

While many of these examples capitalize on the medium of paint, the panorama rotundas implemented faux terrain, cannons, and marching bands to create a variety of sensorial experiences to immerse their audience. They used knowledge of optics to place two-dimensional painted surfaces at a distance far enough away to be seen as three-dimensional with the faux terrain to enhance this optical illusion. Using sensory illusion is ultimately how contemporary devices operate, capitalizing on the fact that the mind produces reality, VR devices today stimulate sensorial pathways to produce the sensation of being in alternate spaces.

## Representation and Framing

While modes of representation are very important to produce the immersion, it is evident by the countless examples, listed in Grau's and others' texts, that representational methods ranging from realistic to abstract have created equally powerful immersive spaces. Platt and Squire also emphasize the value of framing, focusing on examples from antiquity. If we return to examples of ancient Roman frescos, painted architectural elements are used to distinguish areas of the fresco to segment the space and make it easier to allocate memory and narrative to each given section or object.<sup>26</sup> Dietrich also emphasizes the framing methods explaining how bands of color are generally used at the base of the wall to elevate the painted space. Many times, this is done in such a way that the bands can be read as an extension of the floor. This is done so that the inhabitants of the room remain separated from the architectural prospect and the fresco figures remain separate from the architectural elements seen in the background. It creates a projection so that the space of the physical room can extend into the illusionary space.<sup>27</sup>

## CURATORIAL PROCESS

Generally, curation is thought of as a process occurring within the walls of the museum or gallery. However, as illustrated by the lineage of VR, humans have been curating content throughout history. It is only since imperialism that attitudes shifted creating a hierarchy that favored (Western, northern hemisphere) museum curation. While this paper cannot describe the full history, problems, and benefits of modern curation, it presents this final section as a way to reposition the VR space as a curatorial endeavor that requires collective input.



Figure 5. Crossley, Goepel, Guida, DMU Constellations AR interactive immersive experience for Dark Matter University installation at 2022 Lisbon Triennial. (image credit ArchiTAG)

## The Problem with Museums

The first question put forward is what gets collected and why? Choices made in curatorial processes inherently produce and perpetuate particular biases that can either reflect or react to imperial/colonial attitudes. Running tangent to this is the question of how artifacts were collected: were they bought, gifted, or stolen? And from this question comes issues of the rehoming of artifacts to their original contexts. Museum protocols for the storage and conservation of artifacts favor Western museums when in reality, artifacts need stable climactic conditions to remain preserved- the precise temperature and humidity are less important. While several museums have begun to return artifacts to their home countries, the recent news with the Benin Bronzes illustrates how this is a complex question.<sup>28</sup> There is no singular protocol that can or should be applied and so several countries are taking their own approaches to their lost artifacts and how they should be presented moving forward.<sup>29</sup>

In the book, *The Metabolic Museum*, by Clementine Deliss, she writes about how artifacts and artworks collected from colonized areas have only been collected as representations of the cultures they were taken from. She notes that artist names are not saved or presented which shows the difference in treatment of these pieces to that of Western artists/makers. In her time working at the Frankfurt Weltkulturen Museum, Deliss attempted to develop a new approach to curation that was more dynamic and critical rather than a static archive of objects.<sup>30</sup>

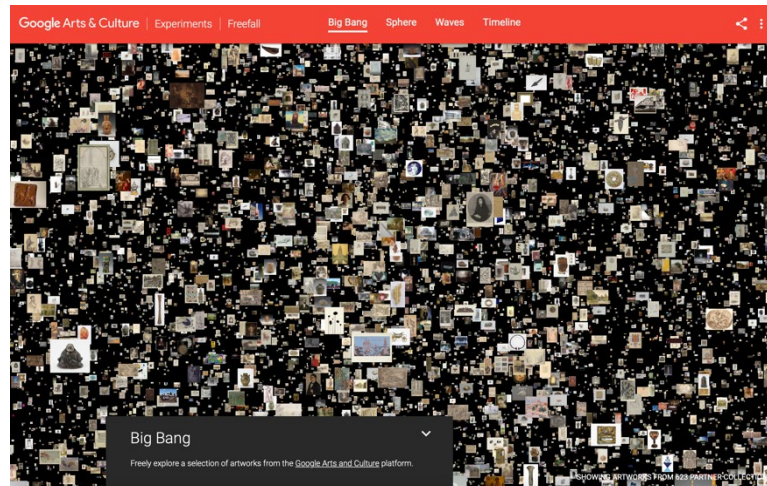


Figure 5. *Free Fall*, Cyril Diagne & Nicolas Barradeau, Google Arts and Culture Experiments, 2017. (image credit Diagne & Barradeau for Google Experiments)

This is where extended realities can play a strong role for museum artifacts, providing a fuller context and experience for each object that can re-establish symbolic values. Museums have begun to create digital archives which can produce more access and interactive methods of working with collections. Google Arts and Culture and subsequent projects such as *Free Fall*<sup>31</sup> produce digital access to art and culture. Initiatives such as Yorescape<sup>32</sup> provide education tools that demonstrate archeology and curation in VR to encourage interactive learning. However, the question remains: what gets collected and why?

### Collecting and Curating in VR and Their Significance

Historically, collections have served an important role in shaping history, cultural knowledge, and identity. However, they have also implemented destructive processes that have insensitively separated the artifact from its culture and context. VR and extended reality more generally, have the potential to re-examine how collections come to be and to generate unprecedented forms of engagement that can be accessible worldwide while democratizing the role of the curator. Additionally, as VR does not need to follow the laws of physics present in reality, different connections can be made that generate knowledge. VR does not need to be planimetric, it can operate through ideas of ‘the portal,’ or the overlap<sup>33</sup> which produces opportunities for discourse in the same way that VR from antiquity produced forums for discourse.

With VR, the process of assigning value to objects can once more become a collective endeavor where the objects are intimately tied to narratives and cultural significance. This allows for a rethinking of the role of the curator as a convener bringing together diverse cultural perspectives that are respectful of the artifacts’ origins. The stories and the subjective and collective experiences are as much collected as the objects themselves, no longer separating these as has been the practice for several centuries.

### CONCLUSION

Emerging technologies present an opportunity for more participatory approaches to the collection, cataloging, and creation of artifacts that represent cultural identity and historical values. These digital virtual realities invite the public to play a more significant role in curating and preserving the cultural artifacts and places that matter to them. This is gradually taking shape in spaces being designed and hosted on several platforms that are created by the public and represent the ideologies and aspirations

of their creators. Within these spaces, artifacts take on a new meaning, sometimes representative of real-life objects, other times amalgamations or recreations of objects that give them a new value but equally represent our current society.

This is relevant because, like other representational mediums, contemporary digital realities reflect the cultural conditions of today. They provide a different medium that acts as a tool for discourse and the production of knowledge that can be more collective, accessible, and democratic.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Stephan Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium* (Zone Books, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> Morton Heilig was working on multisensory simulated experiences and head-mounted displays, developing the Sensorama from 1957-62.

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.spatial.io>

<sup>4</sup> <https://monaverse.com>

<sup>5</sup> In an AR project completed by Tatjana Crossley, Garvin Goepel and George Guida, in 2022 for the Lisbon Triennial, the designers worked with Dark Matter University to rethink how the information supplied by a decentralized network of architects and educators could be accessed by the public in an interactive way. Tatjana Crossley, Garvin Goepel & George Guida, "Augmenting Beyond the Physical: DMUConstellation, a Mixed Reality Exhibition Experience that Promotes Participatory Engagement and Distributed Access," *Proceedings of the Future Technologies Conference (FTC) 2023*. Ed. Kohei Arai. (Springer Nature, 2023).

<sup>6</sup> David J. Chalmers, *REALITY +, Virtual Worlds and the Problems of Philosophy* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2022), xvi-xvii.

<sup>7</sup> This is similarly a topic discussed by cognitive and neuro scientists such as Patrick Cavanagh, who co-founded the Vision Sciences Lab at Harvard and Francisco Varela, who proposed the concept of 'enactive perception'. This concepts states that our perceptual experiences are not passive reflections of the external world. Perception is an active process where the senses and cognition interact with the environment in order to produce a subjective experience of the world. Francisco J. Varela, Eleanor Rosch and Evan Thompson, *The Embodied Mind, Cognitive Science and Human Experience* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992).

<sup>8</sup> Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> He goes on to discuss the consequences of simulacra in producing spectacle that renders everything meaningless. The paper however rethinks the value of the simulacra and asserts that there is still knowledge produced even by pure simulacrum that presents collective understandings about society and culture.

<sup>10</sup> Heinrich Wölfflin, "Prolegomena to a Psychology of Architecture," *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics* (Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 151.

<sup>11</sup> Jean Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness* (London: Routledge, 1996).

<sup>12</sup> Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1992).

<sup>13</sup> Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 97.

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Grosz, "Cyberspace, Virtuality and the Real: Some Architectural Reflections," *Architecture from the Outside Essays on Virtual and Real Space* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 89.

<sup>15</sup> Grosz, "Cyberspace", 89.

<sup>16</sup> Grosz, "Cyberspace", 90.

<sup>17</sup> Jacques Lacan "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the I Function as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience," *Ecrits* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 75-81.

<sup>18</sup> Oliver Grau, *Virtual Art: From Illusion to Immersion* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003).

<sup>19</sup> Important to emphasize, these forms of representation are not constrained to photorealistic or linear perspectival methods that Western contexts have associated with realism. In fact, in Western contexts, before linear perspective, more atmospheric perspectival methods were used and, in Eastern contexts, different hierarchical systems and representational methods were and still are used to signify depth and value.

<sup>20</sup> Bettina Bergmann & I. Victoria, "The Roman House as Memory Theater: The House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii," *The Art Bulletin*, 76.2, 225-256.

<sup>21</sup> Ancient methods of memory are discussed by Frances Yates in *The Art of Memory* (Bodley Head, 2014).

<sup>22</sup> Nikolaus Dietrich, "Spatial Dimensions in Roman Wall Painting and the Interplay of Enclosing and Enclosed Space: A New Perspective on Second Style." (*Arts Journal*, 8(2), 68, 2019).

<sup>23</sup> What might appear to be a simple bowl of fruit actually held many layers of meaning that could relate to ideas of prosperity, the deities, or temporality. For example, in the frescos found at the Villa Livia, we find an oasis with a variety of plants and animals painted. Many of the fruiting trees and animals would not exist together in reality but are depicted as such showing how time, a societal construct in itself, can be compressed to produce this fantastical space.

<sup>24</sup> Hubert Damisch, *The Origin of Perspective* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994).

<sup>25</sup> His work turned to representing his garden after he became disillusioned by French nationalism following antisemitism he witnessed. More can be read about this in: Ross King, *Mad Enchantment, Claude Monet and the Painting of the Water Lilies* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016).



- <sup>26</sup> Bettina Bergmann & I. Victoria, "The Roman House as Memory Theater: The House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii," *The Art Bulletin*, 76.2, 225-256.
- <sup>27</sup> Nikolaus Dietrich, "Spatial Dimensions in Roman Wall Painting and the Interplay of Enclosing and Enclosed Space: A New Perspective on Second Style." (*Arts Journal*, 8(2), 68. 2019), 11.
- <sup>28</sup> Alex Marshall, "Who Owns the Benin Bronzes? The Answer Just Got More Complicated." (*The New York Times*, June 4, 2023).
- <sup>29</sup> Catherine Hickley, "How 4 Countries Are Preparing to Bring Stolen Treasures Home." (*The New York Times*, Aug. 9, 2023).
- <sup>30</sup> Clementine Deliss, *The Metabolic Museum* (Hatje Cantz/KW Institute for Contemporary Art, 2020).
- <sup>31</sup> Cyril Diagne & Nicolas Barradeau, *Free Fall* for Experiments with Google, 2017.  
<https://experiments.withgoogle.com/free-fall>
- <sup>32</sup> <https://yorescape.com>
- <sup>33</sup> The architecture and design practice Space Popular has done research examining the role of the portal in art, literature, and film. They have exhibited this research in several museums. Additionally, their project, The Venn Room, explores the overlaps that can be generated through our existence in virtual reality.

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## INTERMEDIAL FANTASY: THE ARTISANAL WORLDS OF CZECH CINEMA

Author:

**C. BLAKE EVERNDEN**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY, CANADA

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Jonathan Walley's theorization for the term paracinema,<sup>1</sup> (2003) focused on the moving image that "distances itself from medium specificity and focuses [instead] on an *idea of cinema*."<sup>2</sup> What is of note with both paracinema, and in another use of the prefix 'para', para-animation, is that the immersive experience of cinema is often challenged through the foregrounding of artisanal and analogue crafts which emphasize a graphic distinction from reality. This creates a friction of spectatorship by drawing attention to the material construction of these worlds. Czech fantasy cinema has often embraced the artifice of analogue cinematic construction through intermediality,<sup>3</sup> drawing attention between so-called "interior and exterior worlds,"<sup>4</sup> and allowing the spectator reflexive distance to appreciate these fantastical creations for their craft alongside narrative immersion. Concerning the photographic, Laura Mulvey spoke of uncanny feelings of confusion which were aroused "between animate and inanimate" representations. As Mulvey describes, this phenomenon is "often experienced as a collapse of rationality,"<sup>5</sup> where the artefact essentially ceases to emulate that which it represents. This collapse allows the spectator to instead focus reflexive attention on the intermedial collaboration. In essence, the dual existence of the animate and inanimate, while being regarded by the spectator as existing and not existing at once, supports the uncanny representation of the artefact as both of narrative interest and artistic construct. Acknowledgment of this construct allows the viewer to regard the *facture*<sup>6</sup> of the work, meaning the *signature* of the artists attention. We look at the work as well as *through* the work. This creates what Michele Pierson refers to as "fault-lines of perception"<sup>7</sup> where the spectator is in "active doubt about what they are seeing,"<sup>8</sup> splitting attention between regard and acceptance, often pleasurably so. The dual existence of both the animate and the inanimate, while regarded by the spectator as existing and not existing simultaneously, supports this uncanny representation of the artefact. The fantastic craft of Czech cinema allows for an awareness of these mediations, creating a deeper appreciation for the medial hybridization of the collaborative artistry.

Analogue cinematic techniques never attempt to *convince* of reality, rather they foreground the fantastic deliberately and blur the line between the animate and the inanimate, ultimately creating what would be termed by Mark Player, the "medial uncanny."<sup>9</sup> In "Media-Morphosis," Player highlights an intertextual approach to cinema while detailing Tsukamoto Shinya's "*Tetsuo: The Iron Man*" from 1989, noting that Shinya's style generated a "friction between the 'immediate'", which he noted as the seeming "eradication of mediation", and the 'hypermediate', meaning the "multiplication of mediation."<sup>10</sup> This friction introduced multiple levels of mediation and understanding, as stop-

motion artefacts often mixed with the two-dimensional artisanry of matte paintings, graphically illustrated art direction/set decoration, or marionette-like puppetry, each engaging on a different medial layer and representational interest. This style of filmmaker wishes to create an awareness of the mediation and artisanal detail by foregrounding the craft through deliberately heightened stylistic interests. This is the aesthetic opposite of diegetic absorption, this is *diegetic dissolution*, strangely to the benefit of the cinematic product. The co-existence or shared aesthetic experience between live action and animation, or live action and other representational animated or inanimated forms, creates a tension between “conceptions of what could be termed as the *rational* and the *uncanny* within media.”<sup>11</sup> Player coined the term “medial uncanny” which engages a tension between seemingly incongruous design elements, but also through the cinematic apparatus itself. The *rational*, or in this instance the *photographic*, the accepted reality effect, is at odds with elements which seem out of place and yet live *within* that space. Eisenstein regarded animation simply in that if it moves, its alive, and so these incongruous elements live even though our rational understanding of them is ruptured. Comparatively and specifically, these fantastic constructs of Czech fantasy cinema never attempt to convince us they are *rational*, instead they actively battle against it, creating a wholly original, intellectual interest in the study of the artefact while still engaging on a narrative level.

What Czech fantasy cinema showcases is an engagement of multiple media within the same frame. While this is not a unique practice within world cinema, what *is* unique is Czech cinema’s continued interest and practice within cinematic culture. This hybridity of media, or the *intermedial*, “produces an effect of the uncanny by blurring the boundaries between the animate and inanimate.”<sup>12</sup> Laura Mulvey describes this phenomenon as experiencing a “collapse of rationality”<sup>13</sup> or the representation of the “property of the human mind and its uncertainties.”<sup>14</sup> Mulvey reasons that the uncanny is omnipresent through this “collapse of rationality,”<sup>15</sup> which is a perceptual reasoning that goes unexplained or unchallenged as the illusion of cinema is often accepted simply as a recorded reality. The collapse occurs through elements accepted as part of the designed diegetic reality but perceived as inanimate or uncanny through intermedial or hypermedial elements. Mulvey notes that the uncanny in cinema stems from the *photographic index* which often results in the successful illusion of the moving image. “The mechanical, even banal, presence of the photographic image as index takes on a new kind of resonance, touched perhaps by nostalgia [...]”<sup>16</sup> Therefore, in order to convince of a reality, even a fantastic one, there needs to exist a spectatorial index in which to relate the experience to. The *photographic index* convinces when the represented or recreated world resembles our own. As Mulvey states, this effect may be the result of being *touched by nostalgia*, but she is naturally resistant to the opposing view of cinema, that of the magical, dream-like illusion, choosing instead to view the photographic purely through mechanical and scientific function. The resulting interest is in how cinema appears to “animate the inanimate,”<sup>17</sup> as the acknowledged mechanical reality is that cinema is a series of twenty-four still frames projected to convince us of the real, when in reality these are *inanimate* still images existing in the past. They are dead images. As Mulvey states, “the photographic index reaches out towards the uncanny as an effect of confusion between [the] living and [the] dead.”<sup>18</sup>

Ruminating on the photographic, a distinction of the intermedial animated image, or rather the complex analogue marriage through the intermedial uncanny, is that uncanny feelings arouse our perceptual confusion where our experience of hypermediated imagery disturbs our perception of what is animated and what is inanimated. Our understanding of the photographic is such that we perceive imagery as being a record of the real, while the unreal nature of the animated instead reads as being a perceptual fabrication. For instance, the weightless motion and simplified character instances displayed through puppetry, such as in the Czech fantasy film “*Kuky se vraci*”<sup>19</sup> by filmmaker Jan Sverák, illustrated in Figure 1, are regarded as existing within a real space and time due to their

photographed nature, yet the confusion arises through a “sense of disquiet”<sup>20</sup> as uncanny feelings arise by what is perceived as unreal or inanimate. Suzanne Buchan notes how “the understanding of the animated illusion (of a world) depends strongly on how this illusion relates to [our] lived experience of reality (our world).”<sup>21</sup> Puppets pose as tangible objects operating within real sets, but what happens in between is that “the movement, gestures and dramatic events do not occur [within] real time and space.”<sup>22</sup> Laura Ivins-Hulley compares the experience of puppet integration to more traditional animation, stating: “We know if the character is hand-drawn, the action onscreen cannot be literal. [As well] we know the puppet is not actually alive ... it is manipulated by a human to give it the appearance of literal action. [The] animation [of a] three-dimensional object [is a] performance [that] carries a paradoxical indexicality: the puppet tangibly exists outside the film, but its movement does not.”<sup>23</sup>



Figure 1. Puppetry through real-world photography.

Sean Cubitt views animation as conceptually “distinct from photography, [where] ‘photographic frames reproduce, but animated frames produce.’”<sup>24</sup> Cubitt’s distinction is important as it relegates our perception and interest in animation as different from the photographic.<sup>25</sup> Animation isn’t recorded as a past occurrence or a reproduceable event, rather the creation of the animated image through controlled mediation, or often intermediation, is a unique form that breaks or bends the phenomenological interests of cinema. Likewise, perceived three-dimensions of cinema which are rationalized through the cinematographic process with movement along the z-axis, are confused when an artist such as Karel Zeman uses deliberately flattened and graphically simplified production design elements, displayed in works such as “*Invention for Destruction*”<sup>26</sup> (Figure 2) and “*Journey to the Beginning of Time*”<sup>27</sup> (Figure 3). This integration jars and disjoints the movement of perceived photographically real characters passing through a seeming flattened, inanimate realm. Our perception of the animate and inanimate is not tied to post-processed animated procedures, but rather pushed and pulled away from the photographic to allow our perception of each element to be reasoned separately. The term “animateur”<sup>28</sup> was coined by Paola Voci, characterized by a liminality and intersectionality which is crucial to the discussion of how Czech fantasy cinema acts upon the audience. Animateurs are seen to work within a hybrid of analogue techniques, bridging already existing interests in the theatrical with the cinematic, including aspects of the “magic lantern show, puppetry and shadow play.”<sup>29</sup> “Para-animation”<sup>30</sup> is a term proposed by Voci which alludes to the addition or continuation of animation, distinctive due to its liminality or its in-between nature.

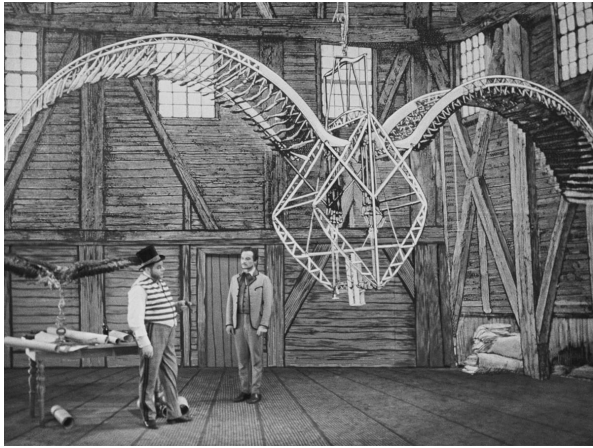


Figure 2. Graphically flattened production design.



Figure 3. 2D animation with photographed reality.

Para-animation style deliberately pushes back against the three-dimensionality of the cinematic image but pays ironic attention to the fact that cinema is merely the illusion of three-dimensions in what is an inherently two-dimensional artform. In “*Surviving Life*”<sup>31</sup> Jan Svankmajer crafts visual dialogues between subconscious imaginings rendered through jagged and cut photographic disruptions, illustrated in Figure 4, which are indexed to our photographic reality, signified, and represented through traditional photographic means, but are now distanced through alien, *othered* movements. These disconnected exaggerations of physicality and expression act purely through the two-dimensionally represented plane. This flattening of the world is even plays along the z-axis of the frame while continually disregarding or highlighting the para-animated inability of characters to change direction within the frame, always playing to the fore or back of the represented image or character. This deliberate flatness and resisted cinematic depth are foregrounded while the perception of the animate is one of cut apart magazines or indexed photographic realities that have been distanced from one part of our reality through their animated aesthetic, but yet are tethered to the cinematic real because of their accepted photographic elements and narrative reasoning.



Figure 4. Cut animations indexed to photographic reality.

Robert Weine’s “*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*”<sup>32</sup> crafted one of the more influential hypermedial and intertextual narrative treatments, introducing a two-dimensionality of set design to an already two-dimensional medium, illustrated in Figure 5, challenging the viewer to regard the cinematic world as

flat and hyper-stylized. These destabilizing notions of reality, crafting the notion of “representational instability,”<sup>33</sup> was cited by Siegfried Kracauer in his analysis of the work as breaking the cinematic viewing form, allowing us to view multiple mediums and multiple representations at once.<sup>34</sup> This rupture of the cinematic frame allows for what we could term *slippage* between a variety of representative media, choking the perceived world into a framed reality much like one would be challenged by viewing a two-dimensional, framed painted artwork. The works are presented to us, framed, regarded, and curated, just as the extra-diegetic proscenium frame of the cinematic screen does. The intermedial creates a disconnect in our absorption of the diegetic world allowing us to regard these constructed images. A crisis of perception is created when the illusion of movement or reality is fractured, confusing or challenging the viewer to perceive the world in multiple forms at once.



Figure 5. Two-dimensional design within two-dimensional cinematic medium.

Richard J. Murphy’s term “representational instability” was coined by pointing towards this slippage between diegetic absorption and aesthetic distance. This slippage undermines our understanding of the representational imagery that the photographic presents to us, so instead we regard it as both something real and something fantastic at once. The uncanny or the “medial uncanny” results from “subversions of the medial,”<sup>35</sup> the uneasy aesthetic fusion of a myriad of artistic representations and cinematic movement studies. Murphy sees a crisis of phenomenality<sup>36</sup> in analyzing Kracauer’s work regarding *Dr. Caligari*, stating that this crisis is created when the phenomenon of cinema is broken with the introduction of deliberate theatricality and overtly flat representations of the world, becoming subject to a “destabilizing process that resists fixity and logical ‘framing.’”<sup>37</sup> The cinematic signifier, or even the *photographic index* as indicated by Mulvey, our tether to understanding perceived recreations in front of us, begins to instead recall that of a two-dimensional figure on a projected screen rather than an immersive world. The viewer is challenged to view the film reflexively and engage in a discourse of construction, to appreciate the surface and the facture, the fingerprint of the artisan within the image, while also engaging with the cinematic reality and narrative direction. With the reality effect destabilized, our unconscious readiness to drift into the cinematic world shifts with each analogue or intermedial inclusion.

Werner Wolf’s “intermediate framework”<sup>38</sup> explored the notion of *media types* as signifiers as an addition to the cinematic signifier.<sup>39</sup> This indicates is that types of media themselves, in the case of artisanal or analogue methods such as those utilized by Czech fantasy filmmakers, each signify a

variation on reality. They are all tethered to the real but their *use* of the real varies. Our increased understanding of these representational aesthetics allows us to access these signifiers and continue this phenomenological discussion. Player notes that this framework allows a challenge to what could be described as “medium specificity.”<sup>40</sup> Considering that all these aesthetic variations and fantastic representations of reality are couched within one essential medium, cinema, the notion of an intermedial construction within this alpha medium raises fascinating spectatorship notions. The viewer is able to consider, deconstruct, reconstruct, and be enveloped within the medial uncanny as our perceptions and appreciations engage the aesthetic mind on multiple planes concurrently. As stated, the “medial uncanny” cannot exist without a sense of “medial rationality,”<sup>41</sup> meaning that this fantastical extension is allowed *because* of our previous experiences, understanding the rational and its referent in order to make room for the uncanny. Particular attention needs to be paid to the medial nature of the uncanny here, as well as to the hypermedial and intermedial nature of these images and collaborations. The medial uncanny draws attention to that which *isn't* rational, and so this intermedial collaboration is one that exists *because of* and *in spite of* this marriage of medial interests, and the multiplication of medial interests extends the analogue cinematic illusion even further. Czech fantasy cinema embraces each one of these medial natures, never trying to convince of a rational world but rather exploring the uncanny and analogue distance of the crafted world while layering an artistic and aesthetic appreciation for the facture of constructed worlds and constructed cinema. The filmmakers appreciate of the malleability of this artisanal artform and remain in conversation with the audience to underline the medial fantastic. This is an art show, a museum exploration and cinematic practice rolled into reflexive and reverential explorations of narrative interest.

Ágnes Pethő suggested two possible methods for reading cinematic intermediality. First, she looked to the “sensual mode” which considers the intermedial to have tactile, synesthetic qualities resulting in what she deemed “a cinema that can be perceived in terms of music, painting, architectural forms and haptic textures.”<sup>42</sup> An argument can also be made for Pethő’s second method, the “structural mode,” where the structure of the cinematic image is fractured or fragmented, regarded separately, akin to watching multiple aesthetic or medial representations at once. This kind of “intermedialization” may create a level of “diegetic reflexivity,”<sup>43</sup> where the construction of the cinematic world is regarded from the outside, appreciated because of its rejection of absorptive qualities.<sup>44</sup> This is the essential phenomenological and intellectual interest in artisanal, analogue crafted fantasy cinema, that we are engaged on so many aesthetic and perceptual levels simultaneously that it challenges the age-old discussion of how cinema acts upon us as both spectators and cineastes. Do we slip into a dream-like state such as philosopher Jean-Louis Baudry once considered,<sup>45</sup> or do we regard the experience of cinema through the film auditorium as phenomenological space, as Tiago de Luca suggested.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps instead we’re deeply involved in this medial uncanny slippage where our conscious and unconscious perceptions drift between one another in a perceptual magic trick akin to the original zoetrope design, where our appreciations fall both *on* the image and *between* the images. Laura Mulvey called attention to the idea of “film time,”<sup>47</sup> noting that a medium-specific rupture occurs between the medium and the illusion as the real time illusion is rendered through the “inscription of the image onto still frames.” This experience is versus what she refers to as “cinema time,”<sup>48</sup> where the temporal aesthetic perception is rendered by what she refers to as a *movie*. The visual inclusion of analogue artisanal aspects which deliberately push away from the real creates a friction of spectatorship as this embrace of artifice alters what must become accepted as real, or as “cinema time.” These intermedial inclusions bridge the aesthetic divide between the photographic and the animated, manifesting *fault-lines of perception* and drawing attention to the facture of the cinematic artists. The narrative now becomes regarded for both the cinematic immersion within a diegetic reality but also for an aesthetic appreciation of the artifice and craft of the unreal elements,



the inanimate, that are reluctantly becoming accepted as real. Film editor Walter Murch furthered this discussion by looking to image continuity, detailing the subconscious nature of the frame as, “each frame [in cinema] is a displacement from the previous one ... the space/time displacement from frame to frame is small enough for the audience to see it as motion within context rather than as twenty-four different contexts a second.”<sup>49</sup> Murch’s distillation of the moving image as the illusion of motion, consisting of essentially single images that happen to be similar in placement that they appear to the spectator as continuous motion, highlights the visual interest of Czech fantasy cinema which pulls at the viewers consciousness and uncanny acceptance of fantastical elements, blurring them into a cohesive whole. Murch further states that, “on the other hand, when the visual displacement is great enough (as at the moment of the cut), we are forced to re-evaluate the new image [in] a different context.”<sup>50</sup> This continual dissection of the moving image illuminates how analogue additions to the frame confuse and re-evaluate the image as something both real and perhaps *more than* real at once. Phenomenologically, the spectator experiences the frame differently, recognizing the real and its referent, while also making room for the uncanny. A marriage of sorts between the real and the unreal, the animate and the inanimate.

The concept of “handmade cinema”<sup>51</sup> or “process cinema”<sup>52</sup> underlines the craft of animation and one can see these interests within Czech fantasy cinema. This is not just considered through interactions of the physical with the animated through age-old cinematic techniques, but rather in modern forms that emulate the deliberately archaic movements and shuddering, flattened worlds of the traditionally animated and the facture of the artisanal artforms. Tom Gunning noted the nature of handcrafted or handmade cinema as moving “away from the index”<sup>53</sup> in a phenomenological sense, indicating that these images are no longer tied to the real or the representation of the real. However, an index of reality is not necessarily predicated on the appearance of the photographic real. Rather it’s predicated on movement, on imperfect representation, and on intermedial qualities of the uncontrolled visual interests that ultimately confuse and enchant the spectator to view the fantastical as not an index of the real, but what was created *within* the real. Our phenomenological experience of these images’ ties into our understanding of what is physical, what isn’t perfect, the facture and the mistakes cueing us into either the artisanal interest of these fantastical works, or to their relation of it. As fantasy cinema moves further into the 21<sup>st</sup> century and often exists within an entirely digital or virtual space, retaining an index to the real is essential for narrative immersion and the artisanal interests of Czech fantasy cinema have consistently paid homage through their distinct visual designs, resonating with viewers as both emotionally engaged cineaste spectators, and as arbiters and appreciators of the continued craft of analogue cinema within these fantastic realms.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The term ‘paracinema’ is offered as a label for subcultural interests or rarities having value beyond the norm. Jeffrey Sconce wrangled the term to closely associate with a “counter-aesthetic turned subcultural sensibility” (Sconce, p.372), particularly relevant to cult objects or trash cinema. Jonathan Walley instead uses paracinema to refer to an “idea of cinema” (Voci, p.29) distinct from the norm of traditional cinematic experience.

<sup>2</sup> Paola Voci. “Para-Animation in Practice and Theory: The Animateur, the Embodied Gesture and Enchantment.” *Animation: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 18, no. 1 (2023): 29.

<sup>3</sup> Mareike Sera connects ideas of intermediality with modes of expression, such as puppetry, theatre, cinema, and object animation. The interest in exploring the nature of intermediality, particularly as it relates to puppetry, is in considering what she refers to as “inner and outer worlds” (Sera, p.39), relating to the spectator’s relation to the narrative unfolding before them. Sera’s analysis specifically relates to Czechoslovakian filmmaker Jan Švankmajer’s *Don Šajn* (1970), examining how the puppet can bridge these worlds in communication with its audience.

<sup>4</sup> Mareike Sera. “Jan Švankmajer’s *Don Šajn* (1970): Puppets as Intimate Objects.” *Animation: an interdisciplinary journal* 13, no. 1 (2018): 42.

<sup>5</sup> Mark Player. “Media-Morphosis. Intermediality, (Re-)Animation and the Medial Uncanny in Tsukamoto Shinya’s *Tetsuo: The Iron Man* (1989),” *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae. Film and Media Studies* 12, no. 1 (2016): 174.

<sup>6</sup> The idea of facture was discussed in Walter Benjamin’s examination of the mechanical reproduction of art, as well as by Patrick Maynard regarding “pictorial perception” and the reading of artworks. In both instances the concept of facture was regarded as the elusive signature of original craft, such as “distinguishable lines and strokes” (Maynard, p.162) which cue the spectator as to expressive interests.

<sup>7</sup> Michele Pierson’s interests lies in how the three-dimensional illusion works upon our standard perceptions of reality. Using Ken Jacob’s *Shadow Plays*, her interest in ‘fault-lines’ lies in our ability, or inability, to navigate between two-dimensional and three-dimensional spaces, even perceived spaces, beyond existing in three-dimensional realms. This confusion of dimensionality allows for our perception to be confused, leading to fault-lines in our ability to reason.

<sup>8</sup> Michele Pierson. “Where Shadow Play Is Cinema: The Exhibition and Critical Reception of Ken Jacobs’s *Shadow Plays* in the 1960s and 1970s.” *Film history* (New York, N.Y.) 29, no. 3 (2017): 40.

<sup>9</sup> Mark Player’s term for the “medial uncanny” (Player, p.170) refers to subversions of mediatization by fusing a variety of media in the interests of one artistic illusion. What this creates is an uncanny representation of the narrative world where the spectator maintains a separation between the rational and the uncanny, while simultaneously being absorbed in the aesthetic exploration before them.

<sup>10</sup> Mark Player. “Media-Morphosis,” 169.

<sup>11</sup> Mark Player. “Media-Morphosis,” 170.

<sup>12</sup> Steven T. Brown. *Tokyo Cyberpunk: Posthumanism in Japanese Visual Culture* 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 93.

<sup>13</sup> Mark Player. “Media-Morphosis,” 174.

<sup>14</sup> Laura Mulvey. *Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image*. (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 55.

<sup>15</sup> Mark Player. “Media-Morphosis,” 174.

<sup>16</sup> Laura Mulvey. *Death 24x a Second*, 31.

<sup>17</sup> Laura Mulvey. *Death 24x a Second*, 31.

<sup>18</sup> Laura Mulvey. *Death 24x a Second*, 31.

<sup>19</sup> Jan Sverák., et al. *Kooky (Kuky se vrací)*. Magic Box, 2010.

<sup>20</sup> Mark Player. “Media-Morphosis,” 174.

<sup>21</sup> Suzanne H. Buchan. “The Quay Brothers: Choreographed Chiaroscuro, Enigmatic and Sublime.” *Film quarterly* 51, no. 3 (1998): 17.

<sup>22</sup> Suzanne H. Buchan. “The Quay Brothers:,” 21.

<sup>23</sup> Laura Ivins-Hulley. “The Ontology of Performance in Stop Animation.” *Animation Studies*, (August 10, 2012): <https://journal.animationstudies.org/laura-ivins-hulley-the-ontology-of-performance-in-stop-animation/>.

<sup>24</sup> Sean Cubitt. *The Cinema Effect* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2004), 92.

<sup>25</sup> An idea originally framed by Sean Cubitt in the interest of highlighting the ephemeral nature of animation compared to the photographic. This was an extension of Lev Manovich’s idea that animation’s “visual language is more aligned to the graphic than to the photographic,” (2000, p.177) while Cubitt and Frank’s ultimate interest was in the perceptual confusion that animation carries in the appearance of being both photographed and alive within animation simultaneously.

- <sup>26</sup> Karel Zeman., et al. *Invention for Destruction (Vynález zkázy)*. Criterion Collection, 1958.
- <sup>27</sup> Karel Zeman., et al. *A Journey to the Beginning of Time (Cesta do praveku)*. Criterion Collection, 1955.
- <sup>28</sup> Paolo Voci's conceptualization of 'animateur' is in reference to a style of animator that carries "hybrid genealogies" (Voci, p.25) in marrying analogue practices, puppetry, shadow play and the digital, to create a new working craft that furthers the perceptual confusion of animation and practical arts. This leads Voci towards a follow-up concept, that of "para-animation."
- <sup>29</sup> Paola Voci. "Para-Animation in Practice and Theory:," 23.
- <sup>30</sup> 'Para-animation,' much like the previous instance of 'paracinema,' is in reference to an "alternative idea of animation" (Voci, p.26). Unlike 'animateur,' 'para-animation' is "based on non-medium-specific expressive modalities" (Voci, p.26), meaning that the greater phenomenological ideas of para-animation are understood as the experience of this new reality, where the artisanal and the technological exist and blur to enchant and perceptually confuse the viewer.
- <sup>31</sup> Jan Švankmajer., et al. *Surviving Life (Prežit svůj život (teorie a praxe))*. Bontonfilm, 2010.
- <sup>32</sup> Robert Wiene., et al. *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari (Das cabinet des Dr. Caligari)*. Kino Classics, 2014.
- <sup>33</sup> In detailing the perceptual illusions of *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (Robert Wiene, 1919), Richard J. Murphy looks to the concept of 'representational instability' as a way of understanding Samuel Weber's original analysis of the uncanny in E.T.A. Hoffmann's original story. Murphy considers the continuing "crisis of perception" which Weber cites as the core idea behind his 'representational instability,' both in terms of thematic treatment and in uncanny design explorations.
- <sup>34</sup> Richard J. Murphy. "Carnival Desire and the Sideshow of Fantasy: Dream, Duplicity and Representational Instability in *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*." *The Germanic Review* 66, no. 1 (1991): 51.
- <sup>35</sup> Mark Player. "Media-Morphosis," 170.
- <sup>36</sup> Richard J. Murphy. "Carnival Desire and the Sideshow of Fantasy," 48.
- <sup>37</sup> Richard J. Murphy. "Carnival Desire and the Sideshow of Fantasy," 50.
- <sup>38</sup> Mark Player's citation of Werner Wolf's concept for 'intermedial framework' serves as, what Player refers to, a "logical continuation to the intertextual" (Player, p.169), underlining how 'medium specificity' can be regarded for pure aesthetic reasons as the medium itself acts as signifier for the spectator's awareness.
- <sup>39</sup> Mark Player. "Media-Morphosis," 169.
- <sup>40</sup> Mark Player. "Media-Morphosis," 169.
- <sup>41</sup> Mark Player. "Media-Morphosis," 184.
- <sup>42</sup> Ágnes Pethő. *Cinema and Intermediality: The Passion for the In-Between* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 5.
- <sup>43</sup> Mark Player's detailing of intermedialization posits the notion of "diegetic reflexivity" (Player, p.170) which could be considered a natural extension of reflexivity proper, where the diegetic construction of the cinematic frame is reflexive. The construction of the medium is drawn attention to in tandem with the narrative interests of that construction.
- <sup>44</sup> Mark Player. "Media-Morphosis," 170.
- <sup>45</sup> Richard Allen. "Representation, Illusion, and the Cinema." *Cinema Journal* 32, no. 2 (1993): 21.
- <sup>46</sup> Tiago de Luca. "Slow Time, Visible Cinema: Duration, Experience, and Spectatorship." *Cinema Journal* 56, no. 1 (2016): 25.
- <sup>47</sup> Laura Mulvey's distillation and distinction between 'film time' and 'cinema time' helps to distinguish aesthetic interests between the diegetic frame and the artisanal construct of the narrative itself. Mulvey refers to 'film time' as "the inscription of an image onto the still frames of celluloid," distinguished from 'cinema time' as "the structure of significance and flow that constitutes the temporal aesthetic of any movie." (Mulvey, 2006. p.30) This distinction regards the cinematic construct through different lenses allowing the "illusion of cinema to be called into question" (Player, p.179) as well as allowing the spectator to regard the construct of the cinematic image and the narrative inscription at once, layering the overall phenomenological interests.
- <sup>48</sup> Laura Mulvey. *Death 24x a Second*., 30.
- <sup>49</sup> Walter Murch. *In the Blink of an Eye: a Perspective on Film Editing* 1st ed. (Beverly Hills, Calif: Silman-James Press, 1995), 6.
- <sup>50</sup> Walter Murch. *In the Blink of an Eye*., 6.
- <sup>51</sup> Gregory Zinman. *Making Images Move: Handmade Cinema and the Other Arts* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2020).
- <sup>52</sup> Scott MacKenzie and Janine Marchessault, eds. *Process Cinema: Handmade Film in the Digital Age* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019).

<sup>53</sup> Tom Gunning. "Moving Away from the Index: Cinema and the Impression of Reality." *Differences* (Bloomington, Ind.) 18, no. 1 (2007): 28.

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# **DOLCE & GABBANA PARADES IN THE VALLEY OF THE TEMPLES: COMBINING TRADITIONAL HERITAGE WITH CREATIVE DESIGN**

Author:

**SOUMAYA GHARSALLAH, HOUDA KOHLI KALLEL**

Affiliation:

**KAIROUAN UNIVERSITY, HIGHER INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND CRAFTS, TUNISIA**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Dolce & Gabbana has been parading its collections in "The Concord" Greek temple located in Agrigento, Sicily since July the 7th, 2019. Hence, its Alta Moda (women's) and Alta Sartoria (men's) collections have been consistently inspired by the classical antiquity and the Renaissance.

Besides, this unique experience usually involves four days of extremely immersive experiences targeting highly loyal customers. In this regard, and a few hours before the show, Domenico Dolce asserted: "What is most important is to introduce Customers to an unprecedented experience and to tell them a story. Alta Moda is more than a collection, it's an experience that we are offering to our guests."

Moreover, the setting of the parade allowed for deep immersion in the world of the ancient Greeks as it took place in the Greek Temple of Concord located in Agrigento, south of the island and listed as a UNESCO World Heritage.

In this article, we will adopt a chronological and thematic approach to examine three areas of research:

The first area concerns the history and the initial values of the monument. In This part, we will present the multiple sources of inspiration adopted in the Dolce & Gabbana fashion show ranging from the chronological variety (from classical antiquity to modernism) to the thematic richness (mythology, spirituality, sculpture as art, ceramic decoration, architecture, Greek war orders, warfare tools and weapons).

The second area will focus on the Concord monument as a public heritage site and its transformation from a spiritual, religious, and divine place to a place of artistic exhibition.

The third area of research will focus on the products of the parade as artistic creations in the fields of clothing, footwear, jewelry, and accessories. What is more is that in this area, we will need to answer the following question: How did Dolce & Gabbana incorporate classical elements into the product's design, colors, and materials?

## **THE DOLCE & GABBANA FASHION SHOW: A SUBJECT FOR STUDY**

### **What is the need for such a fashion show?**

Despite the fact that the Dolce & Gabbana brand is Italian, the owners held the show in Sicily, in the Valley of the Temples evoking a Greek identity different from the Roman one. In this way, the brand has transcended its territorial identity and taken on a global cosmic one embracing everyone without exception.

With this kind of fashion show, we're taken to a boundless universe between earth and sky, between gods, heroes, and warriors, between angels and men: There's no specific time or place. We're exceptionally with the Dolce & Gabbana brand, encompassing everyone to achieve globalization in its creations and works of art.

### Why this temple?

Agrigento's Valley of the Temples is one of the best-preserved ancient sites in the world. This tremendous succession of the Greek expansion relics in Sicily with the Mediterranean in the background have been a major source of inspiration for many artists who were keen on the picturesque and pristine vestiges that have survived the vagaries of time and place.<sup>1</sup>

Hence, the show took place in the Concord temple, an ancient Greek masterpiece located in Agrigento, the south of the island.

Agrigento, near Sicily's southern coast, is home to the world's best-preserved archaeological park of Greek temples.<sup>2</sup> Agrigento, ancient Akragas, is considered today a World Heritage Site, and described by the Greek poet Pindar as the most beautiful of all cities.

Founded by the Greek colonists in 580 B.C., it maintained its glory until 406 B.C., when the Carthaginians (led by Hannibal) besieged and ravaged the city, which was home to 20,000 inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> During Roman times, and around the 3rd century BC, Agrigento was experiencing a renewed prosperity until it declined with the arrival of the Byzantines and Christians, who destroyed its pagan temples. The area was eventually abandoned and turned into an archaeological park.<sup>4</sup>

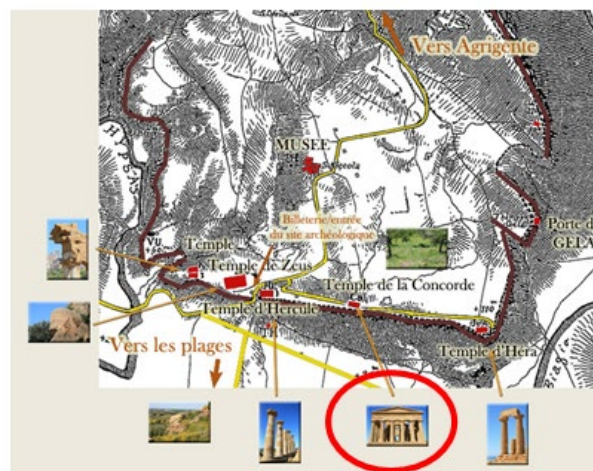


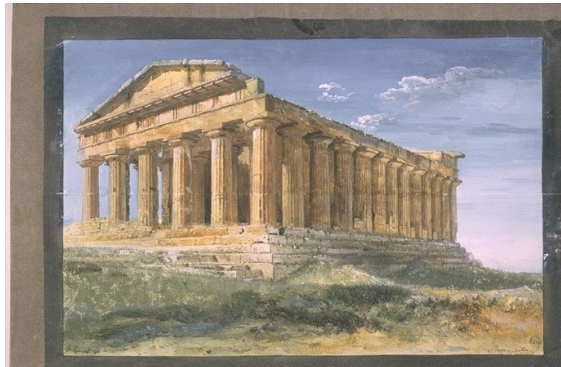
Figure 1. Agrigento's Valley of the Temples

### The description of temple of Concord

The Temple of Concord is one of the oldest and most significant monuments in Agrigento. Built around the middle of the 5th century B.C. by the Greeks and dedicated to Harmonia, the Greek goddess of concord, the temple is located on the hill of the Valle dei Templi which is home to several other ancient temples.<sup>5</sup>

This Doric-style building, with its solid columns and stone walls, features six pillars on the façade and thirteen on the sides. It is also fenced by a wall that was built later in the 4th century BC. Over the centuries, the Temple of Concord was subsequently restored and enhanced on several occasions. In the 3rd century BC, Romans added a portico at the temple entrance and walls around the structure. In the 1st century BC, they added a new façade and further columns. However, the temple was damaged

by earthquakes and invasions over the following centuries. Consequently, it was restored several times, most notably in the 19th century, by the Italian authorities who supported a massive conservation program to preserve the site.<sup>6</sup>



*Figure 2. This Doric-style building features six pillars on the façade and thirteen on the sides.<sup>7</sup>*

What is more is that the Temple of Concord is an ideal place for meditation and contemplation. Its timeless beauty and peaceful atmosphere make it an auspicious place for reflection and introspection. As such, a visit to the temple would be a unique and memorable experience bringing together history, nature, and spirituality.

### **SOURCES OF INSPIRATION. FROM ANTI-QUEM TO POST-QUEM. FROM CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY TO RENAISSANCE ART**

The multiple sources of inspiration which were adopted in the Dolce & Gabbana fashion show are original and of extraordinary variety: chronological (from antiquity to modernism) and of exceptional thematic scope (mythology, spirituality, sculpture, pottery decoration, architecture: Greek orders, warfare instruments, weapons).

#### **Anti-quem: classical antiquity**

Designers used their own mythology and religion to feature gods and goddesses.

Besides, all the known codes of Antiquity fashion have been displayed from the laurel and flower wreaths, drapes and togas, passing by the dominance of the white and gold fabrics, the sparkling golden jewels, the Greek curls, the revisited warrior helmets, cameos and sandals, coming to the dresses "with red and black figures" paying tribute to the Greek vases: References range from simple prints to sleeves and straps with varying degrees of sophistication. There are also some outfits and hairstyles similar to those of the "Hunger Game" movie, crowned with antique statues and ancient pillars. To conclude, we can say that throughout the parade, we were taken back to the Greek civilization, with its myths, deities, artistic creations, and architectural decorations....

#### **Pottery as a work of draped art**

Dress and costume prints: Greek pottery with red and black figures as sources of inspiration  
Today, pottery is considered a work of art. However, the Greeks used to regard pottery as a relatively small-scale craft. Potters and vase painters were not highly valued, unlike sculptors and painters. Very few painted and sculpted works from this period have been preserved, despite the fact that pottery has been produced in large quantities. In fact, the quasi-industrial production of the Greek pottery led to the discovery of thousands of terracotta utensils in a variety of shapes and designs which escaped destruction when exported throughout the ancient world and buried in tombs.



In view of its sheer number and variety, pottery has become a key source of inspiration, a medium of artistic expression, and even of fashion, in the contemporary period.

Moreover, the originality of the Dolce & Gabbana's collection is further enhanced by a multitude of pleats underlining movement and beauty. Some outfits also feature the prints that have made the collection so successful, and it seems that the designers have chosen to make them an intrinsic part of the brand.



Figure 3. Dress and costume prints: Greek ceramics with red and black figures as sources of inspiration

#### Historical approach to The Greek archaic Attic pottery

In this collection, two types of Greek archaic Attic pottery were introduced. Black-figure pottery: This type of pottery appeared in Athens around 600 B.C., took over the proto-Attic pottery of the 7th century, and lasted until the middle of the 5th century B.C. It soon became an essential part of the Athenian exportations to offshore markets, where it was often produced in large quantities, as in Magna Graecia, Sicily and Etruria.

The black-figure technique was invented in Corinth and characterized by the use of black-painted figures on the red background of the vase with incisions for details, and patches painted in white (especially for female anatomy) or red.<sup>8</sup>

Red-figure pottery: Around 530 and with the tyranny of the Pisistratids, came the Athenian invention of the red-figure technique, developed by the Painter of Andokides. This technique is the reverse of the black figure technique: From now on, patterns will not be applied to the black-painted figures, but within the framework of specific areas framed by a contour line and then by the black glaze covering the entire vase. It is in these areas that the painter, using a brush, will introduce the features aimed at obtaining anatomical or other details, which previously on the black figure, would have been completed with the help of a stylus. This new technique, considerably more flexible, enabled artists to free themselves from the constraints of frontality and, little by little, to represent the human figure from the front, from the side and from behind, while at the same time adding many details that had previously been difficult, if not impossible, to render using engraved lines.<sup>9</sup>

#### **Greek architecture: a highly distinctive form of beauty**

Greek architecture is a highly distinctive form of beauty which is manifested in rectangular plans, columns, and pediments.

Hence, the Greeks sought absolute harmony through optical corrections, but above all through research into ideal shapes. As such, Orders, or architectural arrangements, govern the ornamentation of the various building elements.

Yet, marble was the basic material used by the Greeks, as the hardness of this stone allowed it to be processed with precision.

#### Sculpture as a source of inspiration: Hairstyles crowned with statues

Greek sculpture is one of the most famous and influential art forms of antiquity. It played a pivotal role in the development of Greek culture and exerted a considerable influence on Roman sculpture, as well as on Western art in general.

The following headdress crowned by a sculpture is exhibiting a facade of the Greek Temple of Concord (where the parade was held): Columns are also adorned with Doric capitals and cornices: Thus, we are in the presence of a source of inspiration which is closely linked to the religious monumental architecture.



*Figure 4. A headdress crowned by a sculpture depicting the façade of a Greek temple: columns and cornices (monumental religious architecture)*

#### The Doric order.

The Doric order is the simplest of the three Greek orders. Doric columns are characterized by their flat backed capitals (bare, undecorated), their shafts adorned with 20 flutes and the absence of a base (for the Greek Doric). Hence, the Doric frieze is characterized by its triglyphs and metopes.

What's more is that the Doric order is also the oldest of the Greek orders, appearing in the second half of the 7th century BC.<sup>10</sup>

credits his invention to Doros,<sup>11</sup> son of Hellenos<sup>12</sup> Those who first applied it "measured," says Vitruvius, "the foot of a man, and, finding it to be the sixth part of the height of the body, they applied this shape to the columns: Regardless of the column's diameter at the base, they gave the stem, including the capital, a height of six times this diameter<sup>13</sup>".

With regard to its origins, the prototype of the Doric column is a wooden column topped by a smooth or granular stone which becomes the capital.<sup>14</sup> The earliest Doric columns were very stubby,<sup>15</sup> then became more refined over time. Similarly, the capitals that used to be extremely flat, became more upright and, in the Hellenistic period, barely protruded from the shaft. The elevation of the Doric order is a direct legacy of purely functional wooden architecture: column, architrave on which rest the transverse beams of the framework (protected from humidity by terracotta slabs, metopes and triglyphs, whose alternation gives rhythm to the frieze). All these wooden elements are gradually transposed to stone architecture (ringlets, regula and drops, frieze and mutules on the eaves), where they have only a decorative role.

The following headdress crowned by a sculpture could represent Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love (Venus for the Romans) and the statue of Venus. An ideal Greek beauty.



*Figure 5. A headdress crowned with a sculpture featuring the statue of Venus: an ideal Greek beauty.*

### From hard to soft, draped marble: the Ionic penetrates dress prints

Ancient Greeks invented three architectural styles, or "orders". By defining their shapes and styles, they ensure the harmony of buildings. They can be easily identified by observing the columns of a building, and particularly their capitals, which differ greatly from one style to another. The capital printed on the dress is of the Ionic order. It is scrolled, more complex and ornate. The column shaft is slenderer.

#### The Ionic order

The Ionic order (also known as the Ionic column) is characterized by its scrolled capital, its shaft adorned with 24 flutings and its molded base.

The general character of the Ionic order is one of grace and elegance. According to Vincenzo Scamozzi, it "imitates well-formed plants and trees, and the gravity of matrons and married women". The scrolls of the capital thus copy a braided headdress.<sup>16</sup> The order originated in Ionia; a region of ancient Greece located on what is now Turkey.<sup>17</sup> It appears to have been used primarily for funerary buildings. The date (probably around 560 BC) and place of its discovery are unknown.<sup>18</sup>

Besides, the Ionic order asserts its originality through its capitals. The pure rigor of the Doric capital is contrasted with the suppleness of the lateral volutes.

The latter is also characterized by its highly refined decoration. Indeed, the column and entablature have combined simple architectural structures with decorative elements borrowed from other fields: palmettes, scrolls, lotus flowers decorating furniture, vases, sarcophagi, funerary steles, metal objects...

Dolce & Gabbana's designers have transformed this hard, marble-sculpted marquee into a fine, smooth design printed on draped fabric. This blend of styles is a remarkable innovation.

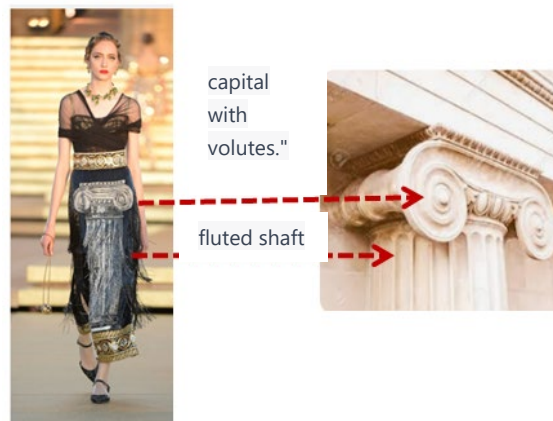


Figure 6. DOLCE & GABBANA have transformed carved marble capital into a fine, smooth design printed on draped fabric.

## OTHER SOURCES OF INSPIRATION

### Weapons and warfare tools as fashion accessories

Whether used for hunting or war, violence or death, weapons become objects of culture. When ancient peoples created solid or complex weapons, they introduced the art of using them and they set the rules for their use; some weapons of prestige; weapons which were signs of identity, others which structured the society of warriors and around which citizenship was built. Several other weapons played a part in legitimizing power and in the liberation act of tyrannicide. Weapons reflected the cosmos and the world of the gods - real weapons or weapons of images and poetry.<sup>19</sup>

We have noted a shift in the function of weapons and tools of war from utilitarian to aesthetic. A mutation from the spiked bullet to a golden-colored bag. Arrows and bows became fashion accessories. As a result, objects once considered weapons or tools of war are now used as accessories or decorative objects.



Figure 7. Objects that were once considered weapons or tools of war are now used as accessories for decoration.

### **Greek mythology: Goddesses and Angels between heaven and earth, between the profane and the rational**

Greek mythology is particularly complex, containing multiple gods and mythical creatures. This complexity is explained by the Greeks' desire to understand their world. Greek heroes are an integral part of mythology. Their importance was crucial to the Greek people, who found in them models and intermediaries with the gods.<sup>20</sup>

Some myths are closely linked to Greek religious architecture. These include the myth of Pythian Apollo, the myth of Zeus and the myth of the confrontation between Athena and Poseidon. These myths are connected to the built environment, i.e., the sacred places and buildings of the three cities to which they refer.<sup>21</sup>

The ancient Greeks are probably one of the civilizations with the most complex mythology. This includes numerous gods, monsters, nymphs and other mythical creators, as well as heroes. Given this importance, we saw goddesses and angels on earth in our Dolce & Gabbana fashion show to live the experience to the fullest.



*Figure 8. All the usual codes of the Antiquity fashion have been summoned: laurel and flower wreaths, draperies and togas, dominant white and gold fabrics, flashy gold jewelry, Greek friezes, revisited warrior helmets, cameos, sandals, etc*

### **Post-quem: Renaissance art**

The Renaissance was a literary, artistic, and scientific movement of the 15th and 16th centuries, inspired by Antiquity. The movement originated in Italy.

With Renaissance painting, Western art reached its peak. The transformation of the world's image by the natural sciences and the great discoveries, religious and political tensions and social unrest were reflected in painting. The real and the ideal, the profane and the sacred, movement and repose, space and surface, line and color were reconciled in a blissful harmony.

The Renaissance has always been admired. Art, culture, and knowledge reached such heights in this period that they continue to be seen as a model of perfection today.

If we look at the masterpieces of Leonardo, Michelangelo, Botticelli or Piero della Francesca, we can't help but be enchanted by the eternal beauty contained there even if five centuries have elapsed since their execution.

The Renaissance is an exceptionally important source of inspiration. It introduces us to the world of fashion, design, and creativity.



*Figure 9. The Renaissance is an exceptionally important source of inspiration. It introduces us to the world of fashion, design and creativity.*

## CONCLUSION

**The Concord, a public heritage space: from a spiritual, religious, and divine place to an artistic exhibition venue**



*Figure 10. The Temple of Concord: a UNESCO World Heritage site hosting the fashion show*

Initially, the fact that the Temple of Concord was reused for the Dolce & Gabbana fashion show changed its use value. The temple was transformed from a spiritual, religious, and divine public space into a performance space, where fashion designers showcase their artistic creations in an international art exhibition venue. This renovation of use would represent an action of remembrance in the future. At this point, "the past acquires a contemporary value with regard to modern life and creation". By the admiration of the value of antiquity, these secrets of the past have always nourished the attractiveness of the past and the attachment to the buildings of the ancestors.

By admiring the value of antiquity, these secrets of the past have always fueled the appeal of the past and the attachment to the buildings of ancestors.

The Concord has long been a landmark of Greek civilizational identity. It is an exceptionally profound revelation of antiquity. Hence, the monument remains capable of ensuring mediation and cultural as well as social continuity between the present and the past, or between the past and the future.

This dual temporal presence is a source of value, according to Riegl: "...the value of remembrance is not attached to the work in its original state, but to the representation of the time that has passed since its creation".

With the Dolce & Gabbana fashion show, a new dimension of the Temple of Concord can emerge. The artistic value of the historic monument makes it the subject of many artistic interpretations, both in its original historical context and in later times. In fact, this value serves as a bridge between the past and the future. We are therefore faced with two values: "novelty " and "relative art", according to Riegl's value theory.

Finally, through art and design, through creation and innovation: the monument rises from its silence, its stagnation, its eternal death to live again, and becomes a vibrant public monumental site where mute, stable marble statues are transformed into moving, lively mannequins. Colors, lights, draped fabrics, women, and men; They are all moving, theatricalizing the space. Once the exhibition is over, the statues return to their places, silence covers the monument again and the lights go out. We're in our temple of Concord.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Franco De Angelis, *Archaic and classical Greek Sicily: a social and economic history* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 72-73.
- <sup>2</sup> Agrigento, *Britannica Encyclopedia*, 2006.
- <sup>3</sup> Trudy Ring; Salkin, Robert M.; Boda, Sharon La, *International Dictionary of Historic Places: Southern Europe*, 1st January 1994.
- <sup>4</sup> John Everett-Heath, "Agrigento", *Concise Dictionary of World Place - Names*, Oxford University, 2005.
- <sup>5</sup> Michael J. Bennett; Paul, Aaron J.; Iozzo, Mario, *Magna Graecia: Greek Art from South Italy and Sicily*. Hudson Hills, 2002, 43-46.
- <sup>6</sup> Franco De Angelis, *Archaic and classical Greek Sicily: a social and economic history* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 115.
- <sup>7</sup> Jean-Pierre, *Remains of the Temple of Concord in Agrigento*, Graphic Arts Department, INV 27163, Recto.
- <sup>8</sup> Andres M. Michel Py, Adroher Auroux, Pere Castanyer, Enric Sanmartí, Joaquim Tremoleda, *Black-figure Attic pottery*, *Lattra* 6, 1993, 90- 102.
- <sup>9</sup> Andres M Michel Py, Adroher Auroux, Pere Castanyer, Enric Sanmartí, Joaquim Tremoleda, *Black-figure Attic pottery*, *Lattra* 6, 1993, 103- 116.
- <sup>10</sup> Marie-Christine Hellmann, *Greek architecture*, Paperback, Paris, 1998.
- <sup>11</sup> Vitruve and André Dalmas (scientific publisher), (translation from the Latin by Claude Perrault), *Architecture: The Ten Books of Architecture*, 1673, revised and corrected on the Latin texts, Paris, Balland, coll. "Viewer's Point of View", 1965.
- <sup>12</sup> Vitruvius, *The Ten Books of Architecture*, 1st century B.C.
- <sup>13</sup> Dem, 349.
- <sup>14</sup> In Olympia, Pausanias, a 2nd-century traveler saw original wooden columns from the temple of Hera in Olympia that are still in place.
- <sup>15</sup> First temple of Aphaia in Aegina.
- <sup>16</sup> Margherita Azzi-Visentini, Citadelles and Mazonot, " *Leathers and cartridges*", in *Decorative Art in Europe: Renaissance and Mannerism*, 352.
- <sup>17</sup> Asia Minor.
- <sup>18</sup> Olivier Rayet, *Ionic architecture in Ionia: the temple of Apollo Didymean*, ed. Imprimerie J. Claye, 1876, 2.
- <sup>19</sup> Pierre Sauzeau, Thierry van Compernelle (Dir.). *Weapons in Antiquity: from technique to imagination*. University Press of the Mediterranean, 2007, 691.
- <sup>20</sup> Louise Zaidman, "The Greeks and Their Gods," U Series, Paris, Armand Colin Publishers, 2005, 197.
- <sup>21</sup> Jacob Bernier, Alexis Boisvert, Lucia Dardon Rojas, Cédric Duchaineau, Neven Kopcok, Sarah Proteau, William Roy, and Stéphane Vigneault: "The Greeks and the Divine," *History and Civilization Files No. 1*, 2019, 5.

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# ENGAGING DIFFICULT HERITAGE: STRATEGIC DESIGN COMPETITION FOR PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Author:

**I-WEI WU, WEI-HSIU CHANG**

Affiliation:

BRANDENBURG UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, GERMANY; INDEPENDENT RESEARCHER, TAIWAN.

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## INTRODUCTION

In 1987, the Chinese Nationalist Party-led Republic of China (ROC) regime, which had retreated from mainland China to Taiwan in 1949, having been defeated in the Chinese Civil War, ended its 38-year rule of martial law. To date, the history of authoritarianism and the spaces created under it have been examined from various perspectives. These spaces include the Chiang Kai Shek Memorial Park, opened in 1980 in honour of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek who died in 1975. Debates surrounding the spatial transformation of the C.K.S. Memorial Park and attempts at interventions reflect post-authoritarian society's quest for healing, dialogue and even reconciliation.

The park covers 25 hectares in the heart of Taipei, the capital of Taiwan. Designed by the architect Cho-Cheng Yang, it was built to portray a positive image of Chiang. The park forms an axis that leads visitors to the Memorial Hall, located at the east end of the park. In addition to housing the Memorial Hall, the park includes the Memorial Square, the National Theatre and National Concert Hall. The landscape serves the purpose of honouring Chiang's cult through a design that gloriously depicts Chiang's supreme authority, and the architectural space located therein tells his story from generation to generation.<sup>1</sup>

To date, the site remains a 'must-see' for foreigners coming to Taiwan. Leaving the MRT C.K.S. Memorial Hall station, one can immediately walk into the park. Upon entering, one will soon pass by the National Theatre, where people jog and dance in the granite slab-paved Liberty Square or take wedding photos or selfie salon photos with their friends. The walls surrounding the memorial park take the form of corridors where residents can gather to play board games or escape the summer heat or the rain. The use of each corner by the public forms the daily landscape of the memorial park. Outside the archway (inscribed with the words 'Liberty Square'), one can sometimes see the protests of various groups.

Some have argued that years of democratization efforts and the current spatial appropriation by the public have 'liberalized' the space and it no longer serves an authoritarian purpose. However, for others, C.K.S. Memorial Park is still problematic. Ever since its construction and opening in 1980, the park has undergone transformation. Attempts made to transform the site can be periodized into three phases. The first phase occurred during the lifting of martial law, which was followed by political change in the 1990s. During this period, a number of social movements took place on site, generating a collective memory among people that differs from the officially-constructed cultural memory.<sup>2</sup> The

second turning point was in 2007, when a transition of power took place in central government. The central and local ruling parties used cultural heritage as a means of competing for interpretive sovereignty over the site and at the same time brought about legal protection of the site. The third period began after 2017, when spatial intervention became embedded in the transitional justice policy. Since the park has been a source of contestation due to differing interpretations of the site and its historical significance, the question of how to deal with it is complex, involving identity politics and partisan interests in addition to societal memorial culture.

In July 2022, a design competition called ‘Conceptual Design Competition for the Heart of the Capital: A Vision for Transforming Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Park’ was launched by a panel of spatial experts and funded by the Cultural Ministry. The goal of the panel experts was to open up possibilities for creating new meaning for the park through public participation, and the outcome was a multi-dimensional design experience involving people from various sectors of society. The authors of this study, who participated in organizing the design competition, are interested in applying action research methods involving participant observations to explore the social dialogue generated during the competition. The rationale for this approach is the understanding that heritage is a social phenomenon that involves numerous actors who together decide on the meaning and value of heritage sites. In facilitating people’s involvement in meaning-making, the design competition can be viewed as both a social actor and an organizational strategy.

### **Identity Politics**

The contested nature of the site is intertwined with the historical background of national identity in Taiwan. Recent statistics show that an increasing number of people in Taiwan no longer identify as both Taiwanese and Chinese, but only as Taiwanese.<sup>3</sup> Many of these people feel close to the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), whereas those who identify as both Chinese and Taiwanese share closer ideologies with the nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) party.

After the gradual democratization process that took place in the 1990s and official government documents became open to the public, a variety of perceptions and voices regarding C.K.S. began to emerge. For some people, the park was a negative reminder of a repressive regime. In their view, Chiang was a dictator who should have been held accountable for the historical injustices he perpetrated. Discussions arose regarding changing the site, demolishing the hall or removing the statue. The ideologies of different political parties led to reflection on how to perceive and commemorate C.K.S., leading to discussions that were often dichotomous and conflicting. While the grassroots DPP advocated for the dismantling of Chiang’s legacy, supporters of the KMT resisted this initiative, defending the reputation of the park and the personage it commemorated.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, many remained silent on the matter. Due to these differences among the public and the unwillingness of some to voice their opinion, the question of how to deal with the park began to be labelled as a tool of political struggle, a view that many still hold.

### **Partisan Interests**

The impact of identity politics was specifically demonstrated in 2008 after the first party change when the DPP took power. One of the first major interventions to take place occurred in 2007 when efforts were made to rename the park. Ever since the transition of power from the KMT to the DPP, which occurred in 2000, the transformation of the park had been a subject of interest among DDP Chen Shui-bian’s administration. Attempts had been made to promote transformation at different levels, including organizational adjustment, name changes and spatial transformation, which carried with it the expectation of exhibitions and events.<sup>5</sup> In 2007, on the eve of the 58th anniversary of the issuance of Martial Law in Taiwan, which was also the last year of DDP Chen Shui-bian’s administration,

Chen declared to rename the Hall.<sup>6</sup> Following this statement, a new plaque was installed on the building, inscribed with the words ‘National Taiwan Democracy Memorial Hall’, while the Memorial Square was rededicated to the democratic social movements that took place on-site under the name ‘Liberty Square’ instead of the original inscription ‘Fair and Just (大中至正)’. These changes triggered a heated debate over the significance of the site, and it also led to countermeasures by the KMT-led local government. The Taipei City Government immediately initiated the process of designating the C.K.S. Memorial Park as a cultural heritage site, proposing to register it as a cultural landscape. The Cultural Affairs Council (now the Ministry of Culture), which convened the Cultural Heritage Review Committee, designated the park as a national monument, but with a different intention. They referred to it as ‘Taiwan Democracy Memorial Park’ to ensure the site’s new name, making the park a relatively recent monument.

The spatial intervention at that time, carried out in the absence of social consensus, resulted in further confrontation.<sup>7</sup> The way in which central government used the C.K.S. Memorial Park as a place for ‘displaying’ democracy reflects how the meaning of space has been continually rewritten, with the historical layer and meaning of liberal democracy being selected, extracted and deliberately chosen to become a cultural memory inscribed on objects. After the KMT took back power in 2008, the original name of the site, ‘Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall’, was reinstated. To date, only the name ‘Liberty Square’ remains as attestation to the brief transition. During this entire period, the debate over meaning of the site – whether ‘in memory of Chiang’ or ‘in memory of the history of Taiwan’s democracy’ – rested on the value and scope of cultural heritage and how these were interpreted, an issue that was disputed due to political differences between the central and local governments. The value and meaning of this heritage site have been reconstructed several times over and its cultural significance has been in a state of flux. Current discourse on the value of the C.K.S. Memorial Park as a cultural heritage site emphasises objects that need protection, an emphasis that has become a challenge for transformation.

### **DIFFICULT HERITAGE, TEMPORALITY AND SOCIAL ACTION**

Applying the ethnographic method of data gathering on the Nazi rally grounds in Nuremberg, the anthropologist Macdonald maintained that difficult heritage evokes ‘legacies that trouble collective identities, or those times of evil wrong-doing that did no evident credit to a positive national identity’.<sup>8</sup> In her published paper, ‘Is Difficult Heritage Still Difficult?’ she proposes that the challenges involved in recalling Nazi Germany might be resolved through an act of transparency or self-disclosure along with a commitment to the practice of democratic values in a reunited Germany.<sup>9</sup> The decision to adopt the term ‘difficult heritage’ in this paper reflects the authors’ stance toward the heritage site here discussed and acknowledges the site’s challenges in representing a positive collective identity. Upon initiating the C.K.S. Memorial Park design competition project, the authors became active agents pursuing meaningful outcomes, unlike passive researchers. This active approach involved intentional research to uncover underlying meanings at the site. Departing from the old model that views heritage solely as material, Byrne proposes a new conceptualization of heritage as a form of social action. Referencing Appadurai’s concern that the notion of culture as ‘substance’ implies a regression to an earlier understanding of culture as race, ‘an idea one would have hoped had been transcended’, this paper agrees with the statement that culture is linked to the ‘mobilization of group identities’.<sup>10</sup> Individuals are no longer perceived as passive recipients or mere inheritors of culture. Instead, they are active proprietors and shapers of culture, as Byrne has highlighted.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the concept of ‘future generations’ does not refer primarily to the transmission of substance from predecessors, but to the reinterpretation of this substance by those who will live and experience the future world and thereby evade a static, predetermined state.

In this sense, cultural heritage is a product of active creation rather than mere inheritance. This perspective aligns with the notion of ‘heritage temporality’, which also implies agency and intention, as Wollentz has stated: ‘Temporality is also part of an active strategy when presenting and experiencing heritage. Temporality, just as heritage itself, is therefore always actively produced and negotiated and does not exist neither as inherent nor unchanged within physical sites of heritage’.<sup>12</sup> Exploring difficult heritage and temporality through strategically selected cases from contemporary, medieval and prehistoric contexts, Wollentz reminds us that ‘complexity and dissonance of perspectives should be stimulated and highlighted, not approached as a disturbance’.<sup>13</sup> Only thus can temporality become an integral component of the strategic presentation of heritage and make space for heritage meaning-making through active engagement.

In this paper, the concept of difficult heritage is employed not to draw attention to the nature of dark or contested heritage, but as a strategic way of highlighting its temporality, which previous scholars have also noted. The goal is to explore, through a case study, the possibilities of meaning-making in difficult heritage by leveraging the temporality inherent within it.

## **STRATEGIC DESIGN COMPETITION**

In July 2022, the 'Conceptual Design Competition for the Heart of the Capital: Transforming Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Park' was initiated by spatial experts and funded by the Cultural Ministry in Taiwan. Without taking into account the regulations from heritage preservation or urban planning, the design competition aimed to open up possibilities for developing a new layer of meaning to the C.K.S. Memorial Park through public participation. Accordingly, the briefing for the call for designs stated that ‘designs entered into the competition should cover the following aspects: Fresh Interpretations, Spatial Transformation and New Usage’.<sup>14</sup> Unlike typical architectural competitions, the objective of the design competition in this instance was not to ascertain a practical solution, but rather to ignite conversations and cultivate a transformative vision for the park. In addition to the competition itself, a myriad of events was orchestrated, aiming to engage not only the competition participants but also a wider audience. These events were organised following the announcement of the competition and call for entries. They included 6 on-site tours on different themes, 6 lecture series, 4 design workshops, 2 expert forums, a living library event with former political prisoners of White Terror or their family members, and a thematic film exhibition in collaboration with the Giloo documentary platform. In this way, the competition has functioned as both a social actor and a strategy. By inviting public participation, it has mobilized the silent majority, encouraging those lacking in initiative to generate proposals through visual representations.

### **Promoting Public Participation**

The role of public participation in a design competition can be viewed as a three-dimensional polygon involving the inclusion of diverse actors. Experts who are integral to the competition occupy one facet of the polygon. These are people who are extended invitations to partake in discussions and forums. The jury occupies another facet. In this competition, the jury was comprised of experts in law, architecture, landscape, planning, museum curation, design, art, literature and history. The third facet consists of the design participants – individuals who may not have previously engaged with the issue but now have the opportunity to participate by submitting design proposals. During the Human Library Workshop event, participants had the opportunity to interact with former political prisoners of White Terror or their family members, allowing them to share personal life stories and their perspectives on the park’s transformation. Several scholars from various fields were also invited to deliver online talks. They presented cases of authoritarian pasts and legacies from overseas. Organized on-site tours by Yonghe Community College provided participants with a distinctive

opportunity to explore the park from critical historical and spatial perspectives. These tours offered alternative narratives and illuminated diverse aspects of the historical context, aiming to promote a more nuanced interpretation of history. In addition, design workshops were conducted to assist participants in refining their design concepts.

### **Stimulating Social Dialogue**

Beyond the discussions initiated during these public events, the discourse between design participants and judges has reflected a mutual comprehension of how to approach the site, a discourse that has occasionally taken a critical stance. Additionally, all these processes have been documented and shared on the organizer's YouTube channel, including the jury process.<sup>15</sup> The effort to maximize transparency in the process is a direct response to the unjust design process of the park in 1975. During that time, it was criticized for being a top-down event rather than a fair competition followed by the jury's decisions.<sup>16</sup> The utilization of design graphics enabled an expansive expression of ideas, surpassing the limitations of verbal communication. According to the competition organizer, in the initial phase of the competition, a total of 97 entries from the student category and 45 entries from the open category, including 15 submissions from overseas, fulfilled the submission requirements.<sup>17</sup> While composing this paper, the final selection of 28 works is being exhibited at the Competition Showcase in August 2023.

### **REFLECTIONS WITHIN AND BEYOND THE DESIGN COMPETITION**

The stimulated dialogues within the competition serve as an initial stepping stone for further debate. In an interview with one of the design participants and a selected finalist, Wu-Han Chou, the participant depicted the project as a means to seek individual and collective identity on the island of Taiwan:

This process of creation and research is actually very important to me because I feel that it is helping me to find my identity in Taiwan. [...] This is the identity that we often talk about. But I think there is another part that is very much about my individuality and how I think that individuality can be expressed [through design] in a certain way for [enhancing] the current state of affairs in Taiwan.<sup>18</sup>

In his design, Chou employed an approach distinct from conventional architectural design. Using storytelling, he steered the listener's imagination through changes in the space. For Chou, history proves challenging to incorporate into design due to its multifaceted nature and the subjectivity involved in historical analysis. Consequently, he opts for the storytelling method, with his produced illustrations resembling design diagrams. Despite the occurrence of various public participation events, Chou participated in only one tour and several online seminars that he selected according to his own needs. For him, mere knowledge dissemination is insufficient to fulfil the purpose of the competition. A gap still exists between acquiring knowledge through participation in the events and applying it to the design process, and he thinks it would be more beneficial to facilitate ongoing dialogue centred on the project than disseminate knowledge that may have no practical application. In the interview, he conveyed a sense of constraint throughout the process:

I think the conversation with the jury was an action of the participant and certainly an action of the jury. This is a situation that deserves to be recorded. The interaction I had with the judges might have had an impact on me. However, there might not be an opportunity to further the discussion or continue the debate. [...] What I was expecting was a mechanism that was a bit like a companionship. It wasn't about someone feeding you knowledge. [...] [I expected] a dialogue about the project.<sup>19</sup>

Take a closer look into the final judging process, one of the judges, Cheng-Yi Huang, expressed a concern about the participants' hesitancy to express their own views about the memorial park and engage in open, honest dialogue:

With regard to the transformation of the C.K.S. Memorial Park, some of the works of the student group will [indicate] that they should be designed with a neutral and reconciliation concept. However, in order to transform a site like this, it is necessary to have a [certain] attitude and ideas. Don't use 'neutrality' to cover up your own ideas. When engaging in social issues, we must be honest with ourselves before we can bravely face up to the challenges of society. [...] Reconciliation cannot be forced, or else the unwilling party will be told to swallow it.<sup>20</sup>

While, on one hand, the competition successfully mobilized spatial professionals, on the other hand, it raised thresholds for participation. Although the chairperson emphasized the purpose of invoking imagination through imagery,<sup>21</sup> the competition was constrained mostly by the architectural profession, thereby influencing which ideas could be showcased and openly discussed. The long-standing issue of transforming the park, which has been a source of disturbance for numerous years, underwent discussions at various levels through workshops organized by different parties.<sup>22</sup> This situation also prompted the question of whether progress on the issue has been confined to discourses, lacking tangible advancements. In essence, an expectation existed, and still does exist, that the competition might extend beyond mere imagination and entail actual transformation. When the opportunity for actual transformation comes, is our society prepared for it?

This observation highlights the role of the stakeholders involved in decision-making, specifically the heritage management sectors, which include the Minister of Culture in Taiwan and the Taipei Cultural Affairs Bureau. As mentioned earlier, the transformation of the park is intertwined with partisan politics in Taiwan and the interactions between the central government and local administration. These politics were evident in 2007 when both levels of government were trying to impose different names on the site with distinct interpretations. However, a more positive dialogue between these two tiers of government – and the two factions embroiled in the debate – appears to be emerging. The discussions now taking place extend beyond the competition's scope and involve reactions from authoritative figures. During the competition period, Che Shih, the Minister of Culture in the DPP-led central government, stated the following in a radio interview: 'The tangible transformation of the C.K.S. Memorial Park is indeed unsatisfactory. However, there is at least an intangible consensus on changing the name, which is commonly referred to as depersonalization. I believe that, currently, we have a consensus on this matter.'<sup>23</sup> Two days later, Shih-Ping Tsai, the director of the Taipei Cultural Affairs Bureau in the KMT-led local government, stated in his column:

In Minister Shih's speech, he distinguished between the concepts of 'tangible transformation' and 'intangible consensus'. While there has been limited progress in the tangible transformation over the past decade, there have been advancements in the intangible consensus, specifically regarding the 'depersonalization' and 'name change'. This consensus also suggests a significant potential direction: the preservation of the C.K.S. Memorial Hall, rather than its demolition.<sup>24</sup>

Throughout the execution of the design competition, a range of political considerations emerged among the members, resulting in diverse dynamics regarding the progress of events. In a network, different actors possess differing abilities and inclinations to take action, influence others and achieve goals. One example is that Hechen, the chairman of the design competition jury, took the initiative to initiate a conversation with the officials of the Taipei City Government. This discussion revolved around citizens' daily life in the city and the significant role that the park has played in their social interactions. According to Hechen, it is of paramount importance for the city government to gain a comprehensive understanding of these aspects of the park's significance.<sup>25</sup> However, a contrasting example is the cancellation of the event 'Taipei Mayoral Candidates Forum', which was organized as one of the public events intended to mobilize politics and facilitate discussions. This cancellation stemmed from concerns about the politicization of the competition events.<sup>26</sup> In the case of C.K.S.

Memorial Park, while a definitive solution has not yet been determined, there is currently an ongoing effort to foster an engaged dialogue and reach a consensus.

## **CONCLUSION**

The C.K.S. Memorial Park holds meaning that is consistently being shaped and re-shaped through the perspective of individual and collective experiences both past and present. In this context, effectively engaging with difficult heritage involves mobilizing group identities and embracing the dissonance associated with this heritage. This engagement empowers individuals to actively participate in the process of shaping history, rather than being passive recipients of historical knowledge. However, as indicated by the remarks of one competition judge who anticipated more ‘honest’ reflections from the participants, the view that individuals shape history raises a question: What types of engagement are encouraged and which ones are discouraged throughout the process? And a related question pertains to the tendency to view ourselves as individuals, without regard for our own situatedness. While the contested meanings of the site make space for social dialogue, they may also reflect an attempt to produce a division between the authoritarian past and democratic present and future, or, in other words, a fixed boundary that is more ideational than reality permits.

In this case study, the utilization of temporality appeared to serve the purpose of distancing individuals from an authoritarian past through alterations in architectural manifestations. As a methodological approach, the competition offered opportunities for reflecting on heritage meaning, questioning established narratives of history and exploring alternatives for the future. By examining the perspectives of design participants, the authors also acknowledge that there was room for improvement in terms of events format and design. The design competition approach to stimulate public engagement requires recognition of the diverse dynamics of various actors, and the extent to which the design competition for the future of C.K.S. Memorial Park succeeded in recognizing this diversity remains an open question.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> To visit the Memorial Hall, visitors walk along the boulevard of worship and up a long staircase consisting of 89 steps, which correspond to Chiang's age when he died. The guiding path of the fence wall and entrance, along with the scenic skyline, constitute a journey where travellers are led to look upward to the 6.3-meters-high giant bronze statue of Chiang located in the centre of the Hall. The front archway, inscribed with the Chinese characters 'Fair and Just (大中至正)' in cast bronze, is flanked by 5 entryways, 6 pillars and 11 roofs, designating the highest rank and often used in ancient imperial tombs according to the traditional Chinese architectural classification system. See the architect office of Shiue Chyn, 國定古蹟「臺灣民主紀念園區」調查研究成果報告書 [Report on the survey and research of the National Monument 'Taiwan Democracy Memorial Park']. (Taipei: National Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Management Office, 2014), 125. Unpublished.

<sup>2</sup> Han-Wei Chen, The Diversity of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall: A Study in Meaning Transitions of the Memorial Space. (Unpublished Master's thesis, Department & Graduate Institute of Sociology of National Taiwan University, Taipei: 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Po-hsuan Wu and William Hetherington, Record number identify as 'Taiwanese,' poll finds. Taipei Times, July 5, 2020, National Chengchi University's Election Study Center, accessed June 7, 2023, <https://www.taipetimes.com/News/front/archives/2020/07/05/2003739375>.

<sup>4</sup> Nansen Lin, "大中至正"牌匾完成拆除. [The successful removal of the plague 'Fair and Just'] BBC Chinese.com, December 7, 2007, accessed June 7, 2023, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/chinese/trad/hi/newsid\\_7130000/newsid\\_7132700/7132752.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/chinese/trad/hi/newsid_7130000/newsid_7132700/7132752.stm).

<sup>5</sup> Transitional Justice Commission. 2022. 任務總結報告 [Final Report on Task], Published on 26 May, 2022. Accessed 07 November, 2022, [https://gazette2.nat.gov.tw/EG\\_FileManager/eguploadpub/eg028098/ch01/type7/gov01/num2/Eg.htm](https://gazette2.nat.gov.tw/EG_FileManager/eguploadpub/eg028098/ch01/type7/gov01/num2/Eg.htm), 132.

<sup>6</sup> Chen stated: 'We have decided to remove the culprit of the February 28 Incident and the dictator who issued the Martial Law from the altar, and to officially "rename" the C.K.S. Memorial Hall as the "Taiwan Democracy Memorial Hall".' See The Office of the President ROC Taiwan, 戒嚴 58 周年感言 [Remarks by President Chen Shui-bian on the 58th Anniversary of the enactment of Martial law]. News released on 18 May, 2007, accessed 27 October, 2022. <https://www.president.gov.tw/NEWS/11307>.

<sup>7</sup> According to the Public Opinion Survey on the Renaming or Transformation of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall conducted by The National Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Management Office in August 2008, nearly fifty percent (46.53%) of the respondents agreed that the Taiwan Democracy Memorial Hall should be renamed 'C.K.S. Memorial Hall'; thirty percent disagreed (32.80%) and twenty percent were either unsure or refused to answer (20.59%). In addition, fifty percent (48.07%) agreed that the main plaque should be changed back to the original 'C.K.S. Memorial Hall', whereas thirty percent disagreed (33.99%). See The National Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Management Office, 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Sharon Macdonald, *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond*. Oxford (New York: Routledge, 2009), 6.

<sup>9</sup> Sharon Macdonald, Is 'Difficult Heritage' Still 'Difficult'? (*Museum International*, 2016), 67:1-4, 6-22.

<sup>10</sup> Denis Byrne, Heritage as social action. In G. J. Fairclough, R. Harrison, J. H. Jameson, & J. Schofield (Eds.) (*The Heritage Reader*. 2008), 149-173.

<sup>11</sup> Byrne, 2008, 162.

<sup>12</sup> Gustav Wollentz, *Landscapes of Difficult Heritage* (Palgrave Macmillan: 2020), 39-40.

<sup>13</sup> Wollentz, 2020, 39.

<sup>14</sup> Competition brief, accessed 27 June, 2023. <https://transckspark.tw/competition>

<sup>15</sup> Vipassana Creative Strategies YouTube channel, accessed 27 June, 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/@user-po9ro9xo8j>

<sup>16</sup> FTV News, 中正紀念堂大解密 蔣宋美齡指定「最中國的設計」, Published on 12 January, 2019. Accessed 27 June, 2023. <https://www.ftvnews.com.tw/news/detail/2019112P10M1>.

<sup>17</sup> Competition exhibition, accessed 27 June, 2023. <https://transckspark.tw/exhibition>

<sup>18</sup> Wu-Han Chou, interviewed on 19 June, 2023.

<sup>19</sup> Wu-Han Chou, interviewed on 19 June, 2023.

<sup>20</sup> Cheng-Yi Huang, Facebook post published on 12 March, 2023, translated by the authors. Accessed 27 June, 2023.

<sup>21</sup> Dan Hochen, Taipei, speech on 21 August, 2022.

<sup>22</sup> The Open Discussion Project on the Transformation of the C.K.S. Memorial Park launched by the Ministry of Culture, which conducted over 12 deliberative democratic vision workshops for the public from December 2017 to September, 2018.

<sup>23</sup> Che Shih, radio interview on 20 March, 2023. Accessed 27 June, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nu0W98gXoKE>

<sup>24</sup> Shih-Ping Tsai, column published on 22 March, 2023. Accessed 27 June, <https://www.i-media.tw/Article/Detail/29214>

<sup>25</sup> Dialogue Event about Works in the Competition Showcase Exhibition on 26 August, 2023.

<sup>26</sup> Wan-chien Chen. 擔憂政治化 中正紀念堂台北市長候選人論壇宣布取消 [Concerns of Politicization Lead to Cancellation of Taipei Mayoral Candidate Forum of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Park] udn News. Published on 28 September, 2022. Accessed 27 June, 2023. <https://udn.com/news/story/122682/6647951>.

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# THE IMPACT OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION, WAR AND CULTURAL MOVEMENTS ON THE IRANIAN PHOTOGRAPHY

Author:

**EHSAN DOROSTI**

Affiliation:

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY, CANADA

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## INTRODUCTION

The 1979 Iranian Revolution, also known as the Iran's Revolution, was a significant political, social, and cultural upheaval that took place in February, 1979. It involved the participation of various segments of the population resulted in the overthrow of the Pahlavi regime. It is not an exaggeration to say that photography was rediscovered with the incidents leading up to the Revolution and the cultural events that followed. Photography, which was previously seen as a decorative, suddenly turned into a committed social and cultural activity. Of course, this does not mean that before the revolution, photography was never used as a tool to display inequalities and was not generally committed. Rather, this interpretation of photography was a peripheral discourse and perspective.

This paper is intended to examine the impact of the Cultural Revolution, the 8-year war, the establishment of the Photography Faculty, and the subsequent impact of cultural contraction policies that led to the restriction of intellectual, social, and cultural activities of dissidents and liberals, and formation of various movements in Iran, on photography. Actually, this paper examines how the meaning of photography has been influenced by cultural conditions during these years and how this perspective has been reflected in the photos of Iranian photographers. To do so, the photos of Iranian documentary photographers including Kaveh Golestan, Bahman Jalali, Mohammad Sayyad, Nasrollah Kasraian, and Reza Deghati will also be studied. Additionally, the works of some contemporary photographers who considered artistic approach and emphasized formalism in their works will also be examined.

## Body

It is logical that revolutions are always accompanied by upheaval in society, and their waves engulf everything, including the realm of art and photography. Photos, which previously may have had a decorative object, suddenly transform into a committed activity, connecting photography to the tangible experiences and lives of the people. Due to such events, Iranian photography managed to rise in prominence, shoulder to shoulder with other arts. However, this does not mean we should disregard the works of photographers like Kaveh Golestan, Bahman Jalali, Yahya Dehghanpour, and Hengameh Golestan in the 1970s and earlier, who used their cameras to depict inequalities and realities, striving to create an artistic language. In fact, they were merely on the periphery at that time. The entry into modern society, which had already shown signs of itself in the Persian Constitutional Revolution

(1905 - 1911) and underwent a period of modernization during the Pahlavi era, which was “Magisterial Modernization” according to some, has now found room for acceptance within itself in a democratic manner. Perhaps these developments are not unlike the latter half of the twentieth century, when the developed industrial world transformed everything, including nature, history, suffering, other people, nations, misfortunes, sports, gender, and politics, into “displays”. The tool used for this purpose is the photographic camera. The ubiquitous presence of cameras compellingly indicates that this is a pregnant time for exciting events. Events that are worth being captured in photographs. In a way, photography became the eye of modernity. In the post-revolution period, it was accepted that modernity naturally, rather than artificially, shapes the social and cultural structure, and to some extent, the characteristics that Westerners attributed to photography were extended here as well. In other words, photography could become a platform for "representation," and its tool was the camera. In a society longing for modernity at that time and considering the political, cultural, and war-related developments, this representation initially served the portrayal of the effects of war, suffering, inequality, and justice and gradually expanded into other domains. It is as if society wanted to provide a visual experience of its own life and subject it to reflection and deep examination for the audience. The initial steps of the documentary photography movement in the 1970s emerged in protest against the abnormal social conditions, discrimination, and evident Class Stratification. Photos by Bahman Jalali of Zoroastrian Crypt, Kaveh Golestan's brilliant collection in Shahr-e No, and Hengameh Golestan's photos of marginalized women in the city, along with Nasrollah Kasraian's portrayal of the underprivileged pushed to the rurals, and the works of photographers like Mahshid Farahmand and Mahmoud Kalari, are undoubtedly among the valuable treasures of Iranian documentary photography before the revolution. With the occurrence of the revolution and the war in the 1980s, the new wave of documentary photography became entwined with committed photography, manifesting its commitment in the form of social documentary photography. This form of committed photography, which emerged during the days of the revolution and later during the 8-year war, depicted the struggles of people in the streets and the valor of Iranian warriors. Szarkowski, in his famous essay "The Photographer's Eye," argues that the subject or the object itself is one of the fundamental components of the language of photography, and this becomes more apparent when we are faced with an event like the revolution.<sup>1</sup> With these interpretations, this is not much to say that the revolution, and especially the war, played a role in opening up the language of photography in Iran and setting it in motion. In fact, the photographer assumed the responsibility for his camera to capture the suffering and inequalities of his people, and it was during these efforts to capture the war that Iranian photojournalism gained recognition worldwide through photographers like Golestan, Daghaghi, Yaghoubzadeh, and others. It seems that this very factor also provided the basis for presenting the capacity of Iranian photography globally and internationally. Moreover, during these efforts, an approach emerged that placed its foot in the realm of representing the horrors of war and beyond in other layers, such as in the city space. This can be seen in the collections "Abadan That Fights" and "Khorramshahr" in the 1981 and 1982. These types of photos capture fleeting moments of suffering and anguish. Fear, wounds, death, cries, and sorrow. These moments are indeed completely detached and dissociated from their real-time. Awareness of the possibility of such moments and their anticipation can conceal a more confrontational and cathartic engagement within oneself. A moment of suffering and anguish that is separated and detached from reality by a separate and distinct camera may well be harsher than the actual experience. The term "Trigger" which is used for both a rifle and a camera, points to a connection between the two. The image captured by the camera has an inherent additional violence, and both forms of violence reinforce a contradiction: the contradiction between the captured moment and other moments. When we step out of the moment captured by the camera and return to our lives, we do not realize this contradiction; we take responsibility for this disconnect

ourselves. The reality is that any reaction to the captured moment will be inadequate and insufficient in any way. Those who find themselves in the circumstances of being photographed do not see that moment as we see it, and the style and context of their reactions are completely different. It is impossible for someone to look at such a moment thoughtfully and have the power to liberate themselves from it. McCullin writes bitterly and vividly beneath a photograph: "I use my camera only as I use my toothbrush; it only does its job."<sup>2</sup>

Perspectives on art and specifically photography were naturally influenced by the prevalence of such photos, to the extent that the intrinsic meaning of photography was shaped by these definitions. In the introduction to the book "Five Views on Soil", which is a collection of works by five contemporary Iranian photographers, Mehdi Khansari, Bahman Jalali, Yahya Dehghanpour, Mahshid Farahmand, and Karim Emami, Yahyapour writes: "The photos in this collection are not postcards that showcase the beauty of a certain building's mosaics, the grandeur of specific palace columns, or the colorful decorations of a particular garden or greenhouse. These photos are not calendar pages that depict the spring's grace with blossoms, the warmth of summer with a sunset by the sea, the autumn's splendor with the changing colors of tree leaves, or the winter's chill with snow and icy lanterns. The photos in this collection are not used to advertise cigarettes, beverages, refrigerators, or paper towels from a certain factory or institution. The photos in this collection are about life in all its aspects: the good and the bad, sorrow and joy, ugliness and beauty, and... in other words, the relationship between humans and humans, and humans with their environment. These are photos of people we see every day, people who pass by us, people we live with, and if we consider art as an expression of life's facets in a particular form, then this collection captures moments from this very life."<sup>3</sup>

Looking at some exhibitions from those years, one can discern the prevailing attitude. In the spring of 1981, during Iran's first major photography exhibition titled "Child, Faith, and Liberation," organized in Tehran with the participation of Iran National Airlines (Homa), the majority of the photos depicted images of working children, rural livelihoods, and discrimination in general. It can be said that until the mid-1980s, photography, which had mostly been shaped by the revolution and war, pursued a documentary path rather than an artistic one. In 1986, with the addition of the photography section to the Young Cinema Festival, we were confronted with a vast and extensive volume of repetitive photos, which could be seen as sparks of clichéd photography in this field. Perhaps the focus was shifting towards committed photography to the extent that if someone took a photo of a torn garment or a vagabond, it was interpreted as a committed photograph. Susan Sontag, in her book, "On Photography", writes about such harsh images: "At the time of the first photographs of the Nazi camps, there was nothing banal about these images. After thirty years, a saturation point may have been reached. In these last decades, "concerned" photography has done at least as much to deaden conscience as to arouse it."<sup>4</sup> Yes, just as the revolution can be seen as a revival of the concept of commitment in photography, it can also be regarded as a factor in producing a lot of cliché and repetition which deadens conscience.

Among these discussions, there are also micro-discourses that perceive photography, to some extent, as an expressive, emotional, and intellectual tool. For example, Hadi Harraji says the following about photography: "The photographs represents the photographer... Unless I learn the art and language of this work and become aware of its connections with other choices, such as literature, music, cinema, and other everyday different works, I will not go beyond saying that photography is a mere capturing of moments."<sup>5</sup> Yes, a photo is indeed a capturing of moments. This can be deduced from the collection titled "Unknown Date." Unlike the prevailing trend in those years, these photos are not just records of suffering, pain, or moments of discrimination. They are, in fact, much simpler records of moments of life. Perhaps an image in this collection, captured by Harraji from a window, is a glimpse into the dreams of the future. Perhaps this perspective can be found in discussions related to

understanding the photograph by John Berger. He says: " The formal arrangement of a photograph explains nothing. The events portrayed are in themselves mysterious or explicable according to the spectator's knowledge of them prior to his seeing the photograph. What then gives the photograph as photograph meaning? What makes its minimal message – I have decided that seeing this is worth recording – large and vibrant? The true content of a photograph is invisible, for it derives from a play, not with form, but with time. One might argue that photography is as close to music as to painting. I have said that a photograph bears witness to a human choice being exercised. This choice is not between photographing X and Y: but between photographing at X moment or at Y moment. The objects recorded in any photograph (from the most effective to the most commonplace) carry approximately the same weight, the same conviction. What varies is the intensity with which we are made aware of the poles of absence and presence. Between these two poles photography finds its proper meaning. (The most popular use of the photograph is as a memento of the absent.) ".<sup>6</sup>

In the mid-1980s, there were photographers who, in a way, emphasized on form with no tendencies towards political and social subjects. They may have been somewhat influenced by the Düsseldorf School of Photography from the 1960 to the 1980. Emphasizing their own form is a silent sign of the prevailing atmosphere of that time, which attempted to create a unified interpretation and marginalize the original definition of photography. For example, Kamran Jabraeili in his collection "Iranian Space" focuses on representing and emphasizing the architectural form, which in itself highlights a formalist perspective. Along these lines, Homayoun Asadian goes further and states about the concept of commitment in art, particularly in photography: "I have never thought about why I pursue this issue and what commitment I am after. Commitment is a secondary matter."<sup>7</sup> This can also be seen in the photos he published in the Photography magazine in 1987, where these photos exhibit an emphasis on form. In 1988, four students from the Faculty of Fine Arts, Mehran Mohajer, Marjan Sadoughi, Majid Shohrati, and Sorena Mohammadi, organized an exhibition entirely distinct from the prevailing style of photography in Tehran's Small Cinematheque. Mehran Mohajer's self-portraits set him apart from other documentary photos and, in a way, go against the usual trend by emphasizing the photographer's eye and presence as factors that shape the style and form. In these works, the formalist confrontation with subjects predominates. That same year, an exhibition titled "My House" was held, featuring the household items and their arrangement as the object of photography. Jahangir Cheraghi, at a time when it seemed photographers had to pick up their cameras and go to the war fronts or poor neighborhoods to express suffering and pain to demonstrate their commitment, turned his attention to his surroundings and chose his own home as the object of his photography, which he did for about two years. In my opinion, he also aims to emphasize form in this collection, leaving traces of a continuous event, namely life. He wants to speak about life as it is, the way life is lived. John Berger says in his book "Understanding a Photograph": " A photograph is not only an image (as a painting is an image), an interpretation of the real; it is also a trace, something directly stencilled off the real, like a footprint or a death mask..."<sup>8</sup> Yes, photographs are mementos of lived life.

Perhaps one of the distinctive developments that makes the 1980s a very special and unique decade is the coexistence of photography with other arts within the university. The undergraduate photography program was introduced at the Faculty of Fine Arts at the University of Tehran, and it was joined by the University of Art and the School of Cinema and Television from the early 1990s with graduate level (MA). Yes, the academicization of photography in 1983, following the Cultural Revolution, played a very influential role in elevating photography to the status of fine arts. It transformed from an individual effort that was previously found in the brilliant works of Ahmad Aali in the 1960s to a progressive movement. Despite many limitations, students had the opportunity to learn photography academically in the classes of individuals like Yahya Dehghanpour and Bahman Jalali, who had studied photography in the West. This allowed their experiences to be directly transferred to the

students, and they learned academic principles alongside practical photography experience, face-to-face and breath-to-breath. According to Mehran Mohajer, the core of the artistic movement in photography may have formed in these classes.

This movement needed a platform to express itself, and it's the exhibitions that are recognized as the vehicle for the emergence of this movement. Despite numerous exhibitions organized by the government in the post-revolution era, such as the large photography exhibition titled "Children, Faith, and Liberation" in collaboration with Iran National Airlines (Homa) in 1981, private galleries were chosen as a means of presentation. A new generation of photographers, with a different and somewhat Westernized approach, had a tendency to showcase their works in private galleries. According to Mehran Mohajer, this movement has a communal nature and is not merely individual developments. He says, "In the 1980s, what comes to mind are four or five exhibitions where university students gathered and organized exhibitions. Before the revolution, Kaveh Golestan's Polaroid exhibition was a prominent example of this type of photography in the 1970s. But I think these are individual developments and the act of a few people gathering has a communal aspect. Then, we should continue this to reach May 23, 1997 (Reformist won the presidential election), which is a very important turning point in cultural and artistic flourishing, and after that, we may see the trend of holding art exhibitions from photographs continuously."<sup>9</sup> At first, putting up photo exhibitions in galleries might have seemed strange, and it might have been a rare in some years. However, galleries, with the excellent artists they had chosen, managed to receive good feedback. The ground was gradually prepared until the early 2000s when photography shifted its center from government institutions like the Youth Cinema Society, the Museum of Contemporary Art, and universities towards private galleries. These galleries acted as a conduit not only for the domestic audience but also as a window to foreign galleries and international auctions. However, the question remains whether the galleries were successful in shaping a tradition in photography or if they merely had a quantitative aspect. Perhaps the answer to this question requires further investigation and discussion, as there may be various opinions on this matter. For example, Mehrdad Najmabadi's views on this topic are worth mentioning: "Even though galleries have helped to improve the quality of photography in Iran, I don't agree! Gallery owners and managers have their specific tastes. The mechanism of many galleries—though not all—is based on non-professional acquaintances and connections, which significantly affect their sales, and I don't think galleries help artists in terms of quality."<sup>10</sup>

It is important to consider that exhibitions are not permanent and fade from memory, while books endure. The presence of the private sector alongside the government in publishing photography books in the years following the revolution is another significant and meaningful development, especially in the 1980s. Few books were previously published by the government, with the primary focus being on the country's history and historical monuments. However, with the entry of the private sector, it became possible for photographers to present their work independently. The book "Panj Negah Be Khak" (Five Views on Soil) in 1982 is evidence of independent expression in photography. Later, in the same vein of relatively independent expression and at the end of the decade, Nasrollah Kasraian's book "Sarzamin-e Ma Iran" (Our Homeland, Iran) was published in 1990. This work could be considered one of the most influential books in the field of ethnography of Iranian ethnic groups and part of its identity lies in the photographs of these ethnic groups.<sup>11</sup> This work not only represents a complete example of independent photography in the realm of book publishing but is also closely connected to its time. In the realm of print media, mention can be made of the magazine "Akas" (Photography), which has been published since 1986 and later continued its evolutionary trend in the mid-1990s with the presence of magazines and photo publications like "Herfeh Honarmand." It should



be noted that all these developments in the publishing field also indicate the expansion of the audience for this domain.

### **CONCLUSION**

What has come is not a comprehensive and analytical perspective on its nature of photography in the 1980s; rather, it is a report and accompaniment to the developments that sometimes played a colorful and influential role in this period, and at other times acted as an obstacle to its evolutionary course. However, it seems that despite all efforts to marginalize the genuine discourse of photography, the artistic traces of it, which were the foundation of the brilliant visions of figures like Ahmad Aali in the 1960s and later in the 1970s in the works of individuals such as Kaveh and Hengameh Golestan, Bahman Jalali, Yahya Dehghanpour, and others, have transformed into an academic trend. Some of these individuals laid the foundation and trained the next generation of photographers. This path perhaps does not aim to embrace photography as a relic of the past but rather sees it as the voice of its time.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> John Szarkowski. *The Photographer's Eye*. 3rd ed. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2007.
- <sup>2</sup> John Berger. *Understanding a Photograph*, edited by Geoff Dyer. Penguin Classics, London, 2013.
- <sup>3</sup> Mahdi Khansari, Yahya Dehghanpour, Bahman Jalali, Mahshid Farahmand, and Karim Emami. "Five Views on The Soil." Zamineh Publication, 1982.
- <sup>4</sup> Susan Sontag. *On Photography*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977.
- <sup>5</sup> Hadi Harraji. "Introduction of a Photographer." *Photography Monthly*, no. 5 (1987): 11–14.
- <sup>6</sup> John Berger. *Understanding a Photograph*, edited by Geoff Dyer. Penguin Classics, London, 2013.
- <sup>7</sup> Homayun Asadian. "Introduction of a Photographer." *Photography Monthly*, no. 5 (1988): 16–21.
- <sup>8</sup> John Berger. *Understanding a Photograph*, edited by Geoff Dyer. Penguin Classics, London, 2013.
- <sup>9</sup> Parviz Barati and Hadi Azari. "Fragments of a Discontinuous History." *Shargh Newspaper*.
- <sup>10</sup> Parviz Barati and Hadi Azari. "Fragments of a Discontinuous History." *Shargh Newspaper*.
- <sup>11</sup> Mehran Mohajer. "Iranian Modernization and Contemporary Photography." *Herfeh Honarmand*, Tehran, IRAN, 2006.

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# UNESCO SAFEGUARDING PLANS: INTEGRATED PLANNING STRATEGIES FOR THE (EVER- EXPANDING) CULTURAL HERITAGE SECTOR<sup>1</sup>

Author:

**AGNESE MUSSATTI**

Affiliation:

IMT SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED STUDIES LUCCA, ITALY

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## INTRODUCTION

In 2022, the research foundation Fondazione Santagata for the Economics of Culture (Turin, Italy) was commissioned to draft a safeguarding plan for the administration, on Italian territory, of the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage element “Musical Art of Horn Players”.<sup>2</sup> The Italian community referring to the multi-state<sup>3</sup> appointed expression – so-called *Equipaggio della Regia Venaria* – was granted access to financial measures under Italian legislation on the basis of a proposed plan of activities to safeguard the element through the implementation of the actions foreseen by the 2003 UNESCO Convention,<sup>4</sup> i.e., its transmission to younger generations, the enhancement, research and documentation, the planning of economic and sustainable development, and the definition of participatory governance approaches. Fondazione Santagata was mandated to work closely with the community to ensure interactive drafting among stakeholders. As part of the research and writing group of the plan, this paper is the outcome of the work’s concluding reflections.

The project was financed under Law No. 77 of February 20, 2006, dealing with the provision of “special measures” for preserving and enjoying UNESCO sites and elements within the Italian territory. However, no explicit reference to safeguarding plans is made in that or any other provisions of Italian law.<sup>5</sup> To fulfill the higher requirements imposed by the “unique and outstanding”<sup>6</sup> nature of UNESCO sites and elements, Law 77 only stipulates the establishment of *management* plans (Article 3) and the implementation of necessary supporting measures (Article 4).<sup>7</sup> The former – which echoes the plans outlined in the Operational Guidelines of the 1972 UNESCO Convention<sup>8</sup> – sets action priorities and execution modalities, as well as the activities to be performed to secure the necessary public and private resources; the second, in turn, aims to ensure compatible management and balanced relations between tourist flows and cultural services.

Although wording remains generic and applicable to planning strategies tailored to different cultural forms, it is noteworthy that:

- The drafting of safeguarding plans falls under the scope of *management* plans, albeit the latter represents an existing widespread category of projects designed expressly for UNESCO World Heritage *sites*. Reasoning by analogy could arguably solve the mismatch, not to mention that an intangible dimension is already considered when developing management plans, yet hierarchical and coordination problems may emerge.

• No ad hoc regulatory references can be found on safeguarding plans and structured strategies, despite the specific mandate assigned to Fondazione Santagata and the growth of comparable initiatives on Italian territory,<sup>9</sup> which reveal an upward trend.

• The States participating in the candidacy of the UNESCO element at issue (France, Belgium, Luxembourg) have not prepared such a plan, nor do such projects (however limited in number) appear to be readily circulating and available in other countries.

This article has a twofold purpose. First, to present the case in question with the aim of fostering dissemination and exchange of ICH planning practices. Second, to address the difficulties experienced while developing the plan and the necessity to rethink the existing tools for safeguarding as part of a larger transition in how cultural heritage is accessed, enjoyed, and managed. It will begin with an overview of the reference context: UNESCO intangible cultural heritage features, evolving foundations, and the underlying relationship with tangible expressions. It will next look into the roots of safeguarding plans at the global level to frame their characters against those of management plans. Eventually, it will depict the plan's articulation and remark on its functions in an interconnected framework of heritages, actors, and demands.

## UNESCO INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE: AN OVERVIEW

The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Paris, 2003) defines intangible cultural heritage as “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.” In addition, it provides a list of non-exclusive domains of manifestation.<sup>10</sup>

To fully understand the scope of this definition, however, it is necessary to go beyond its current description and explore the environment from which it arose, as well as the historical and cultural influences that molded its creation. In this regard, the close interdependence with a dominating Western perspective in prior Conventions<sup>11</sup> and a strong material approach to cultural heritage emerge as a central issue of concern. The point is evident in several factors that have shaped its development process: as far as we are interested here, these may be summarized under three headings.

1. A geographical imbalance. Ever since the definition of the criteria for selecting a (supposedly) “world” heritage in the previous 1972 Convention, it has been repeatedly observed that these largely reflected the demands of an international community composed mainly of Western and developed nations.<sup>12</sup> Those “Western museological principles”<sup>13</sup> differed from the idea, to be sought primarily outside the Western world, that the value of cultural heritage can reside in the practice rather than the object, downgrading its material extrication to a merely “containing” function.<sup>14</sup>

2. The absence of a community perspective. Still today, the predominant paradigm in heritage public preservation focuses on a top-down procedure that requires the public authority to assess the value of (tangible) assets according to predetermined, objective criteria. Conversely, ICH safeguarding is inherent in the survival of creators and bearers, who actively shape its definition through its constant recreation and “in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their history” (Article 2, 2003 Convention). The need to reconsider the role and involvement of communities in accessing heritage definition processes emerged early in the development of the 2003 Convention.<sup>15</sup>

3. The impact of the outstanding universal value as a leading selection standard.<sup>16</sup> On the one hand, ‘universalism’ could even be presented as an *extrinsic* necessity for ICH’s recognition,<sup>17</sup> in its being representative of the existence of issues of universal importance such as cultural diversity, social interaction, etc., thus providing a way to elevate safeguarding to an ultra-state level, enabling intervention in case of inaction, and encouraging international cooperation and exchange of practices.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, however, the ‘outstanding’ character could only be considered *intrinsic*

to its features, yet ICH, as it is now defined, based on subjective, community-based standards, cannot but clash with hierarchical criteria of global excellence.

To date, references to outstanding universal characters have been removed, albeit a selection-listing procedure partly retains the features of a “definitional exercise”<sup>19</sup> and of universality and exceptionality that so influenced its establishment.<sup>20</sup> The actual safeguarding system begins at the national level with ICH inventorying by signatory States and subsequent individual or multi-state proposals to one of the UNESCO lists, resulting from close cooperation with bearer communities.<sup>21</sup> the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices. Inscription brings global coverage to the safeguarding standard, ensuring visibility of the enrolled element and raising awareness of ICH’s significance. To this end, States Parties undertake to cooperate at the subregional, regional, and international levels (Article 19) and put in place specific safeguarding activities, establishing legal and administrative structures for protection on which they periodically report to the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of ICH (Article 29).

For a more in-depth review of those “legal and administrative structures of protection,” we refer to the next section. Article 13 of the Convention, letter (a), speaks of [adopting] “a general policy aimed at promoting the function of the ICH in society, and at integrating the safeguarding of such heritage into planning programs.” What, then, can be the place for safeguarding plans and the peculiar features of intangible cultural elements within the normative and conceptual framework thus summarized?

### **MANAGEMENT PLANS (VERSUS?) SAFEGUARDING PLANS**

The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, para 108, stipulate that “each nominated property should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which must specify how the Outstanding Universal Value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means”.<sup>22</sup> The proposing state should, therefore, include it in a system of extensive interventions that ensures its comprehensive and shared protection, taking a proactive attitude toward preservation practices (see para 112 to 118-bis). Management plans should in fact be designed as broad projects that foster the viability of the asset in its wider setting, which includes any tangible and intangible element interacting with it: its spatial reach (i.e., the natural and infrastructural environment); the civil society concerned and interested communities; economic impact and sustainable development objectives; cultural practices and other cultural sites. In doing that, each state cooperates closely with relevant stakeholders “by developing, when appropriate, equitable governance arrangements, collaborative management systems, and redress mechanisms” (para 117).

ICH safeguarding plans are not as detailed and prescriptive in structure. The Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention<sup>23</sup> refer only to single, eventual, and generic activities. The Convention establishes the duty for States Parties to adopt a *general policy* aimed at promoting ICH’s function in society, as well as *integrating* its safeguarding into planning programs (Article 13) – with a wording, that of integration, which differs from *creating* a plan on its own. The Committee, then, can periodically promote some virtuous safeguarding practices (Article 18), but nothing is said about “appropriate plans or other documented systems” and what consequences would follow if a plan was not adopted. Yet, the issue is peculiar. The previous Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity required that “a plan of action that is appropriate to the cultural expression in question, listing the legal and practical measures [should] be taken over the next decade for the preservation, protection, support, and promotion of that oral and intangible heritage”.<sup>24</sup> A detailed description of the measures proposed, and the related implementation strategy were also to be provided.

Today, except for the mention of safeguarding plans for ICH in need of urgent safeguarding (thus concerning the different functions of *survival* measures), none of the current provisions prescribes mandatory requirements. Independently drafted or included in other national plannings, the implementation of safeguarding plans is rather seen as a recommendation: insofar as State Parties' development plans, policies, and programs involve the safeguarding of intangible elements, they only need to align with the Convention principles (para 171, Operational Directives) and ensure the inclusion of all sectors and strata of society (para 174).

The Overall Results Framework for the 2003 Convention<sup>25</sup> is also part of the same vision. In assessing the implementation of “policies as well as legal and administrative measures in the field of culture reflecting ICH diversity and the importance of its safeguarding,” safeguarding plans are framed as possible, additional, and therefore not compulsory measures, often included in broader national strategies for the overall enhancement of ICH.<sup>26</sup> Planning activities can also cover elements not inscribed in the three official lists, proving once again that this is in no way a mandatory instrument for listing nor a standard of preservation whose boundaries UNESCO wants to impose.<sup>27</sup>

On the one hand, flexibility may even be regarded as favorable to the nature of intangible heritage: the Convention specifies that safeguarding means precisely “ensuring viability,” thereby enabling conditions for development instead of physical and static conservation.<sup>28</sup> In practice, however, a few issues arise.

First, general, non-binding rules have led to a paucity of case studies and interchange, which could weaken long-term initiatives and undermine safeguarding standards. These issues spill over from the international to the national level: in most cases, states tend to neglect more active strategies that could integrate the safeguarding of ICH with the socioeconomic dynamics insisting on their territory – an administrative posture that would allow cultural heritage to be considered a *resource* rather than just a valuable *object* to preserve. In such a context, planning efforts for ICH safeguarding end up, on the one hand, being limited to isolated practices and, on the other, being reabsorbed inside different plannings, perhaps as part of the “wider setting” in management plans. In such a case, however, ICH would either be downgraded to an ancillary element, unfolding a latent subordination, or the planning system itself would have to be reformed to promote combined practices for tangible and intangible heritage conservation, with balanced actions for all assets insisting on a given space. Indeed, the question arises whether this misalignment is more of a matter of form. As some experts have argued,<sup>29</sup> safeguarding plans can be (mis)interpreted as nonessential tools whenever they do not address elements with an urgent need for safeguarding only if confusion persists in national administrations about the meaning of “safeguarding” versus “conservation.” The problem, which goes back to this clear separation between tangible and intangible heritage, appears in a different light if *safeguarding* is given a broader connotation, one that is not opposed to *management* but can instead provide, in its reference to a “living heritage,” a channel for circulation and exchange that extends beyond the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices.

## THE DRAFTING EXPERIENCE

The Safeguarding Plan for the Musical Art of Horn Players was developed along three methodological lines. First, an analogy reasoning based on management plans' available documents, notably the World Heritage Resource Manual “Managing Cultural World Heritage,” the Italian “Model of Management”,<sup>30</sup> Law No. 77/2006, and relevant case studies. Examination of these materials allowed us to establish, at a second stage, the pillars of plan development, subsequently determining the project's scope and the issues to be addressed. Eventually, the detailed elaboration of such pillars was done by relying, as a third methodological line, on capacity-building programs and

workshop materials that UNESCO offers on the ICH portal as interactive role-plays and case studies for discussion.<sup>31</sup> As a result, the following three phases were established.

1. The analysis of current state, shortcomings, and areas for improvement.

This phase was devoted to data collection through periodic exchanges with the holder community. Discussions were held in the form of formal meetings and ad hoc activities, such as brainstorming, workshops, or role games. As a result, the survey revealed the stakeholders involved and their different levels of engagement, key values and functions attached to the element, and safeguarding measures already in place, including a community assessment to pinpoint the existing shortcomings. Such a mapping was central to uncovering the real extent of the plan, as it brought into play additional values to be protected (such as those foregrounded by the community's younger members) and the demands of other heritages, thus the existence of supplementary actors and institutions concerned. In that case, noteworthy was the presence of the Residences of the Royal House of Savoy, inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1997 and related to the development history of the element at hand. As such, it was clear from the outset that the plan needed to advance on several fronts: individually, to safeguard the element in itself, and more broadly, to cooperate with the home territory.

2. The definition of action strategies based on identified goals of safeguarding.

Following the identification of flaws in the community assessment, further tasks included formulating safeguarding strategies in five areas of concern. In line with the application file, these were resumed from the classification adopted in the UNESCO candidacy dossier, section 3.b: (1) transmitting the musical practice to new players; (2) strengthening research and documentary processing to enrich the repertoire and knowledge; (3) promoting intangible cultural heritage through the horn; (4) extending revitalization actions to other regions and fostering international collaboration; (5) envisaging support actions for safeguarding. Each category was assigned an overarching long-term objective, followed by detailed targets in areas of need and, accordingly, a list of concrete safeguarding measures to be implemented. The project sought to address the coordination needs of the different heritages and stakeholders by defining activities that would enable mutual interaction. What emerged, however, was a mismatch between what theory reiterates and a lack of contextual reasoning.

On the one hand, theory promotes a vision in which the “wider setting” of management plans is the real core of the system. Indeed, the central function of such plans lies in coordinating a broad context in which multiple planning initiatives, such as urban or socio-economic development or even other conservation practices, may coexist; management plans (hence, *safeguarding* plans) are often assigned the duty of harmonizing those different strategies. As a result, their goal is never limited to conservation and is instead defined by the sustainable development of the entire region and the sharing of values among all parties concerned.<sup>32</sup> The issue arises in these same terms inside the Italian regulatory frameworks. Law 77/2006, Article 2, sets intervention priority for projects addressing the conservation and restoration of (*other*) cultural and landscape assets comprised in that cultural system. Article 3, in turn, emphasizes the need to integrate the plan with programs that pursue “complementary purposes” (such as tourism, urban planning, sustainable and social development, etc.) and the legal ways to achieve such integration. Specifically, agreements must be made by competent public bodies using the formats and procedures outlined in the Italian Code of Cultural and Landscape Heritage,<sup>33</sup> namely, by adhering to Article 112(4)'s prescriptions, which underlines the necessity to foster “the integration, in the agreed development process, of infrastructure and related productive sectors.”

Out of theory, however, contextual reasoning about the weight and role of different forces at play waters down the actual impact. Debates should first address the extent to which the core and widely employed concept of “community” is being implemented, whether its involvement can be effectively

guaranteed at the international and national levels, and whether their demands are met, as heritage bearers.<sup>34</sup> Being “bearers,” in fact, implies a distinction with other kinds of communities that may exist on the same territory, hence reflections on the differences with the concept of “minority” or “local” group and the traits that might connect and cross diverse groupings. Accordingly, consideration should be given to the role of facilitators, experts, and NGOs in terms of power, ability to intercept rising demands, and connection with public authorities.<sup>35</sup> Poor availability of planning practices involving intangible heritage, and the lack of sharing where they exist, is one of the reasons why these questions remain unanswered and often find only limited resolution in the case at hand.

3. The systematic monitoring and evaluation of results, based on set indicators and expectations.

Additional components were included to gauge the level of enforcement of the actions proposed, including a chronogram, a list of necessary resources, and monitoring tools. Moreover, qualitative and quantitative indicators will be used to examine the plan’s spillovers and impacts. The project will last three years, with periodic assessments determined by the indicators’ nature and the availability of possible new data. We believe this final section is a crucial part of the project as it differentiates “plans” from the “measures” included in most states’ documentation papers on ICH. Consider, for instance, the case of France, which shares the nomination of the element we have dealt with but has not yet prepared any safeguarding plan. France has a much more comprehensive, accessible, and detailed inventory system<sup>36</sup> than Italy, within which the “*fiches*” of the listed elements contain several sections on practical safeguarding strategies, although in most cases, they refer to measures *already in place* at the time of inventorying. It is precisely the provision of short-term plans and targeted monitoring, instead, that can help to understand (1) whether the element is adequately safeguarded, (2) whether community consensus has changed, and (3) whether some safeguarding strategies are not functioning or need to be revised.

### **What strategy for the (ever-expanding) cultural heritage sector?**

In a relatively common planning scheme lies a much deeper investigation of the role and prospects of cultural heritage management. This includes the fact that “managing” (or “preserving”) embodies a much broader array of cultural functions (i.e., enhancement, promotion, safeguarding, etc.), which, in turn, are connected to an ever-changing notion of cultural heritage. The way in which the latter evolves, is accessible and enjoyable, incorporating multiple levels of stakeholders and demands, raises some salient questions. By using the experience of a real case study, this article sought to highlight a strategy that is still poorly employed (in theory and practice), yet already confronts some of these issues: to reconsider the strict definition of heritage(s) in management planning, to provide a coordinating role to conservation strategies, and to concretely value communities’ voices through the systematization of the role of experts and public authorities involved.



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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The author would like to thank Fondazione Santagata for the Economics of Culture and project manager Giulia Avanza for the valuable advice and exchanges that have enriched this paper.

<sup>2</sup> The element is described as an instrumental technique linked to singing, breath control, vibrato, the resonance of place and conviviality. Nomination file No. 01581 for inscription in 2020 on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

<sup>3</sup> France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Italy.

<sup>4</sup> The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, Paris, 2003. Further details in the following section.

<sup>5</sup> Only the Circular of the Ministry Secretary General n. 17 of May 3, 2018 (aimed at establishing criteria for allocating funds for ICH support actions) refers to a “plan of safeguarding measures” among the evaluation criteria for funding requests. It reads that “a plan of safeguarding measures that identify the phases of action at local, national and international levels”, together with a project for its implementation, increases the chances of reception.

<sup>6</sup> The mention of outstanding characters underscores how the law is specifically designed for sites, rather than intangible elements. More on this point below.

<sup>7</sup> The provision was initially conceived only for UNESCO sites inscribed in the World Heritage List and, accordingly, for related management plans. In 2017, with Law No. 44, UNESCO ICH was included under the name “element” and placed alongside the “sites” throughout the text of Law No. 77. Ultimately, however, the extension was only formal.

<sup>8</sup> The UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Paris, 1972.

<sup>9</sup> These are, for instance, the element *Opera dei Pupi* (Sicilian puppet theatre), UNESCO ICH since 2008, or the *Saper fare liutario cremonese* (Traditional violin craftsmanship in Cremona), recognized in 2012. In both cases, safeguarding plans have recently been launched (or are being developed) and were consulted while drafting the plan under consideration in this paper.

<sup>10</sup> Article 2 lists: (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle; (b) performing arts; (c) social practices, rituals, and festive events; (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; (e) traditional craftsmanship.

<sup>11</sup> Not only the relatively more recent Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), to which most of the following remarks will be addressed, but, for instance, also the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, equally revolving around a materialistic concept of cultural property. Concerning the Hague Convention and its focus on the conflict dimension, it should also be noted that the Council of Europe’s so-called Faro Convention (2005) arose in an equally war context but appears to address the issue of the damage to cultural identity (hence, an intangible dimension) along with the physical destruction of cultural property.

<sup>12</sup> Among others, it is worth mentioning the well-known communication of the Bolivian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religion addressed to the Director-General of UNESCO, dated 24 April 1973 (No. D.G.01/1006-79).

<sup>13</sup> Chiara Bortolotto, “From Objects to Processes: UNESCO’s ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage’”, *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 19 (2007): 22. On the persistent issues of geographic imbalance in ICH representation and decision-making bodies see Saúl Lázaro Ortiz, Celeste Jiménez de Madariaga, “The UNESCO convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage: a critical analysis”, *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 28, no. 3 (2022): 327-341, doi: 10.1080/10286632.2021.1941914.

<sup>14</sup> Numerous instances show that reconstruction practices are widespread and often use new and more suitable materials without retaining any traits of their aesthetic appearance. Relevant in this regard is the case of the African *Vodoun* cult, as described in Alain Sinou, “La valorisation du patrimoine architectural et urbain”, *Cahier des Sciences Humaines* 29, no. 1 (1993): 42. See also Chiara Bortolotto, “Patrimonio immateriale e autenticità: una relazione indissolubile”, *La ricerca Folklorica* 64 (2011): 7–17.

<sup>15</sup> Janet Blake, “Engaging ‘Communities, Groups and Individuals’ in the International Mechanisms of the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention”, *International Journal of Cultural Property* 26, no. 2 (2019): 115, doi:10.1017/S0940739119000134. See also Britta Rudolff, Susanne Raymond, “A Community Convention? An analysis of Free, Prior and Informed Consent given under the 2003 Convention”, *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 8, (2013): 155, pointing to the shift to greater community involvement as a broader transformation taking place in heritage studies, international policy (leading to the adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2007), and issues affecting UNESCO and World Heritage listing.

<sup>16</sup> Janet Blake, *Developing a new standard-setting instrument for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage: elements for consideration*, (Paris: UNESCO, 2001), 12; Federico Lenzerini, “Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples”, *European Journal of International Law* 22, no. 1 (2011): 108, doi: 10.1093/ejil/chr006.

<sup>17</sup> Although the friction with globalist discourses remains evident, given the specific nature of ICH. See Janet Blake, *Developing a new standard-setting*, 12; Lázaro Ortiz et al., “The UNESCO convention”, 329-330. On the topic see as well Lyndel Vivien Prott, “International standards for cultural heritage”, in *World culture report, 1998: culture, creativity and markets* (Paris: UNESCO, 1998-2000), 228.

<sup>18</sup> As enshrined in the 2003 Convention, Article 19(2): “Without prejudice to the provisions of their national legislation and customary law and practices, the States Parties recognize that the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage is of general interest to humanity, and to that end undertake to cooperate at the bilateral, subregional, regional and international levels.”. The principle is more explicitly stated in the 1972 Convention, Article 6(1): “whilst fully respecting the sovereignty of the States [...] the States Parties to this Convention recognize that such heritage constitutes a world heritage for whose protection it is the duty of the international community as a whole to co-operate.”.

<sup>19</sup> Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Mistaken Dichotomies”, *Journal of American Folklore* 101, no. 402 (1988): 145. Albeit not directly referring to ICH lists: “Such lists are essentially definitional exercises [...] Like the third-person ethnography, lists and collections obscure the hand that shapes the representation. They create the illusion of genuine, which is to say, unmediated, folklore. [...] The pertinent question becomes: how do some representations become authoritative?”.

<sup>20</sup> Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production”, *Museum International* 56, no. 1-2 (2004): 57, doi: 10.1111/j.1350-0775.2004.00458.x. “The Intangible Heritage list preserves the division between the West and the rest and produces a phantom list of intangible heritage, a list of that which is not indigenous, not minority, and not non-Western, though no less tangible.”. In the same source, Richard Kurin “Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: a critical appraisal”, 66-77. See also Yahaya Ahmad, “The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible”, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 3 (2006): 292–300, doi 10.1080/13527250600604639; Janet Blake, *Commentary on the 2003 Unesco Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Leicester England: Institute of Art and Law, 2006); Valdimar Tr. Hafstein, “Intangible heritage as a list: From masterpieces to representation”, in *Intangible Heritage*, ed. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008): 93-111; Lázaro Ortiz et al., “The UNESCO convention”, 328.

<sup>21</sup> In addition to previous remarks, see also the *Operational Directives for the Implementation of the 2003 Convention*, establishing that for all three lists “The element has been nominated following the widest possible participation of the community, group or, if applicable, individuals concerned and with their free, prior and informed consent.”. On the effective involvement of communities, see further comments.

<sup>22</sup> The rule is traced back to UNESCO’s 2002 Budapest Declaration, aiming to strengthen conservation activities and ensure an appropriate and equitable balance between conservation, sustainability, and development.

<sup>23</sup> Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2022 edition, accessed August 19, 2023, [https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/2003\\_Convention\\_Basic\\_Texts-2022\\_version-EN\\_.pdf](https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/2003_Convention_Basic_Texts-2022_version-EN_.pdf).

<sup>24</sup> UNESCO Doc. 155 EX/15 (August 25, 1998), Annex IV, 4. *Report by the director-general on the precise criteria for the selection of cultural spaces or forms of cultural expression that deserve to be proclaimed by UNESCO to be Masterpieces of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity*. Accessed August 19, 2023, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000113113>.

<sup>25</sup> The document presents the outcomes of a consultative process involving UNESCO’s Internal Oversight Service for evaluating the standard-setting work in the culture sector. Basic Texts, 154.

<sup>26</sup> As in the case of Spain’s National Plan for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2011, accessed August 19, 2023, <https://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/planes-nacionales/dam/jcr:73de51a5-978f-47c4-a67a-42b20e09fe41/08-inmaterial-eng.pdf>.

<sup>27</sup> “Assessment according to: [11.2] National or sub-national strategies and/or action plans for ICH safeguarding are established or revised and are being implemented, including safeguarding plans for specific elements, whether or not inscribed.” *Overall Results Framework for the 2003 Convention*, Basic Texts, 163.

<sup>28</sup> See in this regard Federico Lenzerini, “Intangible Cultural Heritage”, 109.

<sup>29</sup> See, for instance, Chirstian Hottin, “Sept ans, l’âge de raison. Dynamiques et enjeux du patrimoine culturel immatériel”, in *Le patrimoine culturel immatériel. Premières expériences en France*, ed. Chérif Khaznadar (Paris: Maison des cultures du monde, 2011). 32-33.

<sup>30</sup> Developed under the 2004 Guidelines of the Advisory Commission for UNESCO Sites' Management Plans.

<sup>31</sup> UNESCO ICH Training materials, Units 45-47, “Developing safeguarding plans”, accessed August 14, 2023, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/contentoftrainingmaterials-00679>. In this regard, it should be noted that the presence of ad hoc materials for facilitators in assisting in the development of safeguard plans is a sign that activities in this regard exist, albeit sporadic, especially for intangible expressions that most need safeguard interventions (see para 3).

<sup>32</sup> The Italian *Model* mentioned above goes so far as to argue that the implementation of management plans could lead to a re-examination of the universal criteria for site inscription, as many Italian properties on the World Heritage List could be even extended to a wider candidature, giving rise to new meanings and values, urban ecosystems, and cultural landscapes, the latter being explicitly protected under the World Heritage Convention since 1992. See Nora Mitchell, Mechtild Rössler, Pierre-Marie Tricaud, *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes. A Handbook for Conservation and Management*, (Paris: UNESCO, 2009),

[https://whc.unesco.org/documents/publi\\_wh\\_papers\\_26\\_en.pdf](https://whc.unesco.org/documents/publi_wh_papers_26_en.pdf), accessed August 3, 2023.

<sup>33</sup> Legislative Decree 22 January 2004, n. 42.

<sup>34</sup> Barbara Torggler et al., Evaluation of UNESCO's Standard-setting Work of the Culture Sector, Part I – 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Paris: UNESCO, 2013), accessed August 19, 2023 <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000223095>; Rudolff et al., “A Community Convention?”; Chiara Bortolotto, “UNESCO and Heritage Self-Determination: Negotiating Meaning in the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the ICH”, in *Between Imagined Communities of Practice: Participation, Territory and the Making of Heritage*, ed. Nicolas Adell et al. (Göttingen: Göttingen University Press, 2015), 249-272, accessed August 3, 2023 <https://books.openedition.org/gup/234?lang=en>; Blake, “Engaging ‘Communities’”, 218.

<sup>35</sup> See in this regard UNESCO's Resolution of the General Assembly: 2.GA 6,

<https://ich.unesco.org/en/Resolutions/2.GA/6>, accessed August 19, 2023.

<sup>36</sup> The *Inventaire national du Patrimoine culturel immatériel*. <https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Patrimoine-culturel-immateriel/Le-Patrimoine-culturel-immateriel/L-inventaire-national-du-Patrimoine-culturel-immateriel>, accessed August 19, 2023. On the French inventorying system, see Marta Severo, “Le patrimoine culturel immatériel entre écritures amateure et institutionnelle : le cas de l'inventaire français”, *Communication & langages* 211, no. 1 (2022): 53-70, doi 10.3917/comla1.211.0053.

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# UNVEILING “PORTUGUÊS SUAVE” ARCHITECTURE: A STUDY TO DECODE THE DESIGN PRINCIPLES OF RAILWAY STATIONS AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Authors:

**ANA RUTE FAÍSCA; PEDRO GOMES JANUÁRIO**

Affiliation:

CIAUD, RESEARCH CENTRE FOR ARCHITECTURE, URBANISM AND DESIGN,  
PORTUGAL; SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA IN  
PORTUGAL<sup>1</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION

The "Estado Novo"<sup>2</sup> was a significant historical period in Portugal that began in 1926 after a second military coup established a military dictatorship, and it endured until the Carnation Revolution in 1974.<sup>3</sup> The regime aimed to project a unified national image centred around the values of God, Country and Family,<sup>4</sup> transforming the “country into a vast white village in a rural setting”.<sup>5</sup> To realize this ambitious vision, the regime established several commissions and delegations tasked with overseeing nationwide regeneration and construction projects, encompassing public buildings, such as railways and primary schools.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, by comparing these two different typologies, the article aims to unveil the core principles of “Portuguese Suave” architecture, which the government aimed to proclaim nationally.

Finally, this article is part of an ongoing PhD investigation and therefore, some of the information presented is continuously evolving. Hence, future publications might further develop or alter some of the information presented here.

## THE NEW REGIME CALLED “ESTADO NOVO”

The emergence of the “Estado Novo” was the culmination of a sequence of pivotal social and political events. Initially, in 1911, Portugal ushered in its First Republic, leading to the fall of the Monarchy. However, this new political landscape proved fragile, ultimately resulting in a subsequent military coup in 1926, which established a military dictatorship.

Secondly, Óscar Carmona's presidency in 1928 paved the way for Oliveira de Salazar's appointment as the minister tasked with overhauling the nation's finances. Subsequently, Salazar successfully ascended to the position of Prime Minister in 1932.

Thirdly, a new Constitution named "Estado Novo," under the governance of Salazar gained approval in 1933. While theoretically recognizing individual liberties, in practice, these rights were intricately tied to governmental interests. Salazar consolidated all powers and in 1934, officially designated the National Union as the sole legal political party.<sup>7</sup>

"Estado Novo" sustained its dominance by the agrarian bourgeoisie, whose economic interests superseded those of other social classes, but their hegemony began to weaken and declined in the

early 1960s, signalling a shift in power dynamics that had key repercussions for the regime's stability and prosperity.<sup>8</sup> In 1974, the Carnation Revolution brought an end to the dictatorship, closing nearly half a century of authoritarian rule in Portugal.

### “ESTADO NOVO” STANDARDISED INFRASTRUCTURES

Despite acknowledging the significance of railways in its development plan, the regime made minimal investments in new infrastructure, primarily because a substantial part of the railway network was already built. As a result, only approximately forty new train stations were constructed during this period. Instead, the government allocated a significant portion of its resources towards the restoration of existing train stations to align with the prevailing nationalist ideals of the regime.

Similarly, primary schools played a pivotal role in spreading national propaganda through organizations like “Mocidade Portuguesa”.<sup>9</sup> Recognizing the potential of primary schools as effective tools for propagating its ideology, the government announced to construct over eight thousand new schools as part of its broader propaganda efforts. These educational institutions served as platforms for installing and promoting the regime’s nationalist values among the younger generations, thus ensuring the continuity of its ideology.

#### Railways’ standardised infrastructure

During the years spanning from 1856 to 1900, a period under the governance of the Monarchy, the Portuguese railway network experienced its most noteworthy and transformative expansion. This swift development required the formulation of planning standards, regulations, and agreements, alongside detailed project designs for all the necessary infrastructure components. Henceforward, a classification emerged in order to plan the needs of each railway station, distributed in ascending order based on their economic significance, such as: stops, 4<sup>th</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 1<sup>st</sup> classes.<sup>10</sup> With the exception of 1<sup>st</sup> class, designers crafted these typologies to span the entire railway line.

Nonetheless, a prevailing practice entailed adjusting the designs during construction owing to the absence of accurate cartography, comprehensive topographic surveys, or specific local prerequisites.<sup>11</sup> Each type expanded in size, centred around a core volume. As a result, as a town (or city) increased in size, its corresponding train stations experienced a parallel growth in scale, where symmetrical wings appended on both flanks. The consistent feature across all typologies is the inclusion of the stationmaster's residence, consistently positioned on the first floor of the central element. Contrarily, 1<sup>st</sup> class models are characterized by a series of distinct designs, exhibiting minimal or no resemblances between them. Therefore, they do not fit within the classifications of the other types and are, consequently, excluded from this study.

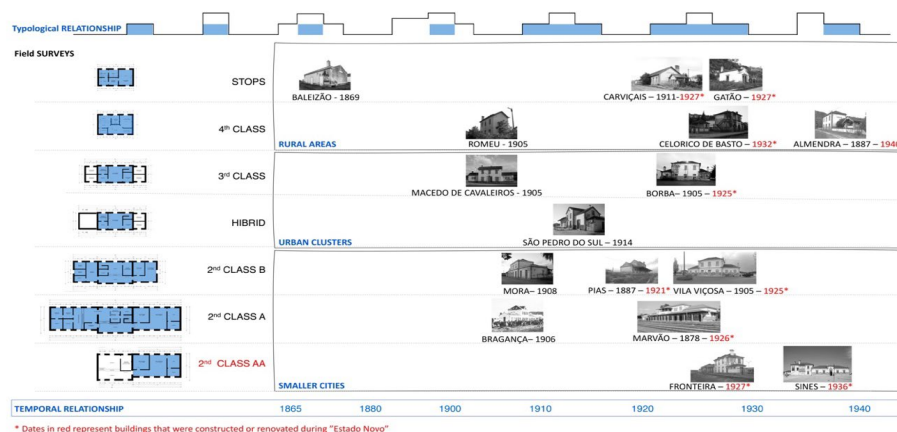


Figure 1. Portuguese Railway Standardize type models.<sup>12</sup>

The railway architecture of the "Estado Novo" era persisted in adhering to the established standard type-models<sup>13</sup> of the 19th century. These structures primarily exhibited a neutralized aesthetic while still honouring regional traits, and conformed to a hierarchical rationale determined by the significance of each station's location. Consequently, their inherent architectural impartiality rendered them more amenable to reinterpretation, allowing for the amplification of the regime's new ideals. Moreover, it facilitated enhanced control and strategic visualization of the complete railway network, coupled with streamlined financial management.

This principle of standardisation was neither novel nor innovative. It proved to be cost-effective and a pivotal factor in disseminating the emerging political model championed by the regime. Likewise, "Estado Novo" primary schools adhered to a comparable standardised doctrine. The main contextual contrast between these two typologies lies in the railway infrastructure being predominantly constructed, while the educational edifices were not. As a result, the government sought to address the deficiency of public schools in Portugal with the goal of instructing its youth in alignment with a rigid set of ideologies, referred to as the "Mocidade Portuguesa".<sup>14</sup>

### Primary schools' standardised infrastructure

Within the realm of primary schools, the process of standardisation was marked by a notable and gradual reduction in complexity for both interior layouts and exterior detailing. This stood in stark contrast to the elaborate project designs and technical criteria generated during the First Republic.<sup>15</sup> Arnaldo Redondo Adães Bermudes (1864-1948), was an architect where greater architectural contribution within the education realm transpired within the context of the First Republic. The primary school models he formulated were mainly categorized into three distinct types, as illustrated in Figure 3: one classroom with one teacher's accommodation; two classrooms with one teacher's accommodation; and two classrooms with two teachers' accommodations.

#### A formal comparison (Up until the First Republic's typologies)

In terms of form, a distinct parallel can be discerned within the architectural idiom of this specific educational model when compared to the design conventions observed in railway infrastructure. Both typologies exhibit a common configuration of a rectangular plan comprising three principal volumes. Furthermore, a shared organizational principle involves a central double-floor volume flanked by ground-level volumes on either side. Despite the differing distribution of functional spaces, both instances incorporate lodging within their central volumes. The primary distinction lies in the arrangement — train stations invariably position lodging on the first floor, while primary schools allocate the entire central volume exclusively for teacher's accommodation.

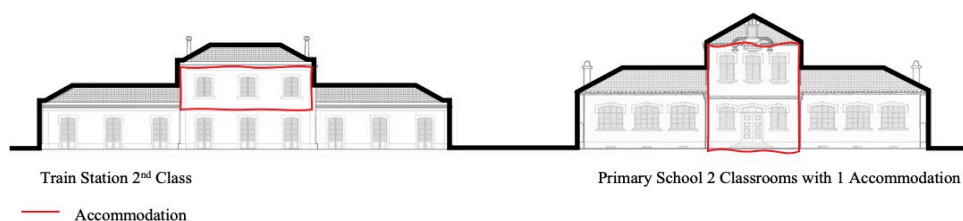


Figure 2. Formal Comparison between the model types.<sup>16</sup>

### “Estado Novo” standardised primary schools

Moreover, subsequent to the consolidation of centralized political authority by the "Estado Novo," a discernible shift becomes evident in the architectural idiom encompassing all public building typologies. As a direct consequence of the regime's ascendancy, one of the initial departures pertains to the elimination of teachers' lodging from primary school structures, thereby signifying a decisive rupture from established precedent. In 1933, the regime initiated the introduction of regionalized projects, aligning them with the guidelines specified in the Technical, Hygienic, and Pedagogical Standards. These projects emerged as a response to Rebello de Andrade's mandates and were carried out under vigilant supervision from both the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of National Education.

The network of primary schools slated for nationwide construction was named "Plano dos Centenários."<sup>17</sup> Its execution encompassed multiple phases of implementation, entailing the streamlining of standardised projects to effectively manage expenses.<sup>18</sup> These buildings had the intention of being constructed in a series, aligning with the traits of regional architecture. This alignment was governed not only by the use of materials specific to these regions but also by the variations in climate.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the implementation of gender segregation within the structures led to the creation of twin buildings.<sup>20</sup>

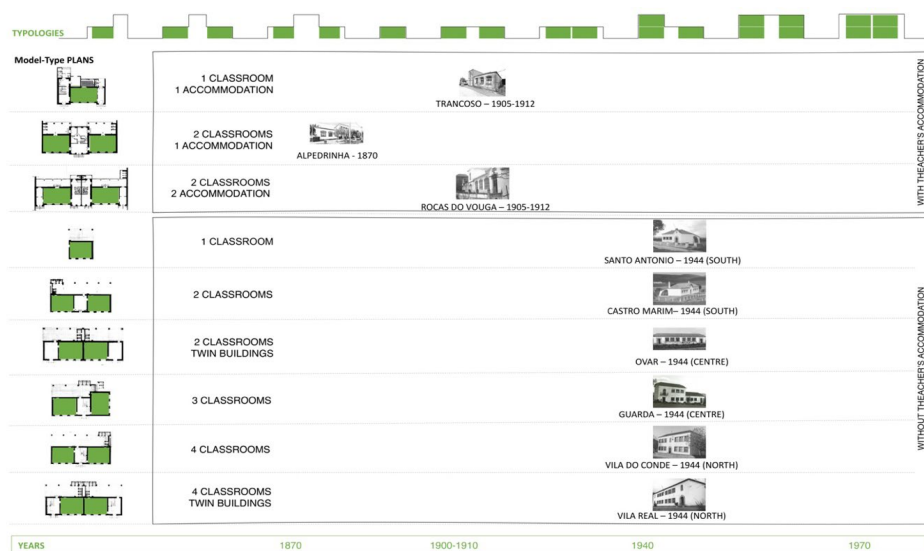


Figure 3. Portuguese Primary Schools Standardise type models.<sup>21</sup>

"Plano dos Centenários" primarily took shape during the 1940s and 1950s, and due to the impracticality of the projects, a subsequent plan known as "Plano das Construções" came into being. The objective was to further streamline the initial type models and categorize them into rural and urban school types, a transformation that transpired predominantly in the 1960s.<sup>22</sup> This article concentrates on the preceding standardised propositions for primary schools, leading up to the "Plano dos Centenários" for the purpose of contrasting them with the standardised models of railway infrastructure. The objective is to unveil the shared political ideals that underlie both typologies.

### “ESTADO NOVO” ENTWINED DESIGN PRINCIPLES FOR PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Numerous Portuguese architectural typologies trace their origins back to the 19th century, indicating that they were not an exclusive product of “Estado Novo” innovation. However, it was under this regime that these functional programs acquired a distinctive typification, characterized by central



planning and systematic execution. Their purpose extended beyond functional necessities, encompassing the architectural embodiment of a multifaceted framework for state control, domestication, ideological indoctrination, and suppression.<sup>23</sup>

Train stations and primary schools possess distinct identities, characterized by unique programs tailored to their respective functions. Nevertheless, under the "Estado Novo," the objective was to disseminate a cohesive message via its national development plan, employing public edifices as instruments to accomplish this goal. Consequently, the proposition here seeks to pinpoint formal and aesthetic parallels between these two typologies that effectively encapsulated the ideals of the regime. Commencing in the 1930s, the construction of schools and train stations became contingent upon predefined projects from the Ministry of Public Works. Consequently, these initiatives adhered to architectural principles<sup>24</sup> sanctioned by the regime. Given the absence of an officially endorsed style, "Português Suave" eventually emerged as the representative architectural idiom of this specific era. This style was rooted in contemporary engineering but enveloped in a traditional aesthetic, characterized predominantly by regional influences, evident both in architectural design and the materials employed in construction. Consequently, a juxtaposition between traditional and modern architectural expressions emerged, and the outcomes varied notably based on the team of architects tasked with each project within the Ministry of Public Works.

#### "Estado Novo" railway architecture

Within the realm of railways, there were several significant architects associated with the government. The most notorious examples are Francisco Perfeito de Magalhães (1875-1960), recognized for his traditionalist inclinations and eclectic approach in designing train stations; Ernesto Korrodi (1870-1944), an eclectic architect who presented conventional train station designs; and modernists such as José Ângelo Cottinelli Telmo (1897-1948) and Porfírio Pardal Monteiro (1897-1957).

It's intriguing to observe that despite stringent and controlled governmental directives, architects managed to imprint their distinct architectural expressions onto their projects. These built endeavours encompass a spectrum ranging from wholly traditional to resolutely modern outcomes. Notable instances of traditional and regional stylistic influences include the train stations located in Marvão (1926), Reguengos de Monsaraz (1927), Fronteira (1933), Santiago do Cacém (1934), Sines (1936), Cabeço de Vide (1937), and others.<sup>25</sup>

Conversely, there also exist train stations conceived with a modernist ethos, exemplified by Carregado (1931), Entroncamento (1933), and Vila Real de Santo António (1936), among others. Finally, some examples seamlessly blend traditional and modern elements, as seen in Coimbra (1931), Azambuja (1935), Curia (1944), and more.<sup>26</sup>

This article is centred on the traditional expressions evident within the railway infrastructure, where a formal model appeared that distinctly departed from the past and was termed as 2<sup>nd</sup> Class AA.<sup>27</sup> This typology entailed spaces such as the ticket office, waiting rooms, cafeteria, and platform access. These areas, originally located on the ground areas of 2<sup>nd</sup> Class A, are now exclusively positioned within a single-side wing, thus intensifying the asymmetry of this model. Another notable departure in this model is the inclusion of sanitary facilities adjacent to the central core, replacing the previous side wing. Lastly, the stationmaster's residence remains consistent with other railway classes, yet its significance is accentuated through the incorporation of exterior stairs, underscoring a progressively domestic architectural language.

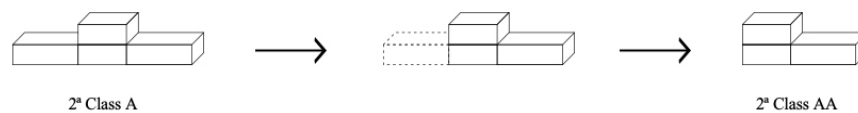


Figure 4. Diagrams of Volumetric Transformations from 2<sup>nd</sup> Class A to 2<sup>nd</sup> Class AA.<sup>28</sup>

The most significant outcome of this new programmatic arrangement was the elimination of one side wing, resulting in the disruption of volume symmetry. This symmetry had been a fundamental aspect across all previously defined classes, but it is now absent. Consequently, this class is characterized by the asymmetry brought about by the removal of one side wing.

#### “Estado Novo” primary schools’ architecture

In contrast to the diverse architectural expressions found within the railway realm, the primary school projects constructed under the "Plano dos Centenários" exhibited a more linear and traditionalist demeanour. The studies presented by the Directorate of National Buildings in the North served as the basis for the final projects of primary schools throughout the country. The buildings, all with the same floor plan, followed two types intended for a single gender or with separation for both genders. The facades would be designed in a way that even a minor characteristic would distinguish each of the regions. Solutions were provided for 1, 2, 3, and 4 classrooms for 1 gender, and for 2, 3, and 4 classrooms for 2 genders. All solutions were designed to allow for expansion when deemed appropriate.<sup>29</sup>

The prominent figures included Raúl Lino da Silva (1879-1974), a dedicated proponent of "Casa Portuguesa" principles, unarguably a traditionalist architect. Additionally, Rogério dos Santos Azevedo (1898-1983) played a significant role, navigating between classical and traditional influences, demonstrating a nuanced interpretation of modernism tailored to client preferences.<sup>30</sup> Azevedo's eclectic architectural approach predominantly centred on proposing regionalized and traditional school-type projects.

In total, forty-four different prototype projects were developed, comprising buildings with one, two, three, and four rooms. There were twelve projects authored by Raul Lino, corresponding to three regionalized types; and thirty-two projects by Rogério de Azevedo, comprising six regionalized types (and another referred to as rural type)<sup>31</sup> where only thirty-two buildings by Raul Lino and fifty-six buildings by Rogério de Azevedo were built. What was actually built in larger amounts were simplified versions of these model types proposals by other architects.<sup>32</sup>

Illustrative instances include Santo António (1944), Castro Marim (1944), Ovar (1944), Guarda (1944), Vila do Conde (1944), Vila Real (1944), and others. These projects adhered to simplicity and were constructed based on the principle of symmetry, ensuring uniform orientation for all demeanours and entrances.

When analysing the schools from the "Plano dos Centenários" regardless of the materials and finishes utilized, it becomes evident that schools across different regions of the country are identical.<sup>33</sup> The architectural contrast that defines the "Portuguese Suave" style is evident in how these structures conceal their concrete frameworks beneath regionalist embellishments.

The building typology and aesthetics of the centenary schools acquire symbolism influenced by their cultural and social milieu, thereby conditioning their image. Presently, the horizontal volumes encompassed by expansive recreational areas are immediately identifiable as architectural components—indisputable emblems of the Estado Novo regime.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, this holds true for all train stations constructed during the same era.



Figure 5. Examples of vernacular aesthetics in Primary Schools and Train Stations' model types.<sup>35</sup>

## CONCLUSION

During its forty-eight years of absolute rule, the "Estado Novo" embraced a rendition of vernacular and popular architecture referred to as "Português Suave." This architectural ideology aimed to concretize and disseminate the regime's ideals, seamlessly aligning with Salazar's aspiration of moulding the nation into a "vast white village in a rural setting".<sup>36</sup> However, the architectural reality comprised a fusion of contrasting concepts. While the regime ostensibly championed a conventional regionalist architectural vocabulary to represent authentic Portuguese design, beneath this façade of traditional authenticity, discernible articulations of modern engineering emerged. These bore witness to an innovative essence and the incorporation of ground-breaking materials harmonized with the latest technological progressions.

Salazar's discerning taste, driven by an unwavering pursuit of genuine aesthetic splendour, serves to validate the traditionalist embellishment of stonework. This adornment is symmetrically applied to the expansive horizontal forms, endowing an identity reminiscent of a lavish empire, deftly conceptualized under the geometric precision of Chief Salazar.

Within regional designs, the stonework emerges as the most recurrent element, serving as a hallmark that identifies and distinguishes projects across the various phases of the "Plano dos Centenários". Public edifices, encompassing primary schools and railways, stood as embodiments of the political propaganda propagated by the "Estado Novo" regime. Grounded in tradition, the architecture of this era leaned upon the deceptive monumentality of these structures.

The regime's dominion was erected through an emphasis on public infrastructure, predominantly utilizing a standardisation approach by implementing uniform model-type projects. This was complemented by the utilization of regional materials, a practice that lent authenticity to the structures. Thus, the resulting architectural expression diverged from conventional notions of monumental architecture.<sup>37</sup>

In the realm of railways, projects emerged in various forms, ranging from pure traditionalism to a modernist aesthetic, and even combinations of both. Conversely, the context of primary schools presents a more cohesive and unified traditional style. However, what becomes evident is that, despite these seemingly distinct styles, they all adhered to a shared architectural language - a language meticulously choreographed by the regime, one that remains recognizable even today.

It proves challenging to encounter a train station or primary school from this era without instinctively identifying its historical period.

## NOTES

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<sup>2</sup> New State.

<sup>3</sup> Carlos Alberto Magalhães Gomes Mota, “A Educação Portuguesa Durante o Estado Novo (1933-1974): Uma Visão de Síntese,” *Saberes Interdisciplinares*, no. 25 (2020): 38, <http://186.194.210.79:8090/revistas/index.php/SaberesInterdisciplinares/article/view/340/314>.

<sup>4</sup> Deus, Pátria e Família.

<sup>5</sup> Rita Almeida de Carvalho, “Ideology and Architecture in the Portuguese ‘Estado Novo’: Cultural Innovation within a Para-Fascist State (1932-1945),” *Fascism* 7, no. 2 (2018): 172, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22116257-00702002>.

<sup>6</sup> Joana Brites, “Arquitetura e Palingenesia No Estado Novo: Modernismo, Fascismo e «regeneração Nacional»,” in *Estética Dos Regimes Autoritários e Totalitários*, ed. Edições Humus (V. N. Famalicão, 2021), 237, [https://www.academia.edu/52448106/\\_Arquitetura\\_e\\_palingenesia\\_no\\_estado\\_novo\\_modernismo\\_fascismo\\_e\\_regeneracao\\_nacional\\_em\\_estetica\\_dos\\_regimes\\_autoritarios\\_e\\_totalitarios\\_org\\_de\\_nuno\\_rosmaninho\\_e\\_manuel\\_ferreira\\_rodrigues\\_v\\_n\\_famalicao\\_edicoes\\_humus\\_2021](https://www.academia.edu/52448106/_Arquitetura_e_palingenesia_no_estado_novo_modernismo_fascismo_e_regeneracao_nacional_em_estetica_dos_regimes_autoritarios_e_totalitarios_org_de_nuno_rosmaninho_e_manuel_ferreira_rodrigues_v_n_famalicao_edicoes_humus_2021).

<sup>7</sup> Ana Margarida dos Santos Gama, “Plano Dos Centenários Concelho Do Fundão” (Universidade da Beira Interior, 2016), 4–6, <http://hdl.handle.net/10400.6/5089>.

<sup>8</sup> Jonas Van Vossole, “Crisis and Democratic Legitimacy. The Divergence of Narratives on Democracy in the Portuguese Social Conflict” (Universidade de Coimbra, 2020), 6, [https://estudogeral.uc.pt/bitstream/10316/95300/4/PhD thesis - Jonas Van Vossole.pdf](https://estudogeral.uc.pt/bitstream/10316/95300/4/PhD%20thesis%20-%20Jonas%20Van%20Vossole.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> It was a motto created by the government for all Portuguese Youth to stimulate the integral development of their physical capacity, the formation of character, and devotion to the Homeland, fostering a sense of order, a taste for discipline and a reverence for military duty, as stated in the decree-law nr 26, 611, of 19th of May 1936.

<sup>10</sup> The classification is part of an ongoing PhD investigation; hence the model-type nomenclatures are still evolving, therefore they might also evolve in future publications.

<sup>11</sup> Rui Manuel Vaz Alves, “Arquitetura, Cidade e Caminho de Ferro: As Transformações Urbanas Planeadas Sob a Influência Do Caminho de Ferro,” *Departamento de Arquitectura Da Faculdade de Ciências e Tecnologia* (Universidade de Coimbra, 2015), 598–99, <https://estudogeral.sib.uc.pt/handle/10316/29052>.

<sup>12</sup> All images by author, 2023

<sup>13</sup> Both renovated and built train stations.

<sup>14</sup> Luís Miguel Correia, *Obras Públicas No Estado Novo*, ed. Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, *Obras Públicas No Estado Novo* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2020), 234, <https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-1894-4>.

<sup>15</sup> Alexandra Cabeçadas Arsénio Nunes Aníbal, “A Expansão Da Rede Escolar Do Ensino Primário Durante o Estado Novo - Uma Política de Voluntarismo Minimalista,” in *IV Congresso Português de Sociologia APS Sociedade Portuguesa: Passados Recentes, Futuros Próximos*, ed. Associação Portuguesa de Sociologia (Lisboa: Associação Portuguesa de Sociologia, 2020), 2, [https://aps.pt/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/DPR462dd61024aca\\_1.pdf](https://aps.pt/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/DPR462dd61024aca_1.pdf).

<sup>16</sup> All images by author, 2023.

<sup>17</sup> Centenary Plan.

<sup>18</sup> Gama, “Plano Dos Centenários Concelho Do Fundão,” 29.

<sup>19</sup> Paulo Sérgio Pereira Pimenta, “A Escola Portuguesa: Do ‘Plano Dos Centenários’ à Construção Da Rede Escolar No Distrito de Vila Real” (Universidade do Minho, 2006), 15, <http://repositorium.sdum.uminho.pt/handle/1822/6973>.

<sup>20</sup> One of the principles made mandatory in the buildings of this Plan was the complete separation of genders, thus creating the so-called “twin building,” with classrooms for boys and classrooms for girls, each having separate entrances and access to restrooms, ensuring a complete segregation of sexes. This principle was imposed by the Law of May 20, 1938. Pimenta, 168.

<sup>21</sup> All figures by author, 2023, except figures: TRANCOSO – Googlemaps. Accessed August 9, 2023.

[AMPS | Czech Technical University, Prague](https://www.google.com/maps/@40.776918,-7.347879,3a,90y,80.96h,93.72t/data=!3m6!1e!3m4!1sF0YllnanMdW1HPamQlws7g!2e0!7i113312!8i6656?entry=tu; ESPINHO – Cunff, Françoise Le. “Adões Bermudes, Arquiteto Escolar.” Secretaria-Geral da Educação e</a></p>
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<sup>22</sup> Aníbal, “A Expansão Da Rede Escolar Do Ensino Primário Durante o Estado Novo - Uma Política de Voluntarismo Minimalista,” 2.

<sup>23</sup> Brites, “Arquitetura e Palingenesia No Estado Novo: Modernismo, Fascismo e «regeneração Nacional»,” 235.

<sup>24</sup> “Traditionalism, regionalism, and nationalized neo-classicism were concepts that suited them the most. However, the prevalence of these aesthetics is not to be mistaken for an established official style, but rather as the result of a successful campaign in favour of nationalism and against radical currents of internationalism which had been fought since the last decade of the nineteenth Century, leading to a standardisation of taste perfectly in harmony with the Salazarist doctrine.” Carvalho, “Ideology and Architecture in the Portuguese ‘Estado Novo’: Cultural Innovation within a Para-Fascist State (1932-1945),” 167..

<sup>25</sup> Almourol, Aveiro, Santarém, Vila Franca de Xira, Póvoa, Mercês, Caldas da Rainha, Pinhal Novo, Évora, Beja, Rio Tinto, Contumil, S. Mamede de Infesta, Castelo, Vizela, Covas, Gatão Chapa, Celorico de Basto, Mondim de Basto, Arco de Baúlhe, Chaves, Mogadouro, Miranda, Cerdeira, etc.

<sup>26</sup> J. de Sousa Nunes, “A Via e Obras Nos Caminhos de Ferro de Portugal,” *Gazeta Dos Caminho de Ferro n.º 1476* (Lisboa, 1949), 421, [http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/OBRAS/GazetaCF/1949/N1476/N1476\\_master/GazetaCFN1476.pdf](http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/OBRAS/GazetaCF/1949/N1476/N1476_master/GazetaCFN1476.pdf).

<sup>27</sup> This is part of a PhD investigation and the terminology is still a work in progress.

<sup>28</sup> All images by author, 2023.

<sup>29</sup> Pimenta, “A Escola Portuguesa: Do ‘Plano Dos Centenários’ à Construção Da Rede Escolar No Distrito de Vila Real,” 16.

<sup>30</sup> Gama, “Plano Dos Centenários Concelho Do Fundão,” 22.

<sup>31</sup> João Pedro Frazão Silva Féteira, “O Plano Dos Centenários - As Escolas Primárias (1941 – 1956)” (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2013), 59, <http://hdl.handle.net/10362/11341>.

<sup>32</sup> Manuel Fernandes de Sá; Joaquim Areal; Eduardo Moreira dos Santos; Alberto Braga de Sousa; etc.

<sup>33</sup> Pimenta, “A Escola Portuguesa: Do ‘Plano Dos Centenários’ à Construção Da Rede Escolar No Distrito de Vila Real,” 110.

<sup>34</sup> Gama, “Plano Dos Centenários Concelho Do Fundão,” 84.

<sup>35</sup> All images by author, 2023.

<sup>36</sup> Carvalho, “Ideology and Architecture in the Portuguese ‘Estado Novo’: Cultural Innovation within a Para-Fascist State (1932-1945),” 172.

<sup>37</sup> Gama, “Plano Dos Centenários Concelho Do Fundão,” 83.

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# **DRAW THE PLACE OF AGUDA: THE NARRATIVE OF THE LOCAL HERITAGE, IN THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN CHILDREN AND JUVENILE.**

Author:

**CÁTIA OLIVEIRA**

Affiliation:

CITCEM - CENTRE FOR TRANSDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH CULTURE, SPACE AND MEMORY, FACULTY OF LETTERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PORTO, PORTUGAL

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage,<sup>1</sup> the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage<sup>2</sup> and the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society,<sup>3</sup> update the paradigm on Cultural Heritage towards a universal understanding. In all of them, in a more or less evident way, a necessary and urgent attention to education is evoked, sometimes implied in a broader understanding of heritage and its relationship with communities and society, encouraging the identification, protection, conservation, valorisation and transmission to future generations of cultural and natural heritage.<sup>4</sup>

In the case of Portuguese education, the guiding documents for early childhood aim to “recognise its social, cultural and natural elements and the interaction between them, [which] contributes to improving the affective and personal connection with it, underpinning local identity and the sense of belonging to a place”.<sup>5</sup>

We are convinced that education is fundamental, as it guarantees the activation of the awareness of heritage valorisation. According to Olaia Fontal, “the curriculum is sufficient to address heritage”,<sup>6</sup> thus overcoming the discussion about the adequacy, or not, of school curricula for the inclusion of heritage in their syllabus contents. In the same vein, the UNESCO document *Teaching and Learning with Living Heritage* argues that by teaching with living heritage, the educator “shifts the focus to the use of elements of living cultural heritage as learning opportunities integrated into the subjects of the school curriculum”.<sup>7</sup>

However, we believe that this universe of educators, for various reasons, requires support with regard to the most current literacy for heritage education.

This article presents a part of the PhD project *Mais Património. Laboratório da Educação para o Património (More Heritage. Heritage Education Laboratory)*, which has two fishing communities of Vila Nova de Gaia (Portugal), as the geographical delimitation of its implementation, in the maritime-fluvial axis of Afurada-Aguda. In this sense, the elements that we present here come from an educational experience in the Kindergarten of Aguda, in the extreme south-west of Europe.

Draw the place of Aguda thus focuses on the analysis and development of a participatory methodology, related to various areas of heritage management, which reiterates the role of the school

community in reading the cultural landscape in which it is inserted. From the international literature, the link between Heritage and Education is discussed by Olaia Fontal,<sup>8</sup> a reference that will be frequently referred to.

## TERRITORY AND COMMUNITIES

The place of Aguda is located in the parish of Arcozelo, in Vila Nova de Gaia, Portugal. When looking at the cartography, we easily realise the size of the coastal strip bathed by the Atlantic Ocean that delimits the municipal territory to the west, and its boundary to the north, the Douro River. In this vein, although we recognise that Vila Nova de Gaia is composed of a vast and heterogeneous territory, we understand that the seafaring communities and their dynamics are part of the municipal imaginary, both in its historical and symbolic expression. It seems to us, and supported by the literature review, that the case study of Aguda bears witness to the appropriation of this maritime legacy.

The coastal profile of Aguda beach is characterised by an extensive rocky platform – as illustrated in Figure 1, with rough waters, which made access to the sea difficult, a reason for the long settlement of an indigenous fishing community. If we take into account the diachrony, it is the relationship with the local agricultural activity and its hinge position between Afurada and Granja that drive the extraction of fish resources.<sup>9</sup> This relationship with agricultural activity is justified by the use of a species of small crab, extracted from the ocean, as fertiliser for the land. According to Father Pinho Nunes, “the fields became more productive with fishing and this developed with the increasingly intense demand from farmers”,<sup>10</sup> which may have motivated the migration of fishermen from the neighbourhood. Subsequently, given the variety of species available, they ended up settling on the beach, giving rise to a fishing centre centred on artisanal fishing. We can consider that the emergence of precarious wooden housing in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century initiated what can be considered the place of Aguda.<sup>11</sup>



*Figure 1 – Coastal profile of Aguda Beach in May 2022, where the rocky platform next to the sand is evident. Source: Google Earth*

The breakwater shown in Figure 1 is a 2002 work,<sup>12</sup> which redesigned the sandy beach of Aguda. Its construction is due to insecurity issues at the entrance and exit to the beach, but also to contain the sea water that in winter would overflow Rua do Mar, the subsequent toponym. It is also important to clarify the connection to the place of Granja. Initially a territory also allocated to the economic activity of fishing, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it became a high-society seaside resort, pushing the fishing



class to the neighbouring beaches. This social transformation gradually had an impact on Aguda as well. Recalling the reference to Pinho Nunes, “in addition to the neighbouring rural populations, people from far away began to frequent the [Aguda] beach for commercial, sporting or health reasons, mainly due to the facilities created by the railway”.<sup>13</sup>

This transfiguration has continued over the last few years, like other villages on the river and sea fronts that have been the target of urban intervention policies. In the current Aguda, we find a mix between a rural reality, families involved in artisanal fishing, who live in the streets near the coastline, but who coexist with the increasingly expressive number of catering establishments and local accommodation. However, we should not omit that some individuals formerly involved in fishing, with properties in this area, have found in seasonal accommodation another means of subsistence to overcome the difficulties of fishing activity and taking advantage of coastal tourism and its relevance in Portugal, with its cultural experience being one of the greatest attractions.

### **Co-creation with the school community**

Draw the place of Aguda is an action of co-creation with the school community. It is the work developed in a Portuguese public school, the Kindergarten of Aguda, with a group of 20 children aged between 3 and 5 years old, that is, at the pre-school level. This action took place between February and May 2023.

The main objective of our work was to test a pedagogical practice of awareness, identification and valorisation of cultural heritage that culminates in an attitude of commitment to its protection. In addition, we assumed the reinforcement of cultural literacy among educators as a transversal objective, promoting a joint work that enabled the confrontation of practices and expansion of pedagogical, personal and collective experiences. The prioritised intervention typology is part of the so-called project work methodology, which breaks with the tradition of expository and unidirectional teaching, enabling the children to assume a decisive/participatory role in the construction of knowledge.

The processes described above have materialised in the promotion of an environment of cooperation and dialogue that allowed the development of ideas in groups, guiding the children to identify heritage elements in the territory.

Working with the school community presented us with some challenges related to the sociocultural context mentioned above. Recalling the reference to Olaia Fontal, and her position regarding the relational character of heritage, our approach would start from the links already established between the children and the place of Aguda. However, the diagnosis made with the educator responsible for the group showed us that this issue would be compromised. Firstly, the fact that most of the children do not live in Aguda and, looking specifically at the connection to the fishing community, the absence of references or values orientated towards maritime culture. The family context of almost all the children who make up the group of our action, no longer has a connection with the sea. This weakness is exacerbated by the impossibility of including in the planning of activities any moment outside the school, in direct observation of the building or the experiences of the urban context. It was, in fact, this condition that triggered the realisation of the set of graphic compositions between the children's drawings and the photographs of Aguda, presented in this article.

### **A POSSIBLE APPROACH**

Over the last few years, we have been reflecting on heritage education, its possibilities and challenges.<sup>14</sup> The literature review shows us that the complexity of both concepts, education and heritage, is undergoing a vertiginous increase in contemporary society. In addition to the theoretical work, the variety of proposals, both nationally and internationally, that have been presented on

heritage mediation and formal education and that we have been able to consult for the rigorous planning of our project is evident.

In this perspective, as a result of research and previous experiences, we present heritage to the group of children from Aguda according to 4 elements: 1) buildings; 2) places; 3) people; and 4) memories. The reasons behind this definition correspond to the need to adapt the discourse to the age group, as well as to the possibility of bringing the material and immaterial dimension to the work.

The discussion of elements 1 and 2 is quickly understood by the children. Being physical, observable elements, where the historical contextualisation is easily assimilated. In cases 3 and 4, we deal with the subject at greater length, introducing the discussion on the valorisation of the individual, as a living heritage that is generated from the memories, rituals and practices energised by people. From here, we deconstruct the explanation about passing from generation to generation.

The planning necessarily had to meet the parallel projects of the school, namely the objectives established in the *School Cultural Plan* (PCE) of the School Group, as well as, and inherently within the scope of the research in progress, the *National Arts Plan* (PNA). Based on the main objectives of the PCE: a) strengthening the cultural identity of the school/school group, considering its territorial, social, artistic and heritage context; b) enhancing the development of critical and creative thinking, aesthetic and artistic sensitivity and the interpretation of cultural and artistic references,<sup>15</sup> the approach sought complementarity between the work developed at school by the educator and the contribution of our academic research in proposing and promoting the activity. In the case of the PNA, we moved in view of its mission to promote “social transformation, mobilising the educational power of the arts and heritage in the lives of citizens: for all and with each one”.<sup>16</sup>

### **Planning and mapping**

The images that we bring to this article appear in a second moment of the proposal for the recreation of the game “Who's Who” about the place of Aguda. This was a work planned with the educator responsible for the group, recognising its importance not only for greater collaboration with the children, meeting their interests and motivations, but also a strategy to include the family in the activity. Each child was asked, in a family context, to collect images, objects or memories related to the place of Aguda and bring them to the classroom activity.<sup>17</sup>

For the reading of the landscape, we again used the curriculum guidelines for pre-school, understanding its perfect suitability for the planned work. In this sense, not being possible to observe *in loco*, and taking advantage of the students' contributions, we resorted to indirect visualisation, through images, photographs and maps, seeking through guided dialogue, that the children were able to identify and map heritage elements.

The main concern of our discourse was not the mere identification of places, but the transmission of key knowledge for this identification and an awakening to sensitivity in understanding these dynamics.

Figure XX shows the distribution across the territory of the elements mentioned by children.<sup>18</sup>

	Natural Heritage	Id1	Atlantic Ocean
		Id2	Marine species
		Id3	Beach
	Architectural Heritage	Id4	Chapel of Our Lady of Nazareth
		Id5	Aguda Volunteer Fire Brigade
		Id6	Kindergarten
		Id7	Palace
		Id8	Restaurants
		Id9*	Mill
		Id10	Health Centre
		Id11	Littoral Station of Aguda
		Id12	Fish Market
		Id13	Breakwater
		Id14	Shipwreck Relief Building
	Human Heritage	Id15*	Fisherman
		Id16*	Fishmonger
	Real Property	Id17	Boat
		Id18	Fishing net

Table 1. Identification of elements referenced by the children

### Identification and design

Using Table 1, we realise that, typologically, the children listed Natural, Architectural and Human (intangible) Heritage, but also listed Real Property. The prevalence of architectural elements is justified by the greater capacity for identification in this age group. For classroom work, we used the

monographs *Cem anos da Praia da Aguda 1888-1988*<sup>19</sup> and *Marés da Aguda*,<sup>20</sup> where in dialogue with the children, we led the discourse to the historiography of the place, punctuating it with elements of its identity. In the conversation, references to heritage values were introduced, namely the use of the concept of memory. Likewise, a vast photographic collection was used, as a document, collected and compiled in an action of the *Littoral Station of Aguda (ELA)*<sup>21</sup> which aims at this transmission of the importance not only of ELA as a museum space, but also the social responsibility that it contains, in order to ensure the memory of local identity.

This first moment also resulted in the creation of a map of words (Sea; Beach; Boat; Net; Fisherman; Restaurants; Octopus; Mill; Firefighters; Fish; Health Centre; Crab; Lighthouse; School; Shipwreck Relief; Palace; Church; *Vareira\**; Littoral Station of Aguda).



Figure 2. Drawing of the Chapel of Our Lady of Nazareth.

This was followed by a moment of creative and interpretative exploration, through drawing and promoting the students' autonomous work. In addition to the effective constitution of the material for the game, this phase allowed us to understand how children interpret and perceive the territory and landscape. Our role as mediators in this phase was to continue the process of exposing ideas. The case of the Chapel of Our Lady of Nazareth [Id4] – as illustrated in Figure 2, allowed us to approach not only the building and its historiography, but essentially the devotional practices and religious manifestations of the community, such as the annual procession in honour of the patron saint of fishermen, which it materialises. From another point of view, both the Fish Market [Id12] and the Beach [Id3] led our mediation to the sensory dimension, in this case auditory and olfactory. The students were challenged to remain silent for a few moments in order to, through the identification of the memories of their experiences, mention which sensory experiences they would remember, listing the preaching of the sale and the odour of the fish in the Fish Market and the sounds arising from the Beach, such as the ripple, boat engines or children playing on the sand. This exercise also invites us to reflect back on the typology of cultural experiences to which these children are exposed.

\*Relates to the seaside between Aveiro and Porto.



Figure 3. Sequence of images demonstrating the various phases of the project.

### Products and presentation to the family and the school community

The set of strategies defined for the work always took into account the flexible character of the pedagogical space and the motivation of the working group. It was from the premise of the project work methodology, which gives the child a participatory and guiding role, that the opportunity arose to superimpose the children's drawings on the photographs of the public space. The intentionality of this action is related to two objectives: the first, to transmit the appreciation and recognition of their work to the children and, the second, which arises from the impossibility of moving abroad, thus trying to get closer to the real context. In this sense, in an image editing work, we remove some or all of the elements that we reposition in the photographs using image editing programmes.



Figure 4. Photomontage between photography and the children's drawings. The example of the sale of fish in the Fish Market of Aguda.

The moment of presentation to the community was not previously planned. This intention came from the educator-in-charge, designed for two different moments: the first referring to the Family Party and the second in the *EDUCA 23 Week*, promoted by the School Group. If in the first it was possible for family members to participate in the game, in the second it was the children who make up the working group who explained the work applied in the project to the educational community, reinforcing the consistency of our methodology.



Figure 5. Photographs of the moments of presentation of the work to the family and the school community

## CONCLUSION

Considering heritage mediation as an infinite task, with this article we intend to shift the debate to the terrain of shared responsibilities between cultural and education agents and in the role of mediators that they both play.

From our experience, it seems clear that the work between educators and researchers must be reciprocated. Both sectors face complex challenges.

If education, by virtue of contemporary society, discusses a new reform and faces new types of relationship with the family context, where the continuity of acquired knowledge is embodied, the updating and extension of the heritage universe and its values, it challenges the ability of education agents to plan and adapt their programmes.

In this vein, if theoretical production on how heritage education can take greater advantage of formal education is to be achieved, it will have to take into account the day-to-day constraints of educational institutions. To the same extent, the rigour of heritage mediation can only be achieved with an increase in cultural literacy on the part of these education agents, in order to guide their practice and enhance the relationship between civic and heritage values. The educational proposals presented in this article enable not only the development of interdisciplinary competences that are part of the school curricula, but also the exploration of moral and civic values in the relationship with others and with materials. In this way, we can affirm that these exercises fit into citizenship education, providing the acquisition of “attitudes and behaviours, of dialogue and respect for others, based on ways of being in society that have as reference human rights, namely the values of equality, democracy and social justice”.<sup>22</sup>

In the case of Aguda, and since it is an artisanal fishing centre, we consider it essential to involve the community in this and other projects, for the knowledge and sustainable preservation of its cultural fabric. This line of action that we propose is, of course, derived from international documents that place coastal areas and oceans at the centre of sustainable development policies, both from an environmental and economic point of view and from a cultural point of view, with territorial identity being a fundamental resource for its sustainability.<sup>23</sup>

In short, recognising that other emerging lines of action remain to be explored, we consider it important to highlight, on the basis of the data we collected in the fieldwork and subsequently analysed, two discussions: the need to continue developing a maturity of proposals and field of action for both teaching agents and researchers; and, considering the constraints foreseen in each community

and educational context, the feasibility of the figure of the cultural education agent and its necessary capacity for adaptation and positioning.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Unesco, Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Paris, 2003) Accessed February 22, 2023 <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/01852-EN.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Unesco, Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Paris, UNESCO 2003) Accessed February 22, 2023 <https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/>

<sup>3</sup> Council of Europe, *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (Faro, 2005). Accessed February 22, 2023

<sup>4</sup> Unesco, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*: Article 4.

<sup>5</sup> Direção Geral da Educação, *Orientações Curriculares para o Pré-escolar* (Lisbon, 2016) Secção 3.3 – Área do Conhecimento do Mundo. Accessed February 22, 2023, [https://www.dge.mec.pt/ocepe/sites/default/files/Orientacoes\\_Curriculares.pdf](https://www.dge.mec.pt/ocepe/sites/default/files/Orientacoes_Curriculares.pdf)

We should emphasise that the same document takes an identical stance towards the European reality: “As a European citizen, children should have the opportunity to develop a sense of belonging, which does not presuppose a uniform identity, but stems from a heterogeneous history, with different influences resulting in a plural community in terms of experiences, cultures, values, etc.”.

<sup>6</sup> Olaia Fontal, *La educación patrimonial. Del patrimonio a las personas* (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2013), 25

<sup>7</sup> Unesco, *Teaching and Learning with Living Heritage* (Paris, 2021)

<sup>8</sup> Olaia Fontal, *La educación patrimonial centrada en los vínculos, El origami de bienes, valores y personas* (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2022).

<sup>9</sup> The fishing community of Afurada, located on the left bank of the Douro River, near the mouth, is still one of the most representative of the municipality. In the case of Granja, although it is recognised for its strong bathing dynamics, it was once a fishing port that is believed to have later settled in Aguda.

<sup>10</sup> Pinho Nunes, *Monografia da Praia da Aguda* (Vila Nova de Gaia: Estratégias Criativas, 1954), 21.

<sup>11</sup> Pinho Nunes, *Monografia da Praia da Aguda* (Vila Nova de Gaia: Estratégias Criativas, 1954), 20

<sup>12</sup> Mike Weber, *Aguda, para além das marés – fauna, flora e pescas no mar da Aguda*. (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2005), 115.

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<sup>16</sup> Direção Geral da Educação, *Plano Nacional das Artes. Uma estratégia, um manifesto* (Lisbon: DGE, 2019).

<sup>17</sup> As a result of this request for collaboration, 3 participations have emerged, including monographs, maps and photographs.

<sup>18</sup> Items Id9, Id15 and Id16 are not fixed. In the case of the first item, it was not fixed due to a pre-existence in the place and was mentioned by the children because it was visualised in the photographs. The items related to Id15 and Id16 concern the fisherman and the fishmonger, and in this sense are immaterial constituents of the community and are therefore not fixed on the map.

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# MEMORY TRANSFER OR AMNESIA: THE ARCHAEPARK PROJECT OF GÖLPINAR HITTITE RESERVOIR

Author:

**ARZU GÜLER,<sup>1</sup> BÜLENT ARIKAN,<sup>1</sup> SAM TURNER<sup>2</sup>**

Affiliation:

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY, TURKEY; NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY, UK

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## INTRODUCTION

Landscapes are dynamic entities which change constantly through the interaction of their natural and cultural constituents. People attach cultural value to visible and invisible aspects of landscapes, and these values shape both the individual and social memory which relates to them. Alaca Höyük, a 3500-year-old Hittite mound settlement in Central Anatolia, is no exception. The fabric of this landscape also shapes memory of the practices that have shaped it, including farming and crops, management of water, and relationships to the surrounding landscape. These memories are also still valued in the daily life of local people. In this sense, the transmission of memory is important both for the preservation of this cultural landscape and for nature to flourish in this environment. Disjunctures in cultural landscapes may impede or obscure the transmission of their cultural heritage, impacting local societies' sense of belonging to the place and tending towards the homogenisation of space. For these reasons, the social and cultural transmission of landscape memory is of significance.

The study area, Gölpınar Hittite Reservoir, has a distinctive landscape character which is deeply intertwined with its social memory. The reservoir preserves elements of the traditional water management practices of the Hittite Empire and the surrounding gardens are examples of an historic landscape type distinctive to the region and the Hittite period. In this sense, the reservoir and surrounding area were incorporated into an archaeological park with the aim of preserving this heritage.

The starting point for this research was to understand how successful the Gölpınar archaeological park project has been in reflecting and communicating the historical and cultural memory of the site. In this context, we examined the approach to the archaeological park project and used it to identify basic site-specific evaluation criteria. We examined the archaeological park using these criteria within its landscape context, rather than focusing solely on the archaeological remains. Archaeoparks in Turkey are designed to provide a living experience of the heritage and an effective way to communicate heritage values: the study aims to assess the success of this type of heritage management through the example of Gölpınar Archaeological Park.

## Historic Landscapes and Archaeological Parks

Historic landscapes are entities which reflect the cultural and natural processes that have created them, including land-use activities, cultivation practices, building traditions, as well as natural processes of climate and the environment. Rather being static objects, they imply multi-dimensional places which

connect layers of time and memory and include intangible as well as tangible elements. They are continuously interpreted, constructed and re-created by different cultures in the same area. Historic landscapes are therefore complex cultural entities with many physical and invisible aspects.

The main aims of archaeological parks in Turkey are to exhibit archaeological aspects of cultural heritage through a recreational design approach. Archaeoparks are thematically located between archaeological sites and cultural parks. They include archaeological objects, settlements, activity areas and modern services where visitors can experience the heritage they contain. However, they also serve as landscape parks, and so they have educational, recreational and leisure purposes.<sup>1</sup> They need to be designed through a multidisciplinary approach, since they include both archaeological remains and landscape features. In this context, their conservation and maintenance also need great care. Their design follows a three-step process of planning, designing, and management, which are also the main elements of landscape architecture projects.

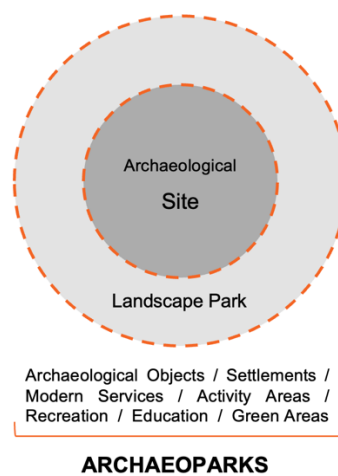


Figure 1. Aspects of Archaeopark Projects.

### Memory Transfer within Archaeological Parks

Within the scope of this article, ‘memory transfer’ in archaeological parks means the way cultural activities of past societies are communicated and shared with visitors through the historic landscape of the archaeological place (Figure 2). This process of physical and perceptual engagement is designed to help visitors experience the heritage in a rich and satisfying way. The interaction with and experience of the landscape are essential in enabling them to develop a sense of place and place identity that emerges from engagement with the unique historical and environmental values of the area.<sup>2</sup>

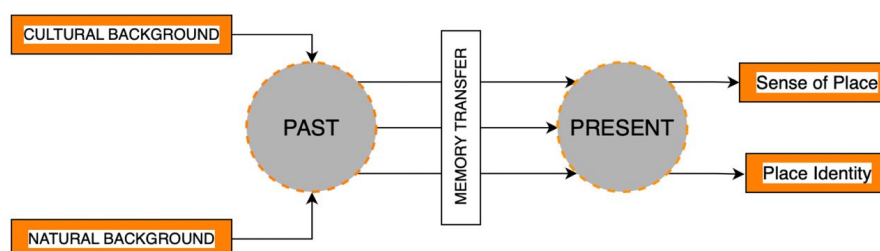


Figure 2. Memory transfer in Archaeological parks.

To achieve this type of engagement, it is essential to emphasize each landscape's specific cultural and natural characteristics. Although there are fundamental design principles, each archaeological park needs particular design criteria and strategies because each relates to a particular location and cultural context.

### BACKGROUND TO THE GÖLPINAR ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARK

Alaca Höyük is located 36 km to the northeast of the ancient capital of the Hittite empire at Hattusa (Boğazköy) in Çorum province, north-central Turkey (Figure 3). Alaca Höyük is one of the most important archaeological sites in Central Anatolia. Over the millennia has been an important center for diverse civilizations, and archaeological layers from various cultures shape the site beginning in the Chalcolithic Age, extending from the Early to Late Bronze Age/Hittite Period, and then from the early first millennium BCE to the early twentieth century CE (Figure 4).



Figure 3. The location of the research area.

The multi-layered nature of the site highlights its significance as an invaluable archaeological treasure, contributing to our broader understanding of human history and cultural heritage in Anatolia. Alaca Höyük is famous mainly for its Hittite settlement evidence, which is also visible on the site. Key features include the Sphinx Gate, the foundation of a Temple Palace, silos, a metal workshop, houses, a drainage system and tombs.

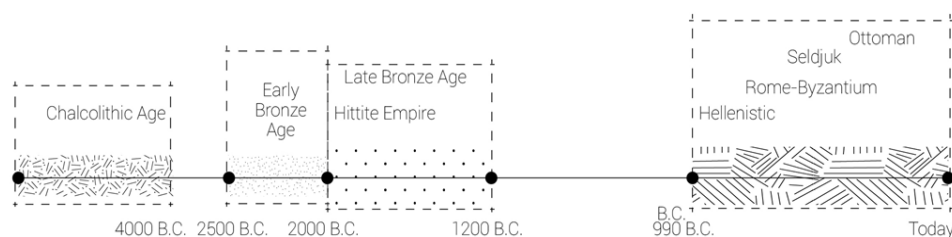


Figure 4. Cultural layers of Alaca Höyük.

The site was visited by various historical travelers. After being introduced to the wider world in 1835 by William J. Hamilton, the mound became a popular destination for scholars visiting Central Anatolia. Between 1833 and 1926, numerous researchers, including Charles Texier, Heinrich Barth, H.J. Van-Lennep, G. Perrot, E. Chantre, R.C. Thompson, and H.H. von der Orsten conducted research at the site. However, it was not until 1935 that formal excavations began at Alaca Höyük under the leadership of Hamit Zübeyir Koşay.

Alaca Höyük is surrounded by a modern village, fields, water resources, roads and pathways, other archaeological sites, and the Gölpınar Reservoir, which is dated to the period of the Hittite Empire.<sup>3</sup> The region has a steppe climate, and the landscape has a creamy-brown colour, especially in summer. Around the Gölpınar Hittite Reservoir, however, the abundant water creates a verdant landscape. In this sense, the green landscape of Gölpınar is rather different to the fields surrounding the mound. The land use and shape of the plots is also different in the gardens of the reservoir since they are mainly used as *bağ-bahçe* (a Turkish word used to describe the character of vineyard-orchards). It is assumed that the gardens evolved during the historical era. This distinctive landscape character was also described by excavation team leaders over the course of the twentieth century: Arik commented on the green and fertile nature of Gölpınar compared to its surroundings,<sup>4</sup> while Koşay (1954) noted that the gardens around the reservoir were used as a vineyard.<sup>5</sup>

Even though there has so far been no direct archaeological evidence, it seems likely that gardens around Gölpınar could have been used as vineyards during the Hittite Empire period (when the reservoir was first built), and that the vineyard-orchard were still here in Ottoman times. The fact that the region has endemic *Emir* grape species, in addition to other varieties, and the fact that grapes are frequently mentioned in texts from the Hittite period<sup>6</sup> is also suggestive. However, no archaeobotanical research has been carried out in the area to date.

## **BASIC CRITERIA FOR ARCHAEO PARKS**

During our research, we considered different approaches to archaeological parks and the goals set for them (Figure 5). According to the literature, enabling interaction and education are high priorities in the design of archaeological parks, in addition to the conservation and management of archaeological remains and landscapes. Some designers attempt to integrate interactions between visitors from the outset via social media platforms.<sup>7</sup> Such approaches are especially important for the integration of new technologies, where designers focus on the revival of the past through various representation techniques, such as virtual reality.<sup>8</sup> Creating a living environment through the reconstruction of structures (such as still-used Roman baths),<sup>9</sup> land-use activities from the past (such as rice growing),<sup>10</sup> and representing the picturesque landscape elements,<sup>11</sup> designers aim to strengthen the relationship between visitors and the site and makes it easier for them to understand how historic elements operated in their own context in the past. In addition, it is also considered desirable to increase interactions between visitors and local people, to raise public awareness, to increase the value of the region, and to emphasize the place's historic character.<sup>12</sup> Attempts to increase the interaction of tourists with the site and to reflect its archaeological values are also important in terms of strengthening the links with local people. Local people continue to shape the surrounding landscape, and it is they who ensure the continuity of the spirit of the place.<sup>13</sup>

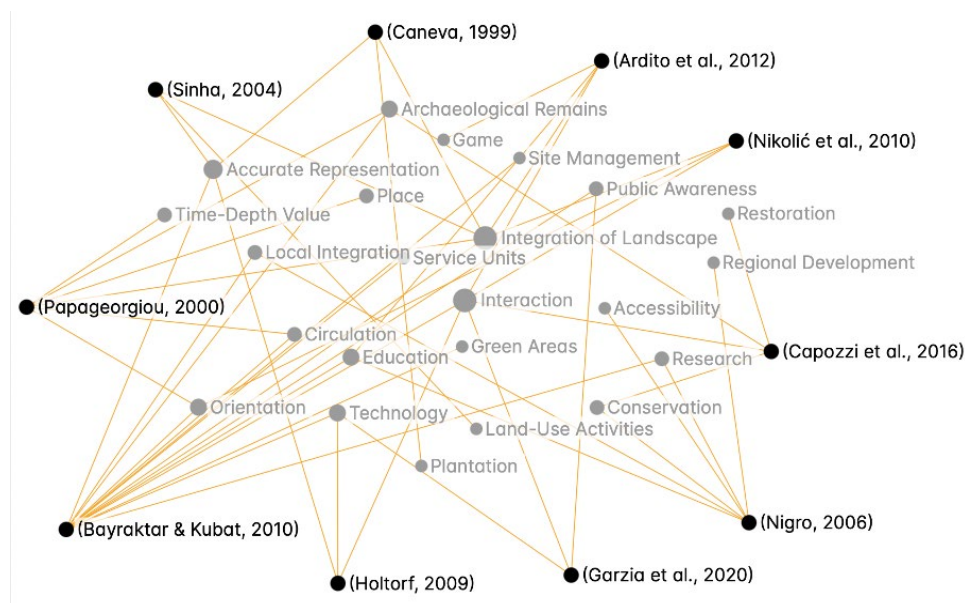


Figure 5. Literature network for archaeological parks.

On the other hand, some researchers emphasize the importance of emotional design aspects for archaeological parks, including the sense of arrival, orientation, and experience.<sup>14</sup> In this sense, it is important that the archaeological park design provides visitors with a natural flow through the area within its spatial narrative. It is generally accepted that archaeological park projects will entail high construction, conservation, and management costs: some studies suggest that by combining interaction and education with "*playing*", the high economic costs required by designed activities in archaeological parks can be reduced.<sup>15</sup> Archaeological parks also need planting design which is sympathetic to both the historical context and its recreational use, representing the natural and historic background of the area.<sup>16</sup>

As seen in the literature review, archaeological park needs different aspects and criteria to be addressed in the design and planning processes. In this context, it is important to remember that drawing on landscapes, with all their living and non-living actors, can help to perpetuate a characteristic sense of place.



Figure 6. Word cloud of the keywords for archaeological park design criteria.

The application of key design criteria can contribute to the development of successful archaeological parks. For example, where a sense of place-belonging is encouraged, archaeological parks will

continue to be protected by residents and visitors, as well as formal authorities, as shown by the example of with Turenscape's "Chengtoushan Archaeological Park" project.<sup>17</sup> At the initial proposals for the design of Chengtoushan included removal of the rice fields surrounding the archaeological site. However, rice fields were an important element in the region's historic landscape character. Local people and visitors consequently objected to their removal and ensured the protection of the fields and their inclusion within the archaeological park and its programme of activities. Integrating landscape elements of this sort can also contribute to developing "experimental archaeology" in archaeological parks. As Papageorgiou notes, this concept emerged through examples like the "Sanglandet Lejre Archaeological Park". Here, activities designed for both adults and children help visitors to understand the archaeological value of the place. By taking part in a well-designed experimental archaeology concept, visitors almost feel they can pass through a tunnel into the past.

In Turkey, there is no archaeological park that has been designed and completed in a holistic way. There are examples such as Arslantepe Archaeological Park (Malatya), Aktopraklık Archaeological Park (Bursa), and Kaunos Archaeological Park (Muğla) where the process is underway. It is notable that no such park exists in the country, which is extremely rich in accessible archaeological sites.

### **Background of the Gölpınar Archaeopark Project**

The planning phase of the archaeological park project was completed in 2015, and construction began in 2016. Carried out by the State Hydraulic Works (DSI), and the project's primary purpose was the reorganization and rehabilitation of the reservoir in a way that would allow tourist visits which reflected the Hittite period. The park area is located 2 km from Alaca Höyük and includes the Gölpınar Hittite Reservoir and surrounding gardens.

The project brief indicates that the archaeopark will include three parts: an activity area, an excavation area, and an educational area.<sup>18</sup> The north part of the reservoir (activity area) is planned to house restaurants, workshops and accommodation. It is explained in the brief that all the buildings in the area are designed in the Hittite style. While the open areas between the buildings were designed with aromatic plants, parcels reflecting the agricultural production practices of the Hittite period were placed in the other open areas. The products obtained from these plots will be used in the preparation of the Hittite period dishes in the restaurant.

The south part of the project, which is assumed to have been former gardens, was expropriated to build the archaeological park, and the middle of the area was defined as an excavation area. Meanwhile, the western part of the area is designated as the camp area for the students. The outer ring has viewpoints and horse carriage roads.

After three years, the project construction phase stopped in 2018, as it was revealed that the contractor institution did not have the authority to execute the project. Furthermore, the construction firm abandoned the project for economic reasons. Consequently, historic agricultural production was interrupted as the fields were expropriated within the project area. As explained in detail above, the basic design criteria of the project are shown in Figure 7, which includes the criteria provided by the Gölpınar Archaeological Park in the keyword map from the literature.

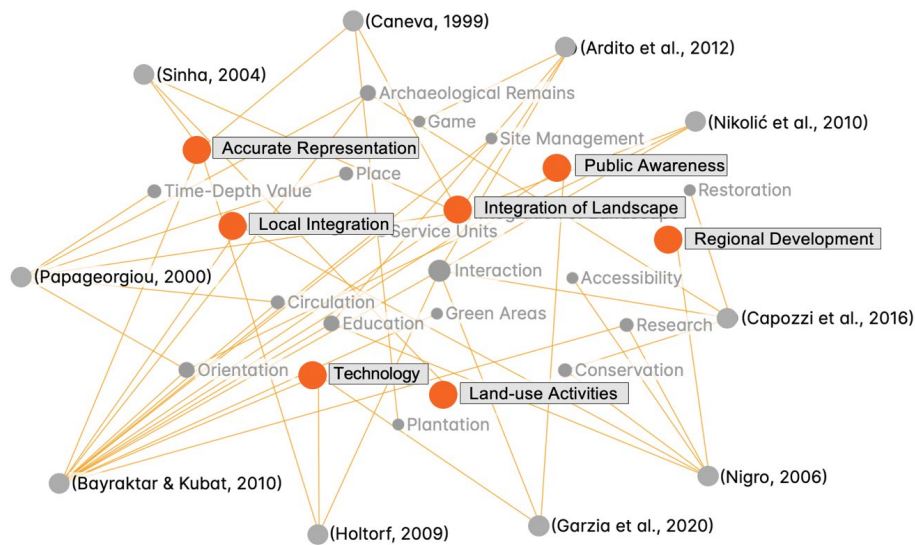


Figure 7. The main criteria set in Gölpınar Archaeopark.

## CONCLUSION

The Gölpınar Archaeological Park project began with positive intentions. However, its problems stem from the lack of analysis of the place and the archaeological park concept. The main weaknesses in the design of the area relate to the following themes:

- Integration of landscape,
- Accurate representation of archaeological periods,
- Local Integration,
- Public Awareness,
- Regional Development,
- Land-use Activities,
- Technology.

The expropriation of fields within the scope of the park is one of the problems. The Gölpınar gardens are thought to be traceable back to the period of the Hittite Empire. As studied by Apaydın et al., the gardens include historic open and closed water channels as determined by geophysical methods. In this sense, the gardens are not only valuable for being agricultural areas. The way of using the land and its continuity constitutes a cultural heritage and a means of transferring ancient agricultural knowledge. Thus, the use of the fields by the farmers should be ensured. At the same time, visitors could participate in (supervised) agricultural practices in these areas. This could help ensure better engagement with design criteria including interaction with landscape and culture, and integration with local people, thereby contributing to public awareness and education. Selling local products through the other facilities in the archaeological park (e.g. the farm-to-table restaurant concept) could contribute towards local development. It is also important to encourage viticulture in the area and to include the products obtained from the vineyards system. Engaging with the landscape and its producers could enable continuity in memory production both for them and for visitors, which could provide richer and more satisfying experiences (emotionally and educationally) than the artificial "Hittite-style" constructed practices.

In light of archaeological research, the compatibility of the constructed Hittite structures with the park's archaeology is also problematic. The buildings have designed in a modern-vernacular interpretation that has become popular in recent years but is not a convincing reflection of Hittite



architecture. Modern vernacular examples can be innovative and culturally relevant in contemporary contexts. Although modern vernacular architecture has its benefits, it can present difficulties in terms of historical accuracy, authenticity, cultural and historical relevance, and preservation when used in an archaeological park that seeks to represent the past heritage of a specific era. In this sense, more attention could be paid to the accurate representation of the archaeological evidence through architecture.

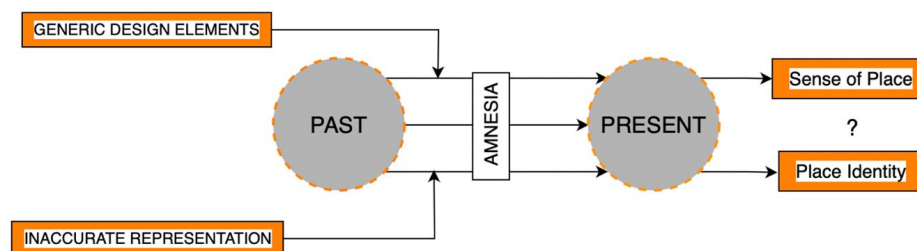


Figure 8. The resulting diagram of Gölpınar Archaeopark Design Approach.

In order to increase the cultural, social and economic development in the village, to raise awareness about the museum and archaeological site, and to provide a holistic representation, the village-museum-archaeological site areas also could have been included within the boundaries of the archaeological park. Indeed, instead of surrounding the archaeopark with physical barriers, it is suggested that the area be more open to the outside. The landscape of the neighborhood has a heterogenic character compared to the surrounding steppe vegetation with its lush green corridors around streams. Opening the landscape to the outside by removing the enclosure, creating hiking routes will help visitors and locals engage with the landscape in a more holistic manner. This will strengthen the sense of place in the archaeological park. A stronger sense of place belonging among locals and tourists will support and underpin sustaining processes outside the formal authorities.

To summarize, the Gölpınar Archaeopark project has generic design elements rather than features emphasizing the local identity, sense of place, and memory of the place. This has the effect of interrupting the transmission of memory and causes an "amnesia" problem. If the aim of the park is to transfer knowledge of the past (for example the Hittite period), the design programme needs to include a detailed examination and understanding of the period. Activities and objects, buildings, landscape scenes and even plant types could be turned into mnemonic devices (memorial objects) on a landscape scale.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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# GLOBALIZATION ON LANGUAGE AS A VEHICLE OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Author:

**NAHAL HAGHDOUST**

Affiliation:

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY, CANADA

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## INTRODUCTION

This paper considers the crucial role of language in the transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) from generation to generation, particularly in its relation to traditional practices. Specific language is essential as the medium of communication among bearers and practitioners in ICH. One of the domains of ICH, as defined by the UNESCO 2003 Convention, is oral traditions and expressions. Here a specific example of ICH practices in Iran is explored.

Globalisation plays a pivotal role in weakening spoken and written languages. The loss of knowledge of words and ideas commonly used in heritage practices has destructive effects on efforts to safeguard traditional practices. This points to the need to safeguard linguistic diversities and understand language as a vehicle of ICH and the transmission of knowledge such as folk songs used in cultural practices for the future.

## The definition of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH)

For the purposes of the Convention of Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003 UNESCO adapted on the seventeenth of October,

1. The term ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage’ refers to the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts, and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups, and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups, and individuals, and of sustainable development.<sup>1</sup>

2. ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage’, as defined by UNESCO, is manifested inter alia in the following domains:

1. (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
2. (b) performing arts;
3. (c) social practices, rituals, and festive events;

4. (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
5. (e) traditional craftsmanship.<sup>2</sup>

### **Definition of language in Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH)**

When faced with the question as to what domains belong to Intangible Cultural Heritage, people almost invariably mention language, often alongside music and dance. Nevertheless, article 2(1) of the 2003 Convention, which defines the intangible cultural heritage that is to be safeguarded, does not mention ‘language’ as such. The article does speak about ‘practices, representations and expressions, knowledge and skills ... that communities, groups and in some cases individuals, recognize as part of their cultural heritage’. The same paragraph also states that the heritage that is to be safeguarded, is transmitted from generation to generation, that it is constantly re-created, and that it provides groups and communities with a sense of identity and continuity. Languages are transmitted from generation to generation, they are constantly re-created, they presuppose knowledge and skills, and speech acts can be described in terms of linguistic practices and expressions. Finally, languages as a rule play important if not crucial roles in the identities of groups and individuals.<sup>3</sup>

In the course of 2002 and 2003, while the draft of the Convention was being prepared at expert and intergovernmental meetings, the question of language was extensively discussed. There were a few voices in favour of the inclusion of language as such under the definition of intangible cultural heritage that is to be safeguarded. However, it was decided to include in Article 2(2) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage as one of the domains in which the intangible cultural heritage is manifested.<sup>4</sup>

### **Language as a Vehicle of Intangible Cultural Heritage**

The viability of a language is determined first and foremost by the general attitude of its speakers with respect to their traditional culture, of which their language is considered one of the most important exponents. In contrast, some larger groups are not passing on their native languages to new generations. Language endangerment arises in situations of contact between groups. A difference in technological know-how may lead to a sense of inferiority in the less highly developed group, which may then be inclined to relinquish its culture, including its language, in favor of that of the more highly developed group. Every culture represents an experiment in survival, of a unique and alternative way of life, of solving or evading problems. Loss of cultural diversity is therefore a loss of experience and knowledge that has proven its potential usefulness for mankind in general. Languages, besides being part of a nation’s cultural heritage, constitute a complete and complex reflection of it. The loss of a language thus entails the loss of cultural heritage.<sup>5</sup>

Language is essential as the medium of communication and cooperation par excellence among performers and other tradition holders and between them and other community members. This is the case with virtually all types of expressions, practices, and representations imaginable, other non-material media of expression being music, gesture, and, for instance, facial expressions. Language and gesture are also crucial tools in traditional ways of transmission of the intangible cultural heritage from generation to generation. So, for the ongoing development of the intangible cultural heritage continued proficiency in the traditional language appears to be a prerequisite.<sup>6</sup>

When the language of a group is in danger, it is not only the type of immaterial cultural heritage to be safeguarded that will determine the type of action in the field of language planning that is to be developed. It has also to be decided, in the first place by the people concerned, whether the safeguarding actions should target only a limited group, or whether the elements to be safeguarded are to be enjoyed by larger groups. In the latter case, wide-scale planning may be needed for the

safeguarding and the transmission of proficiency – just orally or orally and in writing – of the traditional language.<sup>7</sup>

### **Globalisation and its Effect on Intangible Cultural Heritage**

The scale at which languages and elements of the intangible cultural heritage are disappearing now appears to be unprecedented. The unnatural pace of developments, in combination with a feeling of powerlessness among groups and communities, or in individuals, to keep or take decision-making in their own hands is often a cause for uneasiness, and unrest, and for decreasing individual or collective self-esteem. In modern times it is difficult if not impossible for groups and communities to avert the undesirable side-effects of the forces of globalization. In order to preserve their languages and to be able to continue to develop their intangible cultural heritage, groups, and communities need the assistance of local and/or national authorities, whether or not reinforced by action on an international scale.<sup>8</sup>

Globalization has generated the borderless world where social interaction among distinctive cultural identities is inevitably intensified supported by technologies' advancement. It also affects the existence of languages as cultural identity and human rights. The negative impact of globalization affects the very existence of cultural identities including local languages. The language shift from one to another language may be for better opportunities such as a good job or for involvement in social circles, educational systems, media presence, and the natural political pressures. These may be factors that cause a language to be endangered or die. The shift may halt the transmission of the previous language and influence the vitality of a language. Gradually, intergenerational teaching process on local languages will decrease and the existence of the language will be threatened.<sup>9</sup>

Grenoble (2011) and Harbert (2011) identified factors that make a language to be endangered, these include: 1) economic factors, such as poverty in rural areas that may cause humans to migrate to other more promising city or areas (urbanization); 2) cultural domination such as dominant uses of a language in literature and education systems that marginalize local languages (westernization-framed globalization [Pieterse, p. 51]); 3) Political aspects, i.e. education policies that exclude a language; 4) historical, such as colonization or boundary disputes in an area in which an ethnic group rises and become a dominant; and 5) attitudinal: a minority language associated with poverty, illiterate and dominant language associated with progress.<sup>10</sup>

Generally, there are factors that may cause local languages in a country to be abandoned by its speakers. One of these is a government's official language policy. Official language policy at the national level diminishes the economic opportunities afforded by local languages only used in intra-ethnic communication and local events.<sup>11</sup>

### **Economy and Urbanization in Iran**

The nature and process of urbanization differ from one country to another. In the last two decades, fundamental changes have taken place in ideas about the roles which settlement plays in the developing countries. Specifically, new critical approaches have been introduced regarding the assumed function of big cities as the generators of modernization and development.<sup>12</sup> In addition, the role of cities has been increasingly considered as a part of the global economy. Cities are always the main centers of political and social problems, contacts and thoughts in every country.

In addition to being the focus of political and social processes, Iranian cities are usually the heart of economic and cultural changes that have occurred after the Islamic revolution in 1979.<sup>13</sup> These cities are increasingly having impacts via political–economical arrangements and by urban management structures.

According to the Human Development Report released by the United Nations, the urban population of Iran was 64.20% in 2000, rising to 75.94% in 2019 and is expected to rise to 85.82% in 2050 when the rural population will reach its nadir. The percentage of urban and rural populations in Iran from 1950 to 2050 is depicted in the figure. Since the 1980s; the urban pattern has replaced the rural pattern in Iran. For the first time, the urbanization percentage reached 51% in the 1986 official Census and this trend has continued.<sup>14</sup>

The role of government in protecting, expediting, and intensifying urbanization and urbanism processes in Iran was influenced by recent changes, especially the 1979 Revolution. Accordingly, in the post-Revolution era, governments, albeit with discernible fluctuations, have continuously attempted to reinforce and promote urbanization and urbanism by adopting city-centric and city-based policies.<sup>15</sup> In this period, governments, whether knowingly or unknowingly, have focused on reinforcing urbanization. This has been provoked by factors such as the growth of semi-capitalism and the automation of the national economy along with government's expansionary policies.<sup>16</sup> From this perspective, the government has failed to play a systematic and influential role in the urbanization of Iran. The rapid transformation of villages into cities along with growing rural–urban migrations, which reached 25% in 2000s in Tehran (as the capital of Iran), engendered a raft of environmental consequences (such as an increase in fossil fuel consumption, endangered coastal cities, and questions of water supply to cities), humanitarian and social issues (such as security threats, social clashes, especially in the fringes of metropolises, and inadequate health services) that have threatened urbanization. The urban population and urbanization pace were escalated but scant attention was paid to the urban culture or urbanism.<sup>17</sup>

Along with many dire consequences, the huge urbanization rate has had deleterious impact on language. In fact, Iran is a culturally diverse society, and interethnic relations are generally amicable. Iran, with ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity, is a multicultural country. Persians, Arabs, Turks, Kurds, Lors, Baluchis, Turkmens, and Armenians with their colorful culture and various languages live together, and have a myriad of intangible heritages. Considering that the formal spoken and written language is Farsi, these ethnicities are forced to immigrate to big cities because of the huge rate of urbanization. This made newcomers to cities and their generation speak Farsi which has meant that their Intangible Cultural Heritages (ICH) to be consider unwelcome in the new urban society leading their ICHs to be forgotten and to be in the risk of dying out.

### **Political and Religious Domination**

The total population of Iran was 75,149,669 at the 2011 census, with the number now estimated at over 83 million. According to the census, Muslims make up 99.4% of the population. At least 90% of Muslims belong to the Twelver Shia, while Sunni Islam remains restricted to ethnic groups such as Kurds, Azeri, and Balochi. The other religious data collected in the census indicates other data about ethnic groups indicating that there were 117,704 Christians, 8,756 Jews, 25,271 Zoroastrians, 49,101 others, and 265,899 people who did not provide any information about their religion. This statistic takes those religions into account in detail which are mentioned in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran (§§ 12–14).<sup>2</sup> First and foremost, this includes the Twelver Shia as the official religion of Iran. The four Sunni schools of law and the law school of the Zaidiya are also recognized, but subordinate to the Twelver Shia. Jewish, Zoroastrian, and Christian Iranians are also religiously recognized.<sup>18</sup>

The 1979 Iranian Revolution built on a history of socio-economic, political, cultural, intellectual and technological transformation which Iran had experienced throughout the twentieth century, particularly following the Second World War. The Cold War shaped the context for much of this transformation, forming ideas and actors, as did the modernisation of the Iranian state and society. Yet

despite the unceasing contributions of the historians of Iran to the scholarship, Iran itself as it has been conceptualised has not comprehensively included all of its historical, social and cultural constituents. Generally speaking, Iran and the Persian population are thought of as inter-changeable.<sup>19</sup> One important reason for this is the identification of Iran both as an idea and an entity commensurate with the Persian language and culture, which have been crucial for its preservation.<sup>20</sup>

Since 1979, the Iranian political system has been led by theocratic leadership. This is completely reflected in media, music and poetry.

- Musical instruments were not allowed to be shown in the national television and radio and even at the formal public events. It is worth noting that Iran's ethnic music and literature are inalienably woven to the musical instruments which belong to varied ethnic groups.

- Solo singing by women has been banned in Iran since the 1979 revolution when the Imperial State of Iran was overthrown, leading to the establishment of the present-day Islamic Republic of Iran

Considering these, many elements of folklore, such as lullabies which were belong to the ancient ethnicities sung by mothers were not given much opportunity to be introduced and expressed in the media.

### **Persian Language Dominance**

Qajar kings were also worried about multiethnicity and multilingualism in Iran, and they considered it as a threat to the Iranian national security and devised preventive measures to reduce the threats coming from non-Persian groups.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, the role of the Pahlavi dynasty and their emphasis on modernization and nationalism and purging the Persian language from non-Persian vocabularies and concepts cannot be undermined. It was during the reign of Reza Shah, the King (1878-1944), that (although there was no such a law stipulated in the Iranian Constitutions of 1906) the Persian language became the official language of Iran.<sup>22</sup> One of the implications of such a policy was that Iranian minority people were banned from observing their cultural practices and their speakers were never permitted to call for preservation of their cultures and customs.<sup>23</sup> As the Persian language maintains Persian identity amongst its speakers, its dominance over other languages in Iran aimed to assimilate diverse minority and linguistic groups into the mainstream Persian culture and language. After seizing power in 1921, Reza Shah took a tough purist viewpoint towards the Persian language<sup>24</sup> and attempted to glorify the pre-Islamic Iranian culture through his Persianization and secularization plans. This is manifested in the establishment of the Farhangestan-e Iran—to provide opportunities for the Iranian intellectuals and literary figures to coin new Persian words and void the Persian language from non-Persian words and concepts.<sup>25</sup> The Pahlavi's modernization also led to the migration of non-Persian communities to industrial cities in Iran. This changed the pattern of economic growth and emphasized a socio-economic inequality among Iranian minority communities.<sup>26</sup>

The Islamic revolution of 1979 in Iran brought along an abundance of political and economic changes. Although the Iranian ethnic groups have been allowed to teach their literature in schools and use their languages in mass media,<sup>27</sup> Article 15 of the Constitution of the Islamic Revolution mandates Persian as the official language and script of Iran. As a result, such minority languages as Azeri and Kurdish were not considered literary languages and their books were destroyed by Iranian officials.<sup>28</sup> Although the Islamic government of Iran regards the ethnic groups and their languages as an essential part of Iranian history<sup>29</sup> but at the same time mandates that they convert to Islam.<sup>30</sup> This has led to cultural changes and political activities with regard to non-Persian minority speakers in Iran<sup>31</sup> in the way that non-Persian speakers regard speaking their own language a sign of illiteracy and tend to give it up in favor of the Persian language. One of the writers in this paper, Hossein Ghanbari, has seen many Bakhtiari people among his kin, who have refrained from speaking Bakhtiari language. There are also anecdotes of minority speakers who would go to great extents to conceal their ethnic



background and minority language because they feel embarrassed to speak or acknowledge their ethnicity.<sup>32</sup>

There has been a passion among Iranian nationalists to Persianize non-Persian concepts, but a question arises: what happens when the speakers of minority languages lose their mother tongue? There is evidence that speaking one's language positively impacts its speakers' academic performance. For instance, Navajo-speaking children who receive bilingual education in Navajo and English outperform academically those Navajo children who receive education in English only.<sup>33</sup>

There is also ample evidence in favor of the positive relationship between speaking one's minority language and having good health<sup>34</sup> and concerning the general wellbeing of the speakers of minority languages.<sup>35</sup> For instance, it is well established that the First Nations of Canada members who speak their minority language are less prone to diabetes<sup>36</sup> and suicide<sup>37</sup> compared to those who do not.

Although there is no relationship between learning and students' educational advancement among monolingual and bilingual students,<sup>38</sup> the 2008 report of the Iranian Minorities' Human Rights Organization shows a high drop-out rate and a low literacy rate among Iranian ethnic groups who speak a language other than Persian. This is similar to what is happening among the First Nations of Canada where a significant percentage of their youth drop out of school.<sup>39</sup> In other words, the high drop-out rate and the poor academic performance of students of minority languages suggest the failure of the education systems designed and implemented for all students regardless of their ethnic and linguistic differences.<sup>40</sup> In Iran, where educational attainment to high levels is not predominant, differences in literacy level signify the existence of inequality because those living in urban areas have greater access to educational institutions, are exposed to more diverse employment opportunities, and receive higher incomes than rural residents.

### **Zardeh Beh Dar—An important ritual and tradition for wheat harvesting**

The loss of terms and songs used in some rituals related to ICH practices, has led to the weakening of cultural practices. For example, Zobeydeh Asadzadeh who was the last bearer of the old folk music associated with the nationally-significant ritual of “Zardeh Beh Dar”. The oral tradition and ritual are related to harvesting wheat and eliminating pests. The women of the village wear yellow clothes, recite Zardeh Zardeh poems and rejoice around an infested wheat field. Zobeydeh was the only person in her day to have learned every folk song and custom related to this ritual directly from her predecessors in the Eastern part of Iran (South Khorasan Province) and to perform them. Zobeydeh was a *rara avis* of the times but remained obscure. “Zardeh Beh Dar” encompasses oral traditions and rituals that are related to harvesting wheat and eliminating pests. Wheat yellow disease is a fungal disease that spreads in wheat fields with the onset of spring rains and rising humidity and temperature. Wheat yellow disease is a fungal disease that spreads in wheat fields with the onset of spring rains and rising humidity and temperature. In the village of Mask, in the city of Darmian of in the province of South Khorasan of Iran, around the month of June, the local people perform a ceremony to remove the wheat yellow pest called “Zardeh Beh Dar”. To perform this ceremony, first, a person from Jarchi (the preacher) goes to the roof and beats the drum and informs the women of the village about the wheat blight and asks them to participate in the Zardeh Beh Dar ceremony. A number of village women wear yellow dresses or scarfs and sing “Zardeh Zardeh” poems, play musical instrument Daf and walk towards the yellowed wheat field. When they reach the intended field, they rejoice and sing Zardeh Zardeh poems and play the daf (a frame drum) and go around the infested wheat field. Then they move towards the person whose turn it is to irrigate the wheat field and throw him into the stream or pool of water and the ceremony ends with praying and lighting the candles. At present, due to droughts, the presence of the Zardeh pest has decreased but the desire to safeguard the rituals and poems related to it needs to be considered as part of the preservation of ICH.

## **CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, the impact of globalization on intangible cultural heritage is evident through the rapid disappearance of languages and cultural elements, driven by the forces of modernization and urbanization. Globalization's influence on economic, political, and cultural aspects has led to the decline of local languages, traditional practices, and cultural identities. Factors such as economic migration to urban areas, cultural domination, political policies and historical dynamics shifts contribute to the endangerment of languages and traditions. Additionally, in countries like Iran, government policies, dominant languages, and religious influences have played significant roles in shaping the fate of minority languages and cultural practices. The dominance of Persian language, government control over media, and cultural assimilation have further threatened the diversity of languages and intangible cultural heritage. The loss of language and rituals, exemplified by the fading tradition of "Zardeh Beh Dar," underscores the urgent need for preservation efforts to ensure the continuity of cultural richness and diversity in the face of globalization's challenges.

## NOTES

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# **A BALANCED REVITALISATION STRATEGY FOR THE HISTORIC COMMERCIAL STREETS BUILT ENVIRONMENT – TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE CONSIDERATIONS**

Author:

**TAREK TEBA, MAI E. ABDELAAL, NEVIN GHARIB**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY OF PORTSMOUTH, UK; ALEXANDRIA UNIVERSITY, EGYPT; ALEXANDRIA UNIVERSITY, EGYPT

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## **INTRODUCTION**

A High Street or a Historic Commercial Street is a key socio-economic component in cities, which has encompassed social, cultural and economic activities. Owing to different challenges (new way of consumption, urbanisation pressure), high streets/historic commercial streets have been declining, which has not only affected the physical, social and commercial activities but also negatively impacted on the streets' tangible and intangible heritage. Owing to insufficient/outdated run of traditional practices,<sup>1</sup> wider demographic and economic changes<sup>2</sup> and new productive shopping spaces, traditional uses and practices started to disappear from the high street, new consumer trends started to reshape the built environment,<sup>3</sup> and as a result the built environment started to deteriorate physically, socially and economically. Therefore, the problem requires multidimensional and multilayer exploration to be understood properly.<sup>4</sup> Portas Review explored challenges and opportunities aligned with current approaches to revitalize the high street including new ways of thinking about its functionality and role in serving the community (e.g. Big shops being more than just shops, Community Chest approach, Swap-shop approach, etc.).<sup>5</sup> It was clear that a new way of exploring this (in)tangible component of the city is needed.<sup>6</sup> Possible solutions should support communities taking a role in reclaiming and reusing the high street properties, promote creative and imaginative community-led reuse and encourage developers to include community voices in their plans.<sup>7</sup> It is highlighted that the diversity of communities is a very important indicator to be considered as part of the high street regeneration plans; regeneration should consider the micro-communities of the context and deliver diverse developments and uses.<sup>8</sup> Also, it is important to consider how creative uses can contribute to regeneration plans, demonstrate economic impact and promote social capital as well as community cohesion and wellbeing.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, it is important to engage with diverse local stakeholders and communities, and encourage local partnerships as part of the regeneration strategies.<sup>10</sup> Thus, co-creating values of and approaches for developing this socio-economic component in the city have been emerging to shape strategies underpinned by institutional-actors' ecosystems.<sup>11</sup> The question to raise here is how the heritage of the street (including contemporary social values) are considered as part of these approaches. It is clear that activating the use of the built environment and driving refreshing economies to the high street have been key regeneration approaches, while the heritage of the place was not deeply investigated.<sup>12</sup> Orbasli<sup>13</sup>

highlights that although regeneration plans focused more on economic benefits and job creation, heritage-led regeneration has been successfully adapted (e.g. Grainger Town in Newcastle-upon-Tyne). More emphasis though is needed on developing best heritage-led regeneration practices that bring social and economic public benefit to the city and the community,<sup>14</sup> while sufficiently reusing the existing built environment by public and private investors.<sup>15</sup> Thus, further research is required to link theories to practice and make sure that different parameters (social, financial, managerial and legislative) are intersected as part of the physical and economic regeneration strategies, so the high street becomes an innovative, vibrant and economically/environmentally/socially inclusive place.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, this article aims to identify a strategic approach for the revitalisation of the physical built environment of the historic commercial street and achieve a win-win situation that balances heritage preservation and development dynamics. The article will focus on Safeya Zaghoul Street in the City of Alexandria, Egypt. The historic commercial streets in the City have been exposed to tangible and intangible urban shifts and decays, which has transformed their historic image and atmosphere and thus weakened their heritage significance. As a result, the (in)tangible identity, urban vitality, and attractions have been negatively impacted due to the layers of urban morphological changes that occurred during the key periods of the economic, social, and political history in the City of Alexandria.

The study focuses on Safeya Zaghoul Street, one of the early 20th century historic commercial streets, located in the city center of Alexandria and faced physical built environment transformations. Therefore, the article detects the paradoxical relationship between preserving the cultural heritage identity of the street and the high state development pressure for upgrading its commercial function.

The study aims at tracing the transformation of the physical built and the impact of these turning points on the physical characteristics of the Street and its cultural heritage identity. In addition, the study investigates the reasons behind these deteriorations and identifies the different obsolescence factors that affected the street's urban structure. By doing so the research addresses the lack of strategies for dealing with the revitalisation of historic commercial streets in Egypt and the potential key role that the streets' heritage can play in the national sustainable revitalisation and development strategies.

### **THE HISTORIC COMMERCIAL STREETS IN THE HISTORIC CITY CENTER**

The second principle of the Charter for the Protection of Historic Cities, 1987<sup>17</sup> identifies the main qualities of the historic city center (e.g. urban pattern). Also, the First Brazilian Seminar about the Preservation and Revitalisation of Historic Centers; Itaipava<sup>18</sup> indicates that urban historical sites are expressing the everyday living experience with values that represent its origins and transformations. This means that the historic commercial streets are key to identify the physical characteristics and qualities of the historic city centers and to contain the original social and cultural values despite transformation and problems they are facing. Thus it is important to recognize how the historic center and streets have lost their values and continuous cultural memory owing to the pressure of contemporary urban development that affected their physical, social, cultural, and economic structure.<sup>19</sup> It is worth noting that the historic market is not a preplanned entity, however it successfully contained the social and economic movement of the society influenced by their economic processes and socio-cultural traditions.<sup>20</sup> The morphology of these streets have changed and during the modern movement, commercial streets were characterized by their unique urban and architectural characteristics (e.g. spatial settings - width and continuity). Many institutional, commercial, and mixed-use activities were located along the streets forming the super-grid and linear patterns.<sup>21</sup>

### **The heritage values of Historic commercial streets**

The historic commercial streets encompass the city's cultural heritage which is represented by the tangible (architectural and urban characteristics) and intangible values.<sup>22</sup> These streets are an essential part of communities daily activities and reflect communities' culture and values. The values assigned to historic commercial streets can be categorized to 1) aesthetic, 2) architectural diversity, 3) functional diversity, 4) continuity of cultural memory and 5) economic and commercial values.<sup>23</sup>

Historic markets were always placed in strategic locations within the historic city centers and were connected with transportation systems that facilitate access from different parts of the city.<sup>24</sup> The changes in the commercial trends and their dynamics have influenced the consumers' lifestyle economically and socially, and impacted on the cultural use and values of these historic commercial streets.<sup>25</sup> The factors that influenced the dynamic of commercial streets are 1) functional factors related to pedestrian and traffic requirements as well as infrastructures, 2) natural factors related to the climatic and geological settings, 3) socio-economic factors concerning users' need and market economic analysis, and 4) political and legislative factors that influence development and decision making strategies.

### **Reasons of deteriorations of the historic commercial streets**

Historic districts and their streets have been exposed to different factors of deterioration. In many cities the combination of old housing stock, congestion, and outdated infrastructure have led to the different types of urban decay<sup>26</sup> and caused movement of communities to new districts.

The gentrification and upgrading process that did not respect the historic fabric have an impact on the physical, social, and economic dimensions in the city. The historic places lost their attractiveness because of the fragile balance between inhabitants' needs, employment, local democracy and the development of resources.<sup>27</sup> Recently, different commercial historic streets were subjected to severe damage, harmful interventions, removal and destruction. The absence of the holistic vision for management and revitalisation of historic streets has further contributed to existing conditions. The reasons for deterioration could be categorized into:

1. Physical Problems mainly arise from physical/structural, locational and functional obsolescence. The age and construction conditions of the buildings and areas play a key role in their physical deterioration, while the contemporary requirements of the same functions or new functions as well as new infrastructure make the fabric unable to accommodate the imposed upgrade/regeneration strategies. The accessibility of the location also plays a role in deactivating the role a building can play as part of the street development.
2. Socio-cultural problems are linked to the socio-demographic changes that have impact on the return of middle income communities to the central districts and the changes in the urban life cycle that influence cultural activities in commercial centers and streets.<sup>28</sup>
3. Management and administrative problems are represented by absence of the legislations for the management of the historic commercial streets and the conflict among stakeholders concerned about regeneration and development projects, which are not running through a management plan for developing the historic places.<sup>29</sup>

### **A strategic approach for the revitalisation of historic commercial streets**

The determination of physical and functional qualities of the historic built environment should be tailored to and aligned with the revitalisation approaches and aims, in terms of both physical and functional regeneration. Thus, the analysis for the built environment must be conducted to identify the obsolescence and the development dynamics.<sup>30</sup>



The obsolescence in this context means the process of urban decay resulted from the development of physical, socio-economic, cultural, and political conditions in the city. It is necessary to identify the type and level (physical/structural, functional and locational) of obsolescence through analysing the urban problems of the historic built environment <sup>31</sup> in order to develop an accurate strategic approach for revitalisation.

Historic places have their own characteristics and dynamics which may be in a different state of development or decay according to the internal and external factors and influences. All these factors need to be identified to develop the proper revitaliation strategy. The place might be in a developing state, a static state, or declining state and the development dynamics of a historic place could be determined depending on the economic pressure and the types of obsolescence.

Thus, historic and archival investigations are used to inform the understanding of the street's historic transformation and define the gap between the place's cultural heritage and the development dynamics. An empirical analysis is adopted to assess the current physical, functional and cultural challenges of the historic center and the selected street, while a deductive approach is followed to identify the revitalisation attributes and determine the strategic rejuvenation approach for the historical commercial street/high street. The proposed approach to be adopted as part of this study is illustrated in Figure 1.

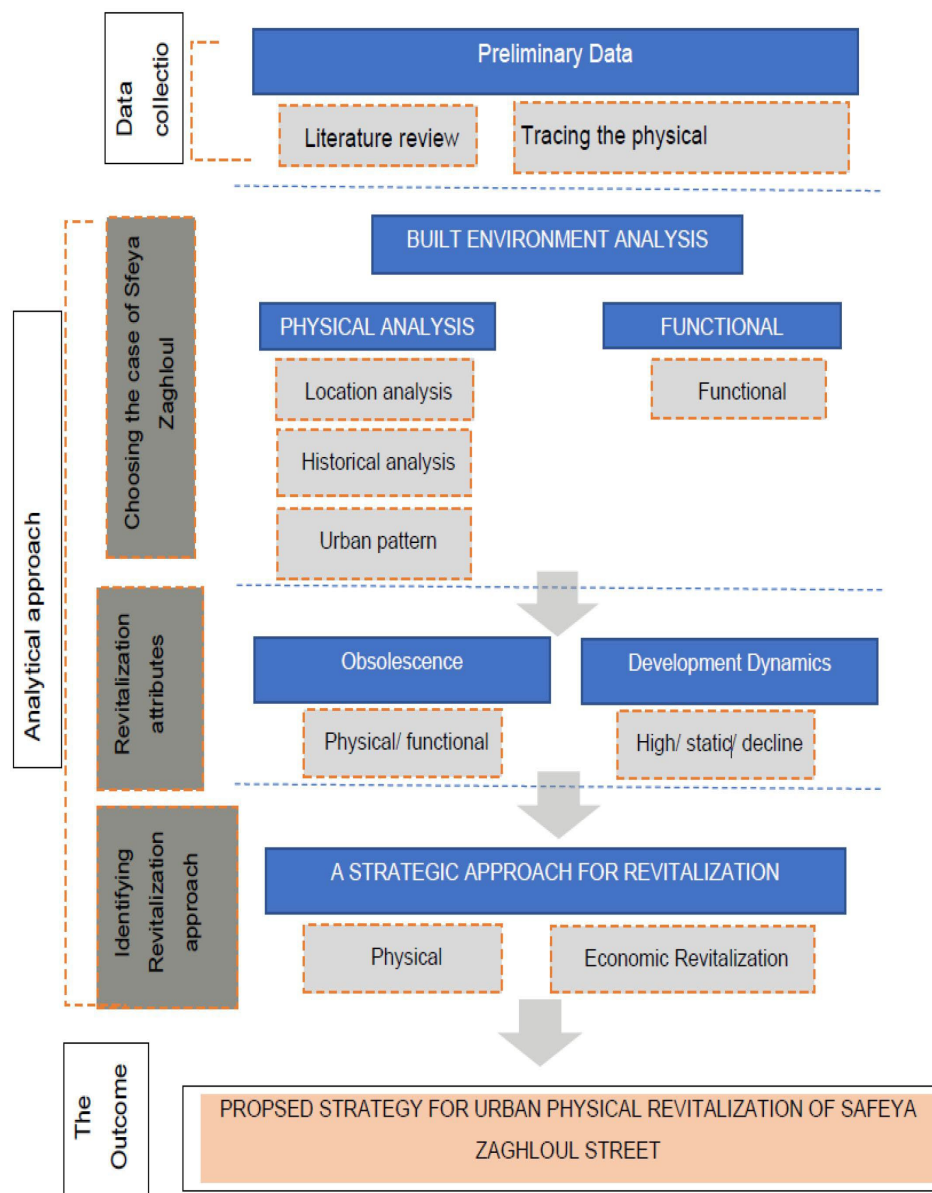


Figure 1. A diagram that illustrates the adopted research methodology.

## THE REVITALISATION OF HISTORIC COMMERCIAL STREETS IN THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA: SAFEYA ZAGHLOUL STREET AS A CASE STUDY

By tracing the historical maps of Alexandria, Safeya Zaghloul is the first street that can be recognized in Alexandria survey map 1902 (Figure 2a); its name was Al-Messala street, as it contained two obelisks dating back to 13BC until 1877. The street grid can be clearly identified on the city map from 30 BC (Figure 2b). Alexandria was open to modernity by the beginning of the 19th century; the center of the modern city moved to the east due to the city natural expansion towards the east in the beginning of the 19th century; the elite community and the rich commercial exchange activities shaped the city development and growth.<sup>32</sup>

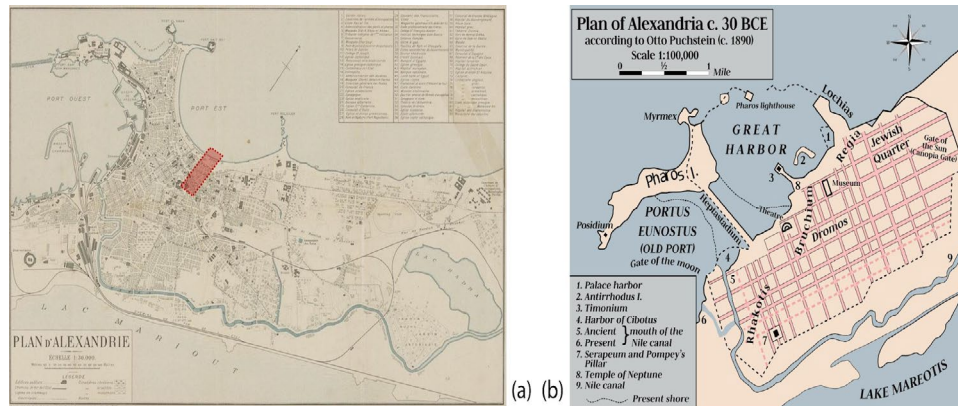


Figure 2. historic maps of the City of Alexandria: a) historic map 1912 AD, b) the city in 30 BC according to Otto Puchstein 1890 AD.

The introduction of Tram into the City at the end of 19th century, which passed through Safeya Zaghoul Street, enabled strong connection of this street with the different districts of the city<sup>33</sup> and thus fast growth and urban development of the area (Figure 3). Also, from the late 19th Century to early 20th Century, the city witnessed significant growth in the historic market and commercial activities.<sup>34</sup> This, on the other hand, imposed pressure and created problems owing to the transportation pressure in the area, which resulted in the removal of Tram during the 1950s. In addition, economic liberalization during the 1970s and 80s caused decline in the historic markets and commercial streets activities; new modes of commerce and urban design strategies (new centers emerged in new districts) imposed challenges on small businesses and socio-economic practices in the historic center to survive.<sup>35</sup> After 2011, the street faced many challenges such as demolishing the historic cinema Rilato and building a new shopping center that changed the image of the street. Figure 4 illustrates the changes in the image of the street between the 1940s and current time.

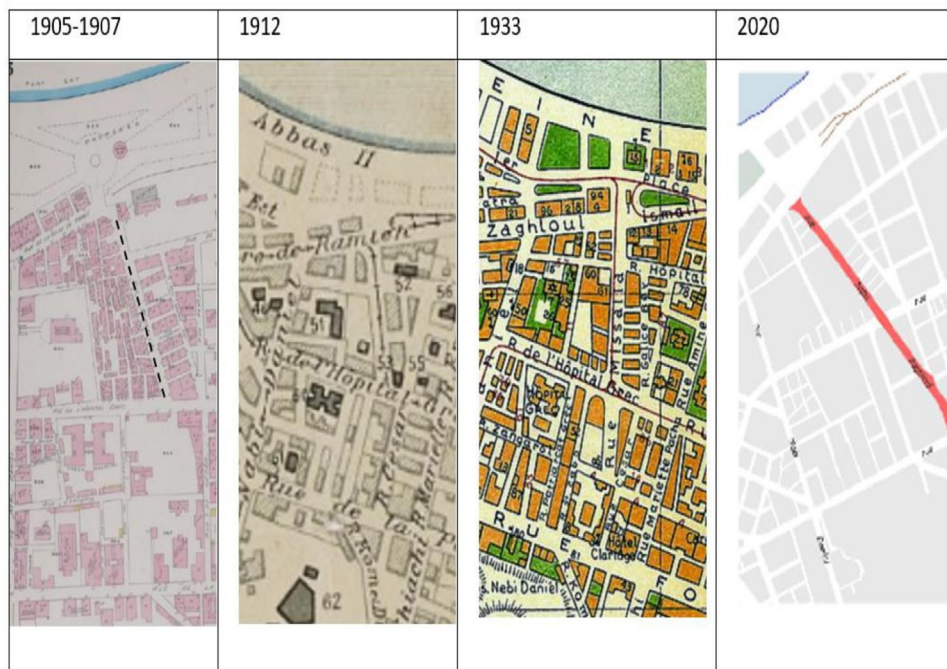
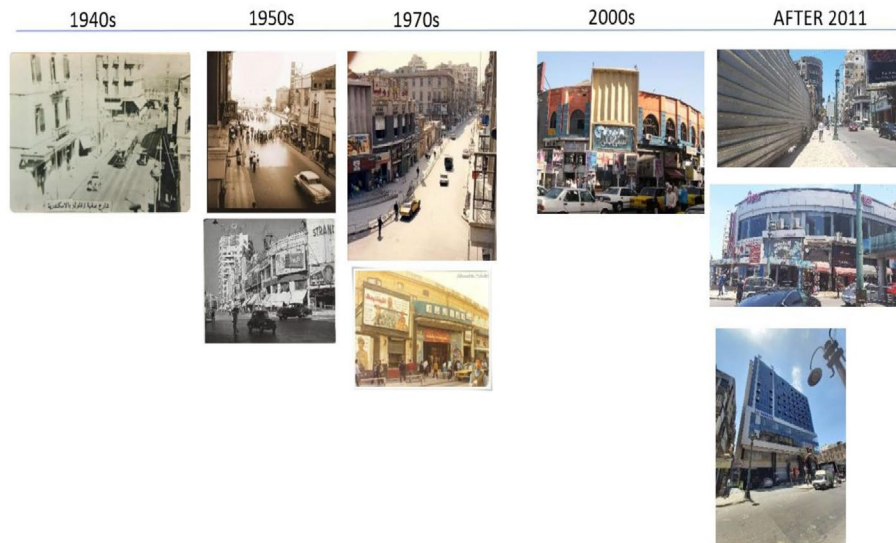


Figure 3. the timeline morphology of the historic commercial Safeya Zaghoul Street. source: [http://www.cealex.org/rues\\_alexandrie/rues\\_alexandrie\\_EN/#Accueil](http://www.cealex.org/rues_alexandrie/rues_alexandrie_EN/#Accueil) . accessed in July 2022.



*Figure 4. The development of Safeya Zaghoul Street image.*

The street has a linear morphology with buildings from both sides that host commercial, cultural, and socio-economic activities. The street is divided into three segments with three key nodes that represent potential social and community hubs across the street (Figure 5a). The street is also characterized by its human scale; most buildings are four or five floors high. The land use analysis of Safeya Zaghoul Street (Figure 5b) confirms the density of retailing activities on the ground level, which is accessible directly from the street, and the entertainment functions which are the main destination for the shoppers and promenaders. The street includes commercial, cultural, and entertainment activities with the commercial activities (shops for clothes, shoes, silver jewellery, watch, household appliances, mobile services) constitute a significant percentage (Figure 5c). In addition to the shops as fixed features, the street has semi-fixed features such as lighting units and kiosks. The street is characterised by its architectural diversity (Figure 5d); different architectural styles contribute to the urban context with a strong visual image and interesting harmony.

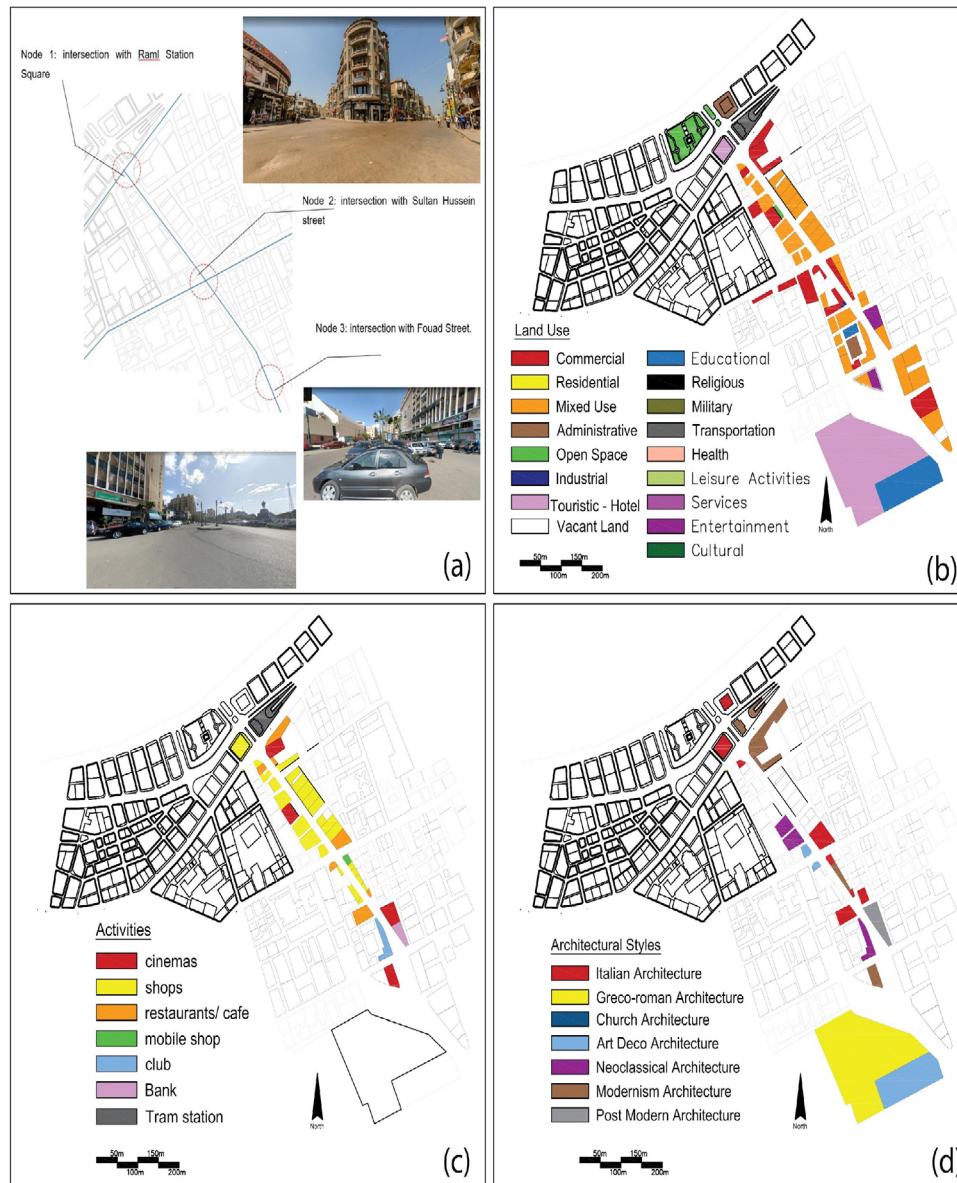


Figure 5. The analysis of Safeya Zaghloul street: a) urban structure and nodes, b) land use, c) activities and d) architectural styles

### Obsolescence and development dynamics analysis

As discussed before, although regeneration should be led by the heritage of the place and the community aspirations and needs, considering tangible and intangible challenges and problems of the built environment is essential. Safeya Zaghloul Street challenges different forms of obsolescence (structural, functional, locational, social, cultural, as well as related to the management and legislations). Therefore, the empirical analysis of this study focused on documenting these issues; examples of physical, functional, socio-cultural and management and administrative obsolescence are included in figure 6, 7, 8 and 9 respectively.

It is clear that many buildings, that were originally designed for a function, currently don't suit the contemporary needs, and adaptive reuse strategies were not considered. The locational obsolescence is key to this issue: the relocation of the central business district and the contemporary activities of the modern life to other locations in the City of Alexandria (e.g. downtown city center) escalated the

street’s problems, and it is not anymore a destination for commercial, cultural and entertainment activities as it was till the beginning of 2000s. Thus, the development of the street during the 21st century was not based on a long term vision including the revitalisation and the development of the historic buildings and the streetscape identity. Therefore, some key buildings (e.g. the mall, Figure 9), that clearly conflict with the identity of the street from the design and the material perspectives, started to appear as part of the street development. Therefore, this study insists that the revitalisation and the development of such a historic commercial street require a carefully considered framework.









obsolescence	Old structural condition	Current condition
Structural		
Structural		
Structural		
Changed land marks		

Figure 6. Examples of Physical obsolescence at Safeya Zaghloul Street.


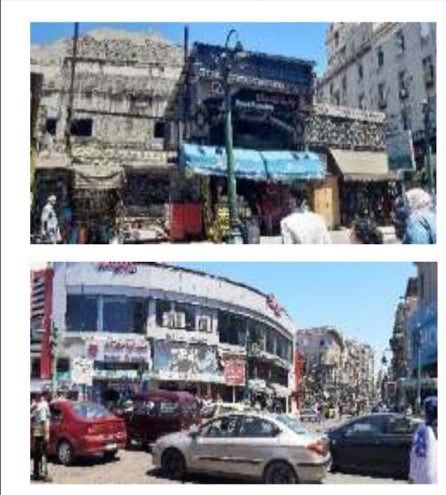



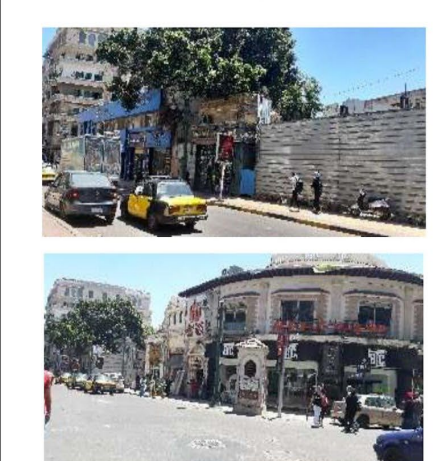
<b>Obsolescence</b>	
The building in 1933 map was originally designed as complex of cinemas (Strand, Ritz, Roy) and theatres (Diana, el Hambara). The function is currently changed to cafes, shops, restaurants, and pharmacy	
<b>The original function</b>	<b>The current changed function</b>
	
<b>Obsolescence</b>	
The old building was designed as a café/bar and pastry shop which is currently changed to many shops and restaurants.	
<b>The original function</b>	<b>The current changed function</b>
	
<b>Obsolescence</b>	
The highlighted land plot was designed for cinema Rialto which was removed and the site is used for restaurant and some shops	
<b>The original function</b>	<b>The current changed function</b>
	

Figure 7. Examples of Physical and Functional obsolescence at Safeya Zaghloul Street.








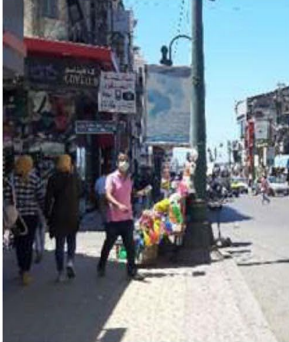
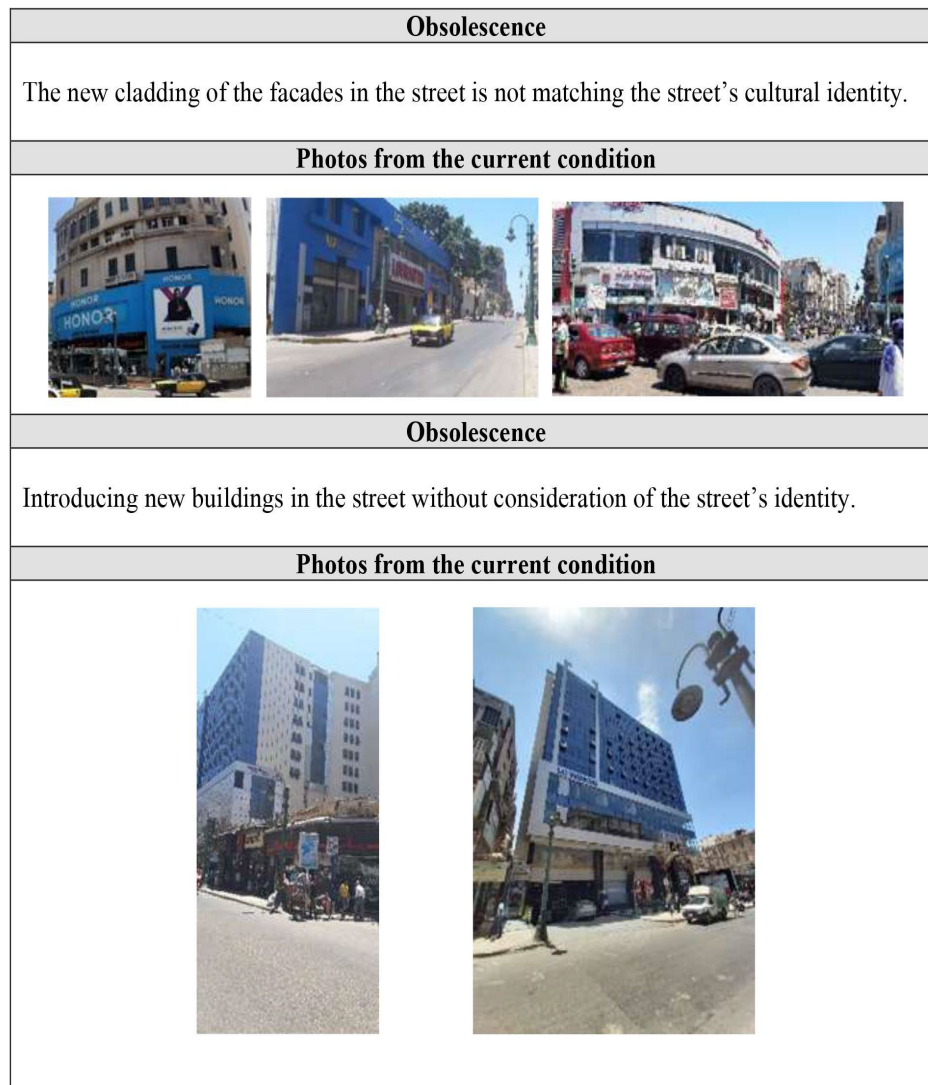
<b>Obsolescence</b>	
The change in the space around the cultural buildings.	
The original function	The current changed function
	
<b>Obsolescence</b>	
The Elite Café was built to serve the Elites of the society and the Greeks, the café changed according to the demand of the users to serve the middle- income inhabitants.	
The original function	The current changed function
	
<b>Obsolescence</b>	
The restaurant that was established by the cosmopolitan community in the City was closed due the social change in the community.	
The original function	The current changed function
	
<b>Obsolescence</b>	
The street vendors occupied the sidewalk of the street	
	

Figure 8. Examples of Socio-cultural obsolescence at Safeya Zaghloul Street.





*Figure 9. Examples of Management and administrative problems/obsolescence at Safeya Zaghoul Street.*

## **A FRAMEWORK FOR THE REVITALISATION OF THE HISTORIC COMMERCIAL STREET**

Historic commercial streets have always been linked to their historic, economic and social dimensions. However, we notice a steep decline in their physical and functional conditions, and thus it is important that the revitalisation of the historic commercial streets brings both physical and non-physical contexts into consideration and establish appropriate links between tangible and intangible values of these streets to properly inform their regeneration for contemporary and future use.

The empirical study of Safeya Zaghoul Street highlights:

The physical/structural deteriorations and buildings cannot meet the contemporary standards and the requirements for users.

More pressure is added by other competitive locations that host commercial and entertainment activities.

Because of the pressure to demolish old buildings for development and the central location/high market value, the street becomes a unique opportunity for high state development dynamics and subject to new economically-led developments that do not relate to the street identity.

As a result, Safeya Zaghloul Street is in a high level of obsolescence and high state of development dynamics, so a rationalised physical and economic revitalisation is required

**Physical revitalisation:**

The strategy of the physical revitalisation needs to be integrated with the economic revitalisation in order to achieve a sustainable development of the street's heritage. Buildings require physical interventions and refurbishment of the fabric to ensure their continued performance. Some of the buildings require adaptive reuse strategies to be able to attract investment and community/cultural activities and to provide comparable service to other contemporary centers. Thus, historic and cultural explorations are key to inform these interventions and adaptive reuse strategies.

**Economic revitalisation:**

The street requires studies to inform its functional restructuring and the distribution of uses and activities in order to ensure functional diversity across the street and as a result enhance the urban vitality in all segments.

The proposed framework summarized in Figure 10 presents the actions that need to be taken into consideration to reach a sustainable revitalisation of the selected street, together with a guideline for prioritizing the implementation of these actions.




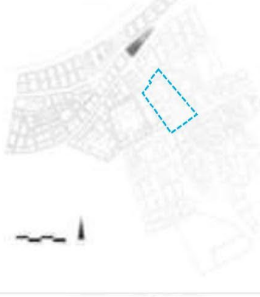
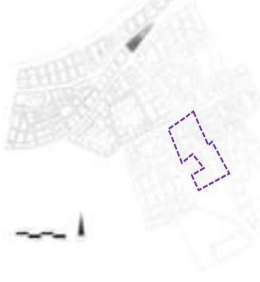
Physical revitalization		Safeya Zaghloul street
<b>Refurbishment</b>	<p>Buildings need physical interventions and refurbishment of the fabric to ensure their continued performance.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- intervention to the buildings' façade that maintain the street identity</li> <li>- interventions to the buildings with poor structural condition.</li> <li>- Intervention to street urban features and furniture.</li> </ul>	
<b>Adaptive Reuse</b>	<p>Identified buildings need adaptive reuse strategies to enable the street attract new investors and wider audience. New developments are needed in the vacant plots, which should respect the street historic, architectural and urban identity:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- rehabilitation project and conversion for cinema Strand complex.</li> <li>- rehabilitation to the public spaces of the street in front of Elite café and the plaza of the new mall.</li> <li>- proposing new development for the vacant plot in the street(e.g. Cinema Rialto site).</li> </ul>	
Economic revitalization		Safeya Zaghloul street
<b>Functional Restructuring</b>	<p>According to the functional obsolescence, some of the buildings' activities need to be replaced with new activities that contribute to the rejuvenation of the street and its heritage.</p> <p>The activities in the first segment of the street need restructuring.</p>	
<b>Functional Diversification</b>	<p>Some of the activities need to be introduced together with the old ones; they need to be complementary and emphasise on the place identity.</p> <p>The second segment of the street, where clothing, shoes, and watch shops are concentrated, needs other complementary activities aligned with the street identity.</p>	
<b>Functional regeneration</b>	<p>Achieving more profits from the existing activities in the street</p> <p>The cultural and entertainment activities in the third segment of the street need to be upgraded to attract better engagement by young generation with the street function, architecture and identity.</p>	

Figure 10. The proposed revitalisation framework for Safeya Zaghloul Street.

## **CONCLUSION**

Historic commercial streets face multiple problems related to urban and economic decays and pressure of urbanization and development. This article intended to explore revitalisation strategies that respond to physical, functional, socio-cultural and administrative obsolescence which make these streets outdated and unable to fulfill contemporary needs. To achieve a win-win situation between the economic pressure and the cultural heritage identity of these historic streets, the cultural heritage of the historic commercial streets should be preserved by the revitalisation process in order to maximize their potential. Findings show that, over time, there have been significant changes in the urban streetscape and image of these historic commercial streets. Physical and functional/economic revitalisation processes are inevitable and they should be built on in-depth analysis of the street architectural, urban, and economic conditions, and with anchoring any solution to the cultural and social dimensions and values of the place and its communities. Therefore, this should happen through a collaborative process with local stakeholders and communities in order to bring to light revitalisation strategies that not only meet contemporary needs but also enable future developments.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Mark Teale, "The challenges of attracting investment back to the High Street." *Journal of Urban Regeneration & Renewal* 6, no. 2 (2012): 154-163.
- <sup>2</sup> Kim Cassidy and Sheilagh Resnick, "Adopting a value co-creation perspective to understand High Street regeneration." *Journal of Strategic Marketing* 30, no. 1 (2022): 69-92.
- <sup>3</sup> Mark Teale, "The challenges of attracting investment back to the High Street." *Journal of Urban Regeneration & Renewal* 6, no. 2 (2012): 154-163
- <sup>4</sup> Julian Dobson, "High Street Regeneration and Rebranding Pushing Portas further: Life beyond the butcher, baker and candlestick maker." *Journal of Urban Regeneration & Renewal* 6, no. 2 (2012): 112-121
- <sup>5</sup> Mary Portas, *The Portas Review: An independent review into the future of our high streets*. Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2011.
- <sup>6</sup> Julian Dobson, "High Street Regeneration and Rebranding Pushing Portas further: Life beyond the butcher, baker and candlestick maker." *Journal of Urban Regeneration & Renewal* 6, no. 2 (2012): 112-121.
- <sup>7</sup> Mary Portas, *The Portas Review: An independent review into the future of our high streets*. Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2011.
- <sup>8</sup> Tarek E Virani, "Micro-community engagement and area-based regeneration in East London: The case of Chrisp Street Market." *City, Culture and Society* 22 (2020): 100345.
- <sup>9</sup> Roger Hartley, "Managing High Street change through silliness." *Journal of Urban Regeneration & Renewal* 6, no. 2 (2012): 164-171.
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# UNCOVERING INTANGIBLE HERITAGE MOTIFS AND PATTERNS IN BOTSWANA

Author:

**KEIPHE SETLHATHANYO, PAMMI SINHA, EIRINI BOUKLA**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS, UK

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## INTRODUCTION

Across the globe, cultural motifs serve as unique historical and cultural signposts, with each region boasting distinctive patterns that encapsulate distinct narratives. From the intricate batik and ikat motifs of Indonesia to the renowned paisley designs of India and the detailed patterns characterising Islamic, Japanese, and Chinese traditions, the world is rich in symbolic designs.<sup>1</sup> Africa's culture is rich, with symbols such as Ghana's adinkra, kente cloth, Benin crafts, Nigeria's Igbo tribe akwete motifs, and Congo's kuba cloth. Basketry producers often add cultural motifs and patterns to their items to increase their visual and cultural importance or to convey message.<sup>2</sup> However, research on basketry motifs is limited.<sup>3</sup> Botswana, a culturally rich nation, raises questions about its motifs. Previous studies have examined symbolism in Southern Africa, including Botswana<sup>4</sup> but more research is needed. noticed that many design initiatives in Botswana are not rooted in the nation's cultural values,<sup>5</sup> pottery symbolism and decoration,<sup>6</sup> others examined Bushmen cultural identity<sup>7</sup> and arts and crafts,<sup>8</sup> and basketry decoration,<sup>9</sup> basketry in northwest,<sup>10</sup> and explored craft history,<sup>11</sup> but there is still a gap in the scholarship on Botswana's motif symbolism. These studies suggest a lack of knowledge regarding heritage motifs in crafts. This exploratory study seeks to uncover the symbolic meanings of traditional motifs and patterns.

## METHODOLOGY

(thirty-seven) female basket weavers were observed and interviewed through Qualitative in-depth semi structured interview schedules, to gain insights into understanding the motifs and patterns in basketry, observing and interviewing. Photographic documentation facilitated a means for a visual comparative analysis of basketry designs from various regions, highlighting both similarities and differences. Participants were recruited using purposive and snowball sampling techniques, facilitated by the Visual Arts Department under the Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Culture, with coordinators in each region aiding in selection. The sampling largely depended on their current engagement as active makers in basketry, their accessibility, and established relationships with visual art coordinators. The participants hailed from the Northwest, Bobirwa, and Kweneng west basket-weaving communities, ranging from 32 to over 75 years old. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Thematic analysis, as outlined by,<sup>12</sup> was employed to analyse the interview transcripts using the NVivo 12 Plus software. iteratively and in depth to reveal themes related to the research questions. During the coding process, recurring themes and patterns began to manifest across the different



regions. data from each region were then juxtaposed against others to discern overarching themes. The study was conducted with the requisite ethical reference PVAR 17-124, granted by the University of Leeds Ethics Committee, and in Botswana, the research permit was granted by the Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Culture Development.

## RESULTS

Distinct themes emerged about meaning of motifs across craft cases. The significance of these designs in the exploration of basketry patterns is multifaceted. Central to their meaning is the rich tapestry of elder narratives, coupled with the interpretations of individual weavers. Moreover, these patterns are deeply entrenched in the recollections of historical practices, underscoring the three-pronged foundation of symbolism in craft.

Upon delving into symbolic motivations across various craft regions, one observes a nuanced interplay between shared elements and distinct variances. These differences are profoundly influenced by the geographical and environmental context of the regions. For instance, a consistent finding was the presence of the zebra motif in both the Northwest and Bobirwa craft areas, highlighting a shared aesthetic. However, even amidst such commonalities, each region exhibited its own set of varied design expressions. A pivotal realisation is that the inspiration for these basketry designs is not isolated art forms. Instead, they are deeply rooted in geography, societal influence, and the immediate environment. Across the spectrum, weavers universally associated their craft with their ethnic lineage; as a result, their creations emerged as emblematic representations of their specific regions.

However, the contrasts between the regions were equally compelling. While some areas leaned heavily on inspiration from their immediate surroundings, such as wildlife or birds others sought inspiration from more structured establishments. A notable example is the Kweneng region, in which weavers subtly incorporate a diamond motif. This design choice was not merely aesthetic, but bore testament to the nearby diamond mine, which also played the dual role of their sponsor. Further deepening of the layers of regional distinction was influenced by historical customs. Many weavers echoed visuals from their formative years in their design choices. This was particularly evident in the reminiscence of traditional housing decorations and the distinct architectural styles of the youth. Below is an outline of the similarities and their differences.

### Similarities

- Cultural narratives and memory: the meanings underpinning basketry patterns are often rooted in tales passed down by elders, personal insights of individual weavers, and recollections of past practices, underscoring the threefold significance of symbolism. For example tale passed down by elders design motif *Peolwane/* as illustrated in (figure 1), when translated in Setswana, means Swallow, which is another representative of the basketry motif. The motif, as indicated by the respondents, was inspired by the plumage of swallow, and triangles shows the tails of swallow as they fly, as they were told by elders, which is an important bird in the wayeyi/mbukushu communities; the birds are omen of good fortune and a sign of rainfall.



Figure 1. *Peolwane/tail of swallow*

- Consistent motifs, a striking example is the design motif zebra, which appeared consistently in both the Northwest and Bobirwa craft areas.
- Individual expression, every region exhibited a unique and diverse artistic voice in their designs. These patterns bore personal importance for each weaver.
- Geographical and societal influence, the designs' inspirations were often tethered to geography, societal dynamics, and environmental contexts.
- Ethnic and regional pride, across all areas, basket weavers linked their craftwork to their respective ethnic tribes. Their unique designs often mirrored the regional, geographical, and cultural nuances of Botswana.
- Ethnic and place identity, the integration of geographical elements within artistic manifestations reinforced the bond between the land and its people. This serves to bolster ethnic identity, foster community unity, and celebrate the environment.

#### Differences:

- Local inspiration, certain regions draw inspiration predominantly from their immediate surroundings. Notably, weavers from the Kweneng region found inspiration in the diamond motif, a nod to their proximity to a diamond mine that also sponsored them.
- Influence of traditional practices, the designs of some patterns echoed regional traditional practices, reflecting visuals from childhood, such as traditional seating benches and their structural designs. For example design motif *Ntlo ya Setswana le benche* / as illustrated in (figure 2), *ntlo ya Setswana le benche* meaning traditional hut structure and benches. The motif is reminiscent of the traditional living set up with wooden benches for seating, which the respondent said is not easy to find in the area as modern houses are built and different seating.

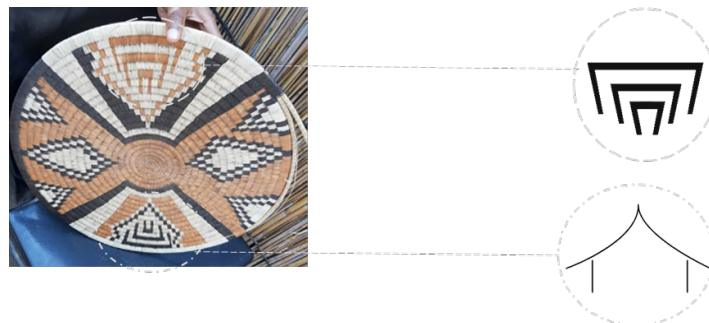


Figure 2. Traditional hut with benches

- Regional symbolisms: for instance, in the northwest, the *Nteta* motif (traditional way of catching fish) is symbolic of wealth. *Nteta* and Fish motif: figure was translated to mean the pride of the north. Some of the participants explained that historically they are riverine people, and in the past they catch fish using *nteta*, meaning conical weaved fishing baskets. The motif they indicated a fish heading towards *nteta* similar to fish net with some food inside do that the fish is trapped therefore, a representation of traditional fishing that symbolises wealth and riches in that locality. And reminiscent of fishing in area, captures the experience of place from weavers' gaze.

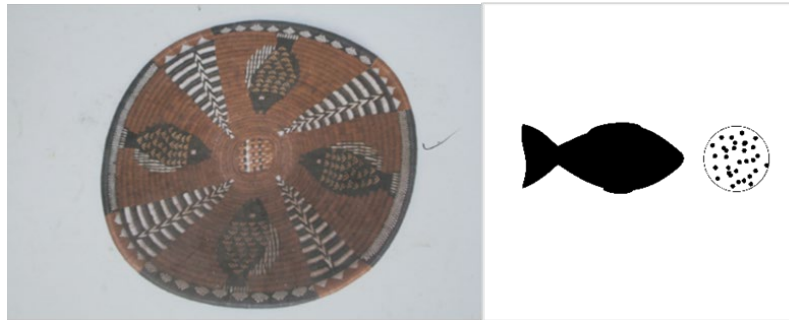


Figure 3. Fish and Nteta trap

- Exogenous influences: the Bobirwa area showcased designs inspired by external elements such as playing cards.
- Exploration of natural colours, weavers have begun to harness alternative plant roots to produce new colours. Different boiling stages are employed to achieve varying hues, and some even utilise aged, rusted metals as colour sources. Participants stated that the main reason they enjoy dyeing is that customers love colour in basketry and enjoy trying plant leaves and other plant roots to create new shades of dye. The colour hues from the northwest and the bobirwa area they use natural dyes, and they prefer them to use chemicals, a practice they have kept for decades. Illustration in figure 4 shows difference colour hues due to geographical factors and uniquely this distinction has created identity of in northwest and bobirwa craft areas.



Figure 4. Basketry colour hues

## DISCUSSION

The study found symbolic meanings is drawn from a myriad of sources. The tales from elders, especially those centred on wildlife and bird symbolism, align well with the observations of other studies.<sup>13</sup> However, there is an undeniable decline in the transmission of these elder stories, pointing towards a potential loss of this cultural repository. A notable shift was the burgeoning emphasis on individual interpretation. Today, weavers imbue their work with personal meanings derived from their unique experiences, dreams, and creative excursions. This trend of individualistic expressions resonates with the works.<sup>14</sup> Further, the designs are not mere artistic renditions; they mirror the broader sociocultural and environmental context in which this reflection of the societal and cultural contexts of basketry aligns with the observations of,<sup>15</sup> an interesting parallel is the incorporation of exogenous elements into designs, such as the playing card motif in the Bobirwa area. This trend mirrors the findings of Cochrane who noted similar effects among weavers in Papua New Guinea.<sup>16</sup> With regard to the study finding on regional pride, our findings resonate with the work of this scholar,<sup>17</sup> who explored Turkish symbols and Romanian folk art in various artistic mediums such as

weaving, pottery, ceramics, and woodcraft. Their study draws parallels with the way basket weavers incorporate cultural elements into their creations and also resonate with<sup>18</sup> on Malay batik among Hindu, Buddhist, Islamist, Christians. Diving into the realm of colours, this study uncovered intriguing regional variations in the traditional dye palette. This discovery is reminiscent of works<sup>19</sup> with the Nuulu basket makers of Indonesia, where clan-specific colour diversities were observed, a sentiment echoed by.<sup>20</sup> A unique facet of this study is the unearthing of spiritual elements in craftwork. This dimension of symbolism, particularly prevalent among the younger generation of weavers, hasn't been highlighted in previous studies.<sup>21</sup>

An unexpected revelation was the intrinsic link between craftwork and the dual concepts of 'ethnic' and 'place' identity. This is similar to the study that found weavers Rhi-boi loom weavers in India, motifs representative of their region and tribes.<sup>22</sup> Tribes engaged in basketry, notably the minority tribes of Bobirwa, Bakgalagadi, Bahambukushu, and Wayeyi, appear to be in a continual quest for identity, a sentiment captured in other studies.<sup>23</sup> Finally, the individual narratives and inspirations behind these designs remain a potent force across all regions. These stories not only shape the resulting patterns but, as<sup>24</sup> points out, also serve as fertile grounds for creativity, an idea further endorsed by.<sup>25</sup> The rich fabric of stories, experiences, and inspiration interwoven into these designs underlines the multifaceted nature of Botswana's basketry heritage.

## **IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY FINDINGS**

Educational institutions can promote cultural heritage by including cultural elements in their curricula. This encourages appreciation and understanding of diverse cultural traditions and heritage. Incorporating cultural components into coursework also preserves traditional craft. Some studies noted incorporating cultural elements preserves traditions for future generations.<sup>26</sup> Craftspeople and designers collaborating can create innovative outputs that honour tradition and modern design. Synergy between craft and design can revitalise heritage arts and crafts. Education that encourages cultural integration preserves knowledge for future generations.

This study highlights the need to combine cultural heritage with design education and craft practices. This keeps art meaningful and cherished for future generations. Design informed by cultural symbolism conveys complex ideas more effectively. Symbols make design more meaningful and relatable.<sup>27</sup> Examining the evolution of symbols reveals how societies have expressed their identities, values, and dreams through material culture. Exploring the symbolic significance of materials and designs allows artisans, designers, and consumers to appreciate the cultural stories in crafts. Natural dyes offer designers and makers an attractive, eco-friendly range of colours. Crafts can be beautiful and environmentally friendly, and cultural symbolism can create meaningful, sustainable designs.

## **CONCLUSION**

The study sought to explore and understand the symbolic meaning of motifs in basketry designs. As a result of immersion in the fields and analysis of data we identified themes and based on meanings then grouped based on similarities and differences.

This investigation of the material symbolism of Botswana's basketry crafts has provided pivotal insights into the rich tapestry of cultural narratives woven into each design. Three themes emerged: the personal significance imbued into each creation by its maker; stories from elders the profound ties binding these designs to their geographical roots and historical traditions; and the nuanced variations sculpted by the distinct geographical landscapes of Botswana. Recognising and valuing this material symbolism is more than an academic exercise. It is a clarion call for cultural preservation, a beacon guiding design education, and a champion for the promotion and celebration of traditional crafts. In

doing so, will not only pay homage to Botswana's vibrant intangible heritage but also ensure its legacy for future generations.

Heritage serves as a crucial aspect of national identity, encompassing the meanings, values, and symbols of a society. Intangible elements such as symbols, images, and meanings hold significant importance for both nations and local communities in representing their cultural identity.<sup>28</sup> As the first scholarly attempt to examine motif symbolic meanings in the basketry context, this study has uncovered important findings that are unique in craft areas beyond just animal significance, as other studies have observed but memories of past practices, individual -which included spirituality-which other studies have not observed, such as fish and traditional nets, and playing cards.

Thus, there is fertile ground for further exploration. Future endeavours can probe deeper into facets such, intricacies of knowledge transmission, and the ripple effects of global influences on local traditions, thereby enriching our comprehension of Botswana's intangible cultural treasures. Moreover, as<sup>29</sup> posits, the birth of novel designs can play a pivotal role in shaping and refining cultural identities for future generations. As observed, this knowledge reservoir is not a static entity. Instead, it is a living, breathing continuum, ever-evolving, and adapting, as artisans, inspired by challenges and opportunities alike, continue to experiment, innovate, and redefine the boundaries of their crafts.<sup>30</sup> In essence, studying symbolism enriches our comprehension of human expression, ensuring that crafts and designs are not just seen, but also felt and understood, fostering a more profound connection to our shared human heritage.

## **LIMITATIONS**

It is important to note the limitation of the study. First, geographical imitations: by focusing only on three regions in Botswana, the study might miss out on diverse practices, stories, and symbolic meanings from other parts of the country. While this limitation is understandable given the logistical constraints, it is essential to acknowledge that the findings might not capture the entire spectrum of Botswana's basketry craft. Second although the sample might be representative of the three regions studied, the findings might not be extrapolated to all basketry weavers in Botswana or to other forms of craft in the country.

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# URBAN INDUSTRIAL BUILDING SUPPRESSION: ISSUES ON COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Authors:

**BIANCA PAOLA COMIN, DENISE B. PINHEIRO MACHADO**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

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## INTRODUCTION

There is a fact that happened to every city as a part of its survival strategy: its shape modification. Perhaps, interventions in the city shapes - apart from the reasons that motivate them - are able to modify the landscapes and step in memorial and identity issues, especially when we talk about remarkable and/or ancient buildings and their sense of “history keeping”. In fact, there are many ways to treat this question and, among them, we can mention adaptation and suppression: the first one can be understood as a change of function keeping the shape, and the second one as a complete disappearance of the ancient shape to be replaced by another one. These two issues can be observed in many cities around the world, and decisions taken regarding them are not neutral nor arbitrary. For example, building demolitions are a definitive process that denies it of being a history keeper and, on the other hand, building adaptations can be understood as an attempt to consider its shape as storytellers.

Thus, we can particularly think about ancient industrial buildings. Located in huge areas, the lack of function becomes an invitation to convert them in a useful place, and the solution to do it is generally managed by capital interests. This is a phenomenon that can be observed in many cities, but, in this paper, we aim to discuss a special case placed in Curitiba - Brazil. We think about it as a special case because Curitiba is a city internationally known for its successful urban planning solutions, which gave it the label of “model city”. In fact, what we try to investigate is how the reproduction of a forged city label can hide and immobilize critical views about urban decisions, signed by urban management agents.

We organized our contribution in three sections. In the first moment, our intention is to come up with a brief theoretical framework that could lead us to a critical case view. In the second part, we aim to present a specific urban context, trying to point out urban planning questions and their application in Curitiba’s background. Finally, our purpose is to provide some considerations taken into account the previous subjects.

## A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In occidental societies, buildings can be understood as a way to face life's ephemerality. This argument justifies the erection of monuments around the world to pay tribute to great winners or remarkable persons. In this sense, the materials applied to construct them – like stone, steel and cement - have tough and hard properties which oppose to life's transitory nature. For example, if we

think about life as a short time event, buildings and monuments have the ability to extend it, due to their materiality. That is why we consider building as an artifact to maintain memories alive, even if the building has not the purpose of being a monument - in the sense that Françoise Choay<sup>1</sup> gave to it.

In this regard, buildings are also objects. Milton Santos,<sup>2</sup> defines objects as everything that has a place on the surface, all the natural history heritage and all the results of human action that objectified. Objects are the outcome of an extensive objectivity or, in other words, everything that was created by the human beings that is converted into a material instrument of their lives. So, buildings are objects as they are an outcome of objective human actions, which are shaped according to human necessities, placed on space and time. And, at the end, they become a physical testimony of time on space.

In an urban environment we don't build like someone who writes on a white page - in fact, we build like someone who needs to find a space in a written page. And, sometimes, to find a space, we have to replace something that is already there. But, for example, if we replace an ancient word by a new one, perhaps we can change the sense of the paragraph; and, if we replace an entire paragraph, we can change the whole story continuity.

In this sense, cities can be understood as a palimpsest and, according to Milton Santos,<sup>3</sup> they can be compared to our skin, keeping traces and scars of old wounds. Milton Santos<sup>4</sup> connects the association between past and present in urban landscapes by a concept called "roughness": we call roughness all the things that came from the past as a shape, as a built space, as a landscape; it is what remains from the process of suppression, accumulation or superposition which led space objects to be replaced and assembled. Roughness can appear as an isolated shape or as a set of it.<sup>5</sup>

By generating a conflict between the new and the ancient, roughness hold not just the materiality of the shape, but also its immateriality. Roughness is a process that links past to present, and contributes to generate collective identities and history. Roughness is a bridge to access the past, and the conservation of their materiality is the key to reach it. Milton Santos<sup>6</sup> says that they are the lifeless case that wraps a global society's evolution moment, and it is also a condition to make history comes up.

However, in contemporary cities, there is an undeniable requirement to adjust ancient shapes according to economic and technological demands. The city is bound to the modernization's demands, which are often related to the reproduction of global capital. When we modify a shape - or an object - intending to convert it into a roughness or intending to suppress it from the landscape, it is not an a neutral choice. This kind of choice has the power to erase or to emphasize memories and, as a macro consequence, to forge a collective identity based on it. For example, if we consider urban shapes filled with meanings and memories, their pretended suppression can be a way to erase them from history, in a broader sense.

This conflict does not mean that cities must have crystallized landscapes - the relation between shape and function needs to be updated in a way to respond to social requirements; otherwise, the shape becomes obsolete and loses its reason to exist. However, the choices made between buildings to stay in the present and buildings to be destroyed grants a power status to the agents that decide about it, since it can interfere in a collective identity set.

In this regard we can mention the case of fragilized areas of old industrial sites. Perceived as empty shapes located in large and valued zones, these buildings are being targeted to a wide range of architectural and urbanistic solutions to transform their use. Perhaps, forefront solutions aim to maintain their external shapes, but their complete demolition is a phenomenon that can be observed all around the world - sometimes, sustained by an urban requalification goal.

The case we bring here, which aims to articulate present and past in the context of cultural and social heritage, talks about the complete demolition of a former factory complex of *erva-mate*<sup>7</sup> located in Curitiba - a city in southern Brazil. It is a case similar to many others, where the demolition comes as

a response of capital imposing forces; but this is a specific one. Curitiba is a city internationally known for the application of effective urban planning solutions, based on sustainable development and public measures for preservation of the city's history. This case shows the contradiction between fame and reality, as we can see below.

### THE MATTE LEÃO FACTORY

Curitiba is a southern Brazilian city located in the state of Paraná. Its foundation dates from 1693, but it was from the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century that the city lived underwent its glorious period.<sup>8</sup> the favorable geographic location and some governmental politics opened way to the *erva-mate* cultivation. As a result, we can say that Curitiba's development, as well as its architectural richness and its emancipation were highly propelled by *erva-mate* production.

It was from the installation of an industrial plant of *erva-mate* and from the collection of taxes that Curitiba and the state of Paraná were able to gain notoriety and independence from other high brazilian economies, like São Paulo.<sup>9</sup>

The main *erva-mate* processing factory was installed in Curitiba in 1901, and it was a property of the Leão family.<sup>10</sup> Even though it faced three great fires in its installations, in 1920 it was the largest *erva-mate* company in Brazil, which exported 5 thousand tons of *erva-mate* per year. In 1930, Leão Jr company inaugurated a new 16 thousand square meters plant at Rebouças (Figures 1 and 2) - an ancient industrial zone of Curitiba. In 1970, Leão Jr was renamed as Matte Leão and controlled 90% of the tea market in Brazil. In 2007, after 106 years under the Leão family, the enterprise was sold to Coca-Cola.<sup>11</sup> After that, the industrial complex moved out of Curitiba, and the ancient factory of Rebouças - that today is a pericentral district - was deactivated, creating a huge vacant profitable attractive urban area.

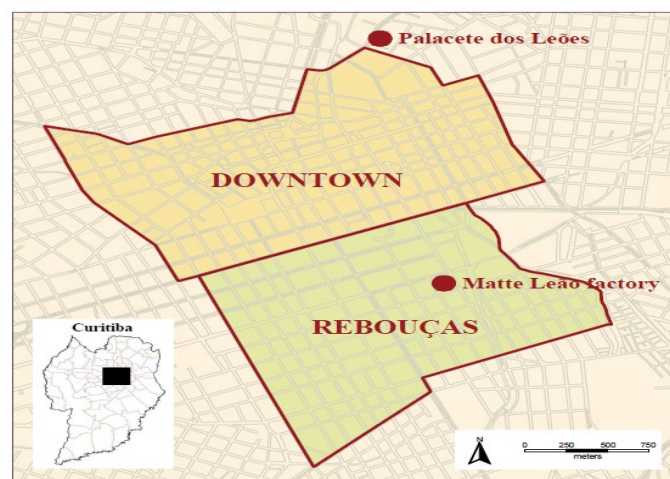


Figure 1. Factory and museum location in Curitiba.



Figure 2. Matte Leão factory at Rebouças, in 2010.

In 2010, the ancient factory area was sold to a religious group. Some months later, the building was demolished to make way for a large construction that now hosts the new temple and office of the Universal Church.<sup>12</sup> The insertion of a building with such uses and strange architectural attributes in that area led to a radical break with the local urban environment, introducing completely different uses and shapes in comparison with the previous context - as illustrated in Figure 3. So, even if this case is similar to many others, here we have a notarial incident where memorial and historical issues were collapsed by capital forces. The factory was an emblematic symbol of Paraná's economic history, and also an ode to the working local memory.



Figure 3. Temple of Universal Church, in 2017.

Thus, our research interests lay on the present case in association with the label that holds Curitiba as a model of urban planning. There are many writings about the myth of Curitiba and the role of urban agents on it.<sup>13</sup> In fact, what we see is not the application of great urban solutions that are worth reproducing, but an intense work to reaffirm an image of the city that is not necessarily true.

The myth of Curitiba as a model-city has its origins in the 1970's, when the architect Jaime Lerner took the helm of the municipal government.<sup>14</sup> Lerner executed some important measures of urbanism. Among them, we can mention the creation of a bus transportation system with exclusive roads in 1974 - a system that was lately known as BRT (*bus rapid transit*).<sup>15</sup> In 1989, Lerner returned to the municipal government and, facing the effervescence of the environmental issues, he proposed the creation of a wide range of parks, urban green areas and also a great system to treat urban waste.<sup>16</sup>

These measures provided the label of “ecological city” to Curitiba. So, using environmental and aesthetical policies, Lerner was the main agent to propel the image of Curitiba as a model of efficient urban planning, based on beautiful landscapes and environmental respect. However, even if Lerner’s interventions have achieved success, thirty years later we see constant attempts to update and renew this speech, but without effective actions to follow it up - there is a gap between the speeches and the urban agents’ actions.

The demolition of the Matte Leão factory is an example of it. As a city that is proud of its urban trajectory, the weak efforts oriented to preserve the factory building - and its symbolic historical presence on the landscape - go against the forged image that has been spread about Curitiba. The municipal administration had a nice and respectable project for Rebouças urban requalification,<sup>17</sup> but its efforts were not sufficient to face capital forces. This case illustrates how cultural and historical interests are vulnerable when the urban policies are really not oriented to it - what makes Curitiba remarkable is just the image constructed about itself, not necessarily the practice of responsible or efficient urban planning.

Furthermore, when we have urban solutions based on discourses to reaffirm an outdated city image, it leads to switching off all the social city conflicts. If we repeat a discourse forged by urban agents, we are inclined to assume it as a neutral and homogeneous consensus. These discourses spread an idea that decisions made by urban administration are always about collective benefits. This kind of action denies class conflicts, because all dissonant positions tend to be drowned by public administration and its power of urban shape control.

### **CROSSING ISSUES, PROPOSING QUESTIONS**

The demolition of the Matte Leão factory, in Curitiba, can be understood as disregard to issues like the working memory and city history. This situation is grieved because Curitiba is a city that lives off the image of its efficient urban planning model - and this is just one of multiple cases where, through critical lenses, we can notice that Curitiba’s discourses are not tuned with the urban managers solutions. The complete mischaracterization of the Rebouças zone and the devaluation of its factory buildings sustaining the roughness character, give us content to think about the meaning of this ancient working place's disappearance. Maintaining a building shape in a city landscape, it is to acknowledge its importance to collective identity and memory. So, if urban management sector does not make any effort to keep remarkable factory buildings alive, we can say that urban policies are contributing to the oblivion of a part of the collective history. And, going a little deeper, when we choose to preserve a place of power instead of a place of labor, we are induced to forge collective identities based on a history of a few socially and economically successful groups. The Matte Leão case illustrates this process.

Following the demolition of the *erva mate* factory, a museum and a cultural space were created in a building located in a downtown area, in Curitiba, called Palacete dos Leões (see Figures 1 and 4). This building was, for almost 90 years, the residence of the Leão family<sup>18</sup> - Matte Leão’s owners. The palace, constructed in eclectic style, was registered as a building with preservation interests” in 1979, and in 2003 it was considered a regional heritage site. Nowadays, part of *erva-mate* production history is exhibited at this palace.



Figure 4. Museum at Palacete dos Leões.

This case illustrates the importance of aesthetic elements in a building to become an heritage site. In addition, the displacement of memory of labor activities, from the original production site to the central power one, shows us how city histories being described by social and economic powers while being put aside from its labor contributions. If we return to Milton Santos theory considering the roughness presence as a condition to make history happen, we can see Matte Leão's factory demolition as an episode to wipe off the memories of labor activities from collective history. At the same time, the preservation of the Palacete dos Leões shows us how economic power, social influence and visual appellation gets to preserve life's ephemerality, in the capital economy context.

## CONCLUSION

Some questions arise. What is the intentionality of powerful urban agents and what memories their actions put out? When they choose to maintain an urban shape that represents powerful classes and demolish those who represent the working classes, what history does the city shape tell us? Would a city, that is proud of its history and its urban planning, lets a part of its history be erased in the name of capital? Finally, who really makes the city's history?

We believe that urban shapes, due to their materiality and physical properties, are concrete means to make memories alive. However, in the case of ancient industrial shapes, if there is not a real interest or an effective public policy in place that includes legal apparatus to protect their original working memories, capital superposition forces will always appropriate them. Financial and economic imperatives are supported by capital forces, which will be preponderant, even if we are talking about collective issues.

Furthermore, capital forces are only interested in reproducing their logic, either for propagating an outdated - but marketable - discourse about the city or for providing special attention to preserve buildings mainly by their remarkable aesthetic attributes. So, if a building does not have any special physical characteristics, the forces will suppress it in order to construct another shape (and/or another use) that can do it better. In this sense, city history - and, as a consequence, collective memories and identity - will often be told by few influential groups that have the power to model urban shapes. This kind of situation emphasizes a cycle where external forces will always impose themselves, if internal forces are not strong enough to face them.

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## NOTES

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- <sup>4</sup> Santos. *A Natureza do Espaço*, 140.
- <sup>5</sup> Milton Santos. *Pensando o espaço do homem* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1982).
- <sup>6</sup> op. cit., 42.
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# THE ISSUES OF URBAN AND ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE PROTECTION ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE MEDIEVAL TOWN OF TORUŃ IN POLAND

Author:

**KAROLINA ZIMNA-KAWECKA**

Affiliation:

NICOLAUS COPERNICUS UNIVERSITY IN TORUŃ, POLAND

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## INTRODUCTION

The article is to present a case study of the preservation of the architectural and urban heritage of the city of Toruń in Poland, listed as a historic medieval town by UNESCO in 1997.<sup>1</sup> In the 25 years since the recognition of the Outstanding Universal Value, many changes have taken place, including renovations of medieval townhouses, revitalizations more or less interfering with the preserved historical substance. The most recent implementation: the revitalization of the Vistula River waterfront, on which the city lies, has generated much controversy.<sup>2</sup> Once again, there is concern about whether the investment will affect the violation of the OUV. On the other hand, a series of architectural and conservation research, as well as archaeological and historical research, has made it possible to discover preserved relics from the past. There has also been an intensification of public research, including social consultations to identify the expectations of residents and tourists regarding Toruń's heritage.<sup>3</sup> Thus, managing the changes - impossible to avoid in the city, taking into account new discoveries in the city's development plans is a great challenge for local conservation services and city authorities. All issues also illustrate the mechanisms of the Polish heritage protection and monitoring system.

## Characteristics of the town's heritage

The documentation of the UNESCO listing recognizes that Torun constitutes a building complex that is among *the best achievements of Gothic brick architecture in Europe and it contributed to the development of its general stylistic features*.<sup>4</sup>

Among them were listed: the castle (left in ruins since the mid-15th century) - as the first brick fortress in Prussia leading to the development of the type of Teutonic castle; town houses - as the largest complex in Europe with a preserved structure of the interior layout, visible layout of the buildings within the parcels of land, including a special model type of merchant's house: house-granary. The Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary as the first so-called "high hall" in Prussia, which influenced the development of sacred architecture; then the system of urban fortifications imitated in other cities of Prussia; or the Old Town Hall unique in its structure and layout adapted to court, administrative and commercial functions. It was emphasized that original and unique, are not only the features of the complex as a whole, but also its individual components.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, in terms of urban planning, one can see the structure of the Old City, founded in 1233, and the adjacent New City,

founded in 1264, with the castle area wedged in between (Figure 1). The two towns were merged in the mid-15th century and today it is the Old Town area listed by UNESCO as a medieval town.<sup>6</sup>

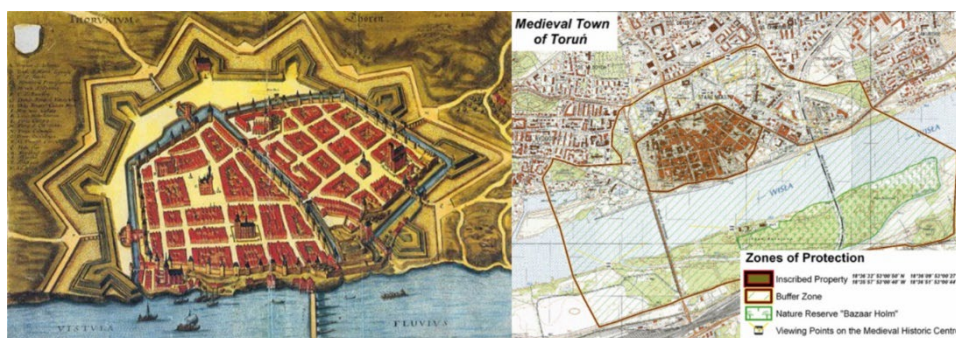


Figure 1. Plan of Toruń from 1641 and borders of Inscribed Heritage Property with Buffer Zone. (<https://pl.wikipedia.org>, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/835/documents/>, accessed August 10, 2023).

Of the six UNESCO World Heritage criteria, it was indicated that Toruń met, and continues to meet, the criteria 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>. According to the 2<sup>nd</sup> - the good should exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design. According to the 4<sup>th</sup> - be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.<sup>7</sup>

Among the values, the fulfilment of an additional criterion was also indicated: the 6<sup>th</sup>. The historical role of Toruń in the Christianization and colonization of Prussia, mediating maritime trade with Eastern Europe (Toruń belonged to the Hanseatic League and was an example of an inland seaport), cultural and social role as a centre for the formation of the bourgeoisie's sense of state identity and its political aspirations, a centre that contributed to the fall of the Teutonic Order (symbolized by the ruin of the castle blown up in the mid-15th century and the prohibition of its reconstruction recorded in historical sources) and, finally, the birthplace of Nicolaus Copernicus - an outstanding astronomer and scientist.<sup>8</sup> The memory of Copernicus is not only manifested in the naming of companies, associations or institutions after Copernicus, but the establishment of a scientific centre in Toruń in 1945: the seat of Nicolaus Copernicus University - among other things, a place of educating conservators, the so-called "Toruń school of conservation."<sup>9</sup>

Its feature was the emphasis on preserving the original substance and making the valuation of layering, which is possible thanks to preceding interdisciplinary research and setting standards for non-destructive testing.<sup>10</sup> One of the peculiarities of conservation efforts in Toruń was to refrain from reconstructing monuments: the ruins of the castle, the ruins of the church and the Dominican monastery, or the ruins of the oldest barbican in Poland.

In the public perception in Poland, the city is highly valued. In 2007, the city's landscape was recognized as one of the 7 wonders of Poland. And in 2018, the entire Old Town Complex took the first place in the competition for "7 Wonders of Poland for the 100th anniversary of Poland's independence."<sup>11</sup>

In the 90s, UNESCO paid special attention to the criterion of authenticity and the comparison of the candidate property in this regard with other similar ones from the same era. The concept of authenticity also referred to the form and structure of later but valuable layers. The ICOMOS rapporteur concluded that in terms of its time of construction and location, Toruń represents an authentic, almost intact medieval city (Figure 2, 3). About 300 townhouses still have a clear medieval layout and contain elements of Gothic architecture<sup>12</sup>. Among the valuable layering, the preserved set

of ceilings with polychromes not only medieval but also early modern, as well as the decoration of the tenements, the furnishings of the churches and the town hall are noteworthy. As for the tenements, in recent years access to some - due to purchase by private owners - has unfortunately been restricted.

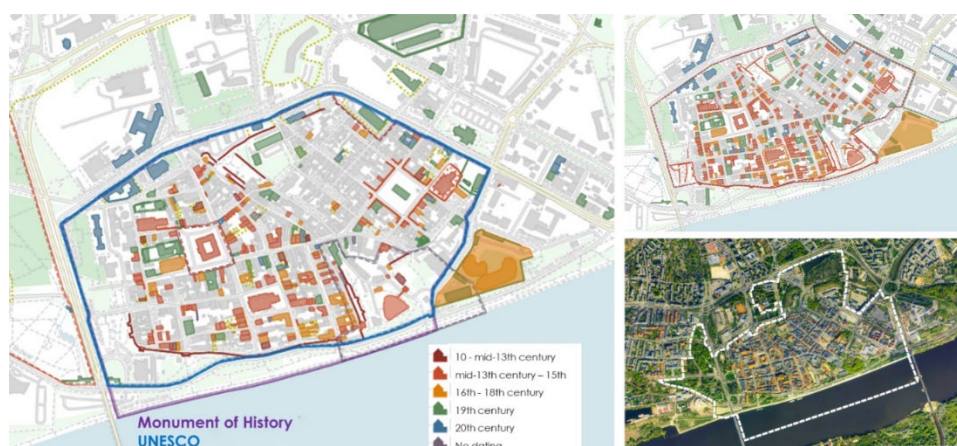


Figure 2. Toruń in Poland: plan of the Old Town area with marked monuments entered in the register of monuments (left); plan with marked monuments in the evidence record list of monuments (right top); plan of protection zone from Draft of the Local Spatial Plan from 2012 (right down) (<https://mapy.zabytek.gov.pl/nid/>; "Miejska Pracownia Urbanistyczna w Toruniu." <http://mpu-torun.pl/?cat=6>, accessed August 10, 2023).

## ISSUES OF PROTECTION AND MANAGEMENT OF URBAN HERITAGE

As early since the second half of the 19th century, the buildings were individually protected, and studies began to be carried out and medieval walls were uncovered from under newer plasterwork. Fortunately, the world wars did not bring major destruction. After the war, conservation and restoration work continued and the area was protected by entries in the register of historical monuments for individual buildings. Before the efforts were made to apply on UNESCO List, over-regional values were identified and the protection status provided by Polish law for the most valuable immovable monuments, the so-called Monument of History,<sup>13</sup> was established for the area (Figure 2). Only then could Toruń have been submitted as a candidate for UNESCO listing.

In the 60s and 70s, the waterfront was developed, transforming it into boulevards and introducing peripheral traffic through the city as the East-West route.<sup>14</sup> The development interrupted the river's connection to the functional and spatial layout of the Old City and therefore the historical context of the port function. There was an awareness of the value of the waterfront and its direct relationship to the city (i.e. the medieval port, the trade route, the facilities, the ruins of medieval and early modern buildings preserved underground). At the time, it was recognized that the 19th-century transformations with the railroad siding no longer represented such value. The most important idea was to move traffic out of the historic centre. In the 90s, the inclusion of the waterfront in the UNESCO boundary could have weakened the argument of the proposal so the inclusion of the waterfront within the boundary of the Listing was abandoned. Its protection - especially archaeological one - was secured by the earlier demarcation of the boundary of the Monument of History and the monument register. It reaches the extreme line of the wharf.<sup>15</sup>

This is because the protection of Toruń's historical monuments operates within the Polish legal order, in which there are 4 basic forms of protection: the registry of monuments, the Monument of History, a cultural park, and provisions of local spatial development plans and building decisions. Each form of protection has its own peculiarities, and all are the subject to the supervision of the Voivodeship

(provincial) Conservator of Monuments, who can also delegate some of his responsibilities to the Mayor of the city, who must establish a city conservator's office.<sup>16</sup> This is precisely the case in Toruń. It is worth noting that in Toruń the expert nature of appointed provincial or city conservators is the norm. They are members of ICOMOS or the Association of Monument Conservators and usually graduates from the Nicolaus Copernicus University. The three of them (in the history) have served as the General Conservator of Monuments in Poland.<sup>17</sup>

Monuments of history are established by Ordinance of the President of Poland in the case of immovable monuments of significant cultural importance. They are specially supervised by the Minister of Culture with the assistance of the National Heritage Institute. In the eyes of the law, Monuments of History do not have a much larger scope of protection, but monitoring is carried out for them by the Heritage Institute and subsidy programs for conservation activities are offered. Monuments of History become candidates of Poland to be included on the UNESCO List, as they have transregional values.<sup>18</sup>

The monitoring recommended by the General Conservator of Monuments is carried out on the basis of the rights of conservation supervision set in the Act On The Protection Of Monuments And The Care Of Historical Monuments and the Polish Administrative Law. According to them, the monitoring is carried out in the presence of the owner, who must be informed in advance and set a date. As one can imagine the application of such a procedure for a city with more than 770 properties in 2014, on top of the approximately 450 business entities operating there, is impossible.<sup>19</sup> The conservation services do not have adequate staff resources and yet they have to supervise monuments outside the UNESCO area as well.

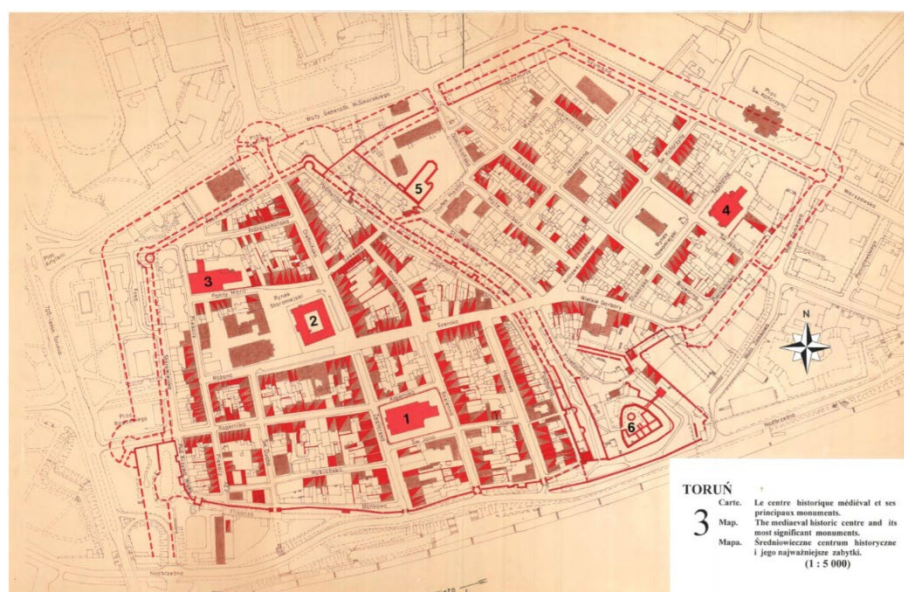


Figure 3. Toruń, UNESCO area with marked medieval (red) and early modern and modern monuments (brown) (Department of Art Conservation Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń).

The 2006 and 2014 UNESCO directives for Torun recommended the creation of a cultural park for the Old Town area. This is a form of protection created by the City Council in consultation with the provincial conservator in order to protect the cultural landscape and preserve landscape distinctive areas with immovable monuments characteristic of the local building and settlement tradition. A mandatory conservation plan is also agreed with the conservator. The municipality must also develop a local spatial development plan. It contains detailed guidelines and restrictions, including prohibitions or orders of function. In the area of cultural parks, local regulations on the aesthetics of

advertising and forms of minor architecture are adopted, and these rules can be effectively enforced. In Toruń, an analysis of the possibility of including it in this form of protection is underway and work has been going on for more than 10 years to include the Old Town in the local spatial development plan<sup>20</sup> (Figure 2).

At the time of Torun's listing, there was a 1986 General City Growth Plan for Torun. As since 2018, there has been a Study of Conditions and Directions for Spatial Development and also a new City Growth Plan. However, these are strategic documents and not acts of local law. Nor are they heritage management plans in the light of UNESCO requirements. The documents, however, indicate the obligations and goals of the municipal authorities and the scope of planned activities. The study designates exposure protection zones for the Old Town area in correlation with views from particular points, but there is no direct reference to the buffer zone designated in the UNESCO listing.<sup>21</sup>

However, this does not mean a lack of coordination and management of heritage and a lack of protection of monuments. Heritage assessments and decisions are issued on an ongoing basis by the conservation offices under the law, and elements of the management plan are included in the mentioned strategic documents of Toruń. In addition, municipalities, provinces and the Ministry must prepare monument care programs and protection plans in case of conflicts and emergencies every 4 years. These documents identify the most important monuments and their values, list the inventory of all monuments, specify the legal basis, goals and objectives for strictly monument protection, sources of funding and a schedule of activities, including the reference to revitalization plans. The last are described in another document prepared by the city authorities - the Local Revitalization Program. The Old Town district is a priority area in both documents.<sup>22</sup>

A World Heritage Management Program is scheduled to be completed by spring 2024. Tourist infrastructure is constantly being improved by increasing the hotel base and parking spaces, which should not interfere with the city's above-ground layout. Underground car parks have been marked out beyond the eastern border of the layout: under St. Catherine's Square and in the north under the Contemporary Art Center building. The UNESCO guidelines were thus implemented.<sup>23</sup> The most important measure, however, is the preservation, adaptation and revitalization of the Old Town's buildings.

## **CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION OF MONUMENTS**

In the UNESCO Reports, the legal and organizational conservation settings for Toruń, are considered sufficient or distinguished, especially the conservation process. However, they indicate the need to improve the identification and promotion of the Outstanding Universal Value among the local community and also tourists, and to improve the technical infrastructure, especially the waterfront.<sup>24</sup> These expectations have resulted in improved aesthetics, adaptation, but sometimes at the cost of authentic, later layers and with the abandonment of the conservation process itself.

From the 90s to the early 2000s, a lot of research work was systematically carried out. A Historical and Conservation Study was created for 9 development quarters with architectural research, which made it possible to construct conservation guidelines for selected buildings and further detailed conservation research, such as for the presence of polychromes. This is how many polychromes from the 13th to 19th centuries were discovered.<sup>25</sup>

Half of the buildings in the UNESCO area is included in the evidence record list of monuments - on this basis, monuments can be protected in local development plans or a cultural park. In turn, there are 248 buildings in the register of monuments alone (Figure 2,3). Lots of efforts were made to prepare and expose this resource even before the entry procedure was undertaken.<sup>26</sup> An example was the adaptation of a tenement house at 13 Żeglarska Street with a Gothic façade without a gable. The preserved medieval ceilings and early modern polychromes were exposed in the office interior and the

gable was added (Figure 4). The area of the former Dominican church was ordered and, after archaeological research, the uncovered relics of the church were secured and the area was made available as a city garden; at the Copernicus House, the facade was restored and the painting decoration of the blend was completed. At another Gothic tenement at 38 Kopernika rebuilt in the 17th century, the Baroque colours on the Gothic facade were restored<sup>27</sup> (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Toruń, tenement at 38 Kopernika with restored Baroque colours (left); and at 13 Żeglarska with a new gable (right) (photo. K. Zimna-Kawecka, 2023).

Conservation policy towards monuments from the UNESCO area in Toruń has changed in recent years. Generally, in previous years, efforts were made to uncover medieval and valuable early modern elements of the structure and furnishings of the buildings. Selected houses - in accordance with the guidelines had gables reconstructed on the basis of the results of the research in individual cases. But if there was uncertainty, efforts were made to use harmonized modern forms and constructions in accordance with the spirit of the Venice Charter (1964). The rebuilt gable of the building at 13 Żeglarska Street refers to the old one with divisions of *lisens*, but glass panels were used as infill, in which the cathedral tower from the other side of the street is reflected<sup>28</sup> (Figure 4).

After Poland became a member of the European Union, opportunities opened up for Poland to obtain funds for revitalization. 2 such programs were undertaken between 2007 and 2020, with dozens of buildings included. The aim was to carry out conservation, renovation and adaptation works in selected buildings with improved accessibility to cultural resources and functionality (especially cultural and educational activities), while preserving the original historic substance as much as possible.<sup>29</sup> Of course, in addition to these programs, grants from the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage are received independently. The social objective: to increase the attractiveness of Toruń and the country in terms of culture, art, history and tourism for residents, visitors and investors has been largely achieved. An example of the method of stratification presentation undertaken is the work on the brick defensive walls of the city gates and towers<sup>30</sup> (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Toruń, the Old Town Hall (left); defensive walls (in the middle); reconstructed polychromes on the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary (right) (photo. K. Zimna-Kawecka, 2023).

Due to the nature of revitalization and public expectations regarding aesthetics, for example, one can observe an increase in reconstructions over these 25 years - not so much of the buildings themselves, but of the decorative layers, such as a number of polychrome tracery ornaments on the facades of buildings. Where previously plasterwork was presented with preserved drawing engravings and fragments of decoration, full versions of the tracery ornaments have appeared. Their aesthetics are judged variously. The biggest changes have taken place in churches, here the ornamentation of the vaults has been reconstructed on the basis of traces<sup>31</sup> (Figure 5).

This is what the public expects, but professionals look for compromises that encourage non-specialists to see the value in later stratifications for example from the 19th century, which are exposed alongside medieval and early modern structures visible at the time in the form of fragmentary lines and brick seams, or variations in mortar colours - as with the building facade at 7 Piekary<sup>32</sup> (Figure 6). The recent work on the building at 12 Franciszkańska also aims to preserve many of the layers and identify several phases of transformation (Gothic wall articulation, edges of early modern gable relics)<sup>33</sup> (Figure 6).

The desire for reconstruction is not always a bad thing, of course. In the building at 4 Piekary Street, the original facade of the double townhouse, which was converted into a granary in the 15th century, was uncovered with partial reconstruction. In this case it was done well, because the preserved traces allowed it (Figure 6).

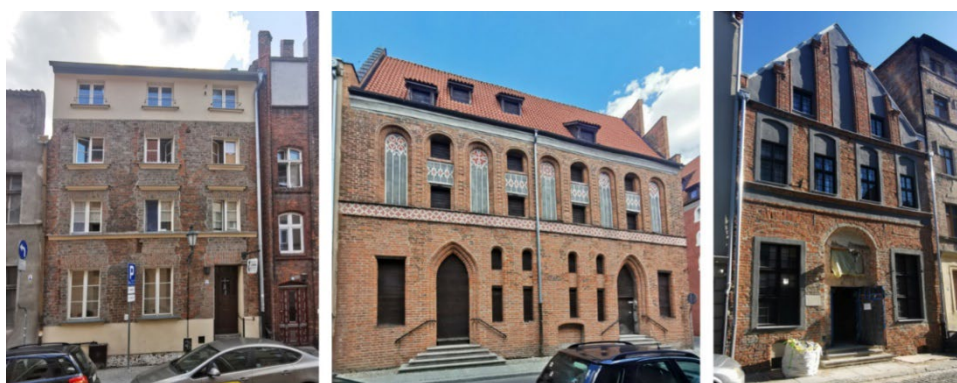


Figure 6. Toruń, tenement houses at 7 Piekary Street, 4 Piekary Street and 12 Franciszkańska Street after (and during) conservation and restoration works (photo. K. Zimna-Kawecka, 2023).

An example of compromise solutions is the implementation of works in 3 tenements at 6 Mostowa Street (Figure 7). Here, non-invasive conservation and architectural research was carried out. This complex of buildings is layered from the 13th to the 20th century. The front elevations were closed with a compositional form in the mid-16th century. In recent years the site has become a centre for

cultural and entertainment events. Unfortunately, during the works on the facades, the chronological stratification of the different parts of the walls was not exposed by varying the colour of the mortar, and it was worthwhile. In some places, the extent of the interference is debatable, such as when profiled early modern frieze strips are superimposed on later masonry transformations. It is also important that the excessive need to bring out the Gothic gable does not distort the composition of the early modern period.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, the preserved structure from the Middle Ages of the tenement on the south side was well differentiated with a mortar colour.

In the works, he often tries to preserve old construction techniques, such as during the stucco decoration work of the Tenement House Under the Star. The reinforcement of blacksmith nails with mortar was used as in the 18th century and the stucco work was modelled by hand. The original decorations were also preserved - they were cleaned, loosened elements were welded together, corrosion was removed from the original nails and protected. A mineral mortar with properties similar to the historic one was created.<sup>35</sup>

The city's "development strategy until 2028" indicates goals coinciding with UNESCO's recommendations, including recreational development of the Vistula River waterfront, improving the aesthetics of the historic part of the city and the technical conditions of buildings to make them more accessible. Last year, the city authorities, with the conservator's office approval, started to build 2 pavilions on the waterfront to serve tourists and residents. Despite public consultations and general acceptance of the ideas, implementation during construction was stopped in the face of public and expert protests declaring the structures a destructive element of the landscape - especially the skyline. According to the project, the pavilions with terraces on the roofs were supposed to be no higher than the street level and made in light glass construction. Unfortunately, they were made taller and also overshadowed the view of the Vistula from inside the city<sup>36</sup> (Figure 7). As a result of protests and interventions by the General Conservator of Monuments, it was decided to lower the pavilions by 3 meters and change their elevations by covering them with greenery. In turn, archaeological research pointed to the preservation ruins of a medieval church, which may also force a change in the development concept.<sup>37</sup>



Figure 7. Toruń, tenements at 6 Mostowa Street after works (photo. K. Zimna-Kawecka, 2023). Of the right: construction of pavilions and works on the Vistula waterfront in the zone (fot. K. Zimna-Kawecka, 2023).

### UNESCO buffer zone issues

The experts also commented on the need for changes in the Polish Act On The Protection Of Monuments. The president of Polish Committee ICOMOS postulates that a new form of protection - UNESCO heritage - should be introduced into the Polish legal order.<sup>38</sup> For the time being, however,



the Ministry will work on clarifying the tasks of protecting the existing form - a Monument of History: the procedure for its valuation and monitoring in accordance with administrative law and practice. The coordinating institution for world heritage monitoring in Poland is the National Heritage Institute, but it relies on the activities of local and regional conservator offices, and they do not have sufficient legal tools and human resources.

Particularly acute is the lack of legal authority for the UNESCO buffer zone, the designation of which has no legal consequences (like local spatial development plans, for example). A 2014 report stated, among other things, that: *The buffer zones of the World Heritage property are not known by local residents/communities/landowners.*<sup>39</sup> There have been changes around the Old Town Area in recent years related to, among other things, improved transportation.

Regarding the activities within the area itself, in the perspective of the last 25 years, sometimes contradictory expectations and actions are becoming apparent: new architecture is appearing around and in the UNESCO area to be harmonized with the monuments and landscape. The planned construction of a centre for the Camerimage International Film Festival in the UNESCO buffer zone is disturbing. The project was selected in a competition and has received preliminary approval.<sup>40</sup> The complex will obscure the view of the Old Town from the northwest. Although it is not as valuable as the panorama from the river, the realization will probably generate discussion similar to that of the boulevards (Figure 8).

On the other hand, the prestige of the festival should contribute to strengthening Toruń's brand and popularizing Toruń's Outstanding Universal Value, which UNESCO has been seeking. Camerimage is to stand next to the also initially controversial modern building of the Jordanki Cultural and Congress Center (Figure 8). The building eventually received international recognition. It received an award at the Festival of World Architecture in Barcelona or the Tekla Global Bim Awards for its structural solutions. The lump is characterized by its sculptural form. On the outside, it is mostly covered with conglomerate concrete cladding with aggregate and brick. In this way, the designer referred to Gothic brick buildings from the UNESCO area.<sup>41</sup>

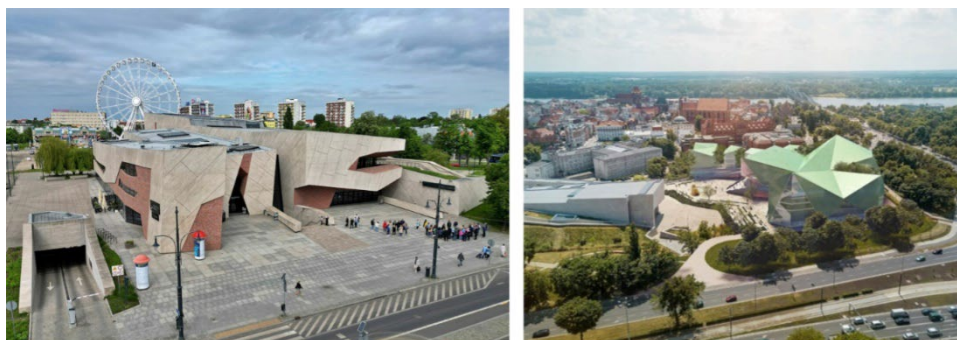


Figure 8. Toruń, the Jordanki Cultural and Congress Centre and visualisation of planned construction of a Centre for the Camerimage International Film Festival (Baumschlager Eberle Lustenau) – both in a Buffer Zone (<https://pl.wikipedia.org>; mat. Of European Film Center CAMERIMAGE, <https://torun.naszemiasto.pl/torun-budowa-ecf-camerimage-co-z-zielenia-i-badaniami/ga/c13-9107029/zd/77506503>, accessed August 10, 2023).

### Adaptation of historical monuments

An example of the right approach to a new function is the adaptation of a 13th-century mill, transformed at the turn of the 19th century, into a hotel, on the grounds of the castle complex and the adaptation of the site of the former Komtur Pond into a municipal sports pitch. The adaptation was preceded by detailed architectural research, the results of which were incorporated into the project.

The second example, still from the 90s, is the adaptation of a 19th-century gas reservoir into a Planetarium. This is one of the largest planetariums in Poland, one of two such institutions using a post-industrial facility and one of the main elements of Toruń's tourist image.<sup>42</sup> An example of an attempt to reconcile the guidelines of the UNESCO report on increasing accommodation at the expense of certain values of the monument is the adaptation for a hotel of the former defence military barracks from 1822. The spatial arrangement associated with military history was unique here, consisting of filling one of the floors with sand to protect the building from damage by artillery fire. The adaptation project envisaged preserving the mass and adding a new reception and conference area, located in a way that would not interfere with the city skyline from the Vistula River. The conservator's consent to the removal of the original sand structure with exposure of its relics and partial change of the interior layout made it possible to undertake the investment process.<sup>43</sup>

An example of improving the conditions for cultural activities is the renovation and arrangement of a new exhibition by the Museum in the Copernicus House. On the one hand, it is a technologically modern exposition regarding the history of astronomy, the figure of Copernicus, on the other hand - a traditional one in combination with a digital exhibition of the interior of the house-granary with the possibility to see the original 14th-century roof truss. In turn, the adaptation of the former gingerbread factory - an intangible heritage of the city since the Middle Ages - made it possible to continue the traditional craft of baking.<sup>44</sup>

## **CONCLUSION**

As one can see, heritage management and conservation are a financial, legal, organizational and social challenge. Every time decisions are made in Toruń, they provoke public discussions, experts are included in the activities and public consultations are held. This is a good thing - one of UNESCO's main demands besides conservation is public interest. However, in recent years there has been a lack of comprehensive research, as was done in the 90s, and what is necessary to make the right decisions. This has fortunately changed. Research grants are being carried out - studies of historical carpentry techniques of house roof trusses, and an Art Inventory of Toruń is being compiled.<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile, recent architectural research of the City Hall tower have made concrete the idea of reconstructing the tower's magnificent Baroque helmet - the current one is a solution introduced after the destruction in the early 18th century. The trend toward the reconstruction is strong, but isn't it worth leaving the current finial, from the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century, because of its historical values? Torun is in for another discussion...

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> “Inscription: The Medieval Town of Torun (Poland), No 835, Decision 21 COM VIII.C, World Heritage Committee, Twenty-first session, Naples, Italy, 1 - 6 December 1997”, accessed August 7, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/2900>.

<sup>2</sup> Paulina Błaszkievicz, “Remont Bulwaru Filadelfijskiego w Toruniu pod lupą Stowarzyszenia Archeologów Polskich. To już nie jest problem lokalny,” *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Toruń, May 12, 2023, , <https://torun.wyborcza.pl/torun/7,48723,29751949,stowarzyszenie-naukowe-archeologow-polskich-przeprowadzi-w-toruniu.html>; opr (wixad), „Skąd wziął się kontrowersyjny plan przebudowy Bulwaru Filadelfijskiego w Toruniu?,” *Gazeta Pomorska*, Toruń, August 15, 2022, <https://pomorska.pl/skad-wzial-sie-kontrowersyjny-plan-przebudowy-bulwaru-filadelfijskiego-w-toruniu/ar/c1-16879303>.

<sup>3</sup> „Rada Społeczna ds. Konsultacji Społecznych w Toruniu”, accessed 10 August, 2023, <https://www.konsultacje.torun.pl/pl/na-skroty/rada-spoeczna-ds-konsultacji-spoecznych>.

<sup>4</sup> Marian Arszyński et al., “Toruń. Centrum historyczne. Zespół urbanistyczny i architektoniczny dwóch średniowiecznych miast i zamku krzyżackiego, dokumentacja stanowiąca załącznik do wpisania Torunia na Listę Światowego Dziedzictwa UNESCO”, Warszawa 1996, 11, collection of Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Poland, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Arszyński, 7- 8, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Arszyński, 10.

<sup>7</sup> “Adoption of retrospective Statements of Outstanding Universal Value, Istanbul, Turkey, 10-20 July 2016, WHC/16/40.COM/8E. Rev-en”, 55-56, accessed August 10, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/835/documents/>.

<sup>8</sup> “World Heritage List: Torun (Poland), No 835, Advisory Body Evaluation (ICOMOS), 19 July 1996, 835-ICOMOS-984-en-4”, 95-96, accessed August 10, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/835/documents/>.

<sup>9</sup> Arszyński, “Toruńska Szkoła Konserwatorska w 50-lecie istnienia,” *Ochrona Zabytków* 48/2 (189) (1995): 135-149.

<sup>10</sup> “Wielomodułowe Interdyscyplinarne badania nieniszczące obiektów architektury na przykładzie gotyckich kamienic mieszczańskich w Toruniu”, UMK Toruń. Project financed by the European Regional Development Fund and the State Budget in the years 2014-2015: accessed August 7, 2023, <http://www.projektmostowa6.umk.pl/>; <http://www.projektmostowa6.umk.pl/?badania,13>. For more on recent research projects see: “Faculty of Fine Arts, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń”, accessed August 7, 2023, <https://art.umk.pl/nauka/badania-na-wydziale/>.

<sup>11</sup> HOŁ, “Nadwiślańska panorama Torunia zajęła drugie miejsce w konkursie na siedem cudów Polski „Moich Podróży” – dodatku do dziennika „Rzeczpospolita,” *Gazeta Wyborcza* Toruń, September 20, 2007, <https://classic.wyborcza.pl/archiwumGW/4960013/Torun-cudem>; Małgorzata Litwin, “Toruń pierwszym z 7 Cudów Polski!,” *www.torun.pl*, October 10, 2018, accessed August 10, 2023, <https://www.torun.pl/pl/torun-pierwszym-z-7-cudow-polski>.

<sup>12</sup> “World Heritage List: Torun (Poland), No 835”, 97-98; Arkadiusz Skonieczny, „Toruńskie kamienice gotyckie”, *Toruński Serwis Turystyczny*, accessed August 10, 2023 <https://www.turystyka.torun.pl/art/520/torunskie-kamienice-gotyckie.html>; Zbigniew Nawrocki, *Historyczne kamienice w Toruniu. Gotyk* (Toruń: Firma Fotograficzno-Wydawnicza Photo Studio WM, 2016).

<sup>13</sup> “Zarządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dn. 8 września 1994 r. w sprawie uznania za pomnik historii”, *Monitor Polski*, 1994, 50, poz. 422.

<sup>14</sup> “Bulwar Filadelfijski w Toruniu”, *wikipedia.pl*, accessed August 10, 2023, [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bulwar\\_Filadelfijski\\_w\\_Toruniu](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bulwar_Filadelfijski_w_Toruniu).

<sup>15</sup> Zarządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dn. 8 września 1994 r.”. Borders of protected areas on the page portal: *zabytek.pl*, accessed August 10, 2023, <https://mapy.zabytek.gov.pl/nid/>.

<sup>16</sup> “Ustawa z dn. 23 lipca 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami”, *Dziennik Ustaw* 2003, 162, poz. 1568, art. 7, 92, 96.

<sup>17</sup> These included the provincial conservators Prof. Jerzy Remer (1888-1979) and Ph.D. Marek Rubnikowicz, and the former municipal conservator in Toruń: Prof. Bohdan Rymaszewski (1935-2016).

<sup>18</sup> Ustawa z dn. 23 lipca 2003, art. 15; “Pomniki historii,” *Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa*, accessed August 10, 2023, <https://nid.pl/pomniki-historii/>.

<sup>19</sup> “Monitoring pomników historii – wytyczne Generalnego Konserwatora Zabytków dla Wojewódzkich konserwatorów Zabytków,” November 19, 2018, accessed August 10, 2023, <https://nid.pl/zasoby/zasoby-standardy-postepowania/>; „Medieval Town of Toruń, Periodic Report - Second Cycle, sygn. PR-C2-S2-835\_2014”, 4, accessed August 10, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/835/documents/>.

<sup>20</sup> “Uchwała nr 321/12 Rady Miasta Torunia z dnia 28 czerwca 2012 r. w sprawie przystąpienia do sporządzenia miejscowego planu zagospodarowania przestrzennego dla obszaru Starego Miasta wraz z otoczeniem w Toruniu”, “Miejska Pracownia Urbanistyczna w Toruniu”, accessed August 10, 2023, <http://mpu-torun.pl/?cat=6>; Ustawa z dn. 23 lipca 2003, art. 16-17.

<sup>21</sup> “Studium uwarunkowań i kierunków zagospodarowania przestrzennego miasta Torunia”, Uchwała No 805/2018 Rady Miasta Torunia, January 25, 2018, appendix 1 i 3b, accessed 10 August, 2023, [http://mpu-torun.pl/?page\\_id=887](http://mpu-torun.pl/?page_id=887); “Strategia Rozwoju Miasta Torunia do roku 2020 z uwzględnieniem perspektywy rozwoju do 2028 r.”, „Uchwała nr 861/18 Rady Miasta Torunia, May 17, 2018”, accessed August 10, 2023, <https://www.torun.pl/pl/rozwoj/miejskie-programy-rozwojowe/strategia-rozwoju-miasta-torunia-do-roku-2020-z-uwzględnieniem>; “Gminny Program Opieki nad Zabytkami Miasta Torunia na lata 2022-2025”, Gmina Miasta Toruń 2021, point 6-7, accessed August 10, 2023, <https://www.torun.pl/pl/w-trosce-o-zabytki-0>.

<sup>22</sup> “Ustawa z dn. 23 lipca 2003 r.”, 87; Gminny Program Rewitalizacji: Program rewitalizacji Torunia do roku 2023, Gmina Miasta Toruń 2018, point 6.3, accessed August 10, 2023, [http://www.rewitalizacja.torun.pl/?page\\_id=68](http://www.rewitalizacja.torun.pl/?page_id=68); “Gminny Program Opieki nad Zabytkami 2022-2025”, point 6-7.

<sup>23</sup> “Medieval Town of Toruń, State of Conservation of World Heritage Properties in Europe, 2006, PR-C1\_S2-835-summary-1”, 3, accessed August 10, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/835/documents/>; “Otwieramy parking podziemny na pl. św. Katarzyny, January 7, 2011, accessed August 10, 2023,

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<sup>24</sup> Medieval Town of Toruń, State of Conservation 2006, 4; “Medieval Town of Toruń, Periodic Report 2014, 3, point 4.6-4.7, 5.3, 6.1; Adoption of retrospective Statements of Outstanding Universal Value 2016, 56.

<sup>25</sup> Zbigniew Nawrocki, “Realizacje konserwatorskie w Toruniu w latach 1991-2000,” *Renowacje* 1 (2001): 20-51; Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska and Juliusz Raczkowski with the cooperation of Tomasz Kowalski, *Średniowieczne malowidła ścienne w kamienicach mieszczańskich Starego i Nowego Miasta Torunia/Medieval Wall Paintings in Burghers' Houses of the Old and New Town of Toruń* (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2017).

<sup>26</sup> Gminny Program Opieki nad Zabytkami 2022-2025, point 5.1.2, 16-17; Gminny Program Rewitalizacji 2023, point 6.3, 89.

<sup>27</sup> Nawrocki, *Realizacje konserwatorskie*, 39, 41; Maciej Prarat, Karolina Zimna-Kawecka, “Ochrona konserwatorska kamienic w Toruniu – analiza 100 lat doświadczeń i prognozy/Protection of Tenement Houses in Toruń—Analysis of One Hundred Years of Experiences, and Forecasts”, *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie/Journal of Heritage Conservation* 63 (2020): 26; Nawrocki, “Pięć kamienic przy ulicy Kopernika w Toruniu”, *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki: teoria i historia* 30/2 (1985): 209; Janina Mazurkiewicz, “Muzeum Mikołaja Kopernika, oddział Muzeum Okręgowego w Toruniu (1960-2000)”, *Rocznik Muzeum w Toruniu* 10 (2001): 32, 34, 101-103.

<sup>28</sup> Nawrocki, *Realizacje konserwatorskie*, 39.

<sup>29</sup> *Rewitalizacja w Toruniu/Revitalization in Toruń* [a brochure promoting the effects of projects included in the Local Revitalisation Programme of the City of Toruń for the period 2007-2015], (Toruń: Gmina Miasta Toruń, 2015). More: accessed August 10, 2023, <https://www.torun.pl/pl/node/963>.

<sup>30</sup> *Rewitalizacja w Toruniu; Toruńska Starówka ochrona i konserwacja dziedzictwa kulturowego UNESCO, etap II/ Mediaeval Town of Toruń protection and conservation of UNESCO cultural heritage, stage II* (Toruń: Gmina Miasta Toruń, 2022); Grażyna Zawadka, “Dwie dekady na liście UNESCO,” *Rzeczpospolita. Regiony*, January 25, 2017, <https://regiony.rp.pl/archiwum/art18343901-dwie-dekady-na-liscie-unesco>.

<sup>31</sup> Mediaeval Town of Toruń protection and conservation, 57-83, 90.

<sup>32</sup> Prarat, Zimna-Kawecka, *Ochrona konserwatorska kamienic*, 26-28.

<sup>33</sup> Prarat, Zimna-Kawecka, 24; Małgorzata Oberlan, “Toruń. Pusta od dekady kamienica na starówce odzyska blask! To gotycka perełka, w której 51 lat była Biblioteka”, *Nowości. Dziennik Toruński*, December 12, 2021, <https://nowosci.com.pl/torun-pusta-od-dekady-kamienica-na-starowce-odzyska-blask-to-gotycka-perelka-w-ktorej-51-lat-byla-biblioteka/ar/c9-15943041>.

<sup>34</sup> Prarat, Zimna-Kawecka, *Ochrona konserwatorska kamienic*, 27-28.

<sup>35</sup> Ewa Tomaszewska-Tajchman, “Renowacja fasady Kamienicy pod Gwiazdą”, *Renowacje* 1 (2001): 54-58.

<sup>36</sup> *Strategia Rozwoju Miasta Torunia*, 46; Szymon Spandowski, „Bulwar Filadelfijski. Tak się mają zmienić kontrowersyjne budowle nad Wisłą w Toruniu”, [torun.naszemiasto.pl](http://torun.naszemiasto.pl), October 10, 2022, <https://torun.naszemiasto.pl/bulwar-filadelfijski-tak-sie-maja-zmienic-kontrowersyjne/ar/c15-9051589>; Bogdan Bugdalski, “Pawilony na Bulwarze Filadelfijskim w Toruniu bliżej realizacji”, [portalsamorzadowy.pl](http://portalsamorzadowy.pl), October 21, 2022,

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<sup>37</sup> PH, “Kontrowersyjne pawilony na toruńskim bulwarze zmieniają wygląd”, „Telewizja Polska. Bydgoszcz”, March 31, 2023, <https://bydgoszcz.tvp.pl/68878281/torun-zamowil-nowy-projekt-pawilonow>.

<sup>38</sup> Bogusław Szmygin, “Wpisanie na Listę Światowego Dziedzictwa UNESCO jako proponowana forma ochrony w polskim systemie ochrony zabytków/Inclusion on the UNESCO World Heritage List as a Proposed Form of Protection in the Polish Monument Protection System”, *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie/Journal of Heritage Conservation* 72/2022: 7-19.

<sup>39</sup> Medieval Town of Toruń, Periodic Report 2014, 3, point 4.1.5; Adoption of retrospective Statements of Outstanding Universal Value 2016, 56.

<sup>40</sup> Adam Zys, “Konkurs Realizacyjny na Opracowanie Koncepcji Architektonicznej Budynku Europejskiego Centrum Filmowego Camerimage w Toruniu rozstrzygnięty”, *Whitemad*, September 1, 2021, [www.whitemad.pl](http://www.whitemad.pl), <https://www.whitemad.pl/budynek-europejskiego-centrum-filmowego-camerimage-w-toruniu/>.

<sup>41</sup> “Centrum Kulturalno-Kongresowe Jordanki”, *wikipedia.pl*, accessed 10 August, 2023, [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Centrum\\_Kulturalno-Kongresowe\\_Jordanki](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Centrum_Kulturalno-Kongresowe_Jordanki).

<sup>42</sup> Jarosław Kazimierczak, “Obiekty przemysłowe w krajobrazie kulturowym i przestrzeni turystycznej miasta średniowiecznego. Przykład zespołu XIX-wiecznej gazowni w Toruniu,” *Annales Universitatis Pedagogicae Cracoviensis, Studia Geographica* 7 (2014): 115.

<sup>43</sup> “Czy to naprawdę jest takie złe?,” *Nowości. Dziennik Toruński*, August 17, 2009, <https://nowosci.com.pl/czy-to-naprawde-jest-takie-zle/ar/c3-11070990>.

<sup>44</sup> Mediaeval Town of Toruń protection and conservation, 119-127; “Dom Mikołaja Kopernika,” *Muzeum Okręgowe w Toruniu*, accessed August 10, 2023, <https://muzeum.torun.pl/dom-mikolaja-kopernika/>.

<sup>45</sup> “Sztuka ciesielska i rozwój budownictwa świeckiego na terenie Starego i Nowego Miasta Torunia od średniowieczna do końca XVIII w. w świetle interdyscyplinarnych badań więźb dachowych” (dr hab. inż. Ulrich Schaaf, prof. UMK); “Inwentarz sztuki Torunia, część I Dziedzictwo sakralne, zespół staromiejski” (dr hab. Michał Woźniak, prof. UMK). See more: “Faculty of Fine Arts, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń”, accessed August 7, 2023, <https://art.umk.pl/nauka/badania-na-wydziale/>.

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# **FORTIFIED MEDIEVAL CHURCHES IN TRANSYLVANIA - 12TH CENTURY, UNESCO HERITAGE. RECOMMENDED MONITORING AND MAINTENANCE METHODS**

Author:

**MARA POPESCU**

Affiliation:

“GEORGE EMIL PALADE” UNIVERSITY OF MEDICINE, PHARMACY, SCIENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY OF TÂRGU MUREȘ, ROMANIA

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The characteristic of the Saxon and Szekler villages in the south-east of Transylvania is represented by the fortified churches. They were built, used, and maintained by Transylvanian Saxon and Szekler colonists and represent both the religious and the cultural element of rural communities even today. The Szeklers were colonized as border guards in southeastern Transylvania during the 11th century. The villages of the Saxon settlers began to be built from the middle of the 12th century, when King Geza II brought them to the region to defend the eastern borders of the Kingdom of Hungary from invasions, especially Cumans.

### **The Fortified Churches**

The churches of the two communities were fortified at the beginning of the 13th century and had this defensive role until around 1788. The Transylvanian fortified churches are considered to be one of the densest medieval fortification systems in Europe. They are part of the European phenomenon of fortified churches.

The fortified churches, as a structure, include 3 constructive types:

- Fortified churches, as such, have built defensive elements, such as the bell towers that have become donjons or walls provided under the cornice with mortars and battlement walks.
- Churches with fortified enclosure walls: they are characterized, according to the definition, by defensive walls that surround them, being either enclosure walls, approximately small, without battlements, sometimes with defensive elements represented by towers, or by high and thick walls containing more many defensive elements - battlements, parapet walks, towers. There are also buildings with several enclosure walls.
- Churches that combine the two characteristics mentioned above or fortress-churches: The constructions present, in addition to the defensive elements of the actual church edifice, defensive walls as well with the characteristic elements.

The churches are either Romanesque basilicas or churches with a single nave, in the Late Gothic style. Some of the churches also have Gothic narrative frescoes, from the mid-14th century.

The role of the fortified churches with enclosure walls was to face prolonged sieges, in which the inhabitants of the village took shelter. The buildings had rooms, which in peacetime were used as pantries, and during sieges they housed the villagers, each family having its own pantry.



Fortified churches played both a religious and a military role for more than five centuries. Of the 300 fortified churches that have existed over time, currently only about 150 buildings are preserved.



*Figure 1. Prejmer Fortified church – The exterior wall*



*Figure 2. Prejmer Fortified church – The interior view of the defensive wall with the pantry rooms*



Figure 3. Viscri Fortified church – Interior courtyard view from the defensive wall and a part of the church



Figure 4. Valea Viilor Fortified church – Exterior photograph with the defensive wall and the church's tower

After a history of over 800 years, most of the Transylvanian Saxons left the region and settled in Germany. In these conditions, the question of the existence of these fortified churches arises, of this cultural heritage of universal value, which is part of the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage.

As the Prince of Wales's Foundation Romania points out.<sup>1</sup> *“The preservation of the architectural heritage is extremely important for cultural and historical reasons and today this heritage is a generator of economic development and jobs.”*

In terms of preservation and monitoring over time of the evolution of UNESCO sites, it should be mentioned and emphasized that the states involved bear the primary responsibility in this regard

through the specialized bodies. The international recommendation of specialists in the field is to have a standardized and regular monitoring (inspection).

In 1993, under the auspices of ICCROM, UNESCO and ICOMOS, two renowned specialists, Bernard M. Feilden and Jukka Jokilehto, edited an important document for specialists in the field: *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*. We will select some of the most important recommendations<sup>2</sup> for the preventive maintenance of cultural sites registered in the UNESCO world cultural heritage:

Maintenance should use natural materials to enhance the cultural beauty of the site and over-maintenance may destroy this very beauty. Maintenance planning is an art that requires cultural and ecological sensitivity. Climate and other factors of degradation control the appropriate degree of maintenance, as do the needs of users, but maintenance policies and programs should also take into account the specific character of each culture, seeking balance with natural forces.

The maintenance program aims to maintain the cultural resources in a form that will prevent the loss of part of them and refers to all the practical and technical measures that should be taken to maintain the site properly. It is a continuous process.

A maintenance program should follow well-established cycles that describe who does the work, how the work is done, and how often. The action should be described in simple terms that can be understood and implemented by cleaners, craftsmen, supervisors and all those involved in the maintenance of the cultural resource. The implementation of the maintenance program is followed by its re-evaluation based on the results and the elapsed time. Detailed descriptions of hours worked and materials used are essential. Tasks should be clearly described so that outsourcers can bring all the necessary tools and consumables to the site, avoiding wasted time with subsequent procurement.

### **Preventive maintenance**

The concept of prevention is the most effective way to conserve. If the factors that cause degradation can be changed or reduced, then the action is worthwhile.

Urban planning and government actions can help eliminate or reduce the sources of traffic vibrations and air pollution. Cultural resources can also be protected through proper maintenance and preparation for natural calamities. Documentation is an essential aspect of preventive maintenance.

Audit accounting can identify recurring maintenance problems, contribute to preventive maintenance, allowing the discovery of causes that need to be corrected.

It is important that maintenance tasks are integrated into a regular schedule. A scheduled routine would cover:

- daily tasks including cleaning and polishing;
- weekly tasks;
- monthly tasks, for example, control of plant growth on buildings and sites;
- quarterly tasks;
- seasonal tasks, for example spring and autumn;
- annual tasks;
- tasks over a longer period (5 years).

The scheduled routine should also have flexibility to allow for urgent tasks that need to be addressed promptly, such as:

- after heavy rain;
- after strong winds;
- after a fire, earthquake, flood, or other natural disaster.

### **The role of professionals**

Specialists who are qualified to carry out inspections and examine the causes of deterioration should be involved in the maintenance strategy. They should also prepare reports for the World Heritage site commission. Since the status of the World Heritage site is highly valued, it is important that the individuals who are involved in the protection are of high worth.

To ensure continuity, the World Heritage site commission should regularly hire experienced and qualified individuals. These individuals should be given the necessary authority to carry out their duties and make recommendations, as well as the right to seek independent scientific advice and obtain secondary opinions.

The professionals should coordinate with the various staff personnel who are involved in implementing the maintenance programs. These include the craftsmen, supervisors and conservators, and the rest of the administrative staff who work within the site committee.

Appointed professionals should:

- ensure that all signs of deterioration and items requiring attention are reported by all involved in site maintenance. For example, caretakers should report insect attacks, as well as water leaks from roofs or pipes; craftsmen should have training - so that, in their zeal to do a good job, they would not destroy historical or material evidence. They must be taught that during the works, it is important to preserve and not make “as good as new”;
- organize regular meetings with supervisors and administrators to plan work and advise on expenditure control;
- meet with the Site Commission at least quarterly and always have access to the leadership of the commission;
- be prepared to meet the public and explain the maintenance strategy in lectures or by publishing articles;
- be involved in research projects relevant to this maintenance strategy.

A good maintenance strategy can prevent a serious degradation and implicitly save money. Unfortunately, it is difficult to quantify these actions and those who administer cultural heritage rather see the cost of professional services and are tempted to save from this field.

### **The context of inspecting historic buildings and sites**

It is essential to conduct an initial inspection of historic or building sites as soon as possible. Doing so immediately can help cover the entire issue.

The causes of degradation, in which two or three causes can work simultaneously, are so complex that the architect can only notice one during the initial inspection. The role of the inspection is first to record the facts and then to look for the causes.

The investigation, inspection and report should also consider the area's context; the local administration should ensure the diversion of heavy vehicles to reduce vibration and pollution, also by locating industries and power plants at a distance from the site and reducing the risk of fire by considering access areas for fire fighting vehicles.

It is very important that the inspector does not have any preconceived ideas about the site.

Inspections, followed by careful research, analysis, and recording, do not represent the completion of the action. Measures must follow.

The first action should be to develop a strategic maintenance plan.

A decade-long maintenance program can help reduce the annual requirements of historical sites. Although this can save the local administration money, many administrators are reluctant to carry out inspections as they believe that doing so will require the hiring of additional staff members and professional services.

### **Monitoring a maintenance schedule**

Once a maintenance program is put into place, it often takes many years to complete it. If estimates and costs are controlled and updated with adjustments for inflation, the total cost incurred will be less than the sum of a series of ad hoc actions.

Accounting systems should be designed to help monitor costs. All concerned are required to keep weekly worksheets and use the most accurate methods of describing the work they have performed. Supervisors should check and countersign time sheets, look for any discrepancies and prevent waste or theft of materials.

In the case of maintenance work that involves dispersed personnel and a wide range of tasks, proper supervision and management are crucial. Craftsmen and conservators involved in these tasks must understand the importance of the work at hand.

### **CONCLUSION**

The preservation of historic buildings and sites serves as a tangible link to our past, reminding us not only of the architectural, but also the cultural, historical, and societal context from which they emerged. As these structures age, they become increasingly vulnerable to the ravages of time, wear, environmental factors, and human intervention. Given the irreplaceable nature of these assets, preventive maintenance emerges as an important strategy for ensuring their continued existence and enjoyment for future generations. And while the value of preventive maintenance for historic buildings and sites is universally acknowledged, the integral role of professionals in this equation is paramount. Their expertise, commitment, and nuanced approach not only ensure the physical preservation of these landmarks but also honour the profound historical and cultural legacies they represent.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Bernard Feilden, and Jukka Jokilehto. *Management guidelines for World Cultural Heritage sites*. Second Edition. (Roma: ICCROM, 1998), 11-75

<sup>2</sup> Aura Woodward, *Executive Director of The Prince of Wales Foundation Romania Interview*. Accessed March 5, 2023:

<https://www.agerpres.ro/social/2017/03/28/interviu-aura-woodward-fundatia-printul-de-wales-romania-patrimoniul-arhitectural-generator-de-dezvoltare-economica-18-47-08>

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# ELECTRIC HERITAGE: FROM TECHNOSCAPES TO NEW URBAN COMMONS

Author:

**GIOVANNI CAUDO, FEDERICA FAVA**

Affiliation:

ROMA TRE UNIVERSITY, DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE, ITALY

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## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

The geopolitical use of natural resources in connection with the Ukraine war has revealed the fragility of the energy supply system, which has become the new European emergency. As Ivan Illich underlines in his seminal contributions *Energy and Equity*,<sup>2</sup> the discourse on energy has always been caught between scarcity and abundance, making “energy” a word charged with hidden implications.

Energy landscapes are highly contradictory territories where everyone’s needs often clash with toxic environmental impacts. Health and work issues are central to citizens’ lives, intersecting with other needs such as housing, and raising uncomfortable questions about contemporary lifestyles, their effects and consequences for spatial justice.

Although indispensable to the functioning of urban settlements, energy infrastructures are mainly located in marginal areas of the city, creating a physical, civic, and cultural distance between people and such operational landscapes; a detachment also increased by processes of financialization that tend to dematerialise the territorial presence of energy companies. Under the pressure of necessary changing conditions, therefore, we posed the following research question: can heritage processes support the humanisation of energy landscapes, generating new commons, cultural identities, and lifestyles from them?

Exploring such ‘technoscapes’ from the cultural heritage viewpoint, the paper aims to reduce the distance between people and landscapes by discovering values and histories attached to them. In doing so, this paper seeks to enhance the understanding of possible strategies rooted in increasing social engagement. This study is part of an Italian research project funded under the National Recovery Plan and aimed at supporting innovative approaches in the cultural heritage sector. In accordance with the participatory approach proposed by the Faro Convention, the objective of *CHANGES – Cultural Heritage Active innovation for Next-Gen Sustainable Society (2022-2025)*<sup>3</sup> is to show how cultural heritage can generate an experimental site for innovation and creativity, fostering sustainable trajectories of development. In this context, our attention is mainly devoted to territorial aspects and their integration, particularly in cultural and environmental terms.

The paper presents the first results of an ongoing research on two energy infrastructures located on opposite poles of Rome (Italy): in the North, the Farfa 1 hydroelectric power station in Nazzano, which produced a cultural landscape protected by law; in the South, the ex-nuclear power plant of Borgo Sabotino in the province of Latina, currently undergoing a decommissioning phase. The paper is organized into three main sections: this “Introduction” that presents the research, stages of

development, objectives, and methodology; “Operational heritage landscape,” which illustrates the two cases in an autonomous way; “Discussion and closing remarks” that summarizes the paths explored so far, presenting the main insights that will help advance the research.

### **Objectives and Methodology**

Overall, the aim of this work is threefold: i) to contribute to the decolonizing process that develops knowledge to reinforce the linkages between arts and science; ii) to develop collaborative models of heritage enhancement, orienting trajectories of policy integration among different urban sectors and levels; iii) to increase territorial resilience through heritage processes developed in connection with communities, institutions, and the third sector. Due to the initial stage of the research and the word limit, the objective of the paper is to mainly introduce the genealogy of the two cases, revealing hidden or minor stories generated from their territorial impact, which will open up trajectories of research that can be explored throughout our research program.

The research relied on a combination of direct and indirect sources. A literature review served to understand the (lack of) attention paid to the selected sites from an architectural, engineering, and heritage point of view, and to frame the research within the field of critical heritage studies. The consultation of historical archives was conducted in parallel to fieldwork (April and July 2023), which mainly consisted of site visits and semi-structured interviews with activists, politicians, technicians, and public servants (see Table 1).

## **OPERATIONAL HERITAGE LANDSCAPES**

### **Bye bye atom. Undoing, hiding, and forbidding nuclear realities**

The Latina nuclear power plant (LNPP) in Borgo Sabotino is located 70 km south of Rome, originally to provide energy to the South of Italy (Figure 1). It was built between 1958-1962 thanks to Enrico Mattei, the founder of the National Hydrocarbons Authority – ENI, which occupies an area of 140 hectares to produce an output power of 200 megawatts. Today, the site is comprised of two main structures: the first power plant, built on the English model of Calder Hall (Sellafield); and the CIRENE, a second power plant based on an Italian pilot model, but one that was never activated.



*Figure 1. Ex-Nuclear Power Plant, Borgo Sabotino, Latina 2022. Ph. F. Fava*



The LNPP develops within the larger technoscape of the Agro Pontino. Internationally recognized as one of the most important (contradictory) legacies of the fascist period, it describes an area almost integrally reclaimed in the 1930s.<sup>4</sup> As Gruppuso notes, its material colonization is in parallel to a profound “drainage of memories” and identities, pursued by the fascist government through new mass media<sup>5</sup> (Figure 2).



Figure 2. English edition of a tourist guide of the entire drained territory, 1934 (extract focusing on Littoria, today Latina)

All in all, the LNPP exists within a complex heritage landscape composed of three systems: water, settlement, and industrial. On the East side, the so-called Mussolini Canal is the main drainage of Mussolini's oeuvre, bringing water from mountains to the sea; Borgo Sabotino, a small village funded in 1929 that is close to ancient remnants<sup>6</sup> is one of the villages people settled in to reclaim these lands. Lastly, the LNPP itself demonstrates one of the many investments of *Cassa del Mezzogiorno*, i.e., an exceptional fund for the modernization and industrialization of the Southern peninsula (1950s-60s). In a completely different political context, the development of the LNPP was a promise of innovation, development, and “redemption” for both a deprived rural context and for the country itself. Referring to the centenary of the Italian unification in 1961 (which should have corresponded to the activation of the LNPP), Prime Minister Fanfani underlines its symbolic potential, elevating the LNPP into an instant monument of itself:

«... [in my opinion this NPP is] the most beautiful monument of cooperation between England and Italy in this Italian Risorgimento. [...] I cannot but invite the promoters of this initiative, as President of the Council of Ministers of Italy, to ensure that once in a while the centenaries are not given to be remembered to posterity by statues that are not always beautiful, but by this building of yours, this imposing construction, this centre of future and generous activity.» (translated by the author)

Conceived as a representative headquarter for the future (failed) nuclearization of the country, the importance of this structure is reflected in the attention devoted to its landscape architecture (Figure 3). The architectural experimentation, implicit in the unification of this kind of (nuclear) oeuvre that does not look like any other civil or industrial building,<sup>7</sup> also emphasizes the narrative that reinforces the feelings and identities of the local population, repeatedly targeted as pioneers.<sup>8</sup>

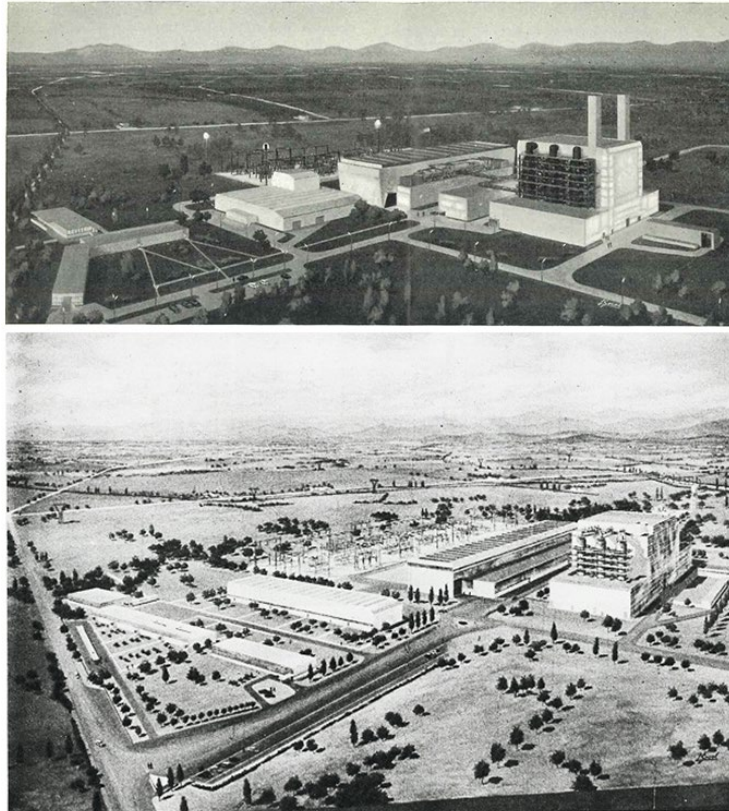


Figure 3. Sketches of Latina Nuclear Power Plant

Even though the authorship of the project is unclear,<sup>9</sup> the LNPP cultural value cannot be ignored at both the national and local level. Following the ENI welfare policy, the installation of the LNPP also allowed the city to primarily provide ENI workers with housing<sup>10</sup> and leisure solutions<sup>11</sup> (Figure 4). Despite their modest value, these projects are minor examples of ENI heritage, recounting a less triumphant collective story that deserves that other evaluation criteria be included in the Mattei's architectural adventure.<sup>12</sup>



Figure 4. ENI housing and beach facilities, Ph. F. Fava. June 2023

After Černobyl', the 1987 abrogative referendum banned the Italian production of atomic energy, marking the definitive end to the country's nuclear dream. Undoubtedly, the sudden closure of the LNPP lowered the value of this experimental initiative, traumatically impacting not only ENI's workers but the overall identity and economy of the territory, which was no longer recognizable as industrial, agricultural, or touristic.<sup>13</sup> Beyond its material legacy, this still seems to echo in today's

lack of citizens engagement and debate over nuclear issues<sup>14</sup> such as urban resilience, risks and preparedness, which was never definitively abandoned. However, considering the uncertainty connected to the decommissioning phase and its long-lasting procedures, it is pertinent to establish scenarios of coexistence with the LNPP's past and the present reality.

Despite the removal process being activated – willingly or not – in the public debate, some recent initiatives are mobilizing against the loss of LNPP-related memories. In 2022, Roberta Malossi curated the exhibition *Latina e i Pionieri del Nucleare*, which was presented in Latina at *Museo della terra Pontina*. Re-connecting former ENI workers, this exhibition shows a collection of personal materials and stories, shedding light on the LNPP anthropological legacy. However, over the years, some cultural productions have developed to focus on more contradictory imaginaries connected with Latina nuclear story (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Exhibition by R. Malossi, and frames from *Scorie in libertà* and *Microcosmo Sabotino*, by G. Pannone (2012) and M. Ferrari (2010)

A more indirect relationship between the LNPP and the local context emerges in the *Casa di Borgo e di Mare* project, one of the five district houses developed under the umbrella of Collaboration Pacts (CP), an innovative model to support collaborative partnerships between local authorities and citizens.<sup>15</sup> The building was acquired by the Municipality through the so-called *ristoro nucleare*, i.e., an annual state fund the Municipality receives to compensate the LNPP territorial impact. Beyond the current difficulties obstructing the project development,<sup>16</sup> the actual community's interest shows possible ways to creatively orient the LNPP enhancement. Involving the younger generation in the search for space, this project embraces the LNPP's complex and contradictory values by introducing CP objectives related to local minor memories, environmental justice, and territorial health.<sup>17</sup>

### A nature-making turbine

Nazzano Regional Nature Reserve is one of the most important natural areas in Lazio, developing along the Tiber River and forming a public asset of environmental, landscape, and historical value (Figure 6).

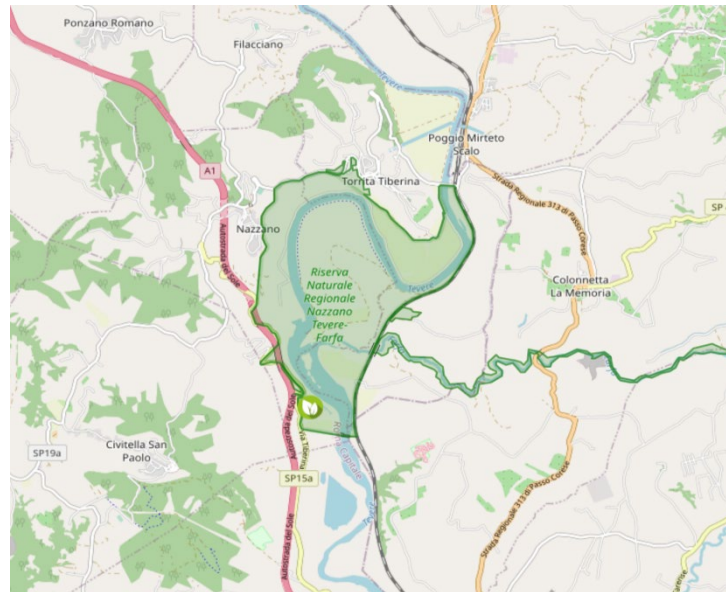


Figure 6. Map of the Nazzano, Tevere-Farfa regional nature reserve

Its establishment in 1979 renewed the connection between the municipalities of Nazzano, Torrita Tiberina, and Montopoli in Sabina with the Tiber River. In the historical centre of Nazzano is the Museum of the Tiber, which tells the river's story. Though there is no Museum of the Tiber in Rome, the river's presence in that small village signifies how the nature reserve has initiated a new relationship between the community of residents and the river.

Concerning common goods as relational goods, the Reserve intertwines relationships that involve the universe of all living beings. This relationship should not be taken for granted, as it is built through the continuous interpretation of all involved parties. Some of these interpretations are more evident, such as Tevere-Farfa ecotourism, which establishes a network of relationships with local entities that shape their stories around the hostel and restaurant. Other relationships concern the unseen, which is the underground. The wetland at the heart of the Reserve's formation is also valuable. Wetlands represent environments of great importance both from a naturalistic and socioeconomic perspective, bringing significant biological diversity that is crucial for maintaining natural balance.

Wetlands act as recharge areas for aquifers, retaining sediments and toxic substances, regulating the climate, and mitigating flood damage. Furthermore, wetlands play a significant role as stopover sites for water birds during migration periods. Water and air, common goods par excellence, are central to this place and shape its essential characteristics. Material and immaterial goods are deposited, which leads to the interpretation of possible relationships between the world and the Nazzano' natural reserve. However, this narrative only focuses on the naturalistic qualities that have been recognized in the area since 1968 with the establishment of the Oasis for the protection of wildlife, which has progressively separated the area from the rest of the territory (Figure 7).

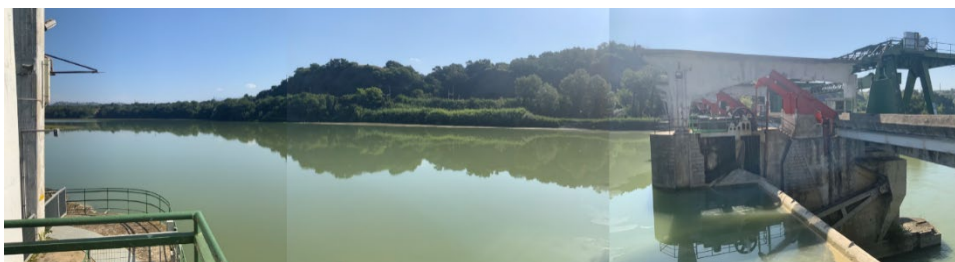


Figure 7. Tiber basin and the dam lake. Ph. G. Caudo (August 2023)

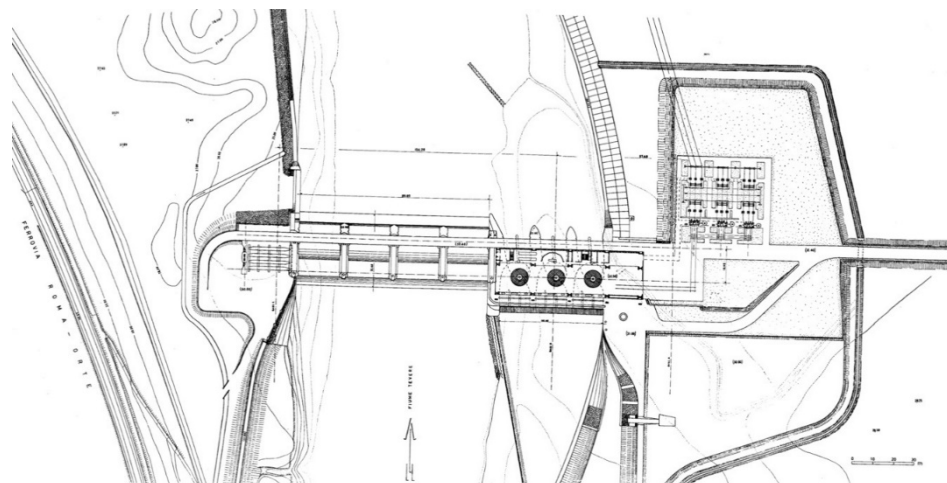


Figure 8. Tiber basin, the dam and hydroelectric plant, original plan. Source: Società idroelettrica Tevere

The Nazzano Regional Nature Reserve, Tiber-Farfa originated from a highly artificial technological intervention that harnesses the power of water for electricity generation. This stops the river's flow by constructing a dam and redirecting the water through turbines that convert the water flow into electrical energy, which is then fed into the national power grid. This all depends on the possibility of creating a “drop in elevation” of approximately nine meters between the upper and lower levels. This drop allows the water flow to have that extra energy, compared to what it gets from the river, which activates the turbines and puts them in the optimal condition to produce “clean” energy<sup>18</sup> (Figure 8).<sup>19</sup> In the plant section (Figure 9, Figure 10), one can appreciate the aesthetics of a technology that conceal two consequences: artificial electricity production and the natural expansion of the wetland area by over 30 hectares with the dam's construction.<sup>20</sup>

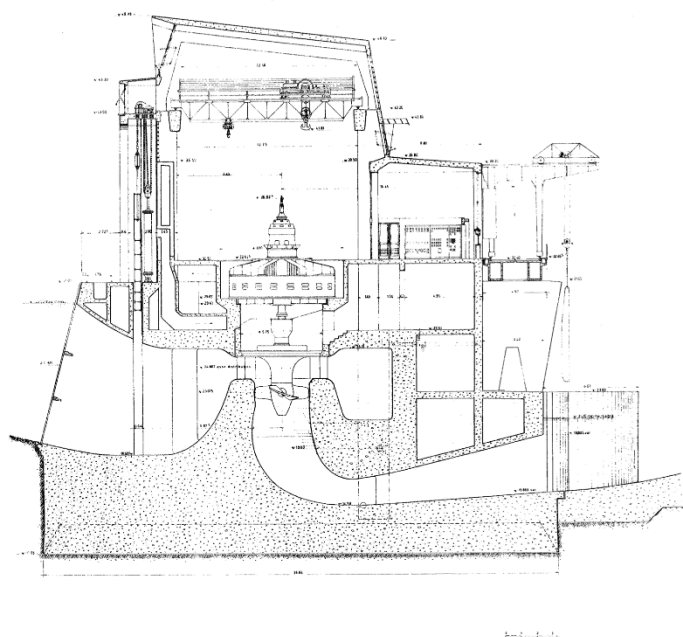


Figure 9. Section of the plant with the position of the Turbine (the upstream side is on the left)  
Source: Società idroelettrica Tevere



Figure 10. The power plant building (inside). Ph. G. Caudo (August 2023)

The construction of the Nazzano plant is part of a comprehensive utilization program for the Tiber River basin and the Roman Lakes, which was implemented after World War II but was developed in 1942 following the conclusion of a Ministerial Commission tasked with proposing a general plan for the Tiber's management.<sup>21</sup>

The Nazzano plant benefits from a 180 m<sup>3</sup>/sec flow rate and has a drop of approximately nine meters. The construction of this drop required shaping the upstream banks of the dam, which helps maintain the necessary water level for the drop and protects the farmland located in broad areas at a level that is one or two meters below the banks' level. This intervention yields energy production, which is calculated to be around 85 million kWh in an average hydrological year.

The positioning of the turbine and the set drop level have been instrumental in the changes along the river's course. The rise in the water level and the flooding of the surrounding land led to the formation of a lake of approximately 300 hectares. The decrease in current due to the construction of the dam caused the accumulation of debris and the lowering of the depth of the reservoir, resulting in the emergence of islets, the development of reed beds along the banks, and the subsequent establishment of bushy and arboreal willows. A wide strip of reed beds, alder groves, and riparian forests of alders, willows, and poplars developed along the shores. Over time, a wetland area particularly favoured by migratory birds was formed.

The territory before and after the dam's construction shows the lake's formation upstream of the dam. There are significant geomorphological modifications of the territory that have been induced by dam construction and the technology used. Regarding the land-use modifications, changes can be inferred from the dam's construction involving several land-use categories. The internal marshes, consisting of flooded lands extending to about 14.5 hectares in 1944, decreased to 12.4 hectares in 1954 (attributable to the advancement of the forest). However, by 1984, they measured approximately 40 hectares, experiencing a growth of around 30 hectares due to the rise in water levels of the Tiber River

and the consequent flooding of surrounding areas. Similarly, the land use category “Watercourses, canals, and waterways” measured 77 hectares in 1944, which decreased to 71.8 hectares in 1954 (the slight decrease might be attributed to the construction of the dam), while by 1984, it expanded to 113 hectares, indicating an increase of about 40 hectares due to water level variations caused by the dam’s construction.<sup>22</sup>

An “electrical landscape” has substantially transformed the surrounding landscape as a result of two decisive transformations, which have proven to be crucial in the construction of what constitutes a common good due to the interconnected relationships that stem from it: the first is the slowing down of water, or the reduction of water velocity, which led to the creation of the wetland; the second is the colonization by birds and riparian vegetation of the wetland. These two events, without which nothing of what we have described would have happened, have resulted in humanizing the electrical landscape with the turbine at its core, hidden within the concrete structure.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Looking at the operational landscape through the lens of heritage, this paper focused on selected case studies in the Lazio Region, Italy, which have been instrumental in broadening the cultural heritage discourse when it comes to technological infrastructures.

Borrowing from Macdonald (and followers),<sup>23</sup> these can be described as difficult heritage landscapes, bringing about different intensities of conflict and denial. The two samples present “histories that hurt” at personal, local, but also national levels, which allow us to reflect on the centrality of relationships that are genuinely re-shaped between infrastructures and the inhabited territory (non-human included). As the seminal contribution of Appadurai<sup>24</sup> points out, the conceptualization of the technoscape serves to envision the role of technology into naturalistic terms, not only as socially constructed and historically situated, but also as global and cultural fact. Going beyond the technical and functional aspects dominating the discourse, the focus on infrastructure-related networks – once again stressing the importance of relationships, whether economic, social, ideological – make room to advance a decolonization process in both heritage and planning studies.

Building on our case studies, we can affirm that radically transforming such contexts into (cultural) resources requires us to embrace a “psychological turn” of heritage planning and management, embracing a *real* dialogue with those feeling of refusal and/or removal embedded into territories, wounded by a large transformation mainly for the sake of other contexts.

Hidden under such uncomfortable legacy (tangible or intangible), our exploration reveals emerging commons, reflecting values, needs and expectations that is still an under-researched area in heritage protection and valorization.

To conclude, if “the recognition of cultural heritage as a common good and responsibility is a precondition of quality,”(ICOMOS 2020) it is accomplished by focusing on materiality, values, feelings, and (dis)affects that matter, which is possible to keep (un)making heritage landscapes, sustaining vital and creative process of development and management. Understanding and culturally valuing the ‘back’ of the cities, i.e., their hidden territories, whether in temporal, physical or mental terms, is a fundamental element for heritage policies aimed at ensuring more realistic healthy and resilient futures.

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Acronyms</i>
<b><i>Latina Nuclear Power Plant</i></b>			
<i>1</i>	<i>Ex-ENI worker at LNPP</i>	<i>03 July 2023</i>	<i>Interview#1</i>
<i>2</i>	<i>Activist and writer</i>	<i>20 June 2023</i>	<i>Interview#2</i>
<i>3</i>	<i>Artist and activist</i>	<i>20 June 2023</i>	<i>Interview#3</i>
<i>4</i>	<i>Architect and scholar</i>	<i>24 June 2023</i>	<i>Interview#4</i>
<b><i>Nazzano Tevere-Farfa</i></b>			
<i>5</i>	<i>Safety manager of Nazzano hydroelectric power plant</i>	<i>25 May 2023</i>	<i>Interview#5</i>
<i>6</i>	<i>Plant manager of Nazzano hydroelectric power plant</i>	<i>1 August 2023</i>	<i>Interview#6</i>

*Table 1. List of interviewees mentioned in the article.*

### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> This contribution is the result of a common reflection of the two authors. However, Federica Fava is the main author of “Bye bye atom”, which concentrates on the experience of Latina Nuclear Power Plant, while Giovanni Caudo is the main contributor of “A nature-making turbine”, focusing on Nazzano Regional Nature Reserve, Tiber-Farfa. The other sections of this article are instead the result of a joint contribution of the two authors.
- <sup>2</sup> Ivan Illich, *Energy and Equity* (London: Marion Boyar, 1974).
- <sup>3</sup> See the project website at: <https://sites.google.com/uniroma1.it/changes/?pli=1>.
- <sup>4</sup> As many sources recall, the definitive reclamation of the territory happened in the post WWII period, “thanks” to the introduction of DDT.
- <sup>5</sup> Paolo Gruppuso, *Nell’Africa Tenebrosa Alle Porte Di Roma. Viaggio Nelle Paludi Pontine e Nel Loro Immaginario* (Roma: Annales, 2014).
- <sup>6</sup> Vincenzo Onorati, *Passo Genovese: Ieri, Borgo Sabotino: Oggi. Ferrazza: Latina* (Latina: Ferrazza, 19..).
- <sup>7</sup> Alberto Mondini, “A Foce Verde Il Nostro Futuro è Già Cominciato”, *Il Gatto Selvatico* 8 (August 1958): 8–9.
- <sup>8</sup> Gianluca Mattioli, *Il Pionierismo in Agro Pontino: Un Contributo Della Psicoanalisi Alla Psicologia Del Pioniere Nella Formazione Di Littoria e Latina* (Rome: SE.NO. 2002); Clemente Ciannaruconi, “Politiche Della Memoria: Pionierismo e Senso d’identità Nell’Agro Pontino Dal Dopoguerra a Oggi” *Latium* 35 (2018): 239–67.
- <sup>9</sup> The sources referred so far never explicit a main LNPP’s author as, for instance, is the case of Garigliano Nuclear Power Plant (GNPP), designed by the well-known engineer Riccardo Morandi. Thanks to Morandi’s authorship, GNPP is listed as cultural asset.
- <sup>10</sup> The new housing complex was built via Carlo Goldoni in Latina rather than in the LNPP’s proximity. The decision was probably motivated by workers’ preferences for urban context rather rural as Borgo Sabotino. Interview#1.
- <sup>11</sup> A.R.C.A. *Stabilimento Balneare ENI*, a beach facility located between Latina and Borgo Sabotino still functioning.
- <sup>12</sup> Pietro Cesari, ed., *Architettura per Un’idea. Mattei e Olivetti, Tra Welfare Aziendale e Innovazione Sociale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2017).
- <sup>13</sup> Interview#2 and #3.
- <sup>14</sup> Interview#2, #3, #4.
- <sup>15</sup> Developed in the city of Bologna in 2016, CPs are adapted in many Italian realities. See: <https://www.labsus.org/cose-un-patto-di-collaborazione/>.
- <sup>16</sup> The CP was suspended in April 2023 due to the illegal occupation of the building by some community member.
- <sup>17</sup> *Patto di collaborazione complesso Officine di città – Casa cantoniera di Borgo Sabotino* as approved in 2017. Internal document.
- <sup>18</sup> Interview#6.
- <sup>19</sup> Timeline: 1953: Start of dam construction works; 1955: Completion of dam construction, which became operational in early 1956; 1968: Establishment of the wildlife protection oasis; 1977: Establishment of the “Wetland of International Importance; 1979: Establishment of the Nazzano, Tevere-Farfa Regional Nature Reserve (Regional Law 21 of April 4, 1979).
- <sup>20</sup> S.I.T., *L’impianto idroelettrico di Nazzano, Società Idroelettrica Tevere*. Enel Green Power Archive. Internal document.
- <sup>21</sup> Interview#5.
- <sup>22</sup> Sabrina Mari, *Studio per l’analisi diacronica e sincronica geomorfologica della riserva naturale Nazzano, Tevere Farfa*, Roma, ISPRA, 2011, Tesi di stage, tutor Dr. Massimo Morigi, Dr. Pietro Bianco.
- <sup>23</sup> Sharon Macdonald, *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009); Gustav Wollentz, *Landscapes of Difficult Heritage*, (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2020).
- <sup>24</sup> Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

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# PERCEPTIONS OF ‘PRAGUE’: FILM AND FANTASY IN *THE UNBEARABLE LIGHTNESS OF BEING*, *DAISIES* AND *THE GRAND BUDAPEST HOTEL*

Author:

**TERESA FORDE**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY OF DERBY, UK

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## INTRODUCTION

Perceptions of Prague have emerged within my cinema going and research into film: Leaving and returning Prague in Philip Kaufmann’s *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* (1989), based on Milan Kundera’s novel; joyously encountering and deconstructing space within Věra Chytilová’s *Daisies* (1966), and a re-imagining a fantasy of central Europe in Wes Anderson’s *The Grand Budapest Hotel* (2014). Each of these representations portray a cinematic Prague that is constructed, re-emerging, distanced and re-encountered as place and fantasy in film.

## THE UNBEARABLE LIGHTNESS OF BEING

Perceptions of ‘Prague’: Film and Fantasy in *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, *Daisies* and *The Grand Budapest Hotel*

Perceptions of Prague have emerged within my cinema going and research into film: Leaving and returning Prague in Philip Kaufmann’s *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* (1989), based on Milan Kundera’s novel; joyously encountering and deconstructing space within Věra Chytilová’s *Daisies* (1966), and a re-imagining a fantasy of central Europe in Wes Anderson’s *The Grand Budapest Hotel*. Each of these representations portrays a cinematic Prague that is constructed, re-emerging, distanced and re-encountered as place and fantasy in film.

*The Unbearable Lightness of Being* portrays Tomas (Daniel Day–Lewis), Tereza (Juliet Binoche) and Sabina (Lena Olin) leaving Prague after the Soviet Invasion in 1968. Prague represents loss and nostalgia, which is part of what the lightness of the protagonist, Tomas, seeks to be released from in his fantasy of sex without love: although it appears that an equilibrium is required between weight, emotion, and lightness, in order to survive. Kaufmann explores Milan Kundera’s novel on screen through the lead characters: predominantly Tomas, a doctor, and his desires, debating the weight of history and the lightness of existence: the personal and the political, the individual and the social, and freedom versus responsibility. Prague becomes both a millstone and a cloud: a symbol of love as confining and confirming in opposition to the ability to be free to have sex with anyone. Tomas adopts a liberal attitude to his relationship to Sabina and Tereza, the former as a dalliance and the latter as his wife, becoming exemplar of the weight of Prague itself. Although initially viewed as a weight of responsibility, for Tomas the return to Prague provides a potential security blanket of personal reassurance which is confounded when the political climate reject Tomas and Tereza’s work.

In returning to Prague, Tereza is potentially free from Tomas' "return" to infidelity; but can they both survive. In her critique of the novelist's representations of women, Joan Smith<sup>1</sup> argues that Kundera's female characters are borne from his hostile attitude to women and that they are belittled and disparaged. The relationships in the film are apparently based on Kundera and his wife, and the women do form the problematic function of muse for Tomas' desires as everything is viewed from his perspective: Sabina for art and escape (Geneva); Tereza for photography and reality (Prague). For Tereza, Prague is a place Tereza longs for yet does not still 'want' her. After Tomas later follows Tereza back to Prague they then plan to seek refuge in the countryside.



Figure 1. Tomas, Tereza and Sabina in Prague, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*

Prague is constantly recreated, both in the minds of the protagonists and in making the film. We can see it in stage backdrops, through open windows and reflected in mirrors in interior shots, and Lyon is used to emulate Prague in the early scenes. Although this approach is not an unusual scenario for filming locations, the specific period and political climate constitute Prague as a character in itself. The film was shot in France to take the place of Prague as there were issues with filming in Czechoslovakia and Eastern Europe (Figure 1). The city is interconnected with the characters' lives as they decide to leave Prague after they are caught up in the invasion, crushing hopes of the democratic movement and 'Socialism with a Human Face'. In order to establish the city of Prague, Lyon was used as a replacement location and backdrops were positioned for interior shots to view Prague via open windows with detailed interior recreations produced on the soundstage.

The sequences showing Soviet tanks invading Prague draw upon actual footage taken at the time of the invasion and are reconstituted with characters placed into the action within the city (Figure 2). Walter Murch edited the characters into the historical footage of the Soviet invasion. In an interview David Balfour asks Walter Murch, as editor, about this process: "Could you talk about the way in which images of events begin to dominate the imagination and perception of the events themselves?" to which Murch responds, "If [an event] is not documented it might be easier for it to subside; for the person themselves to say, 'well, maybe it didn't really happen'. But if it was photographed, or things like it were photographed, then that's like a constant irritant that keeps bringing the fever back".<sup>2</sup> The recollection of these events is seen through the eyes of the protagonists who are woven into the footage to become a part of it (Figure 3). As Caryn James asserts, "(W)ith all this political weight, the film could clearly not be made in Mr. Kundera's home country, where all his works are banned".<sup>3</sup> The lightness of the Prague Spring, a flourishing and hopeful democratic movement, is crushed by the

weight of the invasion; or the weight of responsibility and hope is crushed by the lightness of a nihilistic, meaningless, armed response.



*Figure 2. Footage of the Soviet invasion into Prague*



*Figure 3. Tereza and Tomas are inserted into invasion footage*

Where Roger Ebert’s review recognises the erotic focus he sees it enmeshed in a story of “nostalgia, loss, idealism and romance”<sup>4</sup> the film has been received in political terms in a number of ways. Recognised as an account of Czechoslovak rebellion at a time when the fate of communism was in question, it was also well received from the very audiences it might otherwise repel. As Judy Stone recognises, at a film screening in Moscow, in 1989, “The Moscow viewers audibly relished the erotic humor and vigorously applauded the anticommunist dialogue”.<sup>5</sup> Prague then takes on the role as a place of democracy and idealism, looking both forward and back.



Figure 4. Tomas looks back at Prague, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*

Nostalgically reinvoicing the Soviet era is not necessarily the tourist boon for the Czech Republic as it might be for Berlin. As Nicholas Kulish observes, in terms of tourism ‘It is easy to understand why residents would just as soon forget the entire episode (Figure 4). And tourists can be forgiven for concentrating on the city’s grandeur rather than hunting for odd remnants of Communism.’<sup>6</sup> Kundera’s description of Prague and Tereza as both having an inferiority complex in the novel cements the conflation of Tomas’ wife, as inverted muse, with the city and its fragility. The film marks Prague as a place of fantasy, intrigue, romance and nostalgia, but also a conceptual arbiter of a negotiated and problematic personal and political space.

## DAISIES

*Daisies* (Sedmikrásky) is a Czechoslovakian surrealist and comedic experimental film. It is part of the Czech New Wave, a range of films which sought to challenge the current authoritarian regime and seek a democratic alternative. *Daisies* has been described as an anti-bureaucratic satire and an example of modern experimentation in both its structure and theme. The sensibility of the film is part of the burgeoning movement in Czechoslovakia of 1960s prior to the Prague Spring and its downfall. Banned in the Soviet Union, *Daisies*’ surreal approach and frenetic pace provides a playful and nihilist response to living in Prague. The increasingly existential film depicts the lives of two women, both called Marie, living in Prague. It emphasises visual pleasure, satire and a sense of paranoia as events reach a crescendo, which juxtaposes the wealth of middle class eating in restaurants in the city with the experiences of the protagonists who struggle to survive until they decide to accept their non-sensical fate and behave like everyone else.

The Maries are Marie 1 (Jitka Cerhová) with dark hair and Marie 2 (Ivana Karbanová) with red hair. The two Maries act like dolls-like puppets and behave as though they are automata. They decide to embark on a life without responsibility, repeatedly saying that nothing matters. They arrange to meet up with wealthy men for dinner and get them to part with their money before sending them home on the train. The absurdist approach can be seen within *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*. However, as surreal satire, within *Daisies*, although events happen, there is no logical link from one scene to the next to engage narrative logic. It is also a perspective of two women dealing with men who wish to exploit them, viewing the world from their perspective. In an account of the protagonists in *Daisies*, Alice Wickström sees that, ‘Instead of focusing on *what* they represent morally, socially, and politically, these readings have explored their oscillation between subject positions and ideals, and

how they thereby “trouble” orders grounded on demarcation’’.<sup>7</sup> When the Maries meet these men for dinner and then send them home, the two Maries confound the men by a seeming lack of comprehension of the situation to thwart any untoward attention away from them (Figure 5). When one of the Maries meets one man, the other interrupts the dinner, straining politeness to the limit as he is curtailed by his public civility and his ulterior motive is thwarted. The Prague restaurants are opulent and traditional, representing wealth and authoritarianism.



Figure 5. Dinner with businessman in Prague restaurant, *Daisies*

Within the film the two Maries look through posters on walls and march along past warehouses, trying to find something to do. The women lament that nothing is happening, so they make it happen as their response to the opulence of middle-class Prague, seen at night in scenes from the restaurants and nightclubs. The use of filters makes these scenarios appear unreal, as their response is one of laughter and irreverence. As Chytilová said: “We wanted to go into the streets, to film easily, but to film real life. But not to connect it. To retain mystery in what we filmed. Not to lead the viewer so that he would know everything. Not to say what we don’t know. Not to make decisions. Not to offer solutions’’.<sup>8</sup> The Maries see that everything is ‘going bad’ so they choose to do so as well. Increasingly the two Maries become enmeshed in their nihilistic mission, gatecrashing a lavish banquet table which they proceed to eat from and destroy, similar to the Mad Hatter’s tea party in *Alice in Wonderland*. References to surrealism abound in the use of scissors and abrupt scene jumps, and the Prague street as seen from their colourful apartment is in a contrasting greyscale as though existing in another time. At the start, in contrast to the city nightlife in Prague, we see the two Maries in a bright, bucolic scene, as two Eves circling the tree of knowledge and dance around the Garden of Eden (Figure 6). These sequences contrast with the block filters and harsh situations within the world of men they later encounter, Marie 2 eats the fruit from the tree of knowledge, later producing a pip from her mouth, and laments throughout the film that “It doesn’t matter”.



Figure 6. *The two Maries as the two Eves, Daisies*

As Cheryl Stephenson notes, “Throughout *Daisies*, public spaces are performative or theatrical spaces, where the presence of audiences or witnesses defines the girls’ behaviour in the restaurant, the nightclub, and even the outdoors”.<sup>9</sup> They seek and provoke a response but this performance is intentional as they go along and the only possible conclusion is complete carnage. Eventually the Maries cover the walls in collage and make themselves into mannequins with detachable heads; shrouded papier-mache figures and string-like puppets (Figure 7). At the end of the film Marie 2 reiterates “Vadí ?” “Nevadí.” (Does it matter: It doesn’t matter). Their revolt is a Dadaist reverie with surreal undertones. The film begins with a collapsing building and ends with images of warfare blasting the world away. *Daisies* retains a certain mystery about the two Maries in Prague, constructing an assault on the establishment, but offering no solutions.



Figure 7. *Collage and carnage, Daisies*



## THE GRAND BUDAPEST HOTEL

*The Grand Budapest Hotel* depicts the fortunes of concierge M Gustave (Ralph Fiennes), his protege, Zero (Tony Revolori) and Agatha (Saoirse Ronan). The significance of place, if not its geographical specificity, becomes increasingly relevant as the main timeline of the film moves outside of the hotel into the wider world. The film evokes the mittel-European ambience of the Republic of Zubrowka, a fictional central European country that encapsulates a world of fantasy. Filming locations included Germany and Poland with inspiration from the Czech Republic and Switzerland. Although Zubrowka is a fictional country, Anderson cites Prague as a significant influence for the sets. “(...) Prague is the one that I feel sort of inspired me the most for this city, for the big city in our story. Prague is just such a spectacular place, and it's one of those places that so much of the history is right in front of you as a stranger wandering around Prague”.<sup>10</sup>

According to Anderson, *The Grand Budapest Hotel* was based on the Bristol Palace Hotel in Karlovy Vary, in the Czech Republic (Figure 8), with its noticeable light pink façade, although the neo-Baroque Grand Hotel Pupp is deemed to have also been an influence. Prague is most often associated with the color pink due to Prague Castle and central buildings, and the *Grand Budapest Hotel* emulates this pink façade. The film also evokes the spa town of Karlovy Vary in its focus on the funicular. The color pink has been long associated with the city and can also such as pink bikes available for hire, and in acts of protest such as the pink covered tank used to celebrate the end of Soviet influence or the pink finger sculpture floating along the Vlatva. Within the film the color pink is used for the packaging of Mendl's cakes (bakery in Dresden) by Agatha as they are part of Zubrowka's traditions and loved by all. For Eileen Jones the formal linkage is too much, saying of Anderson that, “he candy-coats a world of casual nastiness in bright colors”<sup>11</sup> although the violence implied in the film is shocking when it emerges from this candy-coated world.



Figure 8. *The Grand Hotel Pupp, Karlovy Vary, Czech Republic*

Gustave can only escape from prison because the prison guard does not want to spoil the parcel and chop up the cakes to look for weapons or tools. The conflation of cities is linked by this color. The

depiction of resistance to the invading authorities is clearly alluded to within the film and reminiscent of Prague's history in particular, as emphasized in the ominous black 'ZZ' insignia that appear above the hotel façade (Figure 9).



Figure 9. The ZZ invasion, *The Grand Budapest Hotel*

The hotel itself, as other sets in the film, is often presented as a miniature model. As Jones recounts, Anderson visited old towns across Europe for their historical and architectural traces: “He sees that ‘Communism is very present when you visit these places. You see the old place, and the newer place inside it, and then the newer period inside of that.’”<sup>12</sup> As Alison Landsberg recognizes, for viewers of media “the images can become part of their own archive of experience” and “emotional possession”<sup>13</sup> which can last beyond a film to be retained as memories.

The Grand Budapest Hotel's façade fills the screen as we enter into Zero's memories via flashback. Within the film the characters appear to be almost caricatures at times and this is effective for both comic effect and enabling the viewer to see how harsh 'realities' affect their lives in a much more poignant way. Zero sits in the Grand Budapest Hotel discussing his own life story. In these terms the hotel functions as a symbolic referent of another time that is both personally and emotionally associated with Zero and tangible to the viewer. King considers what happens if “we have a great yearning but we cannot fulfil it with anything but memory. We deal with the problem by returning - or attempting to return – to where we wish to be”.<sup>14</sup> The Grand Budapest Hotel is an emotional and logistical component of the film that represents both the yearning to return and a haven for Zero. Within *The Grand Budapest Hotel*, more generally, the characters often seem to be more 'acted upon' than enacting their world or being in control of the narrative trajectory for their destiny (Figure 10).



Figure 10. Zero and Agatha working at the bakery, *The Grand Budapest Hotel*

The film's reflexive strategy involves the use of three aspect ratios: to present the 1930s, 1960s and 1980s. Hollywood studio's nostalgic Academy ratio of the 1930s. The widescreen letterbox ratio is used for the 1960s sequences and the third ratio is used to depict the shortest sequence when the author of the novel, 'The Grand Budapest Hotel' is looking back on the story from the 1980s. This structure embeds the Grand Budapest Hotel with a sense of longevity, surviving the attempts to tear it down, although it is well worn and the way it is run seems anachronistic. As Anne Washburn recognises, Anderson "always allows his beautiful worlds to be shattered".<sup>15</sup> It is also more than just a building: it has become Zero's life. Prague and its environs are an inspiration for *The Grand Budapest Hotel*, a bricolage of mittel-European references. Its history and grandeur forms a key role within the film as both refuge and reminiscence.

## CONCLUSION

Perceptions of Prague are constructed within fantasy scenarios, discourses of desire and political backdrops, drawing upon its position throughout much of the twentieth century. Prague becomes a concept, a hope, a representative of democracy, a challenge and a refuge. Each film draws upon aspects of Prague and its history as something mysterious and significant. Buildings topple, streets are overtaken by tanks, and yet there is something that remains, whether held onto or rejected. Cyclically renewed interest in these films speaks to this fascination and the perception of film and fantasy in relation to the city.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Joan Smith, *Misogynies* (London: The Westbourne Press, 2013)
- <sup>2</sup> David Balfour, "Reverse Shot: Re-assembling the Invasion of Prague", *Vertigo* Volume 3, Issue 9. (Spring-Summer 2008)
- <sup>3</sup> Caryn James, "Kundera's Shadow Colors 'Lightness' ", *New York Times*, (January 31,1988) accessed April 3 2023 <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/01/31/movies/film-kundera-s-shadow-colors-lightness.html>
- <sup>4</sup> Roger Ebert, 'The Unbearable Lightness of Being' MovieReview', *RogerEbert.com*, (1988) accessed February 5 2023: <https://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/the-unbearable-lightness-of-being-1988>
- <sup>5</sup> Judy Stone, 'Unbearable Lightness' Opens New Doors To Audiences In Moscow', *Chicago Tribune*, 1989 accessed March 2022 <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1989-07-19-8902180687-story.html>
- <sup>6</sup> Nicholas Kulish, "Trumping the Unbearable Darkness of History", *New York Times*, (March 30, 2008) nd.
- <sup>7</sup> Alice Wickström, Alice. "Girls Gone Bad: An essay on "Existence" in Chytilová's Daisies", *Gender, Work and Organisation Special Issue: On and Off Screen: Women's Work in the Screen Industries* Volume 28, Issue 6, (2021)
- <sup>8</sup> Jan Čulík. "In Search of Authenticity: Věra Chytilová's Films from Two Eras", *Studies in Eastern European Cinema*, 9:3, 198-218. (2018)
- <sup>9</sup> Cheryl Stephenson, "Vadí/Nevadí: puppet play in Věra Chytilová's Sedmikrásky (Daisies)", *Studies in Eastern European Cinema* 9:3, 219-232. (2018)
- <sup>10</sup> Terry Gross, "Interview with Wes Anderson- 'We Made A Pastiche' Of Eastern Europe's Greatest Hits", *NPR*, March 12 2014. accessed May 29 2022 <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/289423863>
- <sup>11</sup> Eileen Jones, "Wes Anderson and the Old Regime". *Jakobin*, August 8 2014.
- <sup>12</sup> Matt Jones, "Luxury Hotels: A Grand Nostalgia for Old-World Opulence", *Independent*, July 3, 2014
- <sup>13</sup> Alison Landsberg, "Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture" (Columbia University Press; New York, 2004) 30
- <sup>14</sup> Peter King, "Memory and Exile: Time and Place in Tarkovsky's Mirror", *Housing, Theory and Society*, 25:1, 66-78, (2008) 71
- <sup>15</sup> Anne Washburn, "Introduction".in M. Zoller Zeist, *The Wes Anderson Collection: The Grand Budapest Hotel*, (Abrams: New York, 2015), 11

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# THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SUSTAINABLE RESETTLEMENT – EXAMINING NATIONAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY OF THE POLISH DIASPORA AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Author:

**AGATA BLASZCZYK**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHUMBRIA, UK

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## INTRODUCTION

Both the effective and sustainable settlement of a refugee community and their contribution to the host society depend on the ability of policy-makers and service-providers to understand the refugee community's needs during the process of adjustment and adaptation into the host community.

The case the Polish displaced people presents an example of how, for the first time, in the history of immigration into the United Kingdom, a particular support system came into being and how it functioned. Furthermore, it shows the means by which Polish identity was preserved and maintained, and how Polish migrants, driven by a strong national awareness, survived the early, difficult, years. Poles were keen to become good neighbours and they eagerly saw their new settlements as their future homes.

Specifically, this example demonstrates the rationale the British government's prioritisation of the integration of Poles into British society. Sustainable social and economic integration into local communities, and, where possible, assimilation, became the government's key aim.

## Historical background

Post-war Polish immigration to Britain was one repercussion of the Second World War. After the invasion of France in June 1940, the exiled Polish government evacuated to Great Britain along with the Polish armed forces. These soldiers, sailors, and airmen had served under British command and had made a vital contribution to the Allied war effort. Poles formed the fourth-largest Allied armed force and were the largest group of non-British personnel in the RAF during the Battle of Britain.

Nevertheless, such a victorious army had lost the War. The Yalta Conference in February 1945 officially confirmed the tragic end for Poland. The Soviet Union incorporated half of Poland's pre-war territory and officially recognised the pro-Soviet Committee of Liberation in Poland.

As Poland fell under Communist dictatorship; it became clear that the Polish forces and refugees abroad would not be able to return to their homeland. Staying in Britain or its dependent territories seemed to Poles, whether already in Britain or under British command elsewhere, to be the only viable option for their future.

The British Government found itself faced with the responsibility for the Polish political refugees. As it transpired, this challenge became a new experience for the British authorities.

Between 1946 to 1949, wives and dependants arrived in Britain to join the soldiers, bringing the estimated total of Poles in Britain to over 249,000.<sup>1</sup>

Along with the regular soldiers, the entire machinery of well-organized and functioning civilian life during the war years with hospitals, schools, a press, canteens, theatres and welfare services was brought to Britain under the prominent Commander, Gen. Wladyslaw Anders.

Extraordinarily, this exiled group launched its life in a new country equipped with a ready-made set of organizations and associations, which would flourish as soon as the war ended. In Gen. Anders's eyes it was crucial to preserve these forms of organized life among the soldiers and their dependants. These groups of people, along with the Poles already living in Britain, could not be ignored by the British Government. In fact, a new life for the newly created Polish community had already been born, behind the "political curtain."

On 27 March 1947, after several months of preparation and laborious effort the British Parliament passed the Polish Resettlement Bill, which provided entitlements to employment and unemployment benefit in Britain. The Bill laid out the responsibilities of several government departments for the employment, health, and education of the Poles.

The generous provisions of the Polish Resettlement Bill equipped the exiles with the means of material survival. Responsibility for the education of Poles in the United Kingdom was placed with the Ministry of Education and the Secretary of the State in Scotland. All expenses were to be defrayed out of monies provided by Parliament.<sup>2</sup> This was the first time in the history of migration to Great Britain that this kind of legislation was brought into being, directed uniquely at a refugee group. The most important aspect of the Act suggested that Poles were treated differently than other immigrant groups.

The exceptional aspects of this legislation in terms of modern British refugee policy lay in its clauses relating to the Polish refugees' entitlement to government support in key areas of social life. Major government departments had special duties assigned to them in connection with the management, organization and support of this group of immigrants.

The Assistance Board provided accommodation in camps, hostels or other establishments for Poles. The Board became responsible for making payments to sundry categories of Poles in need. Provisions within the Ministry of Health referred to health care of demobilised Poles and their dependants. The Ministry of Pensions made payments to individuals in consequence of the death or disablement of members of the Polish forces while under British command. The Ministry of Labour made arrangements for the emigration of Polish civilians.<sup>3</sup>

The Resettlement Bill enabled Poles to settle in Britain and thus potentially provide the requisite labour force.<sup>4</sup> By 1948, about 57,000 Poles were employed in British industry. They and their descendants continue to make up a large part of the Polish British community as it exists today.<sup>5</sup>

On 1 April 1947, the Ministry of Education, and the Secretary of the State for Scotland created the Committee for the Education of Poles. The Committee's principal aim was stressed in its memorandum: *'To fit them (Poles) for absorption into British schools and British careers whilst still maintaining provision for their natural desire for the maintenance of Polish culture and the knowledge of Polish History and Literature.'*<sup>6</sup>

Bringing the Committee to life was another milestone on the path leading to the stabilization Polish refugees' lives after the war. It was also a significant and decisive step in creating and implementing a migration policy for the Polish community already living in Great Britain.<sup>7</sup>

The passing of the Polish Resettlement Bill allowed Poles to enter the resettlement process. They formed a sizable group of refugees, who could fill gaps in the British labour market. As such, they

were seen as desirable subjects, who, under proper guidance, could integrate peacefully into mainstream British society. The recognition of their distinctive identity could explain why the British government attached such importance on the need to integrate the Poles into British society as quickly as possible. Their integration, and where possible their assimilation, became a key aim of the government. Furthermore, education became an eminently useful tool in this process. Learning the English language became the basic step to be taken in pursuit of this ambitious plan. Children and young people were crucial players in this process.

For the British Government, the Poles who were arriving in unprecedented numbers in the years 1946–49 and establishing themselves as the largest group of immigrants in British history itself posed an enormous challenge. Lacking precedent, significant political figures in British politics, civil servants, teachers and inspectors worked with no templates to guide them, and being thus unprepared, they learned by trial and error. They did, however, have a well-defined objective: to prepare Poles for a new life in Great Britain or other parts of the English-speaking world. In British eyes, achieving the integration and, ultimately, assimilation into the host society of those who had decided to stay in Britain, was a first-order objective to be achieved.

For various reasons, not every Polish émigré who entered Britain in 1946 was quite so fortunate. The first generation's experience of settling down and starting their life from scratch proved to be tougher than expected from Polish émigré perception. Poles would sometimes experience resentment, anger and inimicality directed toward them, particularly in the immediate post-war years.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, and unsurprisingly, perhaps, learning a foreign language often appeared an impossible task for them. This also explains why so many members of the older generation of Poles took jobs which were not adequate to their qualifications obtained in Poland before the war. The language barrier became an obstacle. Therefore, they were entering the British labour market as unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Consequently, this group of people became a victim of social de-classed process and were forced to accept economic down-grading.<sup>9</sup>

However, for the younger generation of Poles, the route of adaptation, integration and perhaps even gradual assimilation was a more natural process, and generous education provisions made by the British Government helped enormously. A great number of the second generation of the post-war refugees obtained higher education and academic degrees and reverted to their parents' prior to the war social status.

### **The reorganization of the Polish community and the British post-war society. Towards social integration.**

As the years passed, the Polish refugee population had a better sense of belonging to their local communities. They were participating more actively in the life of their communities. Signs that Poles were becoming resigned to their exile became increasingly apparent. They began to establish community links and participate in the life of their local groups, as reported by a local paper, covering Leicestershire County, Melton Mowbray Times, in July 1952:

*Apart from everyday contacts at work and in the clubs, members of the Polish communities are taking a very active part in the social, cultural, educational and sports activities in the county through the Anglo-Polish Societies in Melton and Loughborough and through the Leicestershire Rural Community Council, on which they are fully represented.*<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, the British administration when preparing a summary report on the Committee's activity, noted that as the years passed the Poles' response to civic integration had become more evident and generous. In the British view, Poles were emerging as a very promising and well-integrated community. By 1953, signs of social cohesion were perceptible. The participation of Polish



residents in the social life of Britain was cautiously reported upon in all camps and hostels. An account on Coronation Celebrations at Doddington Park described the events as follows:

*Almost every hut in the Hostel was decorated with British and Polish flags, pictures of the Queen and members of the Royal family, flowers etc.*

*(...) On 2.6, roughly speaking, about 200 residents watched the Coronation on the television at the Warden's home and at the homes of two Polish residents who are in possession of TV set.*

*(...) On 2.6.53., in the afternoon, a party of about 20 members of the Youth Club went to Williston on the invitation of the local Coronation Committee, to perform Polish folk dances in the open air. They were met with a very warm reception by an audience of about 2,000 English people and were given a smart Coronation tin of biscuits as the price for their performance.<sup>11</sup>*

In British eyes, the spontaneity shown by the Polish community's response to the Coronation events was probably the first visible evidence of integration and remained very symbolic.

However, the Poles stayed aware of their national identity and duly cultivated their own traditions, religion and language. Although throughout the Coronation year, the Polish community seemed to be becoming more integrated, its patriotic nature and the awareness of their own identity had also matured. Throughout the year, Poles celebrated openly national events, and the number of new Polish cultural organizations were set up accordingly.

## **CONCLUSION**

Taking the case of the Polish refugees, we can indeed observe how important the effective integration of migrant populations in civic life becomes, providing a meaningful opportunity to live, learn and work in the host country, particularly for those who are seeking safety. These key factors shape a progressive immigration policy that seeks to recognise the perils arising from the deregulation of labour markets and from migrants' initial lack of access to basic rights, education and health resources.

The historical context of the successful and durable migration experience (civic inclusion) of the given migrant group in the receiving countries as presented in this paper leads to the call for policy recommendations that might be considered by today's modern states.

The lessons presented in this paper seek to enhance understanding of the policymaking and implementation process, effectively engaging policy-makers and migration researchers as active 'makers' of sustainable integration, social cohesion and longer-term economic security. Employment, housing, education and health are recurring and key domains and basic services in successful programmes of resettlement in new societies. Here, connecting migration research in relation to a past case of refugee settlement with the creation of a migration policy, its practice and implementation, may surmount the obstacles faced by many modern societies as they tackle mass migration.

As learnt from the past, the lack of opportunity to work and access education arguably increases the extent of migrant exclusion, by denying migrants the opportunity to achieve economic autonomy, access the openings that come with further education or training, and participate in European society. This case study demonstrates how these present as opportunities for states to promote the inclusion of newly arrived communities, even during times of apparent crisis.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Keith Sword, Norman Davies, J. Ciechanowski, *The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain 1939-50*, (London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies – SSEES, University of London, 1989), 446 and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *Soldiers and Peasants*, (London: Orbis Books, 1988), 58.

<sup>2</sup> *The Polish Resettlement Bill*, ED128/143, (PRO – The National Archives – N.A, Kew – Richmond, London, 1947).

<sup>3</sup> *The Polish Resettlement Bill – Clauses 1-10*, ED128/143, (PRO — The National Archives – N.A, Kew – Richmond, London, 1947).

<sup>4</sup> By 1948, about 57,000 Poles were employed in British industry, becoming famous for working hard and long hours and being, appreciated by their fellow workers at the same time. Sword, Davies, Ciechanowski, *The Formation of the Polish Community*, 267.

<sup>5</sup> Agata Blaszczyk, “*The resettlement of Polish refugees after the Second World War*”, *Forced Migration Review* 54, *Resettlement*, (University of Oxford, February 2017), 72.

<sup>6</sup> *Report of the Chairman of the Committee for the Education of Poles in Great Britain*, ED 128/9, (PRO – The National Archives, N.A., Kew – Richmond, London, March 1948) 2; Also, *The Committee for the Education of the Poles in Great Britain, Memorandum from the Minister of Education and the Secretary of the state for Scotland*, ED128/146, (PRO – The National Archives N.A., Kew – Richmond, London, 1947) 1-2. Also, *Education in exile.*, ED128/10, (Ministry of Education – PRO – The National Archives – N. A, Kew – Richmond, London 1956), 11-12. Also *Report on the Curriculum and Staffing of the Committee’s Polish Schools*, ED128/5 (PRO – The National Archives – N.A, Kew-Richmond, London, 13 July 1948) 3.

<sup>7</sup> No specific study on the extent of the Committee’s work, or the full scope of its achievements, has so far come to light. This is rather surprising, given that expenditure of the order of £9 million (Equivalent to approx. 40 million in 2021 – This calculation is based on evaluation, inflation adjusted, provided by the UK future inflation calculator. The 1947 inflation rate was 7.04 %. The inflation rate in 2021 was 2.27%.) was authorized on education across all levels and that, thanks to this, it proved possible not only to maintain Polish schools and educate many young Poles, but also to achieve the educational goals that the émigré Polish community had set itself at the end of the War.

<sup>8</sup> This resentment directed at the Poles is emphasized by Peter Stachura in several works, for example *Poland in the Twentieth Century*, (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1999), 113–34, or *The Poles in Britain. 1940–2000* (London, Portland: Frank Cass 2004). 53-54. Trade Unions were often suspicious of workers who openly manifested their anti-Communist attitude. At the time, Polish workers could hardly conceal their views. The Transport and General Workers’ Union with its own anti-Communist attitude was an exception here.

<sup>9</sup> A point made by Keith Sword in his works on the Polish community in Great Britain e.g. *The Formation of the Polish Community in Great Britain 1939-1950*, (London: SSEES, University of London 1989).

<sup>10</sup> *Melton Mowbray Times*, FO371/71587 (PRO – The National Archives – N.A, Kew-Richmond, London July 1952).

<sup>11</sup> *Report on Coronation Celebrations at Doddington Park*, FO371/100725, (PRO – The National Archives – N.A., Kew-Richmond, London) 2.

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# THE ARCHITECTURAL FABRIC COLLECTION AT UK PARLIAMENT

Author:

**SOPHIE MISSON, LETTY HIBBERD**

Affiliation:

UK PARLIAMENT, UK

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## INTRODUCTION

The Palace of Westminster and its wider estate is the home of parliamentary democracy in the United Kingdom. The vast majority of the Palace as we see it today was designed by Sir Charles Barry following a catastrophic fire in 1834, with Augustus W. N. Pugin contributing much to the interiors.<sup>1</sup> Now a Grade 1 listed building and a UNESCO World Heritage Site, it is home to the House of Commons, the House of Lords and both administrations who are responsible for the management and delivery of services to both Houses.<sup>2</sup>

While the building itself is arguably the most iconic in the United Kingdom, the collections that feature within it are lesser known. The Heritage Collections at UK Parliament consist of the Parliamentary Art Collection, the Historic Furniture and Decorative Arts Collection and the Architectural Fabric Collection, the last of which is the topic of this paper. Unlike traditional museum collections, these are working collections on display and in use by those who inhabit the various buildings across the Parliamentary Estate and accessible digitally online.

Of these three collections, the Architectural Fabric Collection is the one that has been formalised most recently. It comprises over 5,000 unique objects originally commissioned for the Palace of Westminster, including wallpaper, encaustic tiles, carved stonework, and detached decorative elements. It also includes architectural models that reflect the development of the Estate and significant archaeological items found during planned excavations to the site.

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARCHITECTURAL FABRIC COLLECTION

The Architectural Fabric Collection (AFC) was established formally in 2014 to ensure specialist management of these various items of architectural significance including their care, conservation, documentation, access, and engagement. This followed numerous years of ad-hoc collecting of original fabric which started in earnest around World War II. The Palace of Westminster was damaged by air-raids on fourteen separate occasions, the most famous of which was the complete destruction of the Commons Chamber.<sup>3</sup>

During World War II, damaged parts of the Palace and its interiors were collected and labelled in Westminster Hall despite Victorian architecture being deemed out of fashion since the 1920s.<sup>4</sup> Though many of the items collected were not suitable for re-use within the Palace, those that could be were put into storage. These were later added to with Victorian doors and panelling removed to facilitate the building of the new Commons Chamber designed by Giles Gilbert Scott (1880-1960).

There were collection items which were suitable for re-use in the building, and those which were removed as they were unable to be reused as originally intended. These elements ended up under the care of those maintained the building and could oversee their re-use when required or store those that were no longer needed. In the early 2000s, an inventory was made of stored architectural salvage to keep track of the items held.

In 2014 the Architectural Fabric Collection was officially established to ensure the future care of architectural fabric objects.<sup>5</sup> This happened under the guidance of the Architecture and Heritage Team (now known as the Architecture and Conservation team) who are responsible for the conservation of the buildings the Parliamentary Estate.<sup>6</sup> The AFC brought together all relevant holdings, including architectural models linked to Parliamentary buildings, and formed the beginnings of a unique historical record that documented the changing nature of the Estate. The formalisation of the collection in part reflected the importance of these items having come from a Listed Building and UK Parliament's duty of care for them.<sup>7</sup>

In 2019 the AFC was transferred into the care of the Heritage Collections team, uniting the aforementioned three collections. This team continues to work closely with colleagues in Architecture and Conservation, who established the AFC, and other key stakeholders across the Parliamentary Estate. The uniting of three collections under one umbrella, enabled a more holistic and standardised approach to the care and management of these collections at UK Parliament.

## CHALLENGES

### Conservation and Collections Care

The Heritage Collections at UK Parliament require complex management to ensure that their care and access can be balanced against the strategic and ceremonial requirements of both Houses. This is delivered as close to industry best practice as possible given the constraints of the working environment. Colleagues who work in collections care oversee multiple workstreams that aim to preserve the condition of the collections and, where possible, reduce the need for interventive treatment. This is achieved through conservation management plans, environmental monitoring, integrated pest management and preventive conservation cleaning.

A key challenge for the collections care team includes coordinating a comprehensive conservation cleaning programme across the multiple buildings on the Estate. Dust and pollutants can be abrasive and acidic and, without regular removal, can accumulate to result in deterioration.<sup>8</sup>

As part of a multi-strand Collection Care programme, preventive conservation cleaning ensures the care of the furniture, fixed fabric, and high heritage spaces on a daily basis. This is supplemented by a weekly conservation programme where artworks and sculpture are cleaned by a separate specialist conservation team.

This core activity is made more complex by the nature of Parliamentary buildings and the continued use of spaces for the business of the Houses. Many spaces and collection items are not easily accessible without high level scaffolding which cannot be erected without careful forward planning, access permissions and co-ordination with multiple stakeholders.

As the Palace of Westminster is a working building, collection care colleagues face challenges as they cannot control the environment (temperature, humidity, lux, dust, and UV) in which historic objects are often on open display. Therefore, monitoring the physical environment and condition of objects is essential to identifying and managing their needs, and planning where pro-active conservation is required.<sup>9</sup> Cleaning procedures and methodologies are agreed to ensure the best possible care of collections. This includes collaborating with colleagues in the Architecture and Conservation team to ensure these are also appropriate for the care of the historic interiors.

In addition to regular collections care activities, larger scale conservation projects and rolling programmes are in place for objects that require more specialist care. These include the quinquennial wall paintings survey, a biannual programme for the cleaning and condition assessment of the textile collections, and consistent monitoring, rotation and restoration of historic furniture used through the working spaces of the Estate.

While these activities are directly related to much of the Heritage Collections holdings, it is important to note that the Architectural Fabric Collection has far fewer objects on open display due to their size and condition. Currently, all conservation work for the Architectural Fabric Collection is programmed by the AFC Curator. This work is carried out by accredited conservators that meet the expected standards of the field, such as those set out in the British Standard for Conservation of Tangible Cultural Heritage, or the ICON Professional Standards.<sup>10</sup> Where it is not possible to find the correct specialist skills through lists of accredited persons, work may be carried out by traditionally trained craftspeople to whom the same accreditation process does not apply.

The condition of AFC objects varies greatly. There are plenty that, although removed, were known to be part of the original scheme and kept in good condition. There are others that have been removed due to breakage or wear which may have damage that is irreparable, or the cost to conserve them would prevent other collection-based work. To ensure that the collection is treated as consistently as possible, a priority matrix for conservation work that grades each object on its condition and historic significance has been created. This matrix acts as a key decision-making tool in managing the ongoing treatment of the collection and echoes conservation management plans used elsewhere across the sector. It also enables the team to make recommendations when requests for re-use are submitted by colleagues carrying out projects across the Estate. Previous examples of this re-use have included reinstalling Victorian doors that were removed to enable building works and using historic metalware as templates for creating modern replicas.

Another consideration when commissioning object conservation is the balance between restoring an object to its original intent and respecting the object's cumulative history as a working part of the building. A recent example of this occurred during a project to conserve some ceiling panels from Barry and Pugin's original House of Commons Chamber.<sup>11</sup> Having been removed from the Chamber in the 1920s, these ceiling panels fortunately survived bomb damage that occurred during World War II. They are some of the only surviving examples of the interior of the original Commons Chamber pre-Gilbert Scott and provide evidence of the advanced ventilation system that ran throughout the Palace. The reverse of some of these panels had darkened with dirt from the ventilation and gas lighting, and some showed remnants of an organic fibre insulation (likely horsehair) and inscriptions. These aspects of the panels were historically significant, so it was decided to give them a gentle surface clean - rather than anything more interventive - to ensure these site-specific historic remnants of the working building were retained.

In addition to conservation, the storage and safe handling of the collection remains a challenge due to the variety of different materials the collection contains. Many objects are heavy, and some contain hazardous substances. The team are continually working to improve collections storage to allow safe access to objects while ensuring the health and safety of those who interact with it.

### **Restoration and Renewal, and Future Collecting**

The AFC continues to grow in its holdings as cataloguing progresses. Equally, objects are continually accessioned into the collection due to decisions taken on capital and maintenance projects across the Estate. For example, recent accessions include features from the Grade 1 listed Norman Shaw North building (constructed 1886-1890 and designed by Richard Norman Shaw) and removed due to a current refurbishment project.<sup>12</sup> Prior to the collection's formation, it was not impossible that

detached elements emerged following the conclusion of refurbishment projects rather than being accessioned as an active part of them. This has been improved through active engagement and knowledge sharing with colleagues and contactors. With the upcoming programme of Restoration and Renewal (R&R) to the Palace of Westminster, evidence from similar projects indicates that the number of objects in AFC could increase significantly. This is due to the scale of the programme, the size of the Palace and the amount of architectural fabric that could be affected by the works. The programme will provide essential restoration to the Palace and will be one of the most complex renovations of a UNESCO heritage building undertaken in the United Kingdom.<sup>13</sup>

Both Houses of Parliament have reaffirmed their commitment to preserving the Palace for future generations and ensuring the safety of all those who work in and visit the Palace, now and in the future.<sup>14</sup>

While specific plans for R&R are still being formulated, it is thought that a significant portion of the interior fabric of the Palace might need to be removed to enable repair work to take place. Considering this and the inconsistent approach to collecting AFC objects in the past, it has been essential to put a formal Collections Development Policy in place.<sup>15</sup> This will ensure documentation of the original location of objects and provide a rationale for why they were removed, particularly as these gaps in knowledge will be harder to resolve with the passage of time.

The AFC team are working with colleagues in Architecture and Conservation to ensure that there are standards for recording information as objects come out of the building, further minimising the opportunity for lost information.

R&R may also provide the opportunity for original AFC objects to be reused, retaining Pugin's original vision for specific spaces. By working with colleagues in the R&R programme as they carry out surveys of the Palace and its interiors, we have been able to start identifying such pieces that are held in the collection. For example, there have been some light fittings already identified for possible reinstatement following research and conservation.

## **Engagement**

The working environment at UK Parliament means that sharing our collections is slightly more complex than in a traditional museum or heritage site. Our priority must always be to support the core business of Parliament meaning that visitor numbers, security and physical access to areas displaying collections can be constrained. While works of art and historic furniture are on display and in use through the Estate, dedicated display space for objects that are more complex or require display cases is limited.

The development of a new UK Parliament Heritage Collections website has been essential in widening access to the collections overall but particularly for the Architectural Fabric Collection as so little of it is currently on display. The website has prompted a programme of ongoing photography which aims to support the online sharing of the collection. Close working relationships with the Media and Engagement team at Parliament also enables the sharing of object stories on wider social media platforms. There is also a team of Registrars that support the Heritage Collections, enabling loans of AFC items to other institutions to further increase access.

The challenge of engaging audiences with architectural fabric objects can raise its own issues. Historically, many of the objects have come into the collection because they are degraded or are no longer structurally suitable to be part of the building. This means they do not have the same aesthetic appeal of a painting for example, where much of the original intention of the artist is clear to see. Despite this, the collection offers a unique insight into the history of the Palace of Westminster. It is a showcase of traditional craftsmanship and techniques and depicts the nature of the materials that each object is made from.

## RECENT SUCCESSES AND CONCLUSION

Despite the many challenges faced in the management of this complex collection since its inception, there have been major successes across each of the topics mentioned in this paper.

To ensure controlled growth of the AFC in the future, clear boundaries and criteria have been set for collection's development which take into account an object's condition, original location, and reason for removal. This means that due diligence can be carried out prior to objects being accessioned, rather than retrospectively. In addition, a programme of disposals has commenced, the methodology for which has been defined by guidance given in the Museum Association's Code of Ethics and Disposal Toolkit.<sup>16</sup> This ensures that use of storage space is effective, and instances where objects were historically accessioned in error can be corrected.

The AFC team continue to manage conservation projects to meet standards of best practice, ensuring that the objects and the stories that contextualise them remain intact for future researchers and public interest. To improve the information held on each object, a full documentation audit was carried out in 2016, with a further audit carried out between October 2020 and October 2021. This enhanced original data and included in-depth condition assessment for the entirety of the collection. The condition statements and gradings were uploaded onto the collections management database ensuring that each object's condition can be more accurately monitored. This saw the establishment of the priority matrix which informs the current programme of conservation.

To ensure improvements can be maintained in collections care, small but vital changes have been made. This includes introducing conservation grade materials to the storage of the collection and ensuring there is ample protection for, and between, each object in its location. Attempts have also been made to collectively organise objects by their material, making it easier to spot issues that may be specific to an object type.

A complex project that was started prior to AFC's move to the Heritage Collections Team has seen the restoration of a Victorian plaster model of the Elizabeth Tower was completed. This enabled it to go on public display for the first time in over 50 years. Another public engagement success with the collection includes the installation of three AFC objects in permanent displays within the newly restored Elizabeth Tower.

Recent uplifts in staff resource have made it possible for further research to be conducted into many aspects of the AFC, including the history of collecting, an exploration into the people who may have worked on collection's objects (such as stonemasons, carpenters, and craftspeople throughout history), as well as details of the objects themselves. It is hoped that resource will be ongoing to enable the consolidation of the collection's history of development as well as a record of the works to the building that have led to the Palace of Westminster as we know it today.

To quote Sir Donald Insall, a leading conservation architect and founder of Donald Insall Associates who have worked and consulted on numerous projects within the Palace: "a building is not something created in one stroke – a static and crystalline object, incapable of change. Rather, it is the living outcome of an interaction between people and their place".<sup>17</sup> The holdings of the Architectural Fabric Collection can be used to explore this philosophy and present the opportunity for audiences to see details of the Palace of Westminster in ways they may not have expected, and which may often seem out of reach.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London 6 Westminster* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 212.

<sup>2</sup> “Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey including Saint Margaret’s Church”, UNESCO, accessed July 7, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/426/>; “Houses of Parliament and The Palace of Westminster”, Historic England, accessed July 26, 2023, <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1226284>

<sup>3</sup> Jennifer Tanfield, *In Parliament 1939/50 : the effect of the war on the Palace of Westminster* (London: HMSO, 1991), 22.

<sup>4</sup> Gavin Stamp, *Lost Victorian Britain: how the Twentieth Century destroyed the Nineteenth Century’s architectural masterpieces* (London: Aurum Press, 2010), 10.

<sup>5</sup> Mark Collins, email message to author, April 28, 2020.

<sup>6</sup> Mark Collins, “Architectural Fabric Collection – History” (unpublished manuscript, May 15, 2020, Microsoft Word file.

<sup>7</sup> “Listed Building Identification and Extent”, Historic England, accessed July 7, 2023, <https://historicengland.org.uk/advice/hpg/has/listed-buildings/>

<sup>8</sup> Helen Lloyd and Katy Lithgow, “Physical agents of deterioration” in *Manual of Housekeeping: The care of collections in historic houses open to the public*, ed. National Trust (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2006)

<sup>9</sup> Brent A. Powell, *Collection Care: An Illustrated Handbook for the Care and Handling of Cultural Objects* (Lanham, Boulder, New York and London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 158.

<sup>10</sup> “ICON Professional Standard and Judgement & Ethics” Institute of Conservation, accessed July 28, 2023, <https://www.icon.org.uk/static/3f4bc220-a584-424a-8fc73ff39e16f1d7/ce352d1e-b330-4887-a670df0d6d1dc260/Icon-Professional-Standards.pdf>; *BS EN 16853:2017 Conservation of cultural heritage. Conservation process. Decision making, planning and implementation*. London: The British Standards Institution, approved 30 June 2017.

<sup>11</sup> “Conserving ceiling panels from the Victorian Chamber”, Heritage Collections UK Parliament, accessed July 7, 2023, <https://heritagecollections.parliament.uk/stories/ceiling-panels/>

<sup>12</sup> “Norman Shaw North”, UK Parliament, accessed July 28, 2023, <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/building/northern-estate/normanshaw-parliament-st1/>

<sup>13</sup> Parliamentary Buildings (Restoration and Renewal) Act, 2019, c. 27; “Reports”, Restoration and Renewal, accessed August 28, 2023, <https://www.restorationandrenewal.uk/resources/reports>

<sup>14</sup> 718 Parl. Deb. H.C.(2022), 271; 823 Parl. Deb. H. L. (2022), 1497.

<sup>15</sup> “Collections Development Policy”, Collections Trust, accessed July 27, 2023, <https://collectionstrust.org.uk/accreditation/managing-collections/holding-and-developing-collections/collections-development-policy/>

<sup>16</sup> “Code of Ethics for Museums”, Museums Association, accessed July 28, 2023, <https://www.museumsassociation.org/campaigns/ethics/code-of-ethics/>; “Disposal Toolkit: Guidelines for Museums”, Museums Association, accessed July 28, 2023, <https://media.museumsassociation.org/app/uploads/2020/06/11090022/31032014-disposal-toolkit-7.pdf>

<sup>17</sup> Donald Insall, *Living Buildings: Architectural Conservation: Philosophy, Principles and Practice* (Mulgrave, Victoria: Images Publishing Group, 2008), 27.

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## RETHINKING THE ARCHIVE: THE CITY ARCHIVE

Authors:

**ANAS SHREFAHE, JORGE GONÇALVES, ANA TOSTOES**

Affiliation:

INSTITUTO SUPERIOR TÉCNICO; UNIVERSITY OF LISBON, PORTUGAL

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### INTRODUCTION

Today, the world's cultural heritage is receiving unprecedented attention in urban sector to preserve its materials and confront the constant destruction that it faces during crises. It has been arguably stated that the appreciation of the past emerged from a broader concern about what is perceived as a threat to the collective memory which is mostly embedded and seen through the manifestations of cultural heritage. Therefore, the urge to retain, protect and preserve cultural heritage is equally seen as protection of the collective memory which remains a central tenet of literature across a range of disciplines. This compulsion is also writ large in most areas of international approaches to official heritage preservation, charters, declarations and publications and therefore, many theories and practices have been introduced and practical practices have been applied. Nevertheless, much critical attention and criticism continue to focus on the various ways in which cultural heritage is preserved in order to remind current and future generations of their history. Yet not all has been successfully achieved or accepted while some are still there to be explored of how cultural heritage could be preserved. Caitlin DeSilvey eased the concern by provoking a very interesting point and explained that historic cities are always in constant change and the process of decay and destruction of the cultural heritage is constant. For instance, "harbour wall is facing ever-destructive inundations from the sea, the lighthouse on the edge of the coast may soon be completely gone unless it is rebuilt brick by brick further inland". So, designers, architects, planners and the heritage sector would do well if new techniques are developed for embracing this sort of changes rather than deluding ourselves that we can prevent it altogether.<sup>1</sup> However, the task of preservation becomes even more crucial and complicated especially when it comes to rebuilding destroyed cities that are loaded with rich history and culture. UNESCO has urged to shift the attitude toward the preservation and reconstruction manifestations of cultural heritage to bring new methods to safeguard its materials and preserve its remnants for current and future generations. The justification for this paradigm shift is based on the idea that while we should strive to preserve as much as possible of our material cultural heritage, we cannot save everything. So, one option is to archive heritage before it is lost.<sup>2</sup>

This paper calls to re-think about urban archive which becomes an urgent site of interrogation especially following the enormous deterioration and destruction which sometimes does not leave any trace of our heritage and erases the collective memory of space and community. However, archiving has always been a crucial topic in urban studies with a large trend referring to collective memory, but without fully examining its role in terms of cultural recovery and identity. Jeannette Bastian in his writings underlines this as a starting point for developing any idea for preserving cultural heritage and to think not only of how to recover it, but also how to transmit it.<sup>3</sup> The emphasis here that those urban

archives are important sites which are built upon the premise that the value of every place which is identified by the present is a significant part of the city's past and its collective memory. In fact, there is an early thread in the archival literature that called for merging the concept of archives with heritage through illustrated ways in which archives could preserve the heritage and help regenerate the significance of urban places and create a sense of urban identity. Taylor affirms that most attempts to retrieve heritage such as preservation and restoration were developed using archives as a source of reference and guidance. The drive always was to protect authentic and unique expressions of heritage which ultimately becomes a foremost concern in societies seen as slowly losing connections with their past.<sup>4</sup> Les Roberts presented the City Archive as a notion that straddles the material and symbolic city and invites reflection on the cultural geographies of memory reframing the ontological question of where the archive is.<sup>5</sup> Welland and Cossham argue that archiving is no longer confined within institutions such as museums and libraries, but it could be found in the spatial realm, culture and social memory.<sup>6</sup>

This paper presents the research's proposition to think of a new way to recover and protect cultural heritage via City Archive. It would join the efforts to rebuild the old city of Aleppo and protect its Cultural Heritage which is massively devastated in the recent war. Equally, it will take part in the ongoing research in such events and in line with United Nations' guidelines for sustainable cities and communities.

### **ARCHIVE - THE DEFINITION**

First, it is very important to define what is the archive and where is the archive? Such questions could raise different opinions at theoretical or pragmatic levels. According to the Oxford English

Dictionary, the definition of archive is "a collection of historical documents or records of a government, a family, a place or an organization; the place where these records are stored". These collections have been chosen for permanent or long-term preservation due to their cultural, historical, or evidential importance. They are linked directly and indirectly to institutions or set of practices predicated on preservation and organization. Pearce-Moses described the general notion of the archives as the repositories for documents and other materials that are collected and preserved to ensure they remain available for future generations, research and study. They are recorded and saved in different types of formats such as images, manuscripts, letters, films and sound materials, artwork, books, diaries, artefacts and personal diaries. They can provide detailed information about the past environment of places and culture as well as information about the activities of individuals or organisations. Pearce-Moses studied the terms that relate to the types of records when working with a typical collection of records, and it emphasizes terms relating to electronic records.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, Khunti remarks that modern technologies have expanded the horizon of archiving digitally in different forms such as 3D scanning/printing, BIM and Photogrammetry. Yet, these methods have received much criticism and discussion whether they could preserve material heritage with its spiritual meaning and authenticity. Moreover, the online media has democratised the institutional archive and expanded it digitally, allowing one and all to collect and preserve their personal materials making it a collective space of memories. These facts about archiving are what makes archives as sites of excess and could allow for unlimited readings of its materials.<sup>8</sup>

That is what makes the archive to be wider in its definition and holds contradictory meanings between its formal and informal statuses which give it a state of secrecy, mystery and power.

## RETHINKING THE ARCHIVE – THE CITY ARCHIVE

“We Are What We Keep; We Keep What We Are”

Terry Cook, Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*.

Letellier et al pointed out that “Today’s recording is tomorrow’s documentation.” The statement emphasizes the concept of archive as the existing stock of information available for future use. Within this concept of archive, the past is speaking to the future in various ways and declares to be a new and rich source. The archive has proven to be a powerful metaphor in many contemporary concepts. History is viewed as an archive of facts which you can draw from. Our bodies have become a genetic archive since being opened digitally in the Human Genome project. Our language is an archive of meanings that can be unlocked using philological tools. Terry Cook expressed that understanding and imagining the future requires the past as a departure point. Archives are misunderstood, they should not be seen as places that record the past to describe it but as places to create the future. So, Archiving is the process of discovery, reassembling, typesetting and management.<sup>9</sup> Other scholars such as Welland and Cossham debate that the archive is no longer defined through its academic and institutional contexts, but it is found in the spatial realm, culture, places and also through what is kept and preserved by people and it is considered as their culture. Breakell argued that if we extend the parameters of the archive definition further, then the question of ‘where?’ brings with it the geographical concept and the relation of these archival materials to the location/Place. In relation to place being understood in this sense, Vyjayanthi-V-Rao also highlighted that the archive serves as a depository of evidence about absent objects and constitute authoritative forms of place memory.

According to Albertz studies in this regard, the first idea of the City Archive came in 1858 by a young architect called Albrecht Meydenbauer<sup>10</sup> who discussed the concept of the Cultural Heritage Archive and documentation of buildings. Meydenbauer was concerned about the risks that may face cultural heritage. Meydenbauer worked into this with a great passion for finding a technical realization of his idea and fought against many obstacles for its acceptance as a documentation method. He was convinced that the most important cultural heritage objects should be recorded in such a way that they could even be reconstructed in cases of destruction. Meydenbauer used the Photogrammetric images technique where he found a very effective way to reach his goal.<sup>11</sup>

Later in 2010. Michael Sheringham talked about the urban archiving in his writings where cities’ history and past are preserved and conveyed. Sheringham added that the archive such as photos and films contain the space materiality that shapes the city's composition such as the architecture, the street layout, the shops, cafes, and bars. In addition, it could be projected in the lived practice as well as in the space. It is also referred to the immateriality sides of the space/place such as names of places, a collection of artifacts, signs and patterns that are embedded in the fabric of the built environment as well as social activities. practices and other associations with the place and past events. They all give part of the multiple records of the city that society encounters in a variety of ways. Some of this are clearly visible and well known, other things are not; mere traces being all that is left of what once was.<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, Hetherington appreciated archiving as a method to preserve the city heritage, but he sees in the city itself an archive that is built up over time as a collection and a record of the past that continues to resonate in the present.<sup>13</sup>

Les Roberts affirmed this Archive as a notion that denotes a conceptualisation of ‘archival space’ that straddles the material and symbolic city, and which invites reflection on the cultural geographies of memory. It is indeed a fascinating concept for cities and other urban landscapes that hold special characteristics and linked with everyday urban practice. He asserted that the proper reading of the

relationship between physical reality of the space and its meanings always exists in the realm of urban history via textualization, interpretation and analysis in order to make sense of urban context.

### **PLACE AND THE CITY'S ARCHIVE**

Through the processes of investigating the definition of the place and its identity, it clearly established the need for configuring a place identity and why there is a need for a source. This is the first step towards understanding the originality of the place and the development of its image over time and not to diminish its significance. Ali Cheshmehzangi claimed that restoring the city's image requires a better understanding of the place profile which can contain different forms of materials that give it a distinctive identity. Therefore, the essence of a place can be found in its originality since it was first built and which sits mainly in its physical characteristics and these could bring the place back to its full vivacity. Cheshmehzangi referred to Kevin Lynch's idea regarding these physical characteristics of which they could be brought out from the place's profile which consists of an endless variety of components such as: textures, architectural forms, detail, symbols, building types, use, activity, inhabitants, the degree of maintenance, topography, etc.<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless, in the time of reconstruction, the process of remaking places is an initiative to recover the physical conditions of places and to rehabilitate life for people. But sometimes the problem is in the inability to reach the valid resources about the place identity when space is destructed and the new development and concepts may dominant the framework of rebuilding without these resources such as archives. The city archive works here as source that could provide an image of the physical form of the place. Consequently, this vivid and integrated physical setting can produce a sharp image of the place, and it could furnish materials that could help to regenerate the image of the place again and consequently rebuild it.

### **THE VALUE OF THE CITY ARCHIVE AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE URBAN HERITAGE RECOVERY**

There are many examples of works around the world where urban archives have been used in reconstruction and preservation contexts. They have followed and applied different techniques depending on the type of available archival materials such as photos, films, records...etc. However, in some scenarios, the reconstruction application relied on a single image only or more if they are available. These materials could efficiently offer very important data and measurements using different methods such as: a-priori object geometric properties, linearity, parallelism, perpendicular, symmetry etc. In addition, the reference information which could be found and given by existing and remaining urban fabric in the neighbourhood gives the possibility to gather a good amount of data about the lost urban fragments.<sup>15</sup> One good example to highlight is the reconstruction of the main building of Warsaw University of Technology which was remodelled from an old postcard. The information and details in the old postcard were enough to reconstruct the model (*Figure 1 & Figure 2*).



Figure 1. Old postcard of the main building of Warsaw University of Technology.

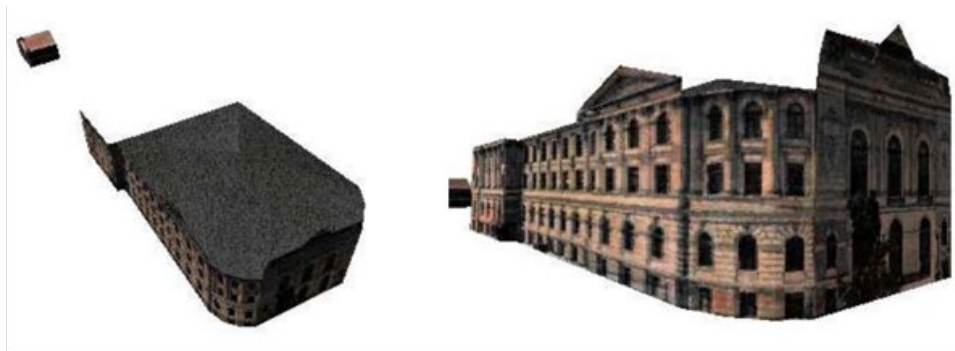


Figure 2. Model reconstructed from archival photo shown in figure 01,

Also, Warsaw's Old Town is another evidence of the powerful role of the archive in rebuilding the city. Warsaw's Old Town destroyed by Hitler's troops in the second world war. What follows is the story of how Varsovians (residents of Warsaw) reconstructed their city based on old paintings by Venetian painter Bernardo Bellotto.<sup>16</sup> Bellotto's paintings along with the expertise of Polish architects, art historians and conservators enabled the reconstruction of the Old Town to take place in an impressively short period of time (*Figure 3*). Those paintings were used to help the transformation of the historic city centre from wreckage and rubble into what is now a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Bellotto's paintings are reproduced on boards to explain their crucial role in the rebuilding process.<sup>17</sup>



Figure 3. Bernardo Bellotto's 18th century paintings of Warsaw.

Warsaw's story is particularly relevant in modern times when images are helping to preserve the ancient architectural wonders of cities. For Warsaw's reconstruction, though, it was the work of a single artist that provided the crucial blueprint. Without Bellotto's accurate record of the city, Warsaw would surely look very different today (*Figure 4*).



Figure 4. A painting on an information board in front of the rebuilt Krakowskie Przedmieście Street.  
Photograph: Daryl Mersom.

This example of reconstruction using the art painting as a source of evidence is indeed proof of the role of the archive in practice. At the time of the drawing of these paintings, there was with no doubt a thought that art could be the presentation of cultural space and where nature could be drawn with the codes of space architecture. If by nature, paintings have played a singular cultural role as a witness of spatial form in this case of study, then it contributes also to render these materials a quintessential archival object of the spatial memory. The values which the paintings contain clearly refer to the unique impression that it produces of something in the physical world. Like the painting, the archive



is possessed of a condition of singularity, where space and time are registered in the form that could describe a place. Thus, the transformation of these values to an archival record occurs through a system of registration, organisation, and classification in order to be accessible and beneficial. Then place memory could be invigorated through the evocative objects that contain and represent it. The archive – as a methodology or as a medium would be the passage and central trope to preserve and re-product of the cultural heritage of the city.

The reconstruction of the Old Bridge of Mostar is another example and a pioneer project in the field of reconstruction. Popovac explained how Architects and engineers used an old photo of the bridge as a reference to rebuild it, (Figure 5).

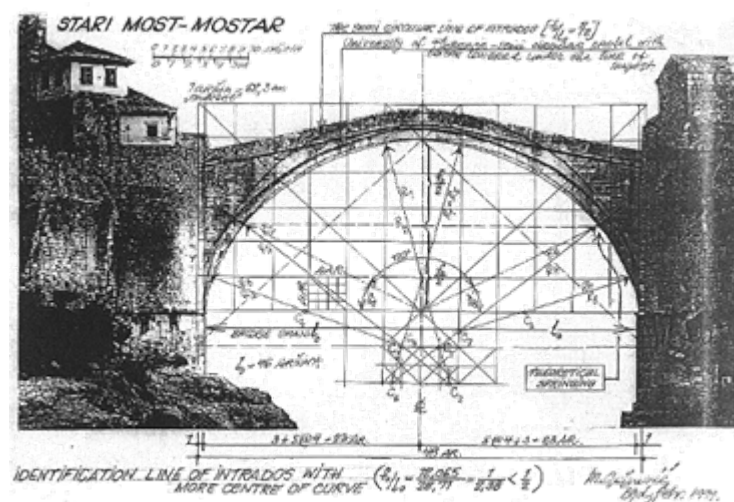


Figure 5. An Image of Mostar Bridge used in purpose for rebuilding the bridge.

In a different manner, there are case studies that have been carried out using films, online social media (such as Youtube) and television productions to access the needed urban materials to rebuild from. They have been used to analyse and assess the urban situation at the time of producing such materials. This access to the past enhances the ability to reproduce the original space and support the reconstruction works and future redevelopment plans.

## CONCLUSION

The heritage that survives from the past is often unique and irreplaceable. This fact places the responsibility on the current generation of how to preserve it for future generations. As seen recently, cultural heritage is threatened by various factors such as wars, natural hazards, vandalism, aging as well as the manifestation of the new era of modernity and developments. As a result, we may end up having a heritage without evidence. If one cannot guarantee their eternity and thus each moment, there is the possibility of their loss. The paper here presents the concept of City Archive as a method to preserve heritage before getting lost. Indeed, most attempts to retrieve the cultural heritage and re-using historic environments, concepts, such as preservation, restoration, renovation, and remodelling were developed using archives as guidance of identifying and evaluating the city's legacy.

In our built environment, the city archive becomes a display of facts, times, life, memory and history. It generates an important cultural asset for everyone who has an interest in promoting a better awareness of the social, economic, political and cultural values. These values would be recognized by whoever would search for the originality and truth. Therefore, archiving the city is very important here and it works as a determinant, data packing and source of the originality, materiality of the city's urban image and an inspiration key for the future city form and redevelopment. So, opening the files

in this archive is setting free the ghosts of memory associated with the structures and spaces. In referring to the note from the Italian writer Italo Calvino in his writings of “Invisible Cities” which suggests the city of memories is creating enduring resonances between citizens through time and space.<sup>18</sup> Using this as a metaphor, Archiving the city is to collect these memories and helps to re-establish a connection between citizens, time, and space. Therefore, archive would work as memory machine which unites times past, times present, and times to come.

The study urges to understand the city fabric and social relationships with which they are associated. Then, the archive could become as a notion for stimulating the social memory and ordering urban representations or images. The need for an archive in the event of urban recovery and heritage restoration comes from the fact that there is a need for an image in order to redraw, re-plan, re-design, re-imagine, provide direction and monitor the results. Also, the future of our cities cannot evolve from the present confusion without improving our communication, understanding and consciousness of our traditional spatial assets. However, we must first own the sense of our inherited past and see its merits if we tend to give the next generation a more independent perspective. The archive here becomes as guidance where to recompose the original city image and its components. Its values would become substantial and significant in the time of loss for recovery purposes or to find shreds of evidence. Furthermore, it is important to determine the role of the urban archive in contributing to this change in ways that conserve and celebrate the special character and quality of the historic environment that communities have recognized as important and wish to conserve for future generations.

However, this topic opens the door to wider discussion which may reveal further questions, criticisms and problems around this concept and its manifestations in urban contexts at different levels socially, professionally and culturally. The priority in the research would be given to study the method (City Archive) for the purpose of protecting the material heritage and suggests sustainable resources and opportunities for long-term use and conservation. It would be good to end this piece of paper with a quote from David Lowenthal “Archives are the mystic chords of memory”. We owe it to these archives that keep us connected to our past and to be fully engaged in remembering, rebuilding, and creating.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Caitlin DeSilvey, *Curated decay: heritage beyond saving*. (Minneapolis & London, University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 233 pp.
- <sup>2</sup> UNESCO. *Reconstruction: changing attitudes*. (UNESCO Courier, July–September 2017), 56–59. <https://en.unesco.org/courier/july-september-2017/reconstruction-changing-attitudes>
- <sup>3</sup> Jeannette A. Bastian, *Locating Archives within the Landscape: Records, Memory and Place*. *Public History Review*, (2014), 21.
- <sup>4</sup> Joel Taylor, *Embodiment unbound: Moving beyond divisions in the understanding and practice of heritage conservation*, *Studies in Conservation*, 2015
- <sup>5</sup> Les Roberts. *“Navigating the ‘archive city’: Digital spatial humanities and archival film practice”*. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 21 (1), (2015): 100 – 115
- <sup>6</sup> Sarah Welland and Amanda Cossham, *Defining the undefinable: an analysis of definitions of community archives*. *Global Knowledge, Memory and Communication*, 68 (8/9), (2019): 617-634. doi: 10.1108/GKMC04-2019-0049
- <sup>7</sup> Richard Pearce-Moses, in the “Archival Science” refers to the Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology. This glossary includes terms that relate to the types of records that someone is likely to encounter when reading archival literature or when working with a fairly typical collection of records, and it emphasizes terms relating to electronic records.
- <sup>8</sup> Roshni Khunti discussed the use of 3D printing technology to reconstruct the Arch of Triumph in Palmyra has opened a Pandora’s Box of ethical issues relating to the use of digital technology to preserve heritage represented by historical objects and sites. The author investigates the ethical implications of the three replicas of the arch made by IDA in New York, London, and Dubai after the original was destroyed in the Syrian Civil War.
- <sup>9</sup> Terry Cook, *Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future*. *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 32 (2), (2011), 173-189. doi: 10.1080/00379816.2011.619688
- <sup>10</sup> Albrecht Meydenbauer is a young architect who had the idea in 1858 to use photographic images for the documentation of buildings.
- <sup>11</sup> Photogrammetry is defined by the American Society for Photogrammetry and Remote Sensing (ASPRS) as: the science and technology of obtaining reliable information about physical objects and the environment through the process of recording, measuring and interpreting photographic images and patterns of electromagnetic radiant imagery and other phenomena. <https://www.asprs.org/>
- <sup>12</sup> Michael Sheringham, ‘Archiving’, in *Restless Cities*, ed. by Matthew Beaumont and Gregory Dart (London: Verso, 2010), pp. 1–17.
- <sup>13</sup> Kevin Hetherington, *‘Rhythm and noise: the city, memory and the archive’*. *The Sociological Review*, 61:S1, (2013), pp. 17–33. doi: 10.1111/1467-954X.12051
- <sup>14</sup> Kevin Lynch. *The Image of the City*. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press), (1960).
- <sup>15</sup> Robin Letellier, Werner Schmid and François LeBlanc. *Recording, Documentation, and Information Management for the Conservation of Heritage Places: Guiding Principles*. Los Angeles, CA: Getty Conservation Institute. (2007), Available at: [http://hdl.handle.net/10020/gci\\_pubs/recordim](http://hdl.handle.net/10020/gci_pubs/recordim)
- <sup>16</sup> Bernardo Bellotto, is an Italian urban landscape painter. He was appointed as a court painter to the King of Poland in 1768, created beautiful and accurate paintings of Warsaw’s buildings and squares (The Guardian, 2016).
- <sup>17</sup> The Guardian, *Story of cities: how postwar Warsaw was rebuilt using 18th century paintings*. 2016 <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/apr/22/story-cities-warsaw-rebuilt-18th-century-paintings>
- <sup>18</sup> Italo Calvino. *“Invisible Cities”*. (California: Brace & Company), (1974).

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# ANALYSIS OF TRADITIONAL THAI PATTERN

Author:

**SUKHUMARN THAMWISET**

Affiliation

KING MONGKUT'S UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY THONBURI, THAILAND

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## INTRODUCTION

Traditional Thai pattern was found in artifacts and architectural ornaments for over 1000 years.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the years of usage, the teaching and learning from one generation to the next was done by copying. With the nature of it being traditional arts, traditional Thai drawing has seen very few morphological transformations, and no real new pattern can be introduced. It has strict unspoken rules and perception of beauty which are familiar and identifiable to all Thais.

A formal recording of the drawings in the format of a book had only started in the past 40 years.<sup>2</sup> The book such as Buddhist Art Architecture by P.Phrombhichitr was a collection of images taken from sketchbook of masters for their design works. Some were collected by the master's themselves and some were from students who tried to add text descriptions to the methods. These descriptions are rare and are a turning point for this research project because it shows that these drawings and patterns are not random. Because the usage of traditional Thai Patterns is so wide which requires large variations for each specific usage and the nature of these books being a record of drawings, despite attempting to be descriptive in methods, the organization is not easily achieved.



Figure 1. One of the prominent book about Thai drawing published by P.Phrombhichitr.

This lack of fixed and formal production methodology<sup>3</sup> has a positive impact on forming one of the most unique characteristics of the drawing by making them highly organic and dynamic. Following

the basics of the drawings such as overall outline shape and proportion, each artist would have the ability to adjust which would make a particular drawing or pattern one of a kind despite having no option for truly new designs. With this understanding in mind, the exploration of this research started first on trying to understand the hierarchy of traditional Thai drawings, the basic drawings, and the making of the pattern.

### **Deconstruction of master's drawings**

The identification of the hierarchy of the traditional Thai pattern comes from extracting the information from the masters' books and rearranging them in particular order. The composition of a pattern comes from application of base drawings, which does not have large variation of types. Each type of drawing was given a specific name. The pattern would be given specific names as well. Names can be related to its specific usage such as Būa khwam (บัวคว่ำ) which means downward lotus are composed of Kračhang (แม่ลายแม่กระจิง) base drawing and often used as base of Buddha statue or as architectural base trims for stupa.<sup>4</sup> This design is following a Buddhism belief that lotus represents wisdom and the Buddha sits on blossoming lotus as he achieved enlightenment.

There are 5 types of base drawings identified across masters' books which are Kračhang (แม่ลายกระจิง), Phumkhāobin (แม่ลายพุ่มข้าวบิณฑ์), Pračhamyām (แม่ลายประจำยาม), Dao (แม่ลายดาว) and Kranok (แม่ลายกระหนก). The Thai name used to call these base drawings are the word means mother as they are source which give birth to patterns. Within each base drawing, there will be several variations within each type. which overall contributes to the complexity of the traditional Thai pattern.

The usage of computers in the production of architectural drawings, both two and three-dimensional, has transformed the way expressive drawings can be done and understood. With CAD drawing tools and parametric modelling, the process of drawings can be scrutinized and explained in a mathematical format which is objective from its result. Using 2-dimensional CAD drawing tool to produce the base drawings has been done previously because in the masters' books there are sections which describe parts that everyone should utilize such as methods of attaining desirable proportions. This would merely be an interchanging tool which can be used to draw. The research aims to look further into the process of identifying acceptable tolerance boundaries which makes any drawings considered authentic from its construction of base drawings and the choreography of base drawings to form a pattern by using masters drawings as a comparison basis.

### **Reconstruction and deconstruction of the Masters' drawings**

With the hierarchy identified, to understand traditional Thai pattern is to be able to draw traditional Thai pattern. Each base drawing is being examined following the masters' guideline. One of the unique aspects of Thai drawings comparing to Chinese or Islamic drawings is that there are very few sections of straight line. The common techniques Thai drawing used are layering and carving. Through layering, variations can be created to a particular type of drawing and pattern. The function of carving is to create intricacy. It is a method of adding decoration to the ornament. The more carvings a particular drawing has, the more elaborate the drawing is. This tends to be influenced by the usage of the pattern because it requires higher craftsmanship to manufacture. When combining both techniques together to a drawing, millions of possibilities of drawings can be created without altering the overall structure at all.

The aim for testing is to identify the tolerance limit dimensions and values. This comes from testing the range in numbers of coordinates of each control point and identify less than 5% varies from the masters' drawing lines. The base drawings that are used in the studies are the ones that are meant to be used as decoration which will more likely be used as pattern.

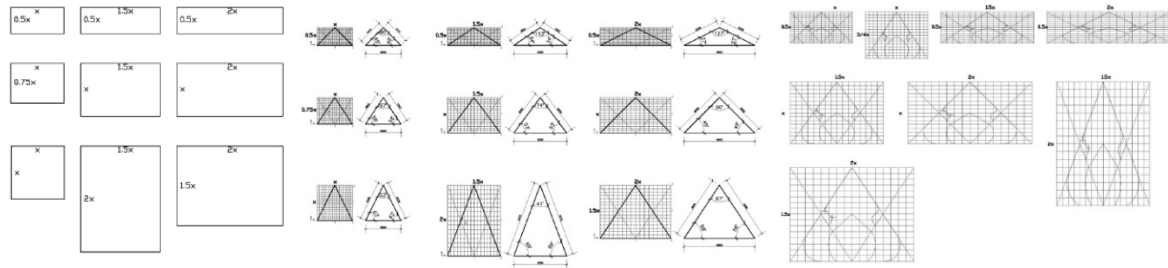


Figure 2. Example of proportional test process of a Kračhang (แม่ลายกระจิง) base drawing.

Base Drawing 1 : Kračhang (แม่ลายกระจิง) was inspired from a leaf or a lotus. This base drawing has a simple structure of a triangular shape that fits within a square frame which makes the drawing symmetrical on the Y-Axis.<sup>5</sup> Layering and carving is used to create 3 major different variations of Kračhang (แม่ลายกระจิง) drawings. This type of base drawing can be used as a stopper and a joiner when creating pattern.

Base Drawing 2 : Phumkhāobin (แม่ลายพุ่มข้าวบิณฑ์) is believed to be inspired by how a Thai would bring rice to give to monk and shaped it in a cone shaped from its round container or how a Thai pays respect through hand gesture. This drawing comes from triangles within a 1:2 width to length rectangle frame. This drawing is only symmetrical on the Y-Axis.

Base Drawing 3 : Pračamyām (แม่ลายประจําขาม) was inspired by flowers with 4 petals. It comes from a 45-degree rotated squares within a square frame with a round centre. It is symmetrical on both X and Y axis. This base drawing is also used as a stopper when creating patterns.

Base Drawing 4 : Dao (ดาว) or star is very similar to the idea of Pračamyām (แม่ลายประจําขาม) which has circular shape centre. The main difference being the number and length of the triangles which forms the star effect. Dao (แม่ลายดาว) base drawing has a larger circle centre than Pračamyām (แม่ลายประจําขาม) and leaves small space for the triangle distributed along the circumferences of the middle circle. It is also symmetrical on X and Y axis.

Base Drawing	Geometry/Proportion	Symmetry

Table 1. The overall structure of base drawings and pattern relationship.

With all the base drawings, the proportions are being tested through series of drawings and the initial remake of base drawings using 2-dimensional CAD tool helped identify the minimum control points

in the format of (x,y,z) coordinates.<sup>6</sup> The more detailed and sensitive the numbers tested has direct influence on how the drawings can appear organic. The number of control points are usually related to the symmetrical axis each drawing is functioning on. The coordinates of control points were used to test by given +/-5% variation from the starting point. This established the tolerance limit which is a part of preservation of authenticity.

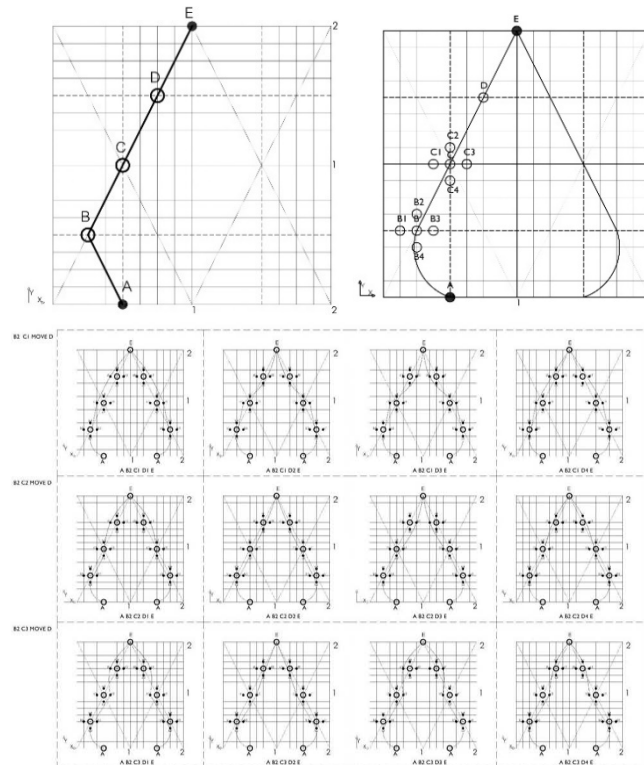


Figure 3. Example of control points testing in Kračhang (แม่ลายกระซจิง) base drawings.

The interpretation of drawing methods into precise numeric formats made utilizing parametric tools possible. The scripting process is better than 2-dimensional CAD drawing as it is a dynamic model. The scripts were used in a way that it can create countless variations of drawing. This then requires the carving and layering to be explored too. Layering is simpler as it follows the master's guide. All drawings can be layered, and the number of layering is depending on the drawing type. The act of carving is more complex. Despite the redrawing of the carving not necessarily hard, the real challenge was drawing it in a parametric format.

After testing in 2-dimensional CAD, the carving method was identified as using two of S curves at different angles. The factors in carving are width and depth of a carving. The width would be influenced by the location which the carving would take place and depth of carving had to be considerate to layering as they would occupy the same space within a base drawing. When drawing a base pattern, it is necessary that the artist consider what would be the main method as this would provide first limits. For example, if the number of carvings is considered a priority, the width and depth of carving must be informed.



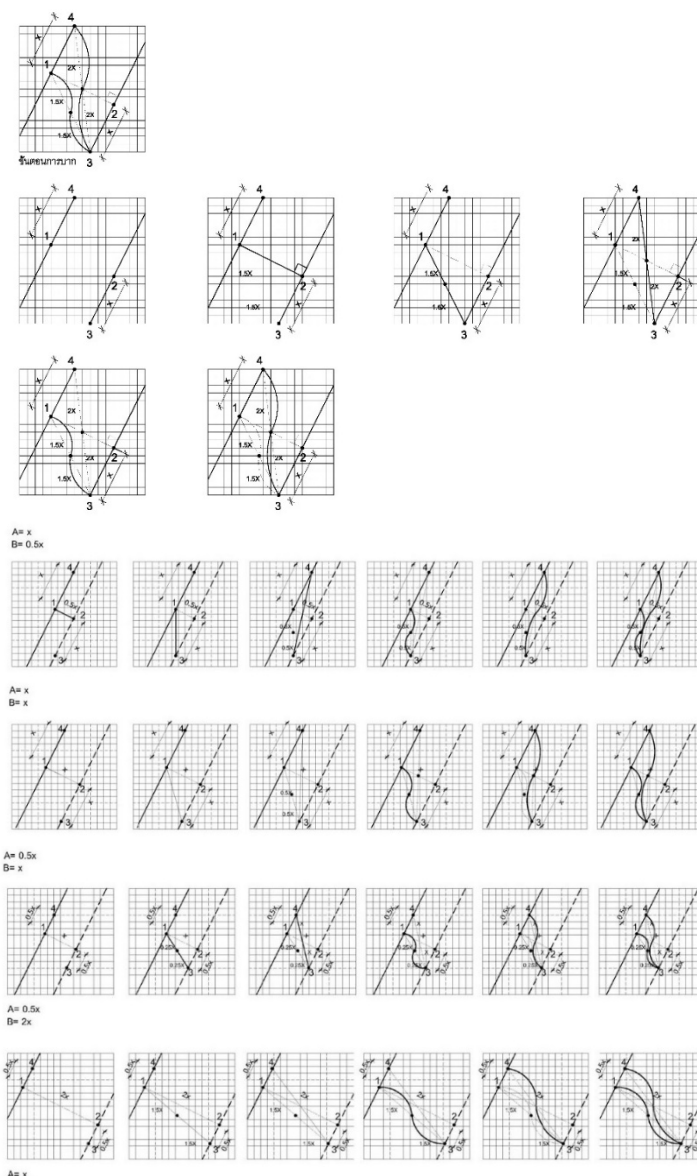


Figure 4. Example of process of carving test drawings.

## Pattern Making

Patterns can now be created using base drawings that were previously studied. The masters' book has recorded names for some commonly used patterns and given 4 important key consideration when creating traditional Thai pattern. Firstly, the base drawings must be properly drawn. This reflects how traditional Thai pattern has a bottom-up nature. Secondly, the pattern must have enough spacing. For traditional Thai pattern, creating a pattern comes from using combination of base drawings. Spacing is to give positive and negative space between drawings which create a sense of repetition which turns drawings into a pattern. Pattern making is using mostly layering and spacing to create the effect. Thirdly, patterns must have endless variations and possibilities. And lastly, all the base drawings must come from the same drawing category. For example, flower drawings should be used with another flower drawings when creating patterns and not to be mixed with drawings from human or animal category. Patterns which were made using parametric tools are;

### Pattern 1 : Rākṛōi (จักร้อย)

The characteristics of this pattern are that it has a centre point and is symmetrical in both directions on X-Axis. It comprises of Pračamyām (แม่ลายประจำยาม) base drawing in the centre with Kračhang (แม่ลายกระจิง) base drawings overlaying on both left and right sides. The Kračhang (แม่ลายกระจิง) drawings have a small percentage of overlapping each other. No frame manipulation for the base drawings is required to create this pattern.

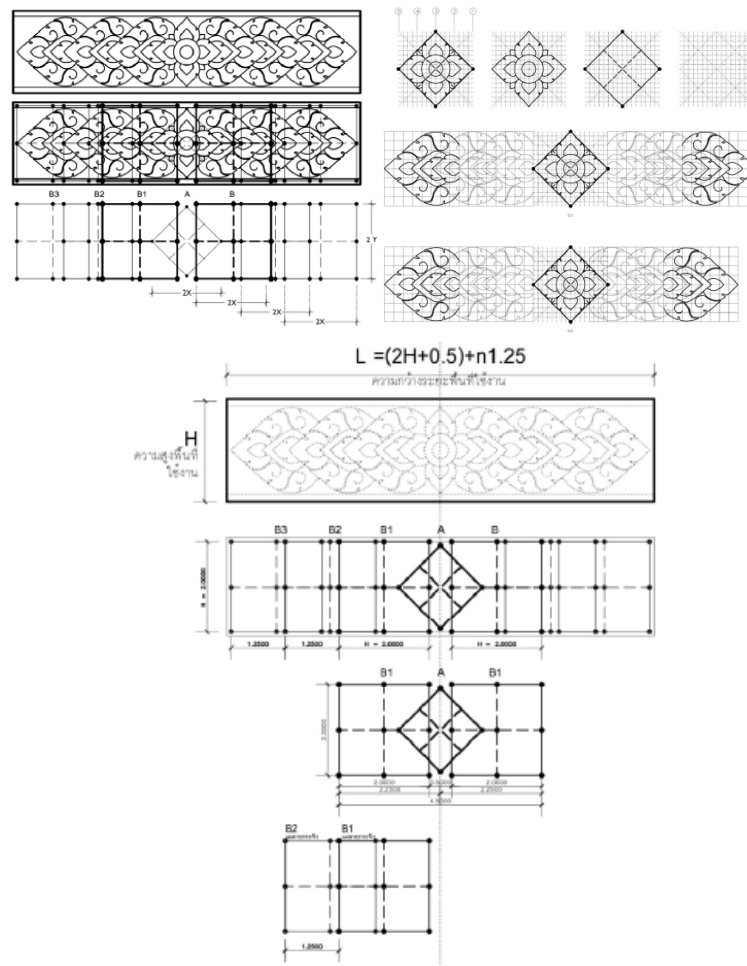


Figure 5. Analysis of structure of Rākṛōi (จักร้อย) pattern and testing process

### Pattern 2 : Būa khwam (บัวคว่ำ หรือ บัวหงาย)

This pattern is simple but very commonly used. The unique character of this pattern is that it can be used endlessly on X-axis making them convenient option in architectural application.<sup>7</sup> Also, it has half of a drawing as edge which allows the drawing to turn 90 degrees at corner to wrap around an area, making this pattern suitable for using as base of architecture and objects. The structure of this pattern is using only layering technique. The pattern is comprised of using 3 layers of Kračhang (แม่ลายกระจิง) base drawings with the 2<sup>nd</sup> layer starting half the width of the first layer and the 3<sup>rd</sup> layer starting half the width of the 2<sup>nd</sup> layer. This is making the first layer have full visibility, the 2<sup>nd</sup> layer has half the visibility and the 3<sup>rd</sup> layer only 25% visible.

There are another 2 variations of this pattern which have the same 3 layers overlapping structure, but the base drawing Kračhang (แม่ลายกระจิง) can be stretched from 3 to 5 units or more from the typical 2-

unit height. This is considered unusual as the base drawings have their own rules, but this is believed to help solve the design application issue mostly in products and fabric patterns. These can provide flexibility which requires a trim pattern to occupy longer space on Y-Axis.

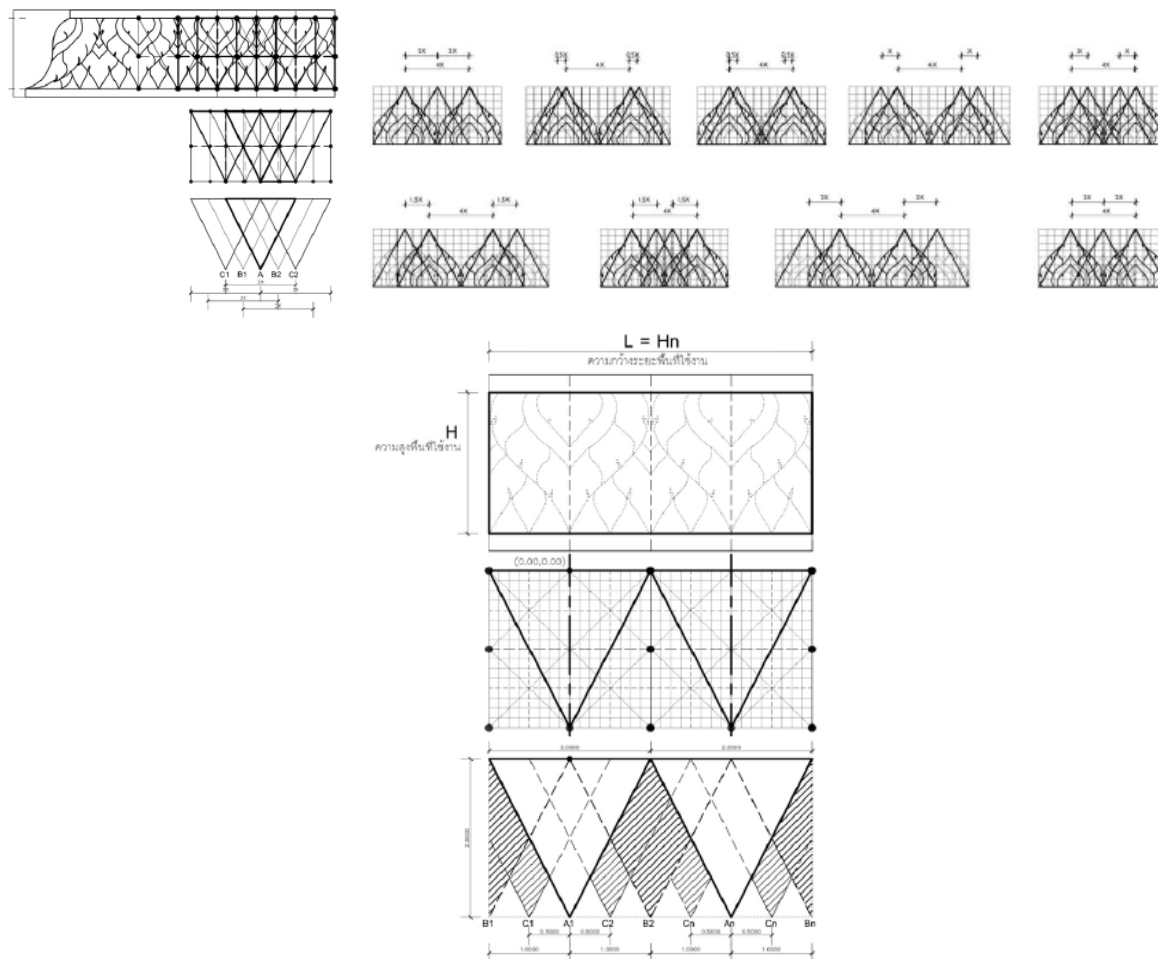


Figure 6. Analysis of structure of Bua Kwam (บัวคว่ำ หรือ บัวหงาย) pattern and testing process

### Pattern 3: Nākradān (หน้ากระดาน)

This is another pattern which can be used at any length due to the way it can be expanded on X-Axis. The structure is using Pračamyām (แม่ลายประจำยาม) base drawing at the centre and adding 4 Kranok (กระหนก) base drawing at the centre of petal edges. This layer does not have any layering. The space between Pračamyām (แม่ลายประจำยาม) base drawing is used as the structure for Kranok (กระหนก) base drawing sizes. The controlling of this space is the controlling of the pattern. At the end of the desired space, the layer can end with half a Pračamyām (แม่ลายประจำยาม) flower drawing.

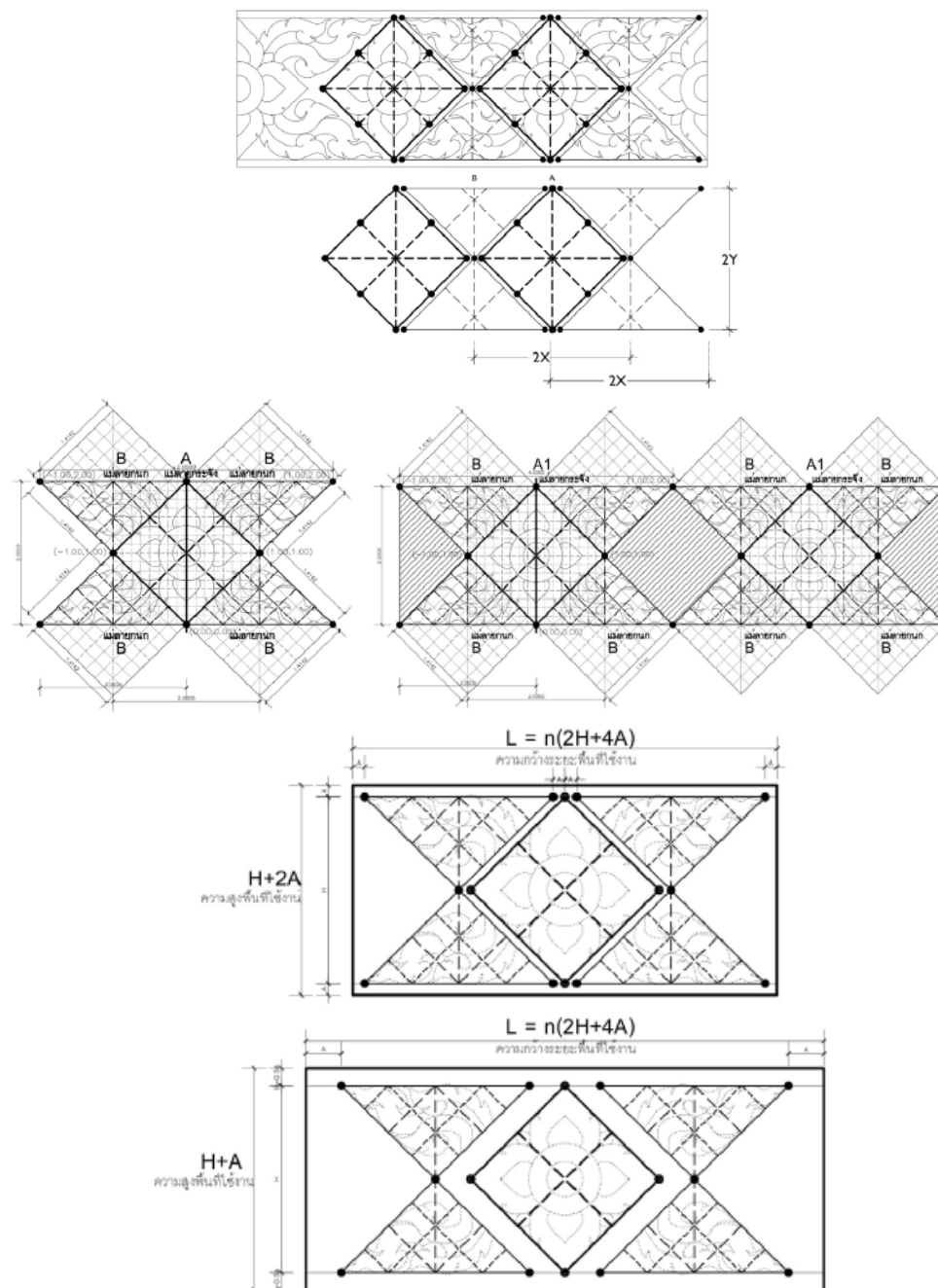


Figure 7. Analysis of structure of Nākradān (หน้ากระดาน) pattern and testing process.

### Pattern 5: Dao (ดาว)

This pattern is commonly used as ceiling pattern for decoration in temples, it usually indicates the point where lighting fixture can be hung from the ceiling, hence the meaning star. It is using Dao base drawing to organize within square gridded space. Looking closely at the base drawing, we can identify Dao base drawing has a perfect circle shape with the Kračhang (แม่ลายกระจัด) base drawing distributed along the circumference. As Kračhang (แม่ลายกระจัด) base drawing has specific proportion, this indicate that the circle at the centre needs to be drawn as a Regular Convex Polygon by dividing the circumference into number of sections and using the length of each section as a fixed proportion

of the Kračhang (แม่ลายกระจัง) and might use layering technique to make the drawing more elaborate but due to the size limitation, maximum layering found is only 3 layers. Dao as a base drawing may or may not be symmetrical but Dao as a pattern is usually distributed into a rectangular gridded space. Additional decorations using smaller versions of Pračamyām (แม่ลายประจําขาม) base drawing can be added in the gridded space as well to make the space appear fuller.

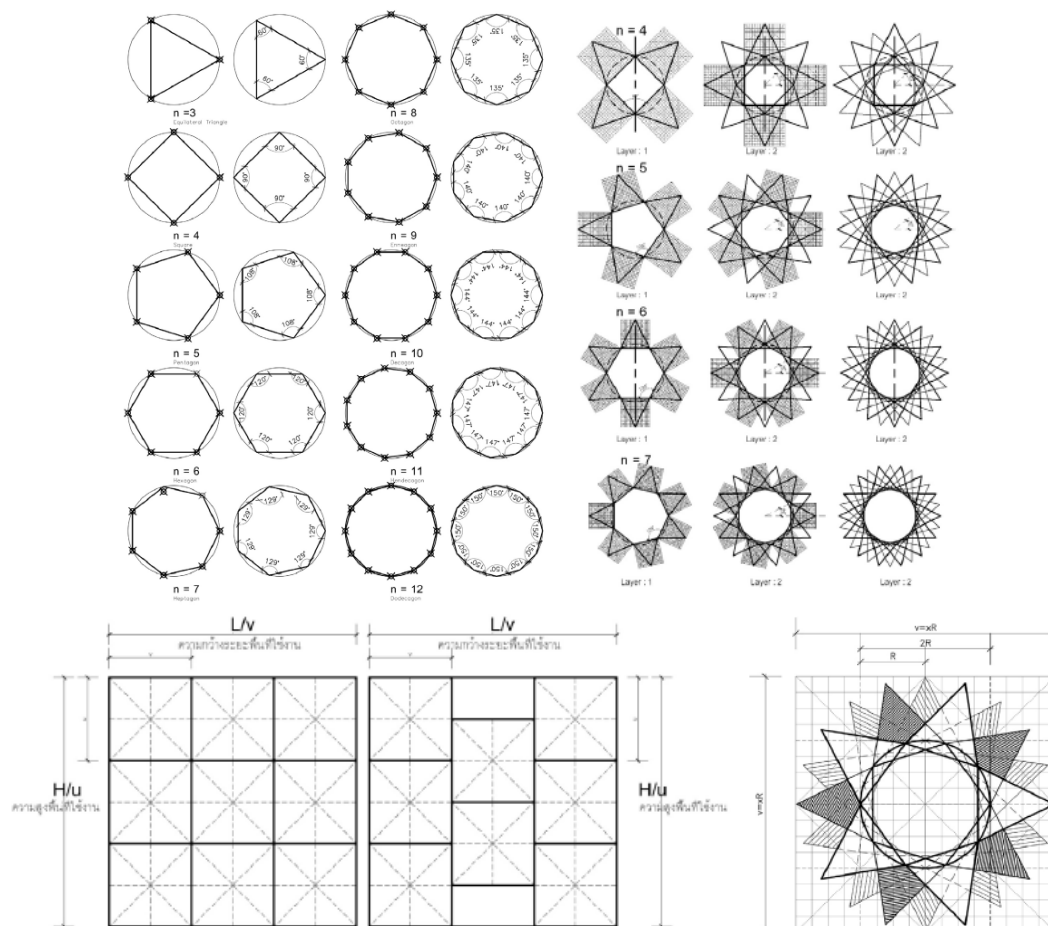
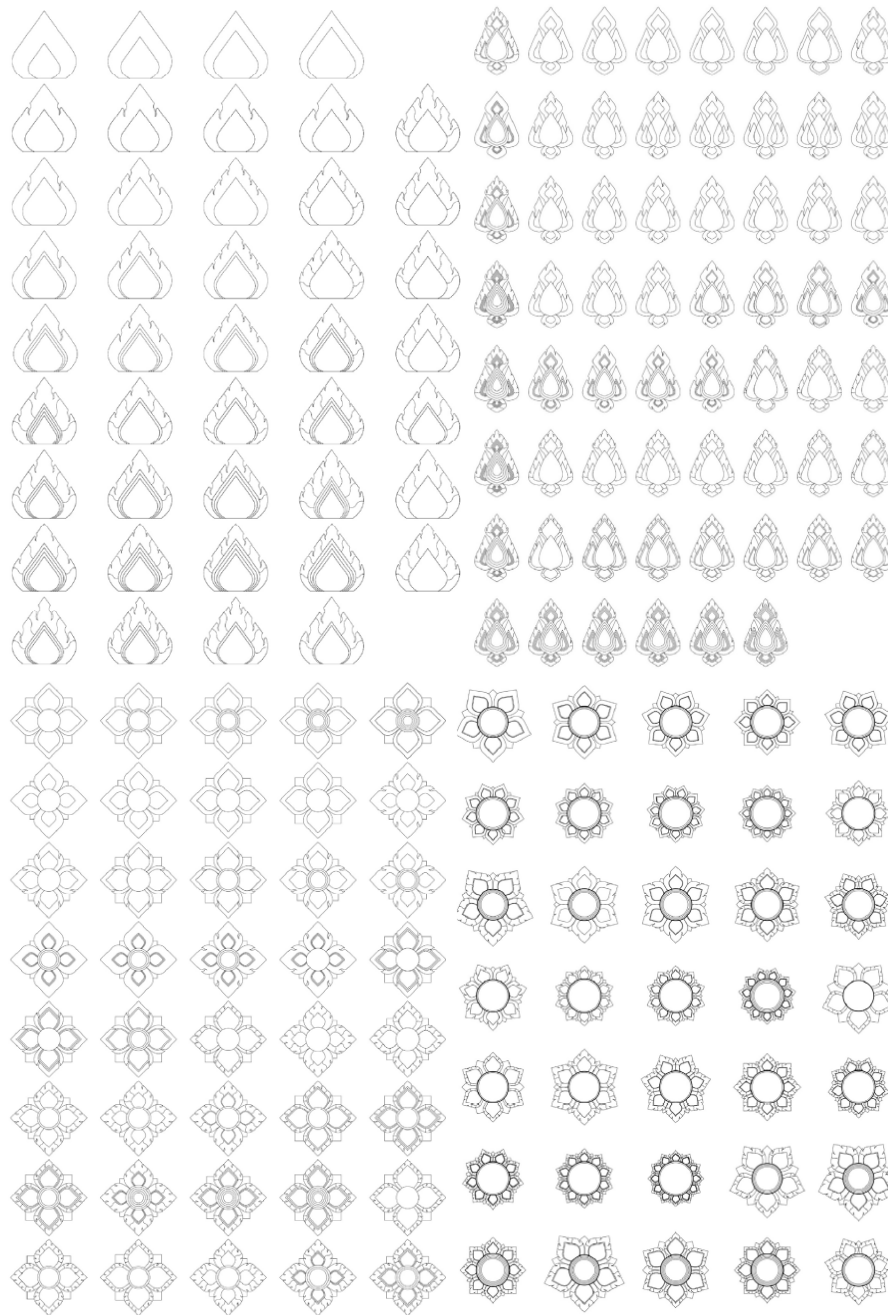


Figure 8. Analysis of structure of Dao (ดาว) pattern and testing process

### Computerize the drawing.

Following an extensive experiment drawing process of all base drawings and then all the patterning, the tolerance factors were identified and giving range in 2 decimal points length. With all areas being transformed from a feeling into tangible numeric formats and has structure of relationships each other, we can create parametric script which redraw all base drawings and patterns and allows each user to have significant control over the designs. Although, the drawing that can be generated might not have the full organic quality of a hand drawn drawing, but these matching of controllable parameters and decoration options can make the scripts that are flexible enough to generate countless drawings without repeating each other. The drawing generated through scripting comes out as curve lines which can be used as two-dimensional drawings or taken to be worked on further to create three-dimensional form and easily go through fabrication processes straight away whether to laser cutting, CNC milling or 2D or 3D Printing technology.

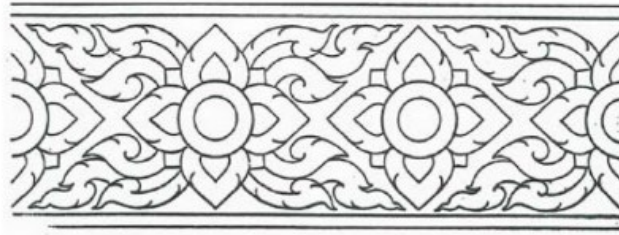


*Figure 9. Example of variations created from parametrically controlled script.*

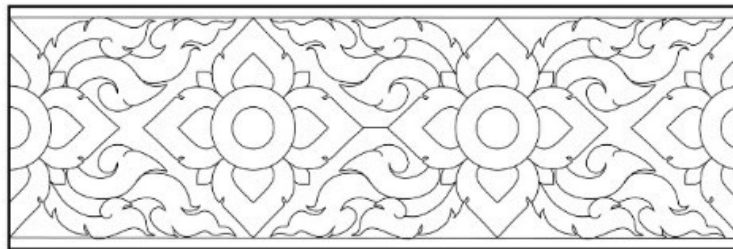
After being able to see the relationships that goes in and around the drawings, more opportunities to decode was found as the base drawing has specific rules which then being applied to the rules of pattern construction which then will be relevant to where all these patterns are being used. Thai architecture has always been an expressive form with elaborated decoration. It was previously thought that the decoration of traditional Thai pattern was meaningless and meant to occupy the space but in fact, it should be further explored that the smallest cell of decoration drawings might have effect on the architectural proportion. The bottom-up relationship which was never properly expressed.

## CONCLUSION

Pattern taken from Master's reference book



Pattern drawn after Master's reference book



Pattern parametrically generated by Rhino+Grasshopper

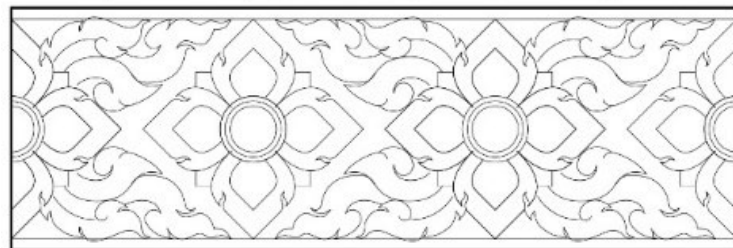


Figure 10. Comparison between generated pattern to the masters' drawing recording in book.

This research aims to understand the traditional art of Thai drawing and pattern which has been used as integral part of Thai culture for thousands of years. The art was becoming estranged to modern life due to its difficulties to reconstruct. But the identified hierarchy from types of base drawings to pattern making has made it possible for decoding process which started the organizational processes and unravel the patterning structure. Through coding, the objective nature made it necessary for translation of subjective and intangible qualities into numeric formats and establishing ranges has allowed imitation of organic human drawings while maintaining authenticity to these drawings and patterns. Another important discovery is the prospect that these patterns can be one of the key aspects of designing Thai architecture. This can transform the function and value of the drawings and patterns from being decorations to becoming building blocks that shapes our aesthetic perceptions of Thai architecture which needs to be furthered investigated.

## NOTES

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# AN ADAPTATION OF HENRI LEFEBVRE'S SPATIAL TRIALECTIC FOR ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS

Author:

**MARTIN PAUL SOROWKA**

Affiliation:

SEVILLE UNIVERSITY, SPAIN

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## INTRODUCTION

The writings of the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1901–1991) deal with the complexities of the urban environment, underpinned by Marxist and Nietzschean thought. Amongst his many texts, his most recognized contribution to architectural theoretical discourse is his spatial trialectic described in *The Production of Space* (1991) after the 1974 original. This trialectic is radical in its proposal. In essence, Lefebvre describes space not as an inhabited gaseous volume, but rather as something continuously created by individuals. At first this may seem far removed from sketches of Seville by British artists in the early nineteenth century, but what this paper asserts is that the drawings ought to be understood as records of the artists' spatial production. The methodology described in this paper is presented as an adaptation of Lefebvre's thought on spatial production with the purpose of allowing a closer reading of the drawings.

These ideas originated in research centred on locating, identifying and analyzing drawings of the architecture and urbanism of Seville by British artists in the period before the proliferation of photography in the hope of casting light on the appearance of buildings that have since been lost, or transformed beyond recognition. The research was archive based, and while predominantly occupied with locating drawings depicting the architecture of Seville, written descriptions were also desired, whether in letters or journals, in order to establish the social and historical context in which the drawings were created. This was deemed necessary as the Spanish academic discourse on foreign travellers in Spain established over the last forty years has increasingly tended towards the doubtful generalisation that they were Romantics having a romp through 'exotic' Spain as a surrogate Middle East, and in absence of defining criteria, artists and writers from different countries, and from the enlightenment up to early modernity are used to reference each other. This lack of specificity was counteracted in the research by determining the artists' intentions in the act of drawing so as to allow a more accurate qualitative analysis of the architecture depicted, and as such replace the existing discourse with one of richness and complexity. It came to appear that the methodology was underpinned by a trialectical operation not dissimilar to Henri Lefebvre's trialectic of space. On a practical level, it came to be used to organize the archival discoveries and later influenced the findings as presented here.

## HENRI LEFEBVRE'S SPATIAL TRIALECTIC

Lefebvre calls the dominant, expert ideology expressed in Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse*, and Frank Lloyd Wright's *Broadacre City* a *representation of space*, and also *conceived space* – each part of the trialectic is referred to by two names (Figure 1). Not only is modern planning *conceived space*, but also ancient cities like Venice, where the sea is both “dominated and exalted.”<sup>1</sup> To that Lefebvre adds the knowledge of perspective drawing and how it shaped western thought from the Renaissance onwards.<sup>2</sup> This is one part of the trialectic. Another is the social construct that determines our behaviours, expectations, and ease of performance. This is *spatial practice* or *perceived space*, which, like *conceived space*, is conceptual, but understood from a social position. Lefebvre actually refers more often to *social practice* than *spatial practice*, sometimes seemingly interchangeably and at other times critically. Furthermore, he also talks about *political practice*, *historical practice*, *industrial practice*, *theoretical practice*; practices that determine our ability to interpret and use *conceived space*. Lefebvre's *spatial practice*, or *perceived space*, is not to be confused with Michel de Certeau's notions of *practice*, which describes physical spatial encounter. That, in its physicality, is closer to the third part of Lefebvre's trialectic, which is *representational space*, or *lived space*. It “overlays” space and is the space of encounter, where, “The actions of social practice are expressible but not explicable through discourse; they are precisely acted – and not read.”<sup>3</sup> It is the moment when space comes into being. Lefebvre stipulates that each part is equal and simultaneous; no one part precedes either other, in fact, “The perceived-conceived-lived triad [...] loses all force if treated as an abstract model.”<sup>4</sup>

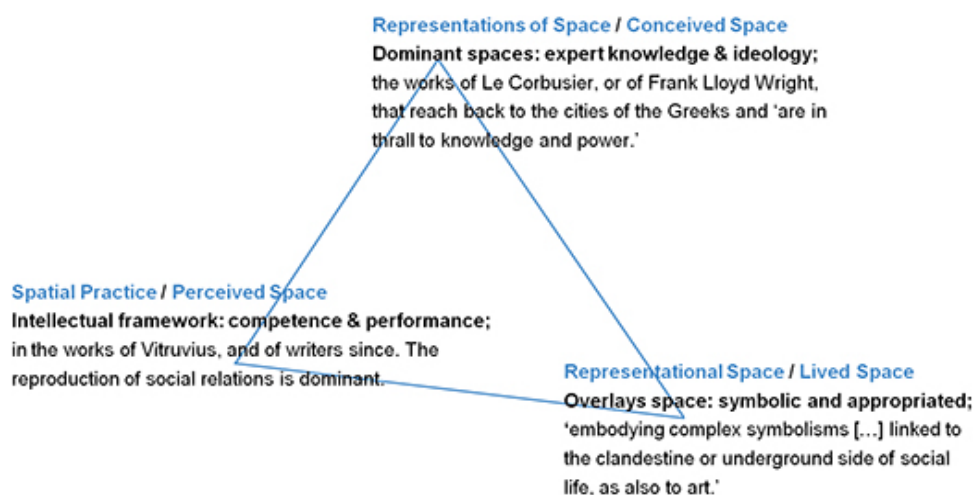


Figure 1. A Simplified Representation of Henri Lefebvre's Spatial Trialectic.

Iain Borden used Lefebvre's methodology in his urban critique of skateboarding. His historical analysis, however, is not solely based on Lefebvre's trialectic but is a thoroughly Lefebvrian analysis of space. Importantly, he says,

First, the historian interested in Lefebvre must realize that there is no patented system to be found therein. Instead, Lefebvre delineates a set of theoretical ideas as discursive texts, and which are only ever approximations of a possible subject or method. Lefebvrian thought, as Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas note, is more a sensibility than a system. Its ultimate test cannot then rest at the level of theoretical abstraction but must, for the historian, be brought about through an encounter with a specific subject matter.<sup>5</sup>

Which in this paper is Seville's architectural heritage.

## THE TRIALECTIC IN THE CONTEXT OF EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY SEVILLE

The contemporary city of Seville retains vestiges of its Roman, Islamic, Gothic and Renaissance architecture, originating as it did on the furthest inland point of Spain's longest navigable river, and so it can be considered a *conceived space* just as Lefebvre considered Venice a *conceived space*, and it is ultimately the object of study. However, today, only a fraction of what travellers in the early nineteenth century would have encountered has survived. It is foreign artists who, in their drawings of the city, are necessary in charting the disappearance or alteration of these buildings, since sketching architecture was not a habit for the leisured class in Spain at the time.

While Seville is a *conceived space*, at a different scale, the fourteenth century palace of Pedro I (Figure 2) is also a *conceived space* as an expression of power and culture brought into existence through the skills of builders and artisans. The success of Richard Ford's *Handbook for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* (1845) lies in its lucid interpretation of Spain's architectural heritage such as Pedro I's expression of prestige, its architectural language, and the workmanship employed.<sup>6</sup> Travel literature such as this contributed to the *perceived space*, not only for those travellers in Spain but also, as Ford's title clearly says, for the reader at home.

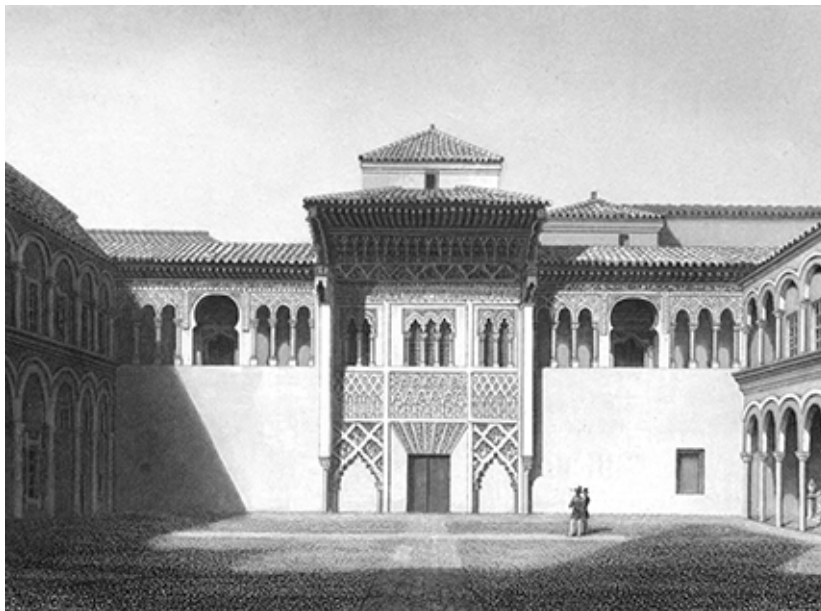


Figure 2. Nathaniel Armstrong Wells, *Façade of the Alcázar* (London: Richard Bentley, 1846), 324

*Conceived spaces*, are not however limited to what is considered space, but also to knowledge, signs, and codes.<sup>7</sup> The medieval pointed arch is a *conceived space* in its absolute specificity of medieval engineering, and speculating on its origin was an area of interest to gentleman amateurs of the day such as Thomas Pitt, Henry Swinburne, or John Gardner Wilkinson, who all speculated on the origins of this arch and as such contributed to the creation of a *perceived space* that allowed others a more confident interpretation of it.<sup>8</sup> It was hypothesized that the medieval pointed arch had Islamic origins. Although constructed for Pedro I (r. 1334–1369), the interest in the origin of the arch can be interpreted in the drawings of the Patio de Las Doncellas in the Alcázar in Seville, by Cecilia Montgomery and John Francis Campbell (Figure 3), where the edges of the arches have been accentuated, and deformed slightly to conform more closely to those of a pointed arch, and as such reveal how drawings can be underpinned by concepts external to the drawing itself yet communicated through them.

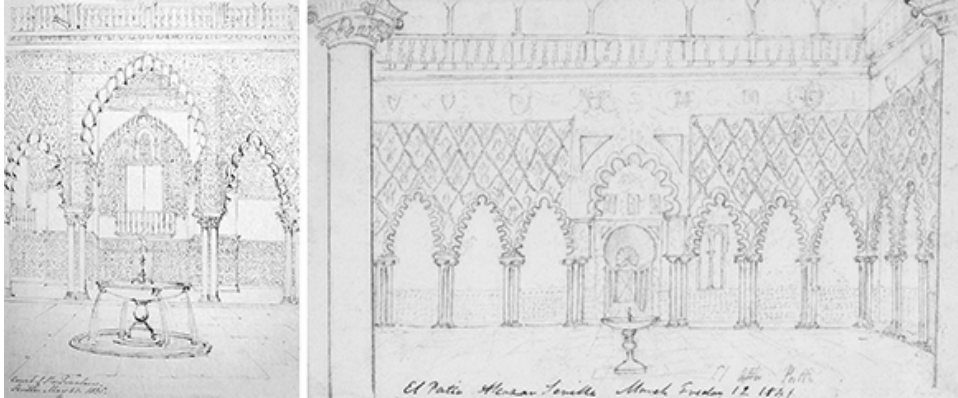


Figure 3. east elevation of the Patio de las Doncellas, Real Alcázar, Seville, by Cecilia Montgomery, 21 May 1838, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1961.9.15, © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford; Alcázar, Seville by John Francis Campbell, 12 March 1841, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, D 4126.12 © National Galleries of Scotland

While a pointed arch can be considered a *conceived space*, the architectural term ‘Moorish’ is a *perceived space* of learned interpretation in which the traveller could appreciate and appropriate Seville’s early medieval architecture. This word is problematic in its inconsistent intertextual use, and fundamentally was not used by the people to whom it refers. Almohad more accurately describes the body of the Giralda, which is the protagonist of a much repeated view (Figure 4) which contrasts the north facade of the fifteenth century Gothic cathedral with the twelfth century tower, and its sixteenth century belfry. This *perceived space* is reinforced through this visually powerful representation of Seville that endured throughout the nineteenth century, forming a conceptual space which prepared travellers for their visit. At the same time, each traveller’s understanding of Seville is shaped by their cultural background, something that ought to be investigated on both a social and an individual basis.



Figure 4. Six views of the Giralda from the Patio de los Naranjos: Baron Taylor (Paris: A. F. Lemaitre, 1860) pl. 40; Girault de Prangey (Paris: Veith et Hauser, 1839) pl. 1; Wilhelm Gail (Munich: Cotta, 1837) pl. 20; David Roberts (London: John Murray, 1836) 121; Eduard Gerhardt, 1849, Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, D-0324; Friedrich Eibner, (Berlin: Storch and Kramer, 1867) pl. 16

Travellers largely found what they expected, and therefore, the degree of interest that Spain's Islamic past aroused in them varied according to their background and preferences.<sup>9</sup>

If travellers largely found what they expected, it suggests that the cultural context, or the *perceived space* can be too dominant in the traveller's mind to allow for real insight into the architecture they depicted. On the other hand, it also implies that travellers were frequently surprised by Spain's architectural heritage, Islamic or otherwise, at the moment of encounter, and that is what is found in the diaries and drawings. What emerges out of the discovered drawings and texts is that the *perceived space* of the time was not as fixed or static as much of the current discourse suggests, rather, it was constantly evolving and renegotiated through each interaction with the city, and the drawings and writing that returned to Britain. Letters and journals bring to mind private or personal thoughts when in fact they were the entertainment of the day. Letters from Seville would have been read out to the recipient's family and friends many times. Similarly, journals were shared, discussed after dinner and even copied in the case of Thomas Pitt.<sup>10</sup> So these seemingly personal items had an impact on the *perceived space* beyond books, and in them a more direct record of the space that was produced when in the city can be found.

A traveller's *lived space* is translated as their experience in Seville. However, it cannot always be known, and yet has to be measured in some way. It must explain the distinguishing aspects of their writing and drawing from their contemporaries. Potentially, a traveller's *lived space* is the divergence between the social consensus of their expected spatial performance and their own perception of the same. This has been summarised in (Figure 5) and can be evidenced in case studies.

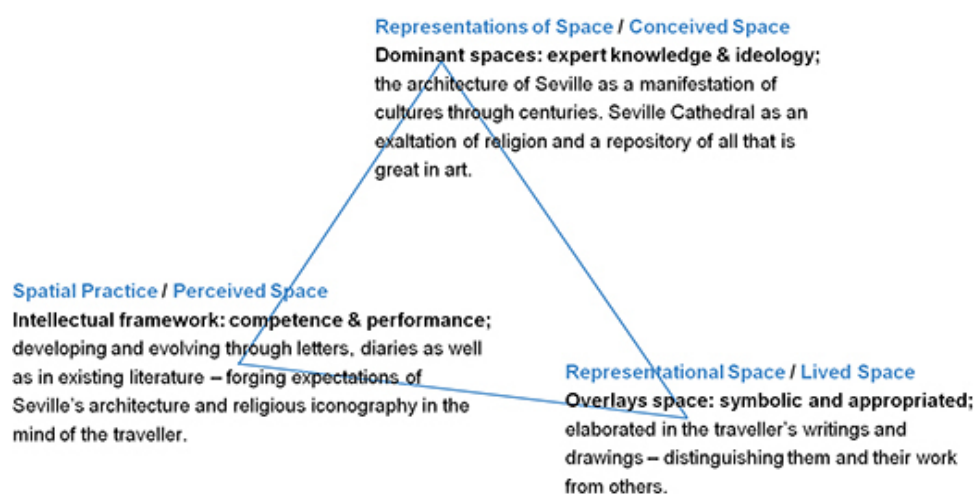
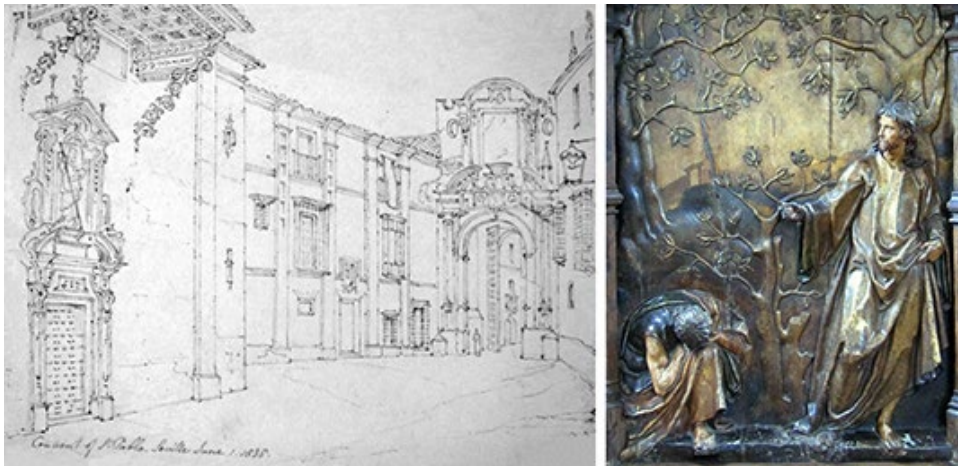


Figure 5. Henri Lefebvre's trialectic adapted for travellers in Seville in the early nineteenth century

## APPLYING THE METHODOLOGY

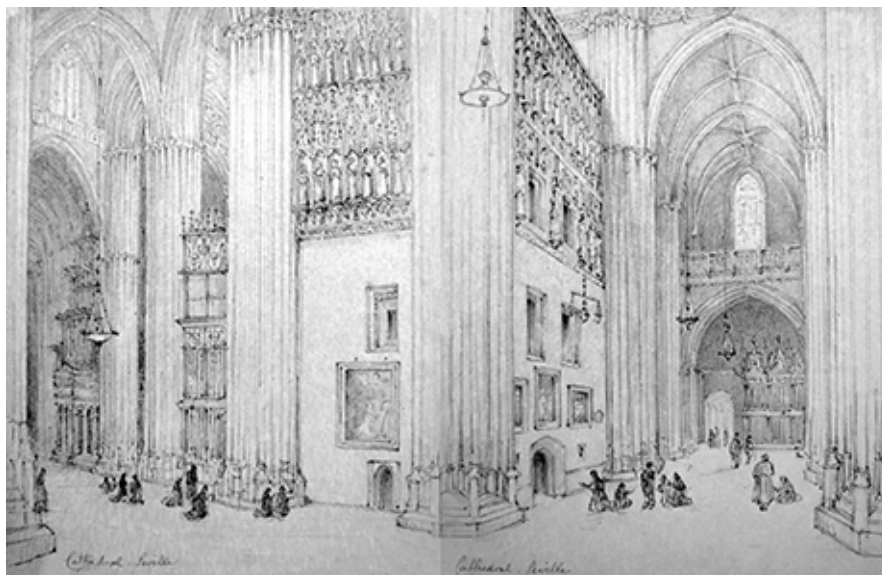
The drawing of the Convent of San Pablo la Real, by Cecilia Montgomery (Figure 6A) was located in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and is fortunately dated. Given that the museum did not have any biographical information about her, it was necessary to reconstruct her life, and that of her husband from the scarce archival references uncovered after exhaustive research. It was discovered they restored the parish church where he was rector, including installing Spanish iconography brought back from Spain on the pulpit (Figure 6B).<sup>11</sup> Their friendship with contemporary architects including Augustus Pugin, who was a neighbour of theirs and member of the Oxford Movement, suggests that Montgomery's *perceived space* as represented in the drawing, considers architecture to be a representation of religious practices. A significant number of her drawings depict convent forecourts;

semi-public spaces of that mediate the space of the street and the religious edifice, while others consider thresholds, limits and boundaries.



*Figure 6. Forecourt to the convent of San Pablo el Real, Seville, by Cecilia Montgomery, 1 June 1838 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1961.9.20 © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford; Front panel of the pulpit in the church of St John the Baptist, Bishopstone, England, acquired by the Montgomerys in Spain in 1838. Reproduced by kind permission of Mike Ash, Arts Society Sarum*

These interests differentiate her from her contemporaries as much as her drawings do, and cannot be more clearly seen than in her striking view of the interior of Seville cathedral (Figure 7). Artists generally depicted the soaring nave looking towards the altar, whereas she chose a counter-position from behind it, from where the breadth and height of the volume of the five aisle cathedral can be appreciated. This precise position includes the highest point of the cathedral above the crossing, and also a sightline out towards to the patio from where she came, allowing her movement through the space to be traced.



*Figure 7. Interior of Seville Cathedral from behind the Altar Mayor, by Cecilia Montgomery, 1838, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1961.9.17 (left), WA1961.9.16 (right) © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford*

The archive of the Egyptologist John Gardner Wilkinson is held in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. His sketchbooks and notebooks relating to Spain were unknown and provide a rich varied look at the country in several visits. Raising the point of perspective in his view of the gardens in the Alcázar (Figure 8) in order to see over the wall is typical of someone with a background in drawing topography which has militaristic origins. At the same time his views are chosen to reveal the vicissitudes of architectural style, which are indentified in the receding planes of this view.<sup>12</sup>

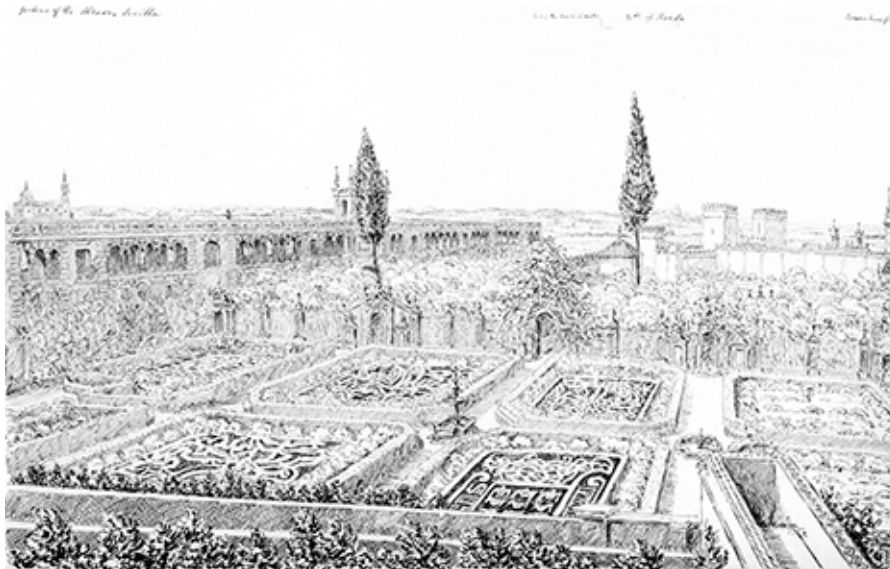
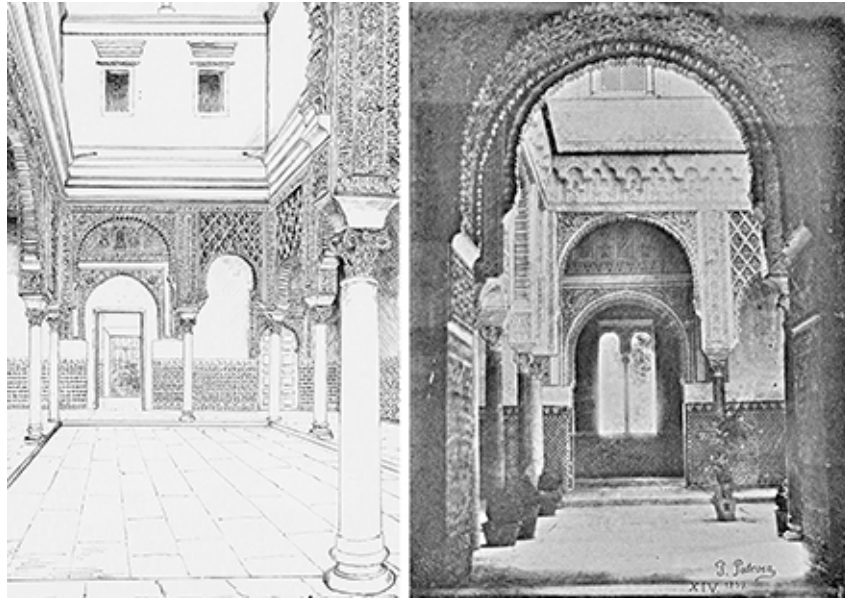


Figure 8. Gardens of the Alcázar, Seville, by John Gardner Wilkinson, 1838, Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wilkinson. dep.d.11, fol.13r, reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust

While there is no topography as such in this interior view of the Alcázar (Figure 9), it is no coincidence that Wilkinson's view is centred on a doorway leading to the gardens, linking the interior to the exterior, and as such orient the viewer in the palace, and gardens. Though there are earlier representations of the Patio de las Muñecas, as this courtyard is called, this view by Wilkinson is the earliest reliable view. The restoration of the Alcázar started before the earliest photographs, so archival discoveries like this shine a light on the appearance of buildings before photography. We can appreciate how misleading the upper floor, actually an entresol, is in this photo when comparing it to the drawing.

Early drawings of the Alcázar may not be reliable sources. Early in the research, it was assumed that their fidelity could be measured against archival documentation. However, Maria Rosario Gonzalez Chavez, in her exhaustive study of the building permits and accounts in the archive of the Alcázar in Seville, discovered that the archive did not always reveal its contents clearly.<sup>13</sup> The invoices and reports documenting the building work carried out in the Alcázar did not always specify which part of a room, or how much of it, was restored, or exactly when. The lack of specificity illustrates that archival material such as bills and building permits, whilst invaluable, and might be considered more factual documents than drawings, are in themselves records of the architects and workmen's *production of space*.



*Figure 9. Patio de las Muñecas, Alcázar, Seville, by John Gardner Wilkinson, drawing, 1838, Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wilkinson. dep. d. 11, fol. 13r, reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust; Patio de las Muñecas, Alcázar, Seville, by Joaquín Pedrosa, photograph, 1857, Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, photograph collection, F-05691, creative commons*

Nathanial Armstrong Wells was a Black Welsh gentleman whose drawings of Seville were engraved in a book he published on Spanish medieval architecture *The Picturesque Antiquities of Spain* (1846). His drawings contrast the delicacy of the surface design in plaster, tile-work or wood against the solidity of the medieval building fabric. He saw this as intrinsic to Islamic art and unsurpassed in the Patio de las Muñecas.<sup>14</sup> In his view of the Arco de los Pavones (Figure 10) the frame around the arch and the cornice above differ in scale to what is there now. Gonzalez Chavez discovered that restoration work was carried out in this room around the time this drawing was made, and it may have included work on the cornices.<sup>15</sup> However, the documentation does not confirm where restoration work was carried out. Nevertheless, in establishing Wells spatial production, his view of the doorway ought to be considered as a reliable record of the arch.



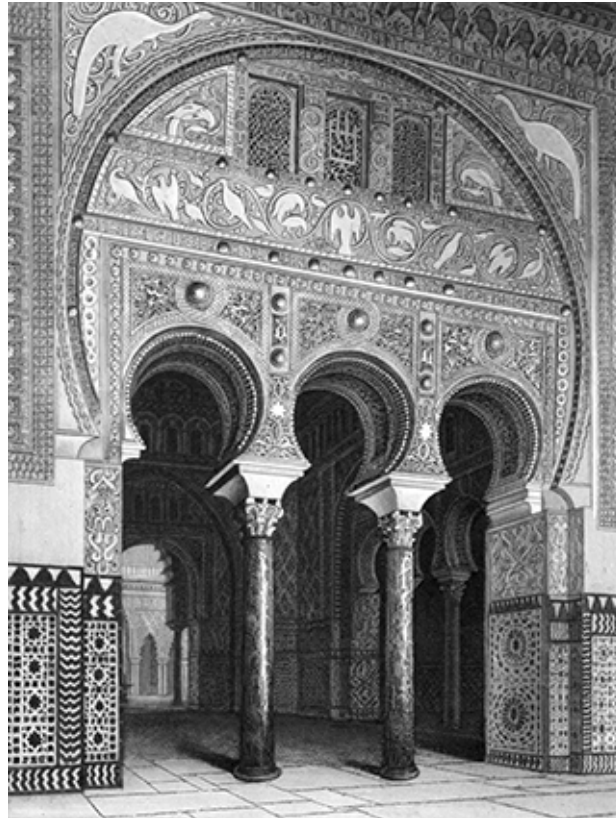


Figure 10. Nathaniel Armstrong Wells, *Hall of Ambassadors* (London: Richard Bentley, 1846), 328

Unexpectedly, the trialectic also suggested reasons for the apparent inauthenticity of certain travellers' descriptions where the record of the traveller's time in Seville is indistinguishable from the broader social expectation of it. A notebook with the itinerary of Robert Graham (1784–1859) in the south of Spain is held in the archive of the National Library of Scotland and it reads as if he were travelling through the country despite certain narrative inconsistencies.<sup>16</sup> Graham never visited Spain, and so this journey is entirely appropriated from printed sources. He is Ford's reader at home, travelling through Andalusia in his mind, through other people's spatial production. Another example of potential spatial appropriation is Louisa Tenison's *Castile and Andalusia* (1853) which Ford considered a watered-down re-write of his *Handbook*, in which his thoughts and actions were reproduced as her own.<sup>17</sup> Tenison was unquestionably in Andalusia, but her use of Ford's text, the dominant text of its age, evidently leads not only to anachronism in observation but to certain ineffectuality in her spatial production as a result of its spatial incoherence. Evidently, both these examples represent the problematic intertextuality inherent when research involves print and archive material. Nevertheless, it is fundamentally the archive and archival research where the most accurate representation of the complexities in the urban encounter is found.

## CONCLUSION

Working with unpublished letters, diaries and drawings necessitates a historiographical framework that provides opportunities for deeper insights into the raw material, particularly when little about the artist or writer is known. A trialectical way of working with the material is conceptualised in parallel with Lefebvre's spatial triad for the purposes of producing a space in which the drawings and texts can be interpreted. Its inherent flexibility allows for uncertainty in one part of the triad when the other two are more established.

These drawings of Campbell, Montgomery, Wells and Wilkinson were discovered in British archives and collections and date to within five years of each other. The adopted methodology not only freed them from the dominant Romantic discourse, but differences between them emerged, that showed that these artists were dealing with contemporary and profound architectural questions, informed by their own lived and perceived spaces.

Initial assumption that the drawings were a record of the architecture of Seville that could be qualitatively analyzed against archival material in Spain, was replaced with the conclusion that the drawings were records of a production of space in which the architecture, the established discourse, and the travellers' personal experiences in Seville, equally contribute, that is to say that the drawings ought to be interpreted in the space in which they were created.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1991): 74.
- <sup>2</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 45.
- <sup>3</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 222.
- <sup>4</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 40.
- <sup>5</sup> Iain Borden, *Skateboarding, Space and the City: Architecture and the Body* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 11.
- <sup>6</sup> Richard Ford, *Hand-book for Travellers in Spain: and Readers at Home* (London: John Murray, 1845): 257-259.
- <sup>7</sup> Nathaniel Coleman, *Lefebvre for Architects* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 82.
- <sup>8</sup> Matilde Mateo, "In Search of the Origin of the Gothic: Thomas Pitt's Travel in Spain in 1760." *Journal of Art Historiography*, 15/MMa1 (2016); Tonia Raquejo, "The 'Arab Cathedrals': Moorish Architecture as Seen by British Travellers." *The Burlington Magazine*, 128, 1001 (1986): 556; On Saracenic Architecture, 18 March 1861, MS. Wilkinson e. 54, Copies and drafts of papers and letters for publication, 1844-55, Archive of Sir John Gardner Wilkinson, Bodleian Libraries, Oxford.
- <sup>9</sup> Mónica Bolufer Peruga, "Between Two Shores. Travellers as Cultural Mediators. The journey to Spain in the eighteenth century," *Acta Histriae*, 17:1-2, (2009): 88
- <sup>10</sup> Mateo, *In Search of the Origin of the Gothic*, 18.
- <sup>11</sup> Martin Sorowka "Los dibujos de Sevilla de Cecilia Montgomery (1792-1879) en su viaje por la península ibérica." *Archivo Español de Arte*, 94:373 (2021): 20-21
- <sup>12</sup> Martin Sorowka, "The Architectural and Topographical views of Seville in the 1838 and 1864 sketchbooks of John Gardner Wilkinson (1797-1875)." *Arte, Individuo y Sociedad*, 34:3 (2022): 1143
- <sup>13</sup> María Rosario Gonzalez Chavez, *El Alcázar de Sevilla en el Siglo XIX* (Seville: Patronato del Real Alcázar de Sevilla, 2004), 99.
- <sup>14</sup> Wells, Nathaniel A. *The Picturesque Antiquities of Spain* (London: Richard Bentley, 1846): 315, 330-332.
- <sup>15</sup> Chávez González, *El Alcázar de Sevilla en el Siglo XIX*, 97.
- <sup>16</sup> National library of Scotland. Papers of Thomas Graham 'Baron Lynedoch' (1748-1843). MS.16048.
- <sup>17</sup> Richard Ford, and Richard Hitchcock, ed., *Letters to Gayangos* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1974), 115.

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# LESSONS FROM HERITAGE BUILDINGS TO IMPROVE MODERN BUILDINGS FOR ENERGY EFFICIENCY: HOW TO LINK THE PAST AND PRESENT

Author:

**MAMDOOH ALWETAISHI<sup>1,2</sup>**

Affiliation:

<sup>1</sup>CIVIL ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT, COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING, TAIF UNIVERSITY, SAUDI ARABIA, <sup>2</sup>MINISTRY OF CULTURE, SAUDI ARABIA

## INTRODUCTION

When designing a building, it is important to consider the local microclimate conditions, especially when it comes to thermal comfort, which is influenced by location and culture.<sup>1</sup> Thus far, many passive designs have been suggested to develop energy efficiency and comfort of buildings, including for instance thermal mass and window to wall ratio (WWR).<sup>2</sup> Many researchers have researched the effects of low-E glazing, which helps to save energy use and improve interior visual comfort.<sup>3</sup> WWR is a significant determinant of the amount of energy needed for cooling and, to a lesser extent, for ventilation and sunlight.<sup>4</sup> Both the solar coefficient and WWR have a considerable impact on solar radiation.<sup>5</sup> Alwetaishi.<sup>6</sup> investigated the effects of WWR in the various regions of Saudi Arabia in the context of the country's hot and dry climate (Figure 1). The findings showed that WWR in hot areas ought to be under 10% in all directions, but it was not apparent how this opening size would affect daylight. Additionally, a different investigation was carried out in Libya under comparable conditions.<sup>7</sup> This study found that when the WWR on the south side increased, the energy load increased in the summer and the need for heating decreased to almost as low as zero in winter.

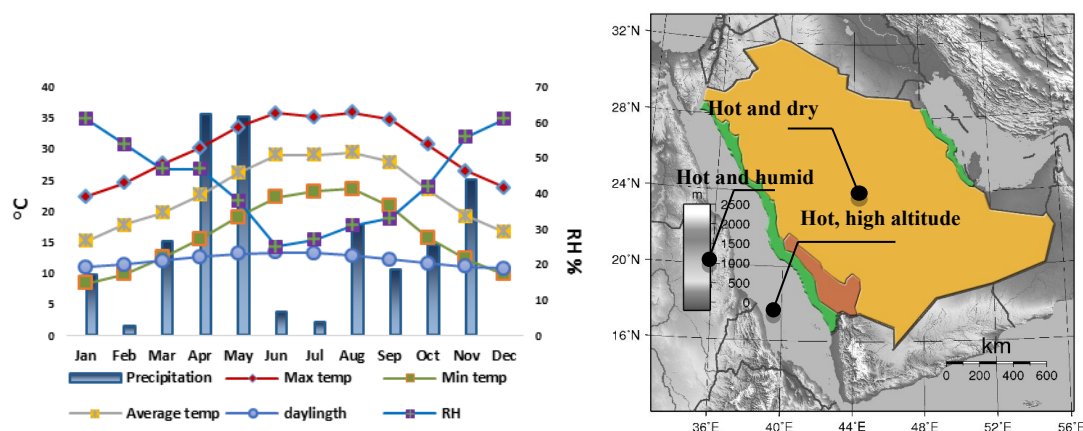


Figure 1. Climate condition of Taif city, derived from the.epw stie source is from Alwetaishi,<sup>8</sup> and classifications of climatic zones in Saudi Arabia based on temperature, humidity, and elevation.<sup>9</sup>

The two main categories of thermal mass (TM) are internal (such as furniture) and exterior (such as walls, roofs, and floors). Utilizing TM may assist in maintain users' thermal comfort levels stable while reducing overall energy use. The TM is most effective when the outside temperature is high, or during the hot summer in cooler countries.<sup>10</sup> According to,<sup>11</sup> the usage of thermal mass is advantageous primarily in the summer but also in the winter due to India's varied climate. Evaporative cooling is a prevalent cooling technique, especially in hot climates.<sup>12</sup> According to<sup>13</sup> in a hot climate, employing a vented wall cavity with a spray evaporative cooling system can lower outside temperatures from 45 °C to 25 °C. Additionally, the study of<sup>14</sup> showed that the same technique may lower the cooling demand by 23%. In a study by Bagasi,<sup>15</sup> scientists use a variety of indoor evaporative cooling techniques in a hot and humid region. They observed that applying water to an evaporative cooling system can lower the indoor air temperature by 26.3%.

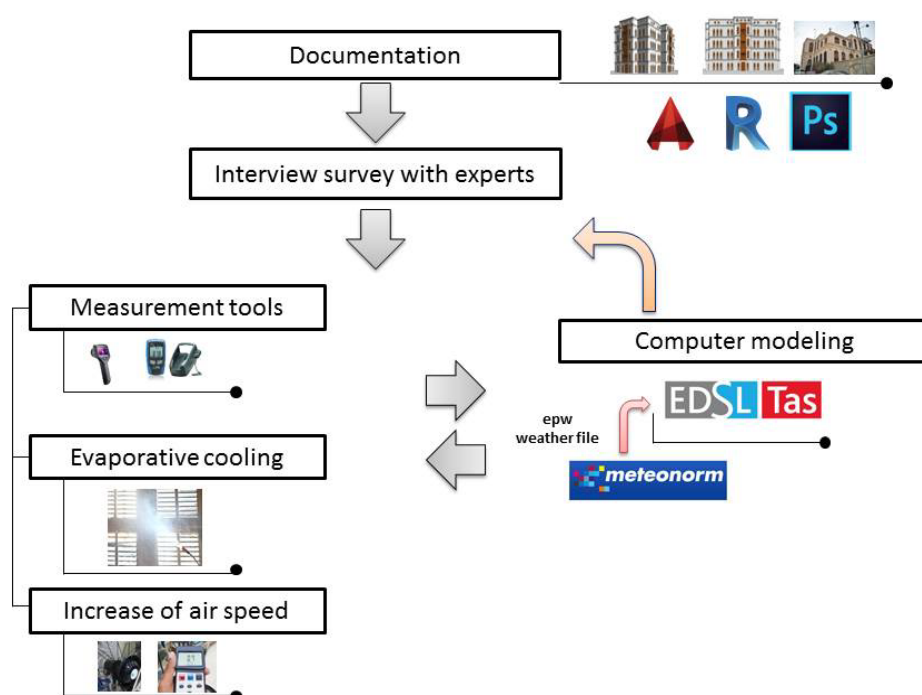
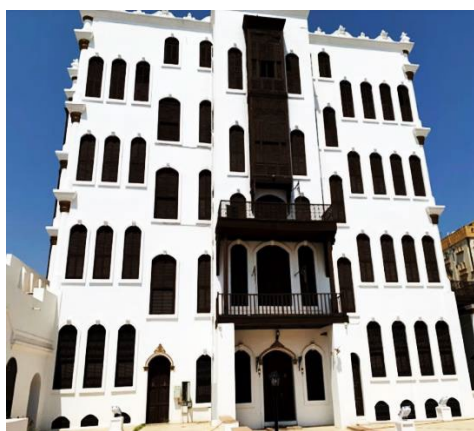


Figure 2. Method used in the study.



(A)



(B)

Figure 3. Shubra Palace (A) and (B) Boqari Palace (Source: authors).

## METHOD OF STUDY

Unluckily, no architectural drawings of this structure survive because it is so old. As a result, the study team's initial task was to deliver all the palace's architectural plans (Figures 4). The documentation should be preserved in the palace and used for future research as well as being on exhibit in the museum. Additionally, the Boqari Palace, which was constructed approximately 100 years ago, is regarded as one of Taif's most significant historical structures. The palace was constructed of stone and was in the center of the city. A variety of tools were used to monitor its characteristics. The case studies in Figure 2 were the subject of the study.



(C)

Figure 4. 3D view of Shubra Palace (Group of Researchers)

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

One of the prime outcomes of the current paper is to explore the findings of specialists who were part of the methodology used. Figure 5 shows the ages of the experts who took part in the survey. The sample size was found as 171, and 87.3% of the participants, who resided in Taif, a city at a high altitude, or other areas in the Kingdom with similar climatic characteristics, including Abha and Baha, which are situated on mountainous regions range in the western portion of Saudi Arabia, were architects (Figure 2). The majority of the participating experts—more than 70—were recent grads in the 20–30 age range. In terms of the thermal comfort which was observed from the questionnaire which focuses on the potential of achieving the level of thermal comfort in mountainous regions of Saudi Arabia, 20% of the participants thought that thermal comfort (TC) in modern buildings could only be attained during the winter, whereas this number found to be double in historical buildings in the same season. Moreover, about 100 specialists argued that TC might be attained in modern structures not just during the winter but also during some other seasons. Surprisingly, about half of this number indicated that TC would be possible in old structures during certain other times of the year. It was noted that the specialists' responses varied. As a result, taking into account additional factors like years of experience and educational background may be advantageous. For instance, all the participants with less than five years of expertise or those with between six and ten years of experience said that it was impossible to attain TC in heritage buildings. This demonstrated how important it was to have years of experience in the subject in order to get more precise input. Similar to this, majority of the participants with more than 20 years of expertise in the sector who voted that heritage buildings could attain TC during some seasons in the year (Figure 5).

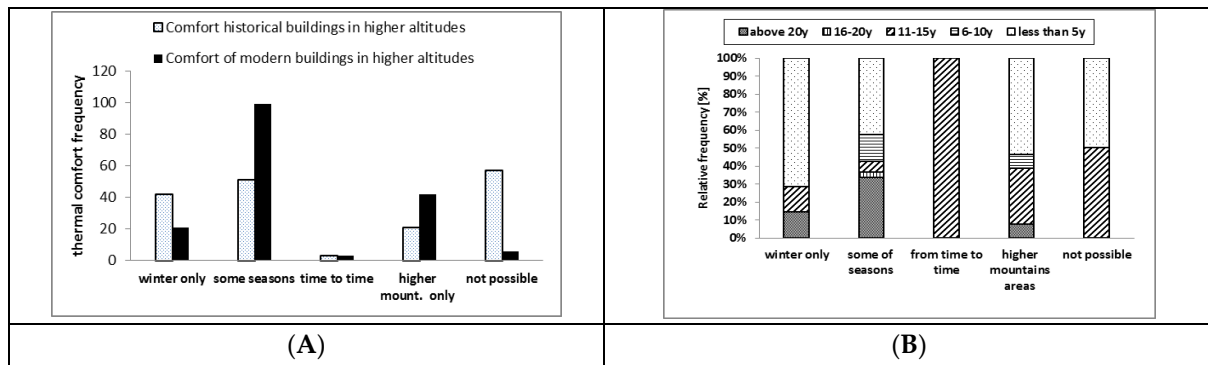


Figure 5. (A) Comfort level from the interview and comfort level in the higher regions in Saudi Arabia. (B) Responses on the experience based on the questions.

	Material	Thickness (mm)	Conductivity (W/m <sup>2</sup> K)	Total U-Value (W/m <sup>2</sup> K)
Base case model (as built)				
External wall	Stones	450.00	1.31	1.4
Roof	Wood bars	88.00	0.11	0.44
	Mud	200.00	0.87	
Ground	Stones	450.00	1.31	1.4
Proposed model				
External wall	Concrete block	200.00	1.31	3.1
Roof	Thermal insulation	125	0.04	0.22
	Concrete slab	200	1.31	
	Concrete foundation	300	0.87	
Ground	Crashed Aggregate	75	0.55	0.35
	Clay soil	1000	0.70	

Table 1. *pe* characteristics of Building envelope of Shubra Palace.

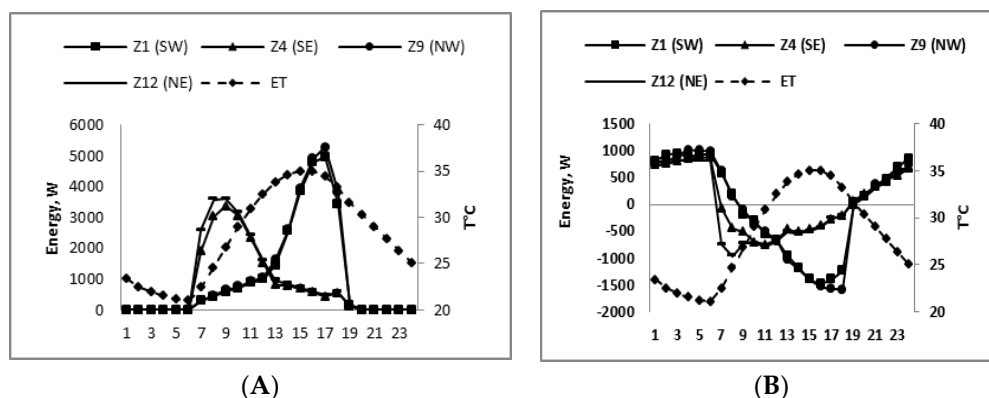
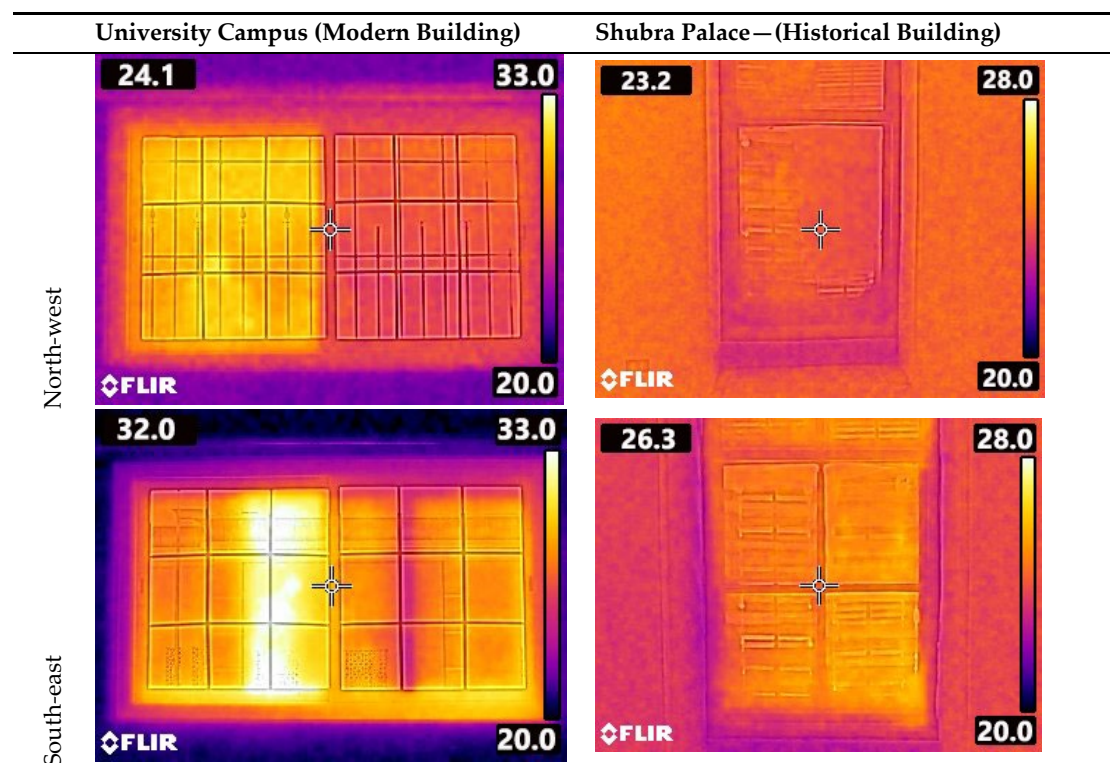


Figure 6. (A) Solar heat gain (B) building heat transfer using TAS in some zones of the Palace.

It was found that the orientation did not significantly affect the monitored of air temperature in the palace and the modern building design which is the University (Figure 8), but it did affect the thermal comfort experience (Table 2 indicates the characteristics of materials used in both the palace and the modern design of building).

It was conceivable to maintain thermal comfort for the majority of the year in a hot, high-altitude area, especially when employing a structure with thermal mass construction, as was the case with Shubra Palace. In most seasons and in most summer orientations, the usage of thermal mass kept the external envelopes cool. This made better use of the palace's huge windows, which allowed for natural ventilation. In both conventional and contemporary building designs, the effect of orientation on

temperature was investigated using a thermal imaging camera (Table 2). The inner surface temperature gap was just 1 °C in the north-west direction, whereas it was 6 °C in the south-east orientation. This suggested that the direction and the employment of Mashrabiya, which served as external shade devices, had an impact. The study found that orientation had a significant impact in hot places, with the south and west being regarded as the worst orientations; nevertheless, careful consideration must be given. Additionally, it was advised to employ shading devices, similar to the case of the heritage buildings in the area, and to reduce the size of the windows in the south and west orientations. Modern buildings were able to attain thermal comfort in this area by utilizing external shading devices, thermal mass, and building orientation while also learning from historic buildings. With the exception of the summer, when air conditioning may be necessary as ambient temperatures rise beyond 35 °C, thermal comfort might be attained throughout the year. This would assist in achieving nZEB in a location that mainly relies on mechanical methods. In an experiment carried out in the Boqari Palace, evaporative cooling was used to help lower the inside temperature to around 27°C while operating at full capacity in the summer (Figure 7). Table 2. The study also highlighted the comparison between the heritage building design and the University building design with respect to monitored inside surface temperatures the use of thermal imaging camera during the time 10am and 2pm in the season of spring 2020.





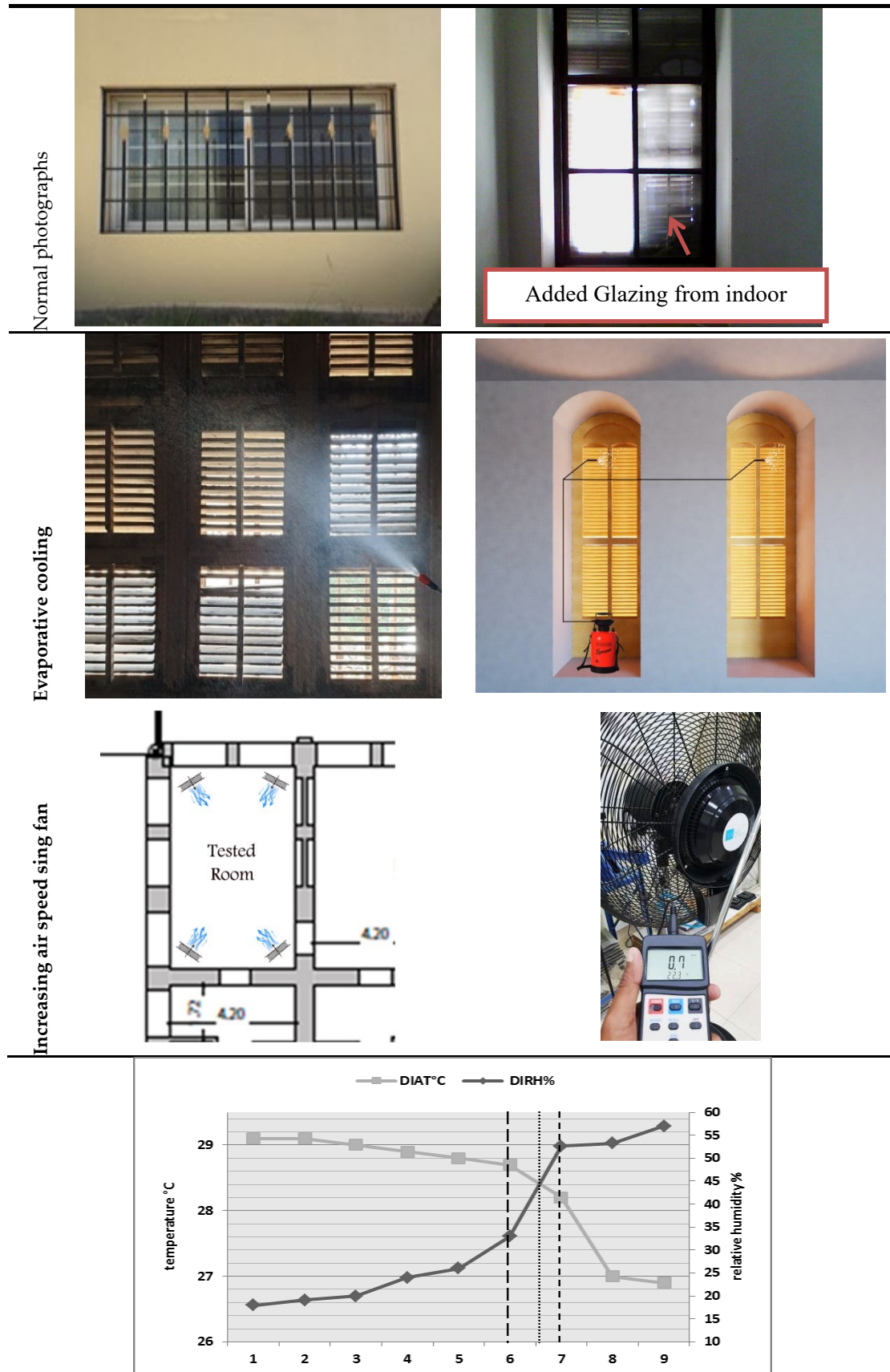


Figure 7. Influence of evaporative cooling on Mashrabiya with the use of thermal camera, °C.

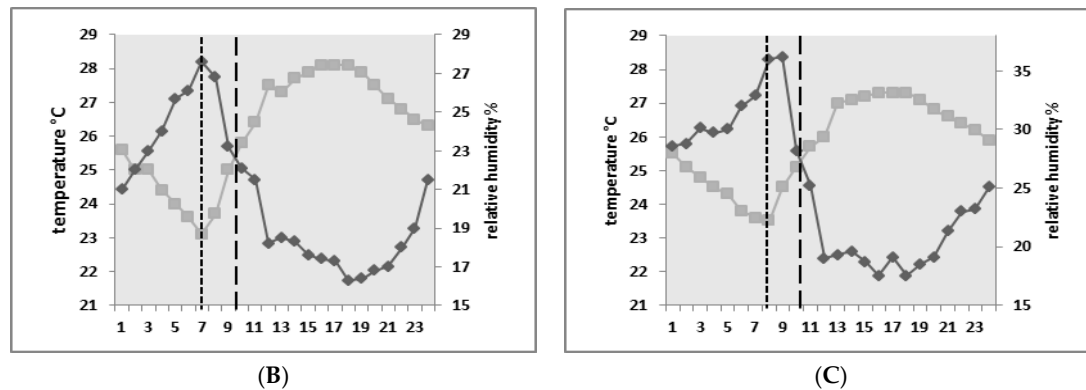


Figure 8. temperatures and humidity in Boqari Palace, (B) refers to the south orientation and relative humidity while (C) refers to the north facing zoon.

Evaporative cooling has a definite impact on both the relative humidity and temperature of indoor air, according to research. The air temperature decreased by about 2 °C (from 29 °C to 27 °C) according to the monitoring for every 5min for 9 slots, and the relative humidity increased noticeably from 19% to 55%. The system has made a substantial contribution to the thermal comfort experience by helping to increase the interior environment's dryness. As seen in Figure 18, the use of a thermal imaging camera contributed to this conclusion. The temperature was reduced by 4 °C by the wood material attached to the window system because the chosen room faces south. According to reports, using evaporative cooling in hot climates can primarily improve relative humidity while having less of an impact on indoor air temperature. However, in free-running structures, the system can generally enhance the desire for thermal comfort. The temperature in north-facing rooms is one degree lower than in south-facing rooms, peaking at 27 °C in the latter. This is 5 °C colder than the day's outdoor temperature report.

Regarding the test to increase the air speed inside the room as mean of natural ventilation, it can be observed that some amelioration considering human thermal comfort was achieved. It can be advised that increasing air speed as well as relative humidity, can be quite beneficial in hot and try regions, especially in mountainous regions where maximum temperatures in summer are not as high as in other parts of same region.

## CONCLUSION

This study examined Shubra Palace in the Saudi Arabian city of Taif as a case study to examine the benefits of historical structures. The project investigated the benefits of thermal mass and wide windows with shading devices created and built based on the local climate of the hotter higher altitude mountains. Compared to other areas of Saudi Arabia's Arabian desert, this city's elevation results in a warmer summer and a milder winter. In this study, numerous techniques were employed. First off, the study team sought to present the architectural plans as a contribution to this endeavor because the palace hasn't had any since it was created. Data loggers were used to monitor the palace's interior air temperature in addition to site monitoring. Thermal imaging cameras were also employed to assess the exterior walls' physical patterns. The building's internal air temperatures and relative humidity were measured, and external and internal thermal imaging cameras were used to compare it to a modern home and a university building, respectively. A questionnaire interview with specialists in architecture was also part of the project. Asking specialists who are very familiar with such buildings was advantageous because the project required studying a historical building that had never been inspected before. The investigation produced the following conclusions and suggestions:

- A person's level of experience in an area matters a lot in order to get more accurate input. According to the study, feedback improved in accuracy as experience levels rose.
- The study showed that while the usage of thermal mass contributed to user thermal comfort, it had only a little impact on air temperature indoors and the level of energy consumption.
- Using a thermal mass construction building, such as Shubra Palace, it was feasible to attain thermal comfort for most of the year (fall, winter, and spring) in a hot region with mountainous regions. However, in the summer when the temperature outside might soar to above 35 °C, air conditioning systems may be required.
- The study demonstrated that orientation had a significant impact in hot climates; the south and west were regarded as the worst orientations due to their exposure to excessive solar radiation even at high altitudes.
- The inside building environment was significantly impacted more by glazing windows than by thermal mass. As a result, even at higher altitudes, the window system had to be carefully considered in hot climates.
- The mean of evaporative cooling may significantly recover user's thermal comfort; it can decrease temperature by 2° C and humidity by about 20% in in a very short period of time.
- The use of shading devices (from outside of building) found to be quite beneficial, especially considering larger size of glazing, it can help to control solar radiation in the south and west orientations.

### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Hanan Al-Khatri, Mamdooh Alwetaishi, and Mohamed B. Gadi. "Exploring thermal comfort experience and adaptive opportunities of female and male high school students." *Journal of Building Engineering* 31 (2020): 101365.
- <sup>2</sup> Adams Rackes, Ana Paula Melo, and Roberto Lamberts. "Naturally comfortable and sustainable: Informed design guidance and performance labeling for passive commercial buildings in hot climates." *Applied Energy* 174 (2016): 256-274; Hamid Reza Masoumi, Nasim Nejati, and Amin alah Ahadi. "Learning from the heritage architecture: Developing natural ventilation in compact urban form in hot-humid climate: Case study of Bushehr, Iran." *International Journal of Architectural Heritage* 11, no. 3 (2017): 415-432; Wei Feng, Qianning Zhang, Hui Ji, Ran Wang, Nan Zhou, Qing Ye, Bin Hao, Yutong Li, Duo Luo, and Stephen Siu Yu Lau. "A review of net zero energy buildings in hot and humid climates: Experience learned from 34 case study buildings." *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* 114 (2019): 109303.
- <sup>3</sup> Michelangelo Scorpio, Giovanni Ciampi, Antonio Rosato, Luigi Maffei, Massimiliano Masullo, Manuela Almeida, and Sergio Sibilio. "Electric-driven windows for historical buildings retrofit: Energy and visual sensitivity analysis for different control logics." *Journal of Building Engineering* 31 (2020): 101398.
- <sup>4</sup> Luke Troup, Robert Phillips, Matthew J. Eckelman, and David Fannon. "Effect of window-to-wall ratio on measured energy consumption in US office buildings." *Energy and Buildings* 203 (2019): 109434.
- <sup>5</sup> Mansour Nikpour, Mohd Zin Kandar, and Elahe Mosavi. "Investigating daylight quality using self-shading strategy in energy commission building in Malaysia." *Indoor and Built Environment* 22, no. 5 (2013): 822-835.
- <sup>6</sup> Mamdooh Alwetaishi. "Impact of glazing to wall ratio in various climatic regions: A case study." *Journal of King Saud University-Engineering Sciences* 31, no. 1 (2019): 6-18.
- <sup>7</sup> Samah K. Alghoul, Hassan G. Rijabo, and Mohamed E. Mashena. "Energy consumption in buildings: A correlation for the influence of window to wall ratio and window orientation in Tripoli, Libya." *Journal of Building Engineering* 11 (2017): 82-86.
- <sup>8</sup> Mamdooh Alwetaishi, and Ahmad Taki. "Investigation into energy performance of a school building in a hot climate: Optimum of window-to-wall ratio." *Indoor and Built Environment* 29, no. 1 (2020): 24-39.
- <sup>9</sup> Alwetaishi. *Impact of glazing to wall ratio*.
- <sup>10</sup> Carlos Fernandez Bandera, Jose Pachano, Jaime Salom, Antonis Peppas, and German Ramos Ruiz. "Photovoltaic plant optimization to leverage electric self consumption by harnessing building thermal mass." *Sustainability* 12, no. 2 (2020): 553.
- <sup>11</sup> Sanjay Kumar, Priyam Tewari, Sanjay Mathur, and Jyotirmay Mathur. "Development of mathematical correlations for indoor temperature from field observations of the performance of high thermal mass buildings in India." *Building and environment* 122 (2017): 324-342.
- <sup>12</sup> Marouen Ghoulem, Khaled El Moueddeb, Ezzedine Nehdi, Fangliang Zhong, and John Calautit. "Analysis of passive draught evaporative cooling windcatcher for greenhouses in hot climatic conditions: Parametric study and impact of neighbouring structures." *Biosystems Engineering* 197 (2020): 105-121.
- <sup>13</sup> Alaa Alaidroos, and Moncef Krarti. "Experimental validation of a numerical model for ventilated wall cavity with spray evaporative cooling systems for hot and dry climates." *Energy and Buildings* 131 (2016): 207-222.
- <sup>14</sup> Alaa Alaidroos, and Moncef Krarti. "Optimized controls for ventilated wall cavities with spray evaporative cooling systems." *Energy and Buildings* 154 (2017): 356-372.
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# CONSTRUCTIVE CONSERVATION AND CULTURAL IDENTITY: GREEK CHURCH MANCHESTER

Author:

**MARIA YIOUTANI-IACOVIDES**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY OF SALFORD, UK

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## INTRODUCTION

UNESCO'S Convention in 1972<sup>1</sup> has set the framework for Cultural Heritage protection but current challenges have an impact on preserving and enhancing Cultural Heritage assets' significance, for people and communities.

The Conservation project of the Grade II Listed Greek Church in Manchester is used as a case study to investigate how the role and efforts of communities can be a catalyst to enhance the significance of a heritage asset and secure its Sustainable Future.

Cultural heritage religious buildings of diasporas, around the world, are not only spiritual and educational buildings, but also places of cultural identity and tradition.

Constructive Conservation<sup>2</sup> principles can enable communities to safeguard their historical religious buildings, which for them are regarded as beacons of light.

This paper studies how conservation challenges can be turned into opportunities for Innovative Restoration.

The study aims to investigate and discuss how social values and the sense of cultural identity can create meaningful collaborations in communities.

The study focuses on the challenges, that prevent safeguarding heritage assets and threaten communities' cultural cohesion, and make proposals, on guidance and support, for the future.

## Study's Structure

The research investigates three important elements for the purposes of this study. First, the significance: Community's significance and 180 years historical journey, and Church's significance; architectural, aesthetic, historic. Second, the continuous repairs and decisions. Third, how conservation and restoration challenges considered the *ethos* of Constructive Conservation, to enhance: the buildings' structural integrity and the Greek community's cultural identity.

The study identifies the restoration challenges, technical-financial-social and emphasises how these provided opportunities for creative and innovative interventions to safeguard the heritage asset, and community's social cohesion. It discusses how financial restrictions in restoration projects were overcome due to the community's efforts, and Heritage Lottery Funding.

The author has a professional and personal connection; she was part of the Architects' Team for the roof restoration in 2014-5, a member of the congregation for 27 years, and a Trustee since 2022.

### **SIGNIFICANCE OF COMMUNITY.**

The Greek Church of Annunciation in Manchester, shown in Figure 1, is a representative example of a Cultural Heritage Religious Building of Diasporas, as a place of spiritual, educational, and cultural identity.



Figure 1. Greek Church of Annunciation, by author.

### **Greeks in Manchester, 19<sup>th</sup> Century.**

The Greek Diaspora in Manchester was established by Greeks coming from the newly independent Greece (1830),<sup>3</sup> and from Greek areas of the Ottoman Empire. Manchester was emerging as a thriving *cottonopolis*,<sup>4</sup> the epicentre of UK's cotton industry. Records confirm that the first Greek trader<sup>5</sup> arrived here in 1834. And 33 were registered by the late 1840's.<sup>6</sup>

The New Churches' Act 1818<sup>7</sup> (called the 'Million pound' Church Building Act) and the government's £1.5 million funding aid by 1824, contributed to the construction of an 'unprecedented' number of churches, chapels, and synagogues, in London, in manufacturing towns, like Manchester, and in 'every corner of the Kingdom'. The 'revival' of religious buildings was prompted not by spiritual consideration but by the expediency 'Lest a godless people might also be a revolutionary people'. This opportunity awakened the patriotic and religious sentiments of the Greek cotton Merchants and philanthropists.

In 1843,<sup>8</sup> they consecrated the Manchester Greek Orthodox Church, and in 1848 they built a church. The building opened in June 1849,<sup>9</sup> for 200 people in Waterloo Road, Cheetham Hill, Salford. As the Greek's social status in society was enhanced, in 1859,<sup>10</sup> they unanimously decided to build the new Greek Orthodox Church of the Annunciation, in Broughton, Salford.

This building is the oldest purpose-built Greek church by the Greek diaspora and has been a place of worship continuously since 1861. In 1869, a Greek Sunday school<sup>11</sup> was formed, for boys and girls.

### **Greek & Cypriots in Manchester, 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> Centuries.**

By the early 20th century, the Greeks were well respected within Manchester's Society. The war years, between 1920's to 1945, were challenging for the Cotton industry which went into decline, and many Greek merchants ceased trading.

A new influx of migrants arrived in Manchester from Cyprus in the early 1950's (due to the Greek Cypriot War of Independence), and in 1970's (after the Turkish invasion). They established the Hellenic School, in 1955, the Students' Association in 1965-6, the Hellenic Brotherhood in 1966, and

the Hellenic Cultural Society in 1986. The early 21st century witnessed an influx of Greek professionals.

Today (2023), the Greek Community is very diverse. The Church has become the beacon of light, once again, creating a sense of belonging for the Greeks, British Greek Cypriots, and students. Few hundreds regularly attend Sunday mass, and many more at Christmas and Easter Week. Figure 2 shows the Church's interior in April 2023.



Figure 2. The Church of Annunciation interior and Congregation, by author.

### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHURCH BUILDING; HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION.

The Greek Merchants laid the foundation stone for the new church on the 8th of May 1860. Its neoclassical design was the winning concept, in a private competition<sup>12</sup> by Clegg & Knowles<sup>13</sup> Architects of Manchester. The well-respected architects designed and built warehouses, churches, museums, and other notable buildings in Manchester. *'Manchester Guardian'* 9th of May 1860,<sup>14</sup> recorded the event and gives us a detailed description of the church design. *'The Builder'*<sup>15</sup> Magazine, May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1860, provides us a detailed account of the contractors, and cost (£5000) with impressive clarity of information and precision. The building was completed and inaugurated in 1861. The events are commemorated with a plaque in the church, as shown in Figure 3.



Figure 3. Plaque commemorating the Church's construction and inauguration, by author.



The Church was built as a three-aisled basilica, divided into six bays by columns with ionic capitals as seen in Figure 4, a photo dated in 1900. The central aisle had vaulted ceiling (intersected by circular windows to form a clerestory) and a central dome. The side aisles had paneled ceilings.

The facades followed an eclectic neoclassical style; a portico with four columns with Corinthian capitals, and two pilasters on either side. The side elevations are divided into eight bays of pilasters of the same style, as shown on the drawings, Figure 5. The portico and narthex elevations were built with *Hollington* stone and the rest with white brick and cement (church dimensions: 133ftx47ft=40x14m). Pevsner noted ‘the size and elaboration of the architecture testifies to the wealth of the Greek colony’.<sup>16</sup>



Figure 4. Greek Church of Annunciation in 1900 (National Archives).

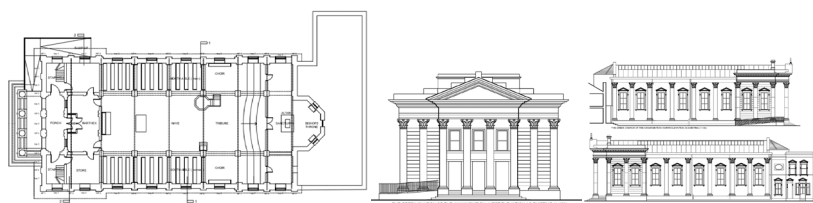


Figure 5. Greek Church of Annunciation drawings (Lloyd Evans Prichard Architects, 2014).

### Church building’s artifacts and artists in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Greeks in Manchester continued their generous donations for decades commissioning the most well-known artists to complete the decorative scheme in the Church interior.

Theodoros Vryzakis, a Greek artist was commissioned to complete the elaborate timber iconostasis with icons (between 1861-1863), as shown in Figure 6. The iconostasis was originally designed by Cleggs and Knowles (as mentioned in the *Manchester Guardian*, 1860). Vryzakis’ icons were his only ecclesiastical work, and follow his own unique style; Romantic, Classicistic, Renaissance Revival. Records indicate that during his work placement in Manchester, Vryzakis took part in an International Exhibition of London<sup>17</sup> in 1862.

Charles Allen Duval, a Manchester-based well-known portrait artist was commissioned, in 1870, to paint four large wall paintings of the evangelists (Mark, John, Luke, Matthew) and decorate the central dome with the icon of ‘Christ Partocrat’.<sup>18</sup>

‘W.G. Sutherland’, a Manchester-based stained-glass firm was commissioned to make six stained glass windows, as an inscription indicates in Figure 7. Four plaques record that these art pieces were funded by Greek families to commemorate family members (in 1886, 1891, 1900 and 1907). The

artists, William George Sutherland (Grainer), and employee Walter John Pearce,<sup>19</sup> were well known, and similar pieces of their work survived in other local churches (Emmanuel Church, Didsbury). John Gregory Crace and son John Dibblee Crace, the British award-winning interior designers, completed a decorative scheme in the church altar polygonal apse, ‘geometrical stenciling in red, gold and black, marbled pilasters and gilded capitals’<sup>20</sup>, and the apse stained-glass windows, late 19<sup>th</sup> century.



Figure 6. Greek Church of Annunciation Iconostasis, by author.



Figure 7. Stained-glass window detail with the artist's signature, by author.

## CONTINUOUS RESTORATIONS, RENOVATIONS, INTERVENTIONS.

### Church Buildings in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Andreades mentions that in 1884 ‘a house for the priest was added at the back end of the church and fans had to be installed in the church to extract moisture caused by this work’.<sup>21</sup> As indicated by a photo dated 1900, in Figure 8, we may consider that the presbytery was added early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The presbytery building follows similar architectural language as the Church. The architects are not known. The Church’s original architectural firm Clegg’s and Knowles was dissolved in 1884.<sup>22</sup>



Figure 8. (left) Church in 1900 (National Archives), (right) the Presbytery by author.

The architect Paul Ogden,<sup>23</sup> a Trustee of Manchester Society of Architects, was commissioned to redecorate the church interior. Two of his drawings have survived (dated 1911), as shown in Figure 9. Extensive renovations were carried out to the interior between 1910-12, and these were recorded with an inscription on the frieze of the iconostasis.



Figure 9. Paul Ogden's drawings, 1911, photos by author.

Renovations took place, in 1921, to the floor, and replacement of the pulpit (with a new one made of marble and alabaster costing £2000). The existing wooden pulpit, of 'good quality and durable wood' was sent to a Community in Cardiff.<sup>24</sup> External masonry repairs to the portico followed in 1939.

In 1962, a major intervention altered the church interior irreversibly. It was recorded that the roof was affected by dry rot or fire and a decision was taken to have it replaced with steel roof trusses (for £40000), instead of repairing it (for £60000). The interior was altered considerably; the roof, the iconic ionic columns, the barrel vault, the panelled ceilings, and the dome with the Partocrat were all removed.

The Church was awarded its Grade II<sup>25</sup> Listing status in 1980. In 1997, with the community's generous donations, a two-storey building to accommodate the Sunday School and a Hall were built adjacent to the Church.

## CONSTRUCTIVE CONSERVATION CHALLENGES

### Church building in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and Recent repairs.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, challenging repairs, and restorations took place. Between 2005-9, with the aid of Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) urgent masonry repairs were carried out to the portico, to replace eroded pieces of Hollington stone, on the columns, pilasters, and the decorative frieze, as shown in Figure 10.

In 2014, HLF partly funded a major Roof Restoration. The Managing Trustees appointed Lloyd Evans Prichard Architects. The 1962 intervention, bitumen roof covering and guttering system, was failing and water ingress affected the walls. In the south side, the window timber lintels lost their structural strength. Replacement of many elements was inevitable. This project was a Constructive Conservation challenge: what materials to use externally & how to repair the damage internally.

The author was part of the Conservation Architects Team, led by the Duncan Sanderson Conservation Architect. The Team's focus was on an Innovative Intervention. After consultation with Historic

England, it was decided to use stainless steel for the roof covering. An extremely versatile material: its resistance to corrosion, strength, and other properties can be enhanced with the addition of other elements. It is less expensive than zinc and lead, and it lasts longer. It is sustainable; 60- 100% recyclable in an infinite number of times without reduction of its qualities. It is resistant to fire and chemical attack, requires low maintenance costs, and its production does not produce toxic substances. It has aesthetic qualities, and its application can prevent theft.

The roof was restored, partly replaced and repairs took place, externally and internally. Externally, the decorative friezes below the gutters were all replaced, like for like aesthetically, but with better quality, durable materials. The cement render band in the upper walls was removed, then, lime-plastered, and repainted. Lead was used for the chute outlet in the gutters. Internally, the humidity levels of the walls were checked, the plaster was stripped off, they were treated, lime-plastered and repainted. The window lintels were replaced with new concrete ones, and window frames were reinstated.

Following this major restoration, it was noticeable in 2018, that dry rot had affected the gallery parapet and repairs continued to replace the rotten parts.

In recent quinquennial reports and condition surveys it was noted that the presbytery roof parapet and walls were saturated. In 2022 these were repaired and replaced. Further renovations were carried out to the windows and the façade's decorative features of the presbytery. The repairs, restoration and refurbishments of the Church buildings are ongoing, with a constructive collaboration between the Conservation Architects the Church Wardens and Trustees.



*Figure 10. Repairs and Restoration (left to right): Portico 2005-9, Church Roof 2014-5, Presbytery Roof 2022, by author.*

## CONCLUSIONS

### World Heritage Convention safeguarding Heritage Assets.

Fifty years ago, UNESCO Convention has set the foundations for the protection of our heritage assets, but the challenges that communities have endured to safeguard their heritage assets are immense.

In this case study the Greek Community's 160 years of efforts have been a catalyst in securing a future for their heritage asset and Greek Diaspora's cultural identity.

The vision of the Greek Merchants, in the 19th century, who built the church and the countless Church Wardens who safeguarded its treasures for decades have set strong foundations for the Community. Then and now, has given the community a sense of belonging and social value.

The Greeks were well respected in the Manchester Society and employed the most talented and well-known architects and artists to build, decorate, or renovate their church. For them, it was about prestige, and love for their religion, cultural identity, and Community.

Cultural identity and religious sentiment have given strength and resilience to them to endure financial constraints or lack of resources. That entailed many sacrifices financial and personal. At

times these difficulties had an adverse effect, such as the loss of authentic architectural features and significant structural and decorative elements of the building in the 1960's.

### **Cultural Identity-Community-Constructive Conservation-Challenges & Future.**

Constructive conservation, as implemented by Historic England for Places of Worship and Placemaking aims to protect and enhance heritage's significance for sustainable growth and improve communities' health, happiness, and wellbeing.

The Greek Diaspora Community has contributed to Repairs and Renovations, for decades, because this Church is an important part of their life. Continuous Conservation not only has enhanced the structural integrity, architectural and aesthetic significance of the building, more importantly it enhanced the social cohesion and sense of place; it has brought the community even closer together.

How can this and other communities be supported to meet the current challenges; to set Conservation Management Plans and Environmental Strategies, for sustainable growth and economic prosperity? A new vision is currently needed for the Future. Heritage Organisations should provide guidance and support, to the custodians of heritage assets, on how to design and implement Environmental Strategies.

Could a Creative use secure a future? Sustainable growth and economic prosperity could be possible with capital development funded projects, as the recently (2022) restored and redeveloped Jewish Museum<sup>26</sup> in Manchester.

Could religious cultural tourism provide opportunities for sustainable growth? Cultural tourism connecting Communities of Diasporas around the World could provide opportunities for sustainable growth, creating heritage hubs of Diasporas. It could provide incentives to enhance the significance of Cultural Heritage assets and Communities' cultural identities.

Guidance and support by World Heritage Organisations, like UNESCO, is eminently needed, and a new UNESCO Convention or Charter could consider connections of Communities Cultural Identities.

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## NOTES

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# THE UNCHARTED ASPECTS OF THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF SALAMIS: THE CASE OF THE PANAGIOTOPOULOS MANSION

Author:

**MARIA DELAZANOU**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY OF WEST ATTICA, GERMANY

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## INTRODUCTION

The research took place on the island of Salamis and more specifically on the estate of Panagiotopoulos with the homonymous mansion. Rich photographic material freezes time, finds references to the past, collects information through forgotten objects, maps the haunted aspects of the mansion, in order to protect and preserve the architectural heritage of the island of Salamis.

The mansion is a remarkable example of architecture of the interwar period, with an "art nouveau" entrance, which is a symbol of its recognizability. The building complex and the landscape around it, were abandoned, ruined and damaged, not only by time but also by vandalism of the local community. The aim of this research is to revive the history of the mansion, which has been standing for a century on the south-eastern edge of the estate of the family of Takis Panagiotopoulos, on the coastline of Paloukia Bay. The research had three sub-objectives:

1. the documentation of the existing condition of the building, through the photographic survey of the mansion, before elements and details that constitute its architectural identity are completely altered
2. the recording of the history of the mansion and its owners, gathering information from the internet and valid oral testimonies
3. the geometric, aesthetic and material description of the building structure, gathering information from the architectural drawings and the on-site research

## Limitations of research

The estate and the mansion of Panagiotopoulos family belong to a private property regime, which excludes the possibility of visiting by the general public. The architect Zoe Georgiadou, on the occasion of the house of Alekos Rodakis, which is a private monument of the local cultural heritage of the island of Aegina, states that the monuments of public property as well as the monuments of private property: "are custodians of culture, carriers of history and social conditions in which they were created and as panhuman goods, they possess universality". She points out that when a monument belongs to private individuals, the experience of a tour is limited, since it depends on the moods of the owner, with the result that the past is violently interrupted by the present, history is pushed aside and finally it becomes impossible not only to read the monument, but also to preserve the memory.<sup>1</sup> According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage throughout the world, has a great value to humanity.<sup>2</sup>

## THE CASE STUDY OF THE PANAGIOTOPOULOS MANSION

The mansion was the summer residence of the Panagiotopoulos family, on the island of Salmis, which was built in 1923 according to the plans of the Greek civil engineer Ioannis Zolotas.<sup>3</sup> The mansion dominates the south-eastern edge of a large estate, which is known as the Panagiotopoulos estate. The estate occupies a total area of 33,890 sq.m. and is located between the settlements of Palukia and Kamatero on the streets of George Politis, Salaminomakhon and Iatros Vergis, in the building block 100b of the Municipality of Salmis – as illustrated in Table 1.<sup>4</sup> This is an area where at the end of the 19th century there were no houses, but large areas of land.<sup>5</sup> The architecture of the building highlights the social surface of its owners and reflects the tendency of the elite of Athens and Piraeus to be extroverted and display their wealth and affluence.<sup>6</sup> The landscape around it, is stripped of the crowds of the port and the urban structure of the settlement of Palukia, forming a place that has the imprint of another era with an aroma of nobility and grandeur. The anarchic vegetation and the high stone wall fence unfold the aspects of the mansion through a game of hide and seek. Opposite the estate are the remains of a pier, which was used by the family of Takis Panagiotopoulos.<sup>7</sup>

The building of the mansion has a total area of 472.98 sq.m. and consists of a semi-basement, an elevated ground floor, a first floor and a penthouse. On the ground floor there is a kitchen, a bedroom (probably a guest room), a bathroom, a WC with a vestibule, utility rooms and the reception area. On the first floor there are four bedrooms, a bathroom and utility rooms.


	
<p>Government Gazette (FEK): 407/A/1926-11-17          Type of decision: Presidential Decree          Issue: A - Serial Number: 407- page 3239          Date: November 17, 1926          Title: On approval of the settlement of Paloukia and the extension of the town of Salmis          Building block: 100b</p>	<p>Based on the information provided by the website of the Ministry of Environment and Energy, and more specifically the geographical search for urban planning information, it appears that the building block 100b, belonged to the settlement of Paloukia, which is called Agios Lavrentios</p>

Table 1. Extract of urban plan - Geographical Identification of the Panagiotopoulos Estate (Ministry of Environment and Energy, “e-Poleodomia.”)

### The owners

The Panagiotopoulos estate with the homonymous mansion was acquired by Panagiotis (Takis) Panagiotopoulos, who served as Mayor of Piraeus in the period 1925-1931, succeeding his father, Anastasios Panagiotopoulos. Takis Panagiotopoulos and his wife Irene (Nina) had two children, the

great choreographer of National Theatre of Greece, Maria Hors (1921-2015), wife of the architect Michalis Hors, and the chemist Anastasios (Tasos) Panagiotopoulos (1923-2015) husband of Maria Panagiotopoulou – Alivizatou (1922-2006), headmistress of the Hill School in Plaka (1957-1991), with whom he had three children, Takis, Irini and Ismini, who are the current owners of the estate.<sup>8</sup>

### **The architectural style of the building**

It is a country house with an urban architectural style in the direction of the mild eclectic trend of the interwar period. The morphological vocabulary of the building includes elements with Art Nouveau characteristics, towards the geometric expression of Secession. Such elements are the imposing style, the structural rationality with strict geometry on the faces, the pure volumes, the simple decoration, the asymmetry in the structure of the floor plan and the faces and the emphasis on the curve – as illustrated in Figure 1.



*Figure 1. Panagiotopoulos Mansion in 1923 (photographic archive of Danae Koureta)<sup>9</sup>*

There is a clear “verticality” which is emphasized by the tower-shaped endings on the roof of the building and the decorative ledges with a smooth plaster finish, which appear at the corner intersection of the walls, without being visually broken off from the 1st floor thus emphasizing the height of the mansion.<sup>10</sup> Another characteristic of the period is the elliptically arched crowning of the openings, in the form of a “canister handle”, as well as the triple opening (window and balcony door), where the width of the central one is at least twice the size of the adjacent ones – as illustrated in Figure 2.<sup>11</sup>



Figure 2. Characteristic forms of openings of the 1920s - The Form of "Canister Handle" (Biris, "Athenian Architecture", 149)

### Walking around the mansion

The façade (east side of the building) has been organized into three sections, shaping a tripartite layout which is emphasized by the equal staggered division of the building volume. The main volume gradually subsides from the east to the west, giving character to the façade of the mansion. The main entrance has been placed in the 3rd section with a stoop – as illustrated in Figure 3.



Figure 3. The building volume

("Salamis from above" [In Greek.], Facebook, accessed June 23, 2023, <https://www.facebook.com/isalaminaapopsila/photos/a.1839805732978091/1926958777596119/?type=3>)

Characteristic are the two tower-shaped endings at the top of the roof, each with different height, which break the vertical axis of the building volume and highlight the building.<sup>12</sup> On the west side of the façade tower-shaped ending there is a metal staircase that leads to its roof, which functions as a "belvedere", overlooking the bay of Palukia, the islet of Agios Georgios and the city of Perama.<sup>13</sup> The penthouse has the same aesthetic morphology as the rest of the building, with a rectangular floor plan, and an uncovered balcony, which is located on the central axis of the tripartite arrangement of the façade and faces the coastal road. The balcony has neoclassical lines, it is made of reinforced concrete, with a visible linear panel on its plastered surface. One of its two brackets survives, has flat sides and a concave surface at the bottom, with linear decoration forming two glyphs. The railing is metal, with a linear and rhythmic design regarding the arrangement of the metal bars, while the two corners are intensified with a decorative elevation – as illustrated in Figure 4a.



Figure 4. The style of balconies

The façade (east face) and the south face are structured with better aesthetics compared to the other two faces. The large and elongated balconies of the first floor, with a wide view of the estate and the coast, create two semi-outdoor spaces on the ground floor – as illustrated in Figure 5.



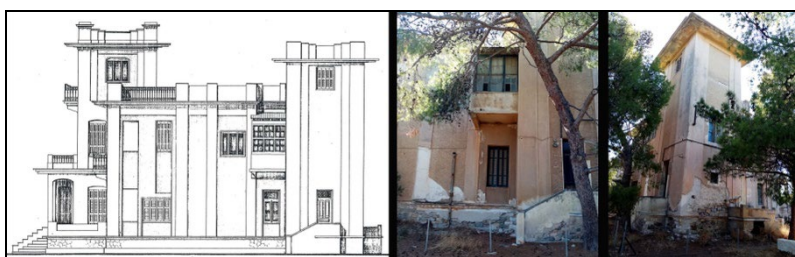
Figure 5. South face of the mansion

The covered verandas are characterized by elliptical arched openings and build-in parapets. On the balconies of the first floor, on the terrace and on the roofs of the tower-shaped endings, the plate projects beyond the masonry around the building, creating a perimeter eaves, which covers the building, serving not only to emphasize the morphology of the building, but also to protect the external masonry from the rainwater. The base of the building is a stonework, formed with irregular blocks of stones fitted closely together and is part of the masonry of the basement. A water table can be seen with a scarcement so as to divert rainwater from the building. On the southwest face, this structure is preserved in quite good condition – as illustrated in Figures 6 a, b.



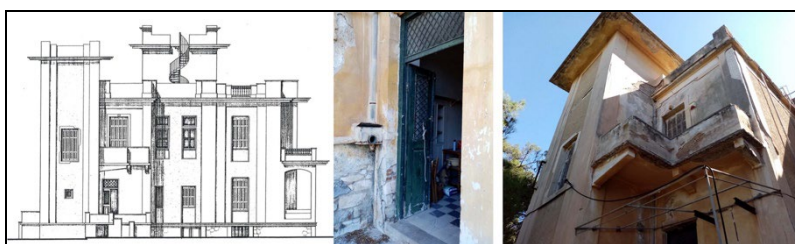
Figure 6. Architectural and structural details

On the north side stands out a rectangular projection- erker, beyond the boundaries of the masonry, with a built-in parapet and wooden windows, while it is roofed by a wooden lean-to slopping roof. The erker has a rectangular floor plan measuring 1.35 X 2.40m, with two sides tangent to the masonry. Its free corner rests on a concrete bracket of trapezoidal cross-section, without glyphs. The corner windows form a bright room that connects the staircase with the vestibule of the first floor. On this face there is stoop with a side door which leads to the internal staircase of the villa – as illustrated in Figure 7.



*Figure 7. North face of the mansion*

The stairway has been placed in the northwest corner of the mansion and ends at a penthouse, which is not a functional part of the residence. The openings on the west side of the building overlook exclusively the estate. The double wooden door of the kitchen stands out, which is sheltered by the unique, in morphology, corner balcony with a built-in parapet and three simple, trapezoidal cross – section, brackets – as illustrated in Figure 8.



*Figure 8. West face of the mansion*

In this face, there is also the entrance to the basement, with a shelter of rough construction made of metal tiles (apparently a later intervention of the owners). The photographic survey of the mansion revealed damages to the masonry from which the structure of its construction can be seen. The use of reinforced concrete in the slabs is evident – as illustrated in Figure 6c. <sup>14</sup>

### The plasticity

The building is monochromatic, while its plasticity is expressed in two ways, first with the alternation of the coating from smooth to coarse in selected architectural elements of the facades and second with the artistic staggered configuration of the masonry, creating, in a masterful way, recesses and protrusions in the outline of the facades, which break up the building volume. The color accent on the façade is carefully given to the main entrance, to emphasize its shape and orientate the visitor.

The openings are part of architectural recesses with rough coating. A thin frame of marble or stone underline the shape of the windows creating also a rough coating panel at the bottom. This detail construction balances the architectural composition of the faces and creates a visual interest in blind spots of the masonry. The window frames are all wooden, with French type shutters – as illustrated in Figure 6d.

## THE ICONIC ENTRANCE

The main entrance has been placed eccentrically on the northeast edge of the building, on the extreme axis of the façade so that the entrance hall and the corridor leading to the kitchen and the staircase have bright natural light. At the same time, the possibility of creating an integral unity of the reception areas is ensured. These areas are successively connected by a free arched opening and a three-leaf, wooden paneled door with a blind transom in the upper part. Thus, the reception areas are arranged along the coastal road of Salaminomachon Street, while the guest room, kitchen and other auxiliary spaces are located on the back side.

The morphology of the door of the main entrance, with the characteristic green color, is described in an “Ω” (omega) shape, a sample of Art Nouveau influence of that time.<sup>15</sup> It is worth noting that a similar opening shape is found in Villa Bianca, which houses the Municipal Art Gallery of Thessaloniki.<sup>16</sup> Manos Biris also points out the form of this opening as a typical example of the architecture of the 1920s – as illustrated in Figure 9.<sup>17</sup>

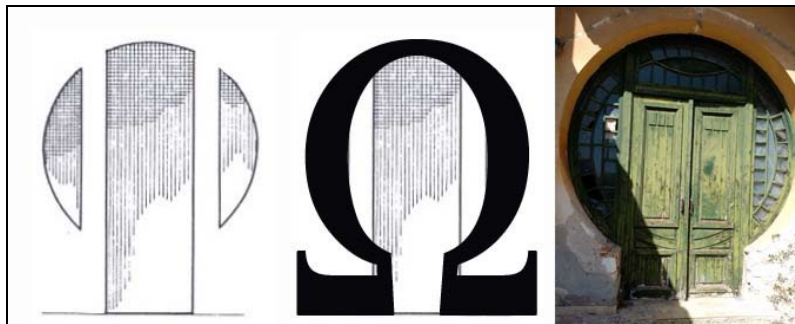


Figure 9. The “omega” shaped door (Biris, “Athenian Architecture”, 149)

The diameter of the stylized circle, in a horizontal position, was measured by the researcher and reaches three meters. The double leaf door, is wooden paneled, with a linear design. Between the panels is engraved the continuity of the circle, as it is delineated on the two fixed sides – as illustrated in Figure 10. This does not interrupt the flow and trace of the circle in the design of the front door. The circular sections that are left over on both sides of the door, form two fixed side windows with wooden muntins. In the upper part, a transom is created, in which the shape of an eye stands out.



Figure 10. View of the main entrance (“Athenologio” [In Greek.], Facebook, accessed June 23, 2023, <https://www.facebook.com/athenologio/photos/a.215348113345169/126029808943667/?type=3&theater>)<sup>18</sup>

The main entrance is roofed with a balcony, similar to that of Figure 4a, of different size, in which, both brackets are preserved.

### **SUGGESTIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS**

Public communication with the Panagiotopoulos mansion and the homonymous estate is not possible due to the ownership regime, so the experiential dimension of the visit, takes place in an informal or formal context, with respect to the personal data and the intellectual and material property of the current heirs. This situation does not favor the extroversion of the villa building, so that it becomes a pole of visit on an educational and tourist level. The building has been photographed by the researcher in 2018, when accidentally was spotted it on the island of Salamis and upon official request which was accepted by the current owner, Ismini Karra - Panagiotopoulou, it was photographed internally and externally in 2022. The inevitable comparison of the images revealed the further deterioration of the building structure and the observation of abandonment. The oral testimony of Irene Panagiotopoulou confirms the destructive actions and vandalism that stem from prejudices, beliefs and speculations of the local community about the "haunted" property of the mansion. The building continues to deteriorate day by day and architectural elements and details that have not been



documented in any bibliography in the past are lost. Also, interventions were found, mainly inside the mansion, either for the installation of electrical supplies or for the needs of professional photography in the area, which have destroyed the masonry, the aesthetics and the architectural composition of the building. This reason makes this research original, because an effort is made to record and photograph the mansion, in order to save it, motivate other researchers for further study and finally, to be used as a means of education. The maintenance and the restoration of the building, by the owners, is economically unprofitable and unfeasible. This is the great burden of the legacy of such architectural works. On the other hand, such building ensembles must be highlighted for the restoration not only of the historical but also of the architectural memory of the place of Salamis and the rest of Greece.

Helen Fessas-Emmanuil points out that "the building remains and urban complexes of the interwar period are, of course, mementos of the recent past. However, romantic remembrance is one thing and creative memory is another", and this has to do with the excessive respect, as she writes, for buildings that do not contribute to the aesthetic education of citizens, harm the architectural heritage and do not motivate modern architects to be inspired by them and create solid foundations for the future of the architecture of the place.<sup>19</sup> She emphasizes that the relationship between architectural heritage and architectural creation plays an important role in the philosophy and practice of protecting remarkable buildings and ensembles of the past, an important part of which is the building stock of the interwar period.

The Panagiotopoulos mansion deserves to be preserved, in order to confirm its magnificence through time, to honor Ioannis Zolotas for its creation, to become a reference point in the culture of Salamis, to enter the list of officially recorded buildings of this period and finally to be declared a monument of cultural architectural heritage.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, actions related to the maintenance and promotion of the mansion and the homonymous estate cannot be implemented in private regime environments, since financing restoration works while preservation of intellectual and material property is almost impossible. Political actors, on the other hand, continue to be absent and, above all, indifferent to such cases. The dissemination of all this information through a digital tour platform in Villa Panagiotopoulos, can become a cause for awakening the local community, create dialogue with cultural institutions, communicate the place and landscape at local and international level and create the foundations of a cultural route that will highlight the overall architectural landscape of Salamis.

## CONCLUSIONS

Having already passed almost a century since its construction, Villa Panagiotopoulos, despite extensive damage, stands proudly to remind the times of prosperity and decline. We reminisce and miss these times where the place and the landscape lived in harmony, because we have not lived them, because they are black and white in photographs, but colored in our memories. The photographic survey of Villa Panagiotopoulos, the recording of its history and the description of the building structure revealed a cultural wealth that deserves to be preserved and disseminated. Photography eventually becomes the means to preserve the memory and pass it on to future generations. The research brought to light the uncharted aspects of the building, identified architectural details and elements of the interwar period, with emphasis on the art nouveau front door. The property regime cuts off the public communication of all this information with the experiential tour of the space. This paper hopes to become the bridge of communication of culture between the mansion and the rest of the world, public and private bodies, tourism and advertising agencies for the preservation of the architectural heritage of Salamis.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Zoe Georgiadou and Panagiotis Ilias, *Ψηφιακή μνήμη και ιδιωτική πολιτιστική κληρονομιά: Η περίπτωση του σπιτιού του Ροδάκη στην Αίγινα* [Digital Memory and Private Cultural Heritage: Rodakis House Case in Aegina Island] (paper presented at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Panhellenic Cultural Heritage Digitization Conference, Volos, Greece, December 1-3, 2017), 244-255.

<sup>2</sup> UNESCO, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage" (The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris, France, November 16, 1972), accessed August 16, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/?cid=175> ; "Main actors on cultural heritage: international organizations," European Commission, accessed August 17, 2023, <https://culture.ec.europa.eu/cultural-heritage/main-actors-on-cultural-heritage/main-actors-on-cultural-heritage-international-organisations>

<sup>3</sup> "Presentation of the Municipality - General information," Salamina Municipality, accessed August 01, 2023, <https://www.salamina.gr/en/presentation-of-the-municipality/general-information/>. Salamis is the largest Greek island in the Saronic Gulf which is the closest to the shores of Attica and administratively it belongs to the Prefecture of Attica, to the district of Piraeus; Ismini Panagiotopoulou – Karra, personal interview, July 15, 2022. No official documents were found to substantiate Zolota's name as architect – engineer of the mansion, so the information is based on the oral testimony of Ismini and Irene Panagiotopoulou.

<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that in the extract of the urban plan, as described by the official website of the Ministry of Environment and Energy and more specifically in the electronic geographical search for urban planning information, plot 100b is surrounded by Ambelakion, Papaflessa, Politi, Salaminomachon and Iatrou Vasiliou Vergi (accessed August 02, 2023, <http://gis.epoleodomia.gov.gr/v11/index.html#/23.5242/37.9605/18>). The present study adopts Nikolaou Vergi Street (instead of Vasiliou), as indicated in the official topographic diagram as issued by engineer Georgoulas Athanasios, in February 2017, by order of the Panagiotopoulos family. Based on the topographic diagram, the estate has been divided into three plots with owners – heirs the brothers Ismini, Irene and Takis Panagiotopoulos.

<sup>5</sup> Panagiotis Veltanisian, «*Η ταυτότητα της Σαλαμίνας από τα τέλη του 17<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα έως και τα μέσα του 19ου αιώνα: μια ιστορική και λαογραφική προσέγγιση μέσα από δικαιοπρακτικά έγγραφα αρχείων, προφορικές παραδόσεις, περιηγητικά κείμενα και άλλες πρωτογενείς πηγές*» [The identity of Salamis from the late of 17<sup>th</sup> century until the mid -19<sup>th</sup> century : a historical and folklore approach based on legal document records, oral traditions, travellers' writings and further primary sources] (PhD diss., National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2018), 566 & 579. The folklorist and philologist Panagiotis Veltanisian, describes the island of Salamis through the eyes of travelers of the time between the 17th and 19th century: "[...] Almost all travelers mention that Salamis was an island with cliffs, rocks and mountains. These were covered with forests of pine, olive, oak, blueberries and shrubs. [...] The settlements of the island mentioned by travelers were three; Koulouri, Moulki and Ambelaki". For Ambelaki he writes characteristically: "[...] The village had only eight houses and was inhabited by Arvanites. [...] There were extensive vineyards, but the ground was muddy [...]."

<sup>6</sup> Theofano Panteli, «*Σαλαμίνα - Πορεία στο χρόνο*» [Salamis – Course in time]. (Athens: Iolkos, 2003), 33 and 146; Panagiotis Veltanisian, «*Το Καματερό*» [Kamatero]. Free Thinking Island, accessed June 10, 2023, <https://freethinkingisland.wordpress.com/2015/10/26/%cf%80%ce%b1%ce%bd%ce%b1%ce%b3%ce%b9%cf%8e%cf%84%ce%b7%cf%82-%ce%b2%ce%b5%ce%bb%cf%84%ce%b1%ce%bd%ce%b9%cf%83%ce%b9%ce%ac%ce%bd-%cf%84%ce%bf-%ce%ba%ce%b1%ce%bc%ce%b1%cf%84%ce%b5%cf%81%cf%8c/> ; Stavros Malagoniaris, «*Όταν οι Αθηναίοι έκαναν στο Πέραμα διακοπές...*» [While the Athenians were on vacations in Perama]. Efsyn.gr, accessed June 10, 2023, [https://www.efsyn.gr/nisides/199724\\_otan-oi-athinaioi-ekanan-sto-perama-diakopes](https://www.efsyn.gr/nisides/199724_otan-oi-athinaioi-ekanan-sto-perama-diakopes).

Theophano Panteli mentions that, at the end of the 19th century the economic development on the island was great, and this resulted in the construction of impressive mansions, which aimed at the social promotion of their owners, mostly residents of Athens and Piraeus, to the outside world. In the 1920s, such buildings were built along the beach of Kamatero. On the coastline from the port of Paloukia to Selinia stand out the mansion of the Panagiotopoulos family and the villa "Galini". From 1920 onwards, Salamis is transformed into one of the most beautiful holiday resorts of Athens and Piraeus. Stavros Malagoniaris, points out the beauty of the bay of Salamina, as it was seen from Keratsini and Perama, with the white villages and mansions in Paloukia, Kamatero and Ambelakia. The occupation of World War II would bring an end to this prosperity, while most mansions were requisitioned and converted into German accommodation.

<sup>7</sup> Roula Kehayia, «*Η Βίλα Παναγιωτόπουλου*» [The Panagiotopoulos Mansion], *Σαλαμίνα*, June 19, 2023, 8. In front of the villa there was a pier where there was a gas boat that brought the owners privately from Perama port.

<sup>8</sup> Παναγιωτόπουλος Αναστάσιος (Τάσος) [Panagiotopoulos Anastasios (Tasos)]. GR-ASKI-2114. Greek Archives Inventory (GAK), 2006. <https://greekarchivesinventory.gak.gr/index.php/7y6m-t5wz-9s9y>; Οι διευθύντριες της Χίλλ: Μαίρη Παναγιωτοπούλου και Φανή Αλιβιζάτου [The managers of Hill: Mary Panagiotopoulou and Fani Alivizatou]. Hill School - Historical Archives.

<https://www.hillarchive.gr/archive/details/2404/fwtografiko-arxeio/sort/page/page/9.html>; Kehayia, "The Panagiotopoulos Mansion".

<sup>9</sup> Danae Koureta, email to author, October 08, 2022. The same photo was sent by email to the author from Ismini Karra Panagiotopoulou, but it had very low resolution and could not be published. Also, this photo of the mansion was published in the local newspaper "Salaminia" in an article by Roula Kehayia.

<sup>10</sup> Manos Biris, *Μισός αιώνας Αθηναϊκής Αρχιτεκτονικής 1875 -1925* [Half a century of Athenian Architecture 1875 -1925] (Athens: Melissa, 1987), 131 & 148. The expression "verticality" is used in Manos Biris' commentaries on his book.

<sup>11</sup> Vasiliki Roussi, «Τα σπίτια του μεσοπολέμου στην Αττική: αστική, προαστιακή, εξοχική κατοικία» [The houses of the interwar period in Attica: urban, suburban, country house]. (PhD diss., National Technical University of Athens, 2011), 230; Manos Biris, *Μισός αιώνας Αθηναϊκής Αρχιτεκτονικής* [Half a century of Athenian Architecture]. Athens: Melissa, 1987, 148-49.

<sup>12</sup> Roussi, "Interwar period in Attica", 72,78 & 237. According to Vasiliki Roussi, the European medieval and Renaissance architecture towers projecting from the houses are a main feature of the 19th century country villas. Similarly, architectural projections and splits of the building volume are tricks to simplify the strict standardization of urban building design. Characteristically, she adds: "[...] The incorporation of towers and tower-like endings is a morphological emphasis in order to give the suburban character of the residences according to the west and modern standards, while expressing with this morphological means, the social promotion of the villas in the new suburbs"

<sup>13</sup> It was not possible for the researcher to visit the roof of the villa, so the information is derived from the floor plan file, which documents the existence of the external auxiliary staircase and from the photos of Vangelis Diplaridis on the website: [https://salamina-press.blogspot.com/2019/11/blog-post\\_77.html](https://salamina-press.blogspot.com/2019/11/blog-post_77.html) (accessed August 18, 2023).

<sup>14</sup> Roussi, "Interwar period in Attica", 163. Vasiliki Roussi writes characteristically: "From the first years of 1920 the use of reinforced concrete for slabs has been expanded, thus giving flexibility to the internal arrangement of a building. Partition walls made of stone are no longer necessary. The result of this construction possibility is the evolution of the floor plan. In many cases, of course, total or partial load-bearing partition walls remain which determine the layout of a building"

<sup>15</sup> Omega is the last letter of the Greek alphabet

<sup>16</sup> "Vila Bianca (Casa Bianca) Municipal Art Gallery of Thessaloniki", InTHESSALONIKI.com, accessed June 12,2023,

<https://inthessaloniki.com/item/vila-bianca-casa-bianca-municipal-art-gallery-of-thessaloniki/>. Villa Bianca, also known as Casa Bianca, was designed by Italian architect Pietro Arrigoni. Its construction began in 1911 and was completed after the liberation of the city of Thessaloniki in 1913. Its name came from the name of the wife of owner Dino Fernandez, Bianche Meyer. It is an excellent example of eclectic architecture in Thessaloniki, with elements of Baroque and Art Nouveau. In 1976 the building was declared a listed building and since 1990 it belongs to the Municipality of Thessaloniki, which restored it.

<sup>17</sup> Biris, *Athenian Architecture*, 149.

<sup>18</sup> Photo taken in February 11, 2020

<sup>19</sup> Helen Fessas-Emmanouil, *Το διατηρητέο έργο των αρχιτεκτόνων της Μεσοπολεμικής Αθήνας* [Heritage buildings of interwar Athens designed by architects] (presentation presented at the Scientific meeting which was organized by the Hellenic Society for the Environment and Culture Heritage, Athens, Greece, November 27, 2008), accessed August 08, 2023 ,

[https://www.academia.edu/37578207/%ce%a4%ce%9f\\_%ce%94%ce%99%ce%91%ce%a4%ce%97%ce%a1%ce%97%ce%a4%ce%95%ce%9f\\_%ce%95%ce%a1%ce%93%ce%9f\\_%ce%a4%ce%a9%ce%9d\\_%ce%91%ce%a1%ce%a7%ce%99%ce%a4%ce%95%ce%9a%ce%a4%ce%9f%ce%9d%ce%a9%ce%9d\\_%ce%a4%ce%97%ce%a3\\_%ce%9c%ce%95%ce%a3%ce%9f%ce%a0%ce%9f%ce%9b%ce%95%ce%9c%ce%99%ce%9a%ce%97%ce%a3\\_%ce%91%ce%98%ce%97%ce%9d%ce%91%ce%a3\\_heritage\\_buildings\\_of\\_interwar\\_athens\\_designed\\_by\\_architects](https://www.academia.edu/37578207/%ce%a4%ce%9f_%ce%94%ce%99%ce%91%ce%a4%ce%97%ce%a1%ce%97%ce%a4%ce%95%ce%9f_%ce%95%ce%a1%ce%93%ce%9f_%ce%a4%ce%a9%ce%9d_%ce%91%ce%a1%ce%a7%ce%99%ce%a4%ce%95%ce%9a%ce%a4%ce%9f%ce%9d%ce%a9%ce%9d_%ce%a4%ce%97%ce%a3_%ce%9c%ce%95%ce%a3%ce%9f%ce%a0%ce%9f%ce%9b%ce%95%ce%9c%ce%99%ce%9a%ce%97%ce%a3_%ce%91%ce%98%ce%97%ce%9d%ce%91%ce%a3_heritage_buildings_of_interwar_athens_designed_by_architects).

<sup>20</sup> Yannis Zervos, «Η εξέλιξη της αντίληψης της διατήρησης από τον χάρτη των Αθηνών του 1931 στην Ευρωπαϊκή Σύμβαση του Τοπίου του 2000» [The evolution of the concept of "Conservation" from the Athens

Charter of 1931 to the European Landscape Convention of 2000] (paper presented 11<sup>th</sup> Panhellenic Conference of Architecture, Athens, Greece, March 17-20, 2011), 1, accessed August 10, 2023, [http://www.greekarchitects.gr/site\\_parts/doc\\_files/eishghshZervos.11sinedrio2011.pdf](http://www.greekarchitects.gr/site_parts/doc_files/eishghshZervos.11sinedrio2011.pdf) . The architect Yiannis Zervos in his presentation, defines "Preservation" as the recording, aesthetic and historical evaluation, the legal determination of the degree of protection, the finding of appropriate use for a beneficial purpose in society, the continuous maintenance, the possible adaptation and restoration, according to the rules of art and science.

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# CRITICAL INTERWEAVINGS: WALKING AS DECOLONIAL HERITAGE PRACTICE

Author:

**ROSEMARY SPOONER**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW, UK

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## INTRODUCTION

Walking has long occupied a place in arts and humanities research, however, in recent years there has been renewed interest in the subject, with scholars from a range of disciplines posing new questions aimed at examining its creative, critical and pedagogical potential, as well as its social, physical and psychological benefits.<sup>1</sup> In this work, the purpose of walking is not to observe and drift through one's surroundings in the manner of a *flâneur*, but rather sees walkers attending to the politics of space and the ethics of taking up space by considering issues such as accessibility, climate change and environmental degradation, land rights and sovereignty, and commemoration, remembrance and silence. Rooted in these discussions, as well as timely debates regarding disputed monuments and other forms of contested heritage, this paper explores how walking can enable critical engagement with the past.<sup>2</sup> Specifically, it considers how walking can be a means of increasing public knowledge and understanding of chattel slavery, European colonization and imperialist thought, as well as an awareness of how these intertwined activities continue to shape and determine the present.

This paper shares the early findings from a current and ongoing research project that investigates whether walking, particularly the experience of collective walking, can be a means of hastening the decolonization of heritage sites, spaces and institutions. Interdisciplinary in nature, it creates a point of intersection between walking studies, heritage studies and urban humanities, with postcolonial and decolonial thinking linking these fields of study together.<sup>3</sup> This research entails creating, leading and evaluating free walking tours with members of the public that address the history of Scotland's involvement in the British imperial project and the ongoing legacies of this. The project also involves creating publicly-available walking resources, principally an illustrated heritage trail and an interactive and immersive online map. While these varied forms of engagement have been conceived to allow for multiple ways of encountering the project – they offer varied points of entry that take account of different access requirements and preferences – they all seek to interweave discussion and acknowledgement of empire and its multifarious legacies into dominant heritage discourses. In short, the project seeks to encourage participants to interrogate the version of the past that is presented in sites of collective memory, thus fostering critical engagement with cultural heritage.

At the time of writing, this project is in the midst of an especially active phase. A slate of in-person walking tours are scheduled for the coming months, participant feedback continues to be collected, archival research remains ongoing, and production of the walking resources noted above is underway. Consequently, this article constitutes a reflective work-in-progress paper and an early attempt at

synthesizing this body of original research. It introduces the project's aims and objectives, establishes its conceptual and theoretical foundations, outlines the approach and methodology taken, and shares preliminary observations and findings.

## SETTING OFF

The chief case study area for this research is the city of Glasgow in Scotland, one of four nations that make up the United Kingdom. The critical heritage walks focus in particular on two major landmarks located in the city's West End: Kelvingrove Park, often recognized as the first purpose-designed public park in Scotland,<sup>4</sup> and the large municipal museum that sits within it, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, which formally opened in 1902 (Figure 1). The project rests on the contention that

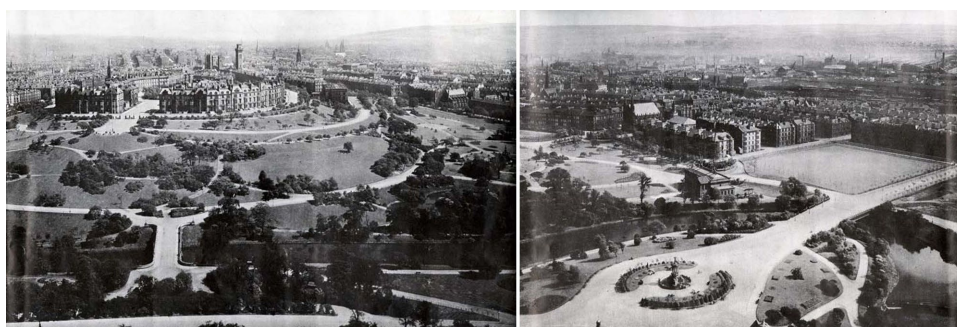


Figure 25. Two photographic plates showing Kelvingrove Park, Glasgow. From T. & R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow in Panorama: Eight Magnificent Photographs Taken from the Octagonal Spire of the University Tower on July 19th, 1905 / by Messrs. T. & R. Annan & Sons, Forming a Complete and Unique Bird's Eye View of Glasgow (*Glasgow: Gowans & Gray, 1905*). University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections.

Glasgow's built heritage and museum collections reflect the myriad ways the city's residents, businesses and institutions were entangled in chattel slavery, colonialism and imperialism and benefitted accordingly. To some degree this history is visible and detectable, such as the names given to streets (e.g. Jamaica Street, Virginia Street) and districts (e.g. Merchant City, Plantation). At the same time, however, it can be difficult to discern the full extent of Glasgow's imperial past when moving through the city. In some cases, the material evidence is there but not formally acknowledged through markers like plaques and information panels, and in others the traces of this past have largely disappeared altogether. In this research walking is used as a method for making visible Glasgow's seemingly 'hidden history' of empire, and exposing the process through which knowledge of the past is constructed in heritage settings. It thus creates a space for public conversations about the partial and constructed nature of heritage as both concept and practice.

## A MOMENTARY DETOUR

In the UK, the phrase 'hidden history' and the word 'decolonization', both of which appear in the preceding paragraphs, have entered the zeitgeist in recent years as attempts at acknowledging the destructive, harmful and violent nature of British colonialism and imperialism have become more widespread.<sup>5</sup> As the deployment of these terms has increased, so debate over their meaning has intensified. Consequently, at this point it is worth momentarily deviating from the main line of discussion in order to address, albeit briefly, how these terms are conceptualized in the specific context of this research.

The phrase 'hidden history' arguably reifies the process of elision it purports to undo due to the sense of passivity it connotes.<sup>6</sup> No histories are inherently hidden; rather, historical truths are rendered

unseen as some narratives are given precedence and others omitted. These “great acts of forgetting”, as Naidoo describes them, are on display in museums, galleries and other sites of collective memory, places where the past is remembered and recounted in the present and where history is transformed into heritage.<sup>7</sup> In this paper, the phrase ‘hidden history’ is placed in scare quotes so as to emphasize not only the tenuous nature of its meaning, but also the action that lies at its center, for something only appears hidden if there has been an attempt to hide it, whether conscious or unconscious, deliberate or inadvertent. Hidden is neither a natural state of being, nor is it an objective descriptor. What may appear hidden to one person may be plainly obvious to another.

Similarly, the word ‘decolonization’ has been used with increasing regularity over the last decade. This has elicited considerable discussion and disagreement over what constitutes decolonization beyond a purely political process that results in the re-institution of a nation’s sovereignty following a period of foreign rule by a colonizing power.<sup>8</sup> In my own work I am guided by Walsh and Mignolo’s claim that “we are where we think”, meaning that my thinking is provoked by the history of where I am emplaced (and yet not confined to it).<sup>9</sup> As such, a conundrum I wrestle with is what decolonization means to my practice as an academic working in a higher education institution located in Glasgow, a municipality once popularly known as the ‘Second City of the British Empire’.<sup>10</sup> This raises a heftier question about what decolonization means when applied to a former imperial ‘metropole’. What does this process entail when situated in a country that was a chief creator and beneficiary of the “colonial matrix of power”, as opposed to one that was forcibly colonized and held under colonial rule?<sup>11</sup> The UK has been slow to recognize the ruinous legacies of chattel slavery, colonialism and imperialism and polls conducted over the last 10 years reveal the British Empire remains a source of pride for a notable proportion of the population, suggesting there is a desire to remain in a state of willful amnesia over the uncomfortable truths of the country’s past as an imperial power.<sup>12</sup> What constitutes decolonial work in this context and what might be its desired outcome(s)?

While formulating answers to these questions is beyond the remit of this paper, I nonetheless suggest that working decolonially requires not only addressing the history of chattel slavery, colonialism and imperialism from a post-colonial perspective, but also using anti-racist principles to highlight the myriad ways that empire has had a determining impact on present realities. An example of socially-engaged research, the project discussed here is propelled by an aspiration to stimulate a transformation of consciousness (this is not to say I presuppose it will fulfill this idealistic ambition).

## **RESUMING THE ROUTE**

This project employs a mixed methods approach, principally a combination of archival, practice-based and qualitative research. Early on, spending time in the case study area was essential. Walking through Kelvingrove Park and Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum, slowly and oftentimes on my own, allowed me to see things I had not seen before and see familiar sites, monuments, objects and interpretation differently. Through analyzing the dominant heritage discourses within the park and the museum I became attuned to both the presences and absences. This exercise became the foundation for sustained archival research concerning the sites’ histories, which generated the content, structure and flow of the walk tours, the leading of which I have increasingly come to understand as a form of practice-based research.





*Figure 26. Critical heritage walk of Kelvingrove Park, 18 September 2022. Photograph courtesy of David Archibald.*

From their inception in 2017, the walking tours of Kelvingrove Park and Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum have always taken place within programmed festivals and cultural events and maintaining strong collaborative relationships with these organizations has been of paramount importance. Leading the walks as part of Black History Month in Scotland and the Glasgow Doors Open Days Festival, for example, aids visibility and promotion and enables me to reach people with an existing interest in and knowledge of local history and heritage. For the most part this approach is advantageous, but it undoubtedly presents methodological constraints as well. I am potentially only engaging with those who are broadly receptive to the subjects that are addressed and discussed. This dynamic may explain why the walks have been so positively received.

Collecting anonymous participant feedback after every walk is another of the project's principal research methods. This rich qualitative data sheds light on whether individuals come away with increased awareness of the history of Scotland's involvement in empire, as well as the social and cultural inheritances or hangovers of this. Survey questions also concern the physical experience of walking and its capacity to help participants connect with these topics, and whether any of the subjects discussed on the walk were felt to be challenging, difficult or uncomfortable. Ascertaining the impact of these walks on participants is essential to answering the project's overarching research question regarding the effectiveness of walking as a decolonial heritage practice. Encouragingly, the majority of survey respondents indicate that taking part in a walk enhanced their understanding of Scotland's imperial history, articulate a sense of value in acknowledging this past, and demonstrate a desire to learn more.<sup>13</sup>

Each walk lasts for around two hours and is capped at 25 people. Over the two hours my fellow walkers and I take pause at various locations in either Kelvingrove Park or the eponymous museum that evidence the history of Glasgow's involvement in the British imperial project. In the park for example we stop at the site of a mansion house built in 1783 by someone named Patrick Colquhoun (Figure 2).



Figure 27. Thomas Annan, "Kelvingrove House", *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1870), University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections.

Colquhoun was a merchant, city official, magistrate and political lobbyist who traded in colonial commodities, principally sugar and tobacco produced on plantations worked by enslaved people in North America and the Caribbean. The considerable wealth Colquhoun derived from this enabled him to build the mansion and the large formal estate it was the centerpiece of. Colquhoun coined the word Kelvingrove – it was the title he gave to the property he created – and the name was kept as the estate was purchased by a succession of owners before coming into the possession of Glasgow Town Council 70 years after its creation. Reflected in the name chosen for the 85-acre park laid out in 1852 and the museum and art gallery that sits within it, the name Kelvingrove is a direct link between Georgian Glasgow and the contemporary city. However, this history is all but invisible today. Kelvingrove mansion was demolished in the early-twentieth century and its location is now a skate park (Figure 1). Moreover, no plaque, sign or information panel alerts us to this history, meaning it is absent from the authorized heritage encountered in the park.

Although I strive for consistency, each walk inevitably becomes its own unique happening. While I stop at the same locations and endeavor to relay the same information on every walk, I do not read from notes nor do I recite lengthy passages from memory. These inconsistencies are within my control and while I take steps to mitigate them, I am loathe to attempt to eradicate them altogether. Reading from a script would flatten the delivery, impede eye contact, and impose a physical barrier between myself and my fellow walkers, all of which would increase the risk of losing participants' interest and attention. Moreover, it would produce a decidedly didactic experience, something I actively seek to avoid. Care is taken to create a conversational atmosphere in which participants feel emboldened and inspired to ask questions and share comments, thoughts, reflections and counterpoints as we make our way through the park and the museum. Even if I were to control these elements, a host of external factors would nonetheless coalesce and make each walk distinct. What is the size of the group? Why have people chosen to give up two hours of their time and what are their motivations for attending? What level of existing knowledge do individuals bring with them, and to what extent do they come with an openness and a willingness to engage in potentially uncomfortable and unsettling conversations? What is the weather like? What else is going on at the same time and

what sensory distractions are at play? Boisterous toddlers running every which way, an organ recital in the main central hall of Kelvingrove museum, dogs sniffing our ankles, the smell of barbeques, and even a rally by a Protestant Loyalist group related to the Orange Order are just some of the happenings we have had to contend with.

A walk of Kelvingrove Park that took place in June 2023 provides a pointed example of how such factors can positively impact not only participants' experiences in the moment, but also potentially what they remember and retain. This walk took place on a warm and sunny early-summer's day. Just as we were approaching the walk's third stop, the large Victorian fountain that was our destination dramatically sprang into action, taking everyone by surprise, myself included, and eliciting laughter at

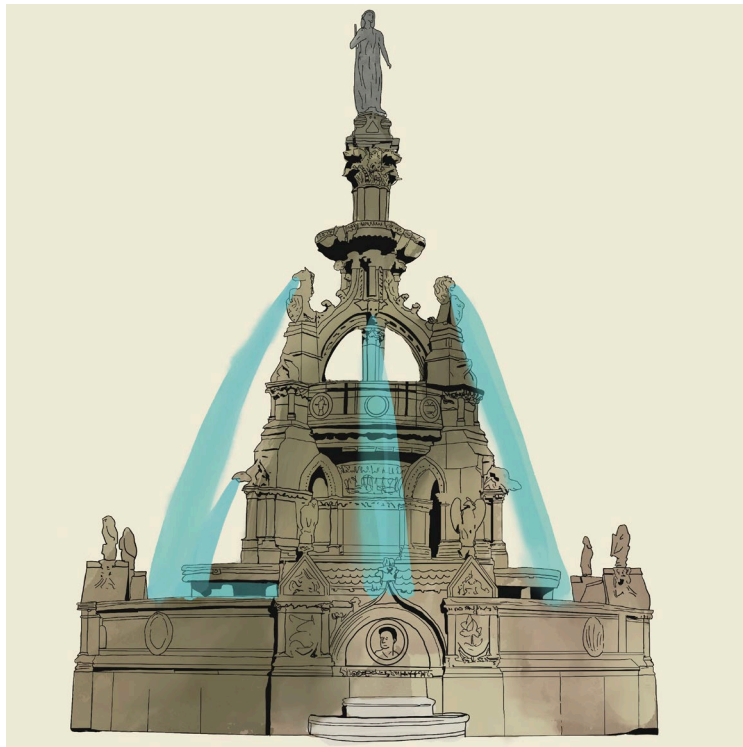


Figure 28. Illustration of the Stewart Memorial Fountain, Kelvingrove Park, Glasgow, 2023. © Malini Chakrabarty.

how auspicious the timing was (Figure 3). This occurrence did a number of things. Firstly, it was an icebreaker. The majority of participants that morning had come on their own. Sharing a humorous moment like the one we experienced in front of the Stewart Memorial Fountain facilitates conviviality and connectivity – it opened people up. Secondly, it punctuated the walk by virtue of being a highly sensory experience in which sight, sound, smell and touch were instantaneously activated.

Feedback collected after this specific walk reveals that this was an especially memorable moment, with participants recounting it in the open comments boxes provided on the survey. Furthermore, the reflection below suggests it helped solidify in people's minds the information that was relayed at this particular stop on the tour:

I was in Kelvingrove Park last night visiting my daughter ... and it was interesting to walk past the Stewart Memorial Fountain feeling I knew a bit more about it. I think it was most fortuitous that the fountain sprang to life the morning of our walk for all of the 5 minutes when we were standing close by.<sup>14</sup>

Testimony such as this also indicates that instances like the one we experienced at the Stewart Memorial Fountain may effect an especially strong connection to place, whereby seeing this piece of built heritage in the future could trigger someone's memory and induce them to recall the associated

information. Consequently, this moment of complete happenstance serves as a powerful demonstration of how these critical heritage walks support the creation of emplaced and embodied knowledge.

### **LOOPING BACK**

Although the research project that has been the subject of this paper is by no means concluded, an initial analysis of participant feedback and other forms of qualitative data such as reflective field notes indicates there is a positive correlation between participating in the walks and respondents coming away with a deeper understanding of Scotland's involvement in chattel slavery, colonialism and imperialism and its after-effects. Additionally, the majority of participants indicate that the physical experience of walking helped them connect with the topics discussed. As such, this research arguably realizes what Bhambra, Gebriel and Nişancıoğlu regard as decolonization's two "key referents":

First, it is a way of thinking about the world which takes colonialism, empire and racism as its empirical and discursive objects of study [and] ... second, it purports to offer alternative ways of thinking about the world and alternative forms of political praxis.<sup>15</sup>

This conclusion can be taken further. According to Mignolo and Walsh, decoloniality means engaging in "two types of activities at once: the thinking-doing, and doing-thinking of decoloniality."<sup>16</sup> Their understanding of decoloniality deliberately blurs the boundaries between theory and practice and instead fuses the two together in an ongoing cycle of thinking and doing. The walking research that has been discussed here is the result of that praxis, in that it has come out of an interlinked process of thought, reflection, action and reflection-on-that-action. Moreover, it invites others to engage in that same process through participating in the act of slow collective walking, a method of moving through physical space and imaginary time that is deliberative, self-reflective and oftentimes deeply personal. As such, this paper constitutes a preliminary attempt at articulating the power of walking as a form of public pedagogy that can hasten the decolonization of heritage sites, spaces and institutions through making visible the 'hidden histories' of empire, shedding light on the practices that effected their erasure, and opening up new pathways to increasing public understanding of empire and its legacies.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See for example Corinne Fowler, *Green Unpleasant Land: Creative Responses to Rural England's Colonial Connections* (Leeds: Peepal Tree Press Ltd., 2020); Dee Heddon and Misha Myers, "Pedestrian Pedagogy: The Walking Library for Women Walking," *Journal of Public Pedagogies*, 4 (2019): 108-117; Maggie O'Neill and Brian Roberts, *Walking Methods: Research on the Move* (London: Routledge, 2019); Stephanie Springgay and Sarah E. Truman, *Walking Methodologies in a More-than-Human World: WalkingLab* (London: Routledge, 2018).

<sup>2</sup> This project follows an expanded definition of walking and takes account of a plurality of different modes of moving through both physical and imagined space. In this context, walking does not only refer to the physical act of putting one foot in front of the other, and instead includes rolling and other forms of assisted mobility.

<sup>3</sup> For discussion of the relationship between postcolonial theory and decoloniality see for example Gurminder K. Bhambra, "Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues," *Postcolonial Studies* 17, no. 2 (2014): 115-121.

<sup>4</sup> Glasgow City Council Land and Environmental Services, *Kelvingrove Park Heritage Trail* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Council, 2015), 5.

<sup>5</sup> While such topics have commanded greater public interest in recent years, it is important to acknowledge that these are not new conversations. Anti-racist resistance in Britain predates the current wave of public discourse stimulated at least in part by the emergence of a global Black Lives Matter movement in 2020. Indeed, activists and campaigners have been drawing attention to the persistence of racism within British society, whether interpersonal, institutional or systemic, since at least the 1960s.

<sup>6</sup> Peggy Brunache, "Mainstreaming African Diasporic Foodways: When Academia is Not Enough," *Transforming Anthropology* 27, no. 2 (2019): 149-63. See also Catherine Hall and Daniel Pick, "Thinking About Denial," *History Workshop Journal* 84, no. 1 (2017): 1-23, and Michael Morris, "Avoing Slavery in the Visual Arts," in *Scotland's Transnational Heritage: Legacies of Empire and Slavery* ed. Emma Bond and Michael Morris (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 200-217.

<sup>7</sup> Roshi Naidoo, "Never Mind the Buzzwords: 'Race', Heritage and the Liberal Agenda," in *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of 'Race'*, ed. Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo (London: Routledge, 2005), 32.

<sup>8</sup> For discussion of decolonization in relation to the museum and heritage sector see for example Carol Ann Dixon, "Transforming Museums, Decolonizing Minds: Three Politically Aesthetic Interventions by African Artists," *Journal of Museum Education* 47, no. 4 (2022): 459-475; John Giblin, Imma Ramos and Nikki Grout, "Dismantling the Master's House: Thoughts on Representing Empire and Decolonising Museums and Public Spaces in Practice An Introduction," *Third Text* 33, no. 4-5 (2019): 471-486; Sumaya Kassim, "The Museum Will Not be Decolonised," *Media Diversified* (15 November 2017), <https://mediadiversified.org/2017/11/15/the-museum-will-not-be-decolonised/>; and Sara Wajid and Rachael Minott, "Detoxing and Decolonising Museums," in *Museum Activism*, ed. Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell (London: Routledge, 2019), 25-35.

<sup>9</sup> Walter D. Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh, *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), 2.

<sup>10</sup> According to the historian John M. Mackenzie, the phrase 'Second City of the British Empire' was first used to describe Glasgow in 1825. Mackenzie, "'The Second City of the British Empire': Glasgow – Imperial Municipality," in *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*, ed. Felix Driver and David Gilbert (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 215.

<sup>11</sup> Anibal Quijano, and Michael Ennis, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America," *Nepantla: Views from South* 1, no. 3 (2000): 533-580.

<sup>12</sup> See for example YouGov polls conducted in July 2014

([http://cdn.yougov.com/cumulus\\_uploads/document/6quatmbimd/Internal\\_Results\\_140725\\_Commonwealth\\_Empire-W.pdf](http://cdn.yougov.com/cumulus_uploads/document/6quatmbimd/Internal_Results_140725_Commonwealth_Empire-W.pdf)), January 2016

([https://d25d2506sfb94s.cloudfront.net/cumulus\\_uploads/document/95euxfgway/InternalResults\\_160118\\_British\\_Empire\\_Website.pdf](https://d25d2506sfb94s.cloudfront.net/cumulus_uploads/document/95euxfgway/InternalResults_160118_British_Empire_Website.pdf)), and June 2019

(<https://docs.cdn.yougov.com/z7uxxko71z/YouGov%20-%20British%20empire%20attitudes.pdf>).

<sup>13</sup> For example, one of the questions on the feedback survey asks "Has participating in the walk altered your understanding of the history of Scotland's involvement in historic slavery, colonialism and imperialism and ongoing legacies such as structural racism?". In addition to an open comments box, respondents are asked to select a score on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 indicating "No, not really" and 5 indicating "Yes, absolutely". The average score in response to this question was 4.2. For the period of August 2022 to June 2023, the completion rate for the walking tours of Kelvingrove Park was 69%.

<sup>14</sup> Participant testimony, email correspondence with the author, 13 June 2023.

<sup>15</sup> Gurminder K. Bhambra, Dalia Gebriel and Kerem Nişancıoğlu (eds.), *Decolonising the University* (London: Pluto Press, 2018), 2.

<sup>16</sup> Mignolo and Walsh, *On Decoloniality*, 9.

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## AN ALTERNATIVE TAXONOMY OF THE LIVING

Author:

**MIRIAM MALLALIEU**

Affiliation:

THE UNIVERSITY OF DUNDEE, UK

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### INTRODUCTION

Museums are peculiarly bound to notions of life and death, almost as if to remove objects from everyday cycles of growth, use and decay exposes the objects to interpretations of the presence or absence of life. Museums are frequently described as either evocative of life, like in Pamuk's *The Museum of Innocence*, or sites of death as Adorno describes in his essay *Valerie Proust Museum*.

In this paper, I suggest a new taxonomy of living artefacts in a collection, ranging from the overtly living (those that breathe and move) to stationary objects that are animated through use or through storytelling, and look at ways in which a museum might cause or be associated with the death of artefacts. I am interested in what the implications are for something to be considered live or dead, and what the impact is of describing artefacts in relation to these terms. These categories partially align with Fernando Domínguez Rubio's designations of unruly and docile objects outlined in *Preserving the unpreservable: docile and unruly objects at MoMA*, 2014.

Rubio describes a museum collection as an “‘objectification machine’ that endeavours to transform and stabilize artworks as meaningful ‘objects’ that can be exhibited, classified, and circulated”.<sup>1</sup> The goal of the museum, he writes, is to “maintain the intelligibility of artworks *qua* meaningful and valuable ‘objects’ over time”.<sup>2</sup> Objects are classified as docile or unruly depending on the degree to which they resist or accommodate this structure of forced intelligibility and stability.

To use the terms *life* and *death*, a hierarchy of signification is being created and reinforced (to mirror generalities in Western society: the living should be protected; the dead should be mourned and death prevented). There are political implications to the use of the terms *life* and *death* that affect the artefacts directly (care, value, potential, interpretation, loss, or temporality, for instance) and it is interesting to consider how these terms affect the justification for a collection, and if the potential application of these terms can be understood in relation to other collections of artefacts aside from the museum. If there is a reconsideration of the boundaries of the living in museum collections, what are the implications for the warehouse, the recycling plant, or the hard drive?

### CATEGORY 1

#### **The Overtly Living: *The Inclusion Of People, Animals And Insects***

It was, at one point, commonplace to hold the living within museum displays, although even then they were not typically included as part of the collection. A line was drawn, and the living were considered different. The Overtly Living typically acted as supporting elements to natural history displays. They were not generally coded, documented or accessioned. They passed too obviously through the cycles of growth, decline and death: their constant change made them difficult to log or preserve. The



exception is plants, which are frequently included in accession registers: botanic gardens organise and function in a cataloguing process like a museum of artefacts. The potential for growth can be stored in seeds, and plants can be cloned through cuttings allowing them to adhere to the museum's expectations of posterity.

In 1981, an act was passed in the UK to ensure the care and conservation of wild animals in captivity for public display.<sup>3</sup> The consequence of this was the removal of live animals from most encyclopaedic museums in favour of specialist museums for the living: zoos. The legislation refers only to animals, defined as

*“animals” means animals of the classes Mammalia, Aves, Reptilia, Amphibia, Pisces and Insecta and any other multi-cellular organism that is not a plant or a fungus*

Zoo licensing Act, 1981

(We can infer from this that those not requiring specialist care for the living include not only plants, and fungus but also robots, gods, ghosts and spirits, bacteria and viruses, radioactive items, *active* or *vibrant* artefacts or materials).

## **CATEGORY 2**

### **The Living With Imminent Or Expected Expiry**

It can be suggested that the overtly living are simply *too alive* for most museum collections. They cannot be preserved unless that preservation happens after death. What has been lost during this transformation from being to artefact is, amongst other things, the possibility for an object to *bear witness* beyond their material traces.

With the increase in digital technologies, the Internet of Things and connected artefacts, data is gathered, stored and held by objects in a new way. Through this technology, we are able to see what an object sees in a new way: this is a form of recognising life. What is striking is that, like animals, there is an inevitable expiry to their agency. This technology only actively exists as long as we have the necessary means to access their information: they must have electricity, they must be functioning, they must have the software needed to interpret their data. These artefacts do not exist as singular items, they are dependent on a wide platform of enabling or accompanying technology that must be stored with it, kept updated and maintained. The information held within *Alexa* or a car tracking system accessioned into a museum collection would be inaccessible in a decade, and the object would be diminished from agent to evidence.

This is a category of living artefact that, like the overtly living, is incompatible with the museum collection. The museum, with its emphasis on posterity, can only accommodate those that cannot, or will not, die. The material must be preserved, and at present, the means of preserving digital memory is out-with a conventional museum.

## **CATEGORY 3**

### **Gods, Spirits And The Animate**

At Perth Museum and Art Gallery in Scotland, there is a Salish blanket in the collection that has a spirit woven into the fabric. This object does not breathe, it is not overtly living, yet it contains life: it requires special care (appeasement of the spirit; respect) – it cannot be cleaned because of the concern that damage to the fabric could unbind the spirit and release a spirit of undetermined power and intent into the building. There are Tjurungas, carved by the Ancestors and bound to both the gods and the inherited people; Māori staffs, wrapped with hair and rags to extend the owner into the staff itself; carved Pictish stones to protect and deter. They are described in museum terminology as *active* objects, those with the perceived power to affect the world or inhabit spaces beyond their material boundaries.

In June 1498, the bell of the Church of San Marco in Florence, Italy, was put on trial for its role in a religious uprising. Found guilty, the bell, the *Piagnona*, was punished as if it were a social deviant: it was whipped, dragged through the streets from a cart and exiled from the city.<sup>4</sup> Since returned to the city, the *Piagnona* now forms part of a display in the small museum at San Marco, exhibited as a historical artefact and a peculiar example of Renaissance perceptions of material agency. This example is striking for two reasons, firstly that an object would be seen as responsible for events and receptive to punishment, and secondly, that that perception has diminished to the extent that the bell is part of a display, reduced from agent to example. The *Piagnona* crossed the boundary from artefact to being – and returned.

This change in perceived agency of the bell is a result of both a cultural shift and its current context in the museum. No longer are these items directly engaged with people, with religious or spiritual practices, with use in their active forms.

In his essay *Valery Proust Museum*, Adorno draws attention to the connection between the words *Museum* and *Mausoleum*. He states that, “The German word, ‘*museal*’ [‘*museum-like*’], has unpleasant over-tones. It describes objects to which the observer no longer has any vital relationship and which are in the process of dying.”<sup>5</sup>

Adorno quotes Valery:

*“Their mother is dead, their mother, architecture. While she lived, she gave them their place, their definition. The freedom to wander was forbidden them. They had their place, their clearly defined lighting, their materials. Proper relations prevailed between them. While she was alive, they knew what they wanted.”*<sup>6</sup>

With the removal of the context, the *mother* (for Valery, the painter’s studio, but this could also be the site and use of an object), the object is diminished. This could be used to understand the changed response to sacred items within a museum collection: when isolated from their context as active religious or spiritual items, the object no longer inspires an emotive response of awe, fear, respect.

## CATEGORY 4

### Storytelling, Memory And Romantic Traces

In the novel *The Museum of Innocence* by Orhan Pamuk, artefacts are collected, initially as a means of remembering specific instances, then as a mode of possession of an individual. Later, they are assembled in a museum after the realisation that these artefacts, when presented with a narrative, could be used to evoke something of the subject that died (sometimes described as a bringing to life, other times in the novel described as the museum acting to evoke the dead). Although the individuality of the object is important at the point of collection (*the* teaspoon that Füsün placed against her lips during tea), it is the collection of objects and the story that they are able to tell that evokes the life of Füsün. In this example, it is not the artefacts alone that are living, but that the collection is living through its storytelling.<sup>7</sup>

This is even more evident in the physical Museum of Innocence that was built in Istanbul alongside the novel, displaying artefacts that correspond to those described in the story. This museum gives significance to a collection through a story that is fictional. At this museum, the visitor can look at a display of hundreds of cigarette butts that correspond to those smoked throughout the novel, but they are not referencing actual events, rather the idea of events.<sup>8</sup>

The idea of a story is enough to give life to an artefact.

## CATEGORY 5

### The Dormant

In 1851, after four years on display, a snail emerged from a shell glued to a cardboard panel in the Natural History Museum in London. Presumed dead, the shell had been sold to the museum, where it continued its dead-like performance for a near half-decade. After it awoke, the snail fed, then retreated back into the shell for another eight months. While established to be alive, the snail was kept in a glass jar at the museum, fed cabbage and sat for a commissioned portrait. After it died (for a second time) in 1852, the snail was re-glued to the board and returned to display.<sup>9</sup>

Artefacts can move between the states of life and death: things can re-animate, or temporarily animate. More typical to move between the states of life and non-life are devices, viruses and seeds. A seed can be kept in store for hundreds of years in the right conditions, and still activate into life with the right stimuli. A virus can be completely inactive and unresponsive, adhering to few of the biological definitions of life until presented with a specific environment. (Whilst seeds are often contained within encyclopaedic collections, viruses are probably stored only inadvertently outside of specialist collections.) Devices, however, that animate as an extension of the body or mind, are common in museum stores. Glasses, tools, phones are all kept, but not used. They are not active as devices, but they retain that potential and that trace.

The museum is an ideal store for the dormant: it is stable. It neither diminishes nor promotes life – dormant life is gently postponed.

## CATEGORY 6

### The Materially Active

Many theorists, such as Graham Harman or Jane Bennett, would be concerned by Pamuk's inference that objects rely on their interpretation in order to have life (or have their latent life awakened).

In *Vibrant Matter*, Jane Bennett argues that the distinction between *life* and *matter* is politically driven: we are encouraged not to recognise the “vitality of matter and the lively powers of material formations”<sup>10</sup> in order to allow and participate within a society based on consumption and environmental destruction. The language that I have used throughout this paper so far – words such as *object* and *artefact*, and especially *living* and *dead* – would be criticised by Bennett as terminology that is inescapable from human perceptions of animation, and therefore of value. Instead, Bennett suggests that we use the term *thing*, and its ‘life’ as I have been describing it, should be *vibrancy*.

If perceptions of life, of vibrancy, are shifted to include *all things* and this is in relation to their material properties, their effects on bodies around them and their power as agents, how could this evaluation be inserted into already existing structures of signification and value, such as a museum collection?

Inevitably, items in museum collections resist the attempts of preservation: there is constant change - materials dry out, become brittle, change colour, ooze fat, collect dust. Despite the environmental controls, pest management and acid-free paper, items remain active. Many objects are not recognisable as those listed on the accession register: one cannot call a bag of corroded plastic an Action Man figure, and the stuffed family of Red Deer are certainly no longer red. As well as materially changing, items retain agency, affecting things around them: some are poisonous, radioactive or hold the potential of contamination. Some leave marks on the skin, have smells that linger or that you can taste, or shed traces when they are moved. They have effect.

Even if it is designed to maintain objects within a human-determined framework of value and use, museum practices encourage and promote a close attention to material agency. Once accessioned into a museum collection, an artefact gets divorced from its previous use and context and assigned a new use: to exist in a stable manner for interpretation to be abstractly applied to it. A spoon, for instance,

once inside a museum collection, would no longer be held in the hand in the same way, would probably no longer touch skin, and would certainly not be placed in the mouth. It would no longer have the use of transporting or stirring liquids. It would no longer be washed with a sponge and with washing-up liquid. The spoon's subjective context and use is removed and recorded separately, leaving the spoon to now exist in its material form (albeit in storage and removed from the world).

In this way, a museum collection could be seen to inadvertently promote vibrancy and to recognise life, precisely through the mechanisms often seen as disallowing it. The equality of care shown to objects once in a collection, and the considered processes of de-accessioning, could be a positive disruption to our culture of consumption and easy replacement if applied to general practices in life.

## **CATEGORY 7**

### **The Too-Dead**

There are items in the museum that could be considered absent of life, either as artefacts in themselves or through their association with the museum. The Natural History Curator at Perth Museum is currently compiling a carcass list: items in the museum freezer that will not be skinned or stuffed or taken long term into the natural history collection. The items on this list are being given to another museum with more funds to transform these carcasses into items fit for display. These items are not active in the museum, holding limited potential for exhibition or research – they are *too dead*, unwilling to lend themselves to possible handling, display or storytelling.

Whilst working on an exhibition design recently, I found listed in the exhibition contents: *four boxes of nun bones*. These, the note read, were removed from the grounds surrounding a Nunnery. There are many human remains at the museum in Perth, some that are treated officially as Human Remains, and some that are not. Recognised Human Remains include skulls, scalps, skin: religious items, talismans, relics and violent traces. These are rarely displayed: their ethics are considered. Many have been repatriated.

Not-quite-human-remains include hair, fingernails, bones: other, lesser relics. These do not typically present ethical considerations. For example, it is possible to visit Galileo's finger in a museum in Florence.<sup>11</sup> One part of a person is considered more human – or perhaps, more evocative of death - than another. The four boxes of nun bones are a pick and mix of human remains: mixed with animal bones, non-specific to individuals, unassembled and unidentifiable as human.

Items that are no longer alive have their own hierarchies of dead-ness, including use, context, religious and cultural 'otherness' or ritual, age and distance. This scale of dead-ness requires different practices of sensitivity, respect, display and interpretation, expected from both the museum itself as well as the behaviour of the visitors.

## **CONCLUSION**

At all points within this scale, the museum is resisting: the museum forces a docility that deadens the living and can add liveness to the dead.

Museums are sites that are very sensitive to perceptions of life and death: individuality, spiritual agency, material vitality, storytelling context: all of these contribute to why items are accessioned and cared for – essentially, they establish the value of the object. However, a museum's desire towards docility, to preserve, understand and organise objects, is in conflict to these same ideas of value that made artefacts attractive.

There are larger implications of docility to consider: if objects representative of history are inserted into structures that deny activity and 'live-ness', there are implications for how history is interpreted and understood, presenting the past as passive and the narratives docile by extension. It is a political

act to order history and separate it from the present: limiting and controlling contemporary relevance to institutional narratives.

Any attempt to accommodate the unruly aspects of life and death within museum practices would necessarily involve a radical reconsideration of the priority of preservation and access, possibly moving towards a perception in which museums hold objects that are dormant, able to be reawakened from hibernation and be reintroduced to activity.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Fernando Dominguez Rubio, *Preserving the unpreservable: docile and unruly objects at MoMA* (Theory and Society vol 43, No. 6 pp617-645) 620

<sup>2</sup> Dominguez Rubio, 621

<sup>3</sup> “Zoo licensing act, 1981”, accessed 09/12/21

[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/69595/zoo-licensing-act-guide.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/69595/zoo-licensing-act-guide.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> Christopher Brown and Daniel Zolli, *Bell on Trial: the struggle for sound after Savonarola* (Renaissance Quarterly 72, no.1: 54 – 96, 2019)

<sup>5</sup> Theodor Adorno, *Valery Proust Museum* in *Prisms* (London: Neville Spearman, 1967) 177

<sup>6</sup> Adorno, 177

<sup>7</sup> Orhan Pamuk, *The Museum of Innocence* (London: Faber & Faber, 2010) 686

<sup>8</sup> Orhan Pamuk, *The Innocence of Objects* (New York, NY: Abrams, 2012)

<sup>9</sup> “Snail Wakes Up”, accessed 12/12/21

<https://www.ripleys.com/weird-news/snail-wakes-up/>

<sup>10</sup> Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter* (USA: Duke University Press, 2010) ix

<sup>11</sup> “Galileo's fingers to be displayed in Florence science museum”, accessed 10/08/23

<https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2010/jun/08/galileo-fingers-museum-florence>

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## **REBIRTH OF A CITY: CASE OF MATERA SASSI ITALY**

Author:

**MAHWISH RASOOL**

Affiliation:

INDUS VALLEY SCHOOL OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE, PAKISTAN

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### **INTRODUCTION**

This paper aims to contribute to the paradigm of design education, practice, and research by establishing the importance of heritage conservation and the reuse of city infrastructure for sustainability, economic viability, and future growth.

Conservation of cities started as a concept in the early 1970s with the emergence of many abandoned towns globally. In his book *Conservation and Sustainability in Historic Cities*, Dennis Rodwell discussed the conservation of many historic European cities and how they are re-imagined into historic cultural precincts.

Similarly, in the Case of Matera, Sassi Italy was reborn from a complete abandonment of “Sassi” in the 1950s to a new dynamic cultural landscape, the European capital, in 2019. The paper will unfold the story of Matera from its origins as one of the oldest continuously inhabited towns in the world, its Architecture and cultural significance as the first human settlement in Italy dates back to the Paleolithic period to the current sustainable, resilient city in southern Italy. Matera has a unique cultural landscape that comprises natural habitat and manmade building typologies that sit perfectly with the morphology of its geographical topography.

The paper will explore heritage conservation and adaptive reuse strategies set for the Conservation of the Matera city landscape, the principles of infrastructure reuse, environmental sustainability, heritage protection, and the global economy. Furthermore, the paper will highlight parameters that listed Matera as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1993 and later designated as a European Cultural Capital in 2019.

Lastly, the paper unfolds design parameters and strategies that regain “Matera” presence on the world map by analyzing various project interventions, design charters, and adaptive reuse case studies, which created new building typologies, dynamic Interior environments and promote economic viability, new professions, future growth, resilience, and cultural identity for Matera Sassi Italy.

### **HERITAGE CONSERVATION**

Heritage conservation was first coined in the 1960s after the increasing interest in protecting historic districts of European urban history. It was formalized in 1974 after the UNESCO Convention on World Heritage Sites and their conservation and protection. It was followed by several governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), including UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICOM, and ICCROM, followed by various international Charters. (Dennis Rodwell).

Heritage conservation aims to preserve a building's architectural character by preventing demolition and promoting restoration and reuse. This process seeks to protect the historical features of the built

environment, extending beyond just architecture to the conservation of cultural heritage. Burra's charter defines “heritage conservation as the practice of safeguarding and up-keeping a location to preserve its cultural importance.”

Heritage conservation of the city of Matera started in the 80s, after the town's abandonment during the 1960s; the first law applied in November 1986, law 771, states the “Conservation and recovery of Matera Sassi” in which the city center and the principal monuments were protected under law 771. In 1993, after Matera's inclusion in the UNESCO World Heritage List, major laws were enforced to protect the historic character of the city in line with the Burra Charter, which states that the historical city center or the heritage perimeter remains unchanged over time and maintains its cultural intrinsic value while other parts are subject to significant changes.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of Matera city, the heritage perimeters, buffer zones, and conservation practices are identified according to the UNESCO Heritage Urban Landscape approach (UNESCO, 2011) and its complex social and intrinsic values.

## INTRODUCTION TO SASSI DI MATERA

### Origin to 1993

Matera is one of the oldest cities in the world, dating back to the Paleolithic times.

It is located in the southern province of Bari, Italy, and it's known to be the only continuously inhabited city in the world and has traces of various Architecture periods. Matera has a unique cultural and urban context; natural caves, underground architecture, cisterns, farms, enclosures, churches, and palaces follow one another and coexist, excavated and built in the local stone ‘tufa.’<sup>2</sup>

Sassi of Matera or Stones of Matera refers to almost 3000 dwellings carved into the side of a vast canyon, and it's defined by UNESCO as “the most outstanding, intact example of a troglodyte settlement in the Mediterranean region, perfectly adapted to its terrain and ecosystem.”



Figure 1. Matera City and Landscape by UNESCO



The city's architectural landscape is a cluster of caves of various sizes, in which cisterns, reservoirs, and terraces are carved, which allows the collection and distribution of water for domestic and agricultural use. The Cave structure is the co-existence of systems built and excavated into the rock; many caves are sloped downwards of various shapes and sizes, which maximizes the low winter sun angle and provides thermal comfort in summers and warm shelter in winters. The site is constructed as an outstanding example of bioclimatic traditional architecture, making it unique and significant worldwide. <sup>3</sup>

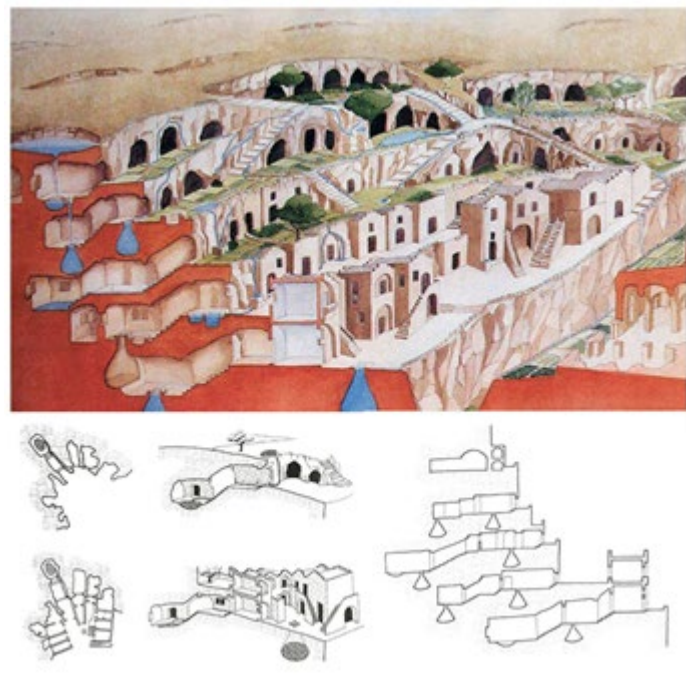


Figure 2. Adapted from P. Law and Architecture League

Sassi of Matera, as of today, is comprised of the ancient city of Matera, the park of rupestrian churches comprising churches, monasteries, hermitages, and other religious buildings. The entire region covers an area of 1016 hectares. It contains more than 1,500 dwellings, many shops, workshops, and stone churches. <sup>4</sup>

Sassi's historic center retains the distinction of two districts, the Barisano and Caveoso, the 17th-18th century backbone of the city called "Piano." The top of the town is known as Civita, with its architectural monuments, and to the north and south are the houses, palaces, and courtyards of the Cavesano and Barisano districts. <sup>5</sup>

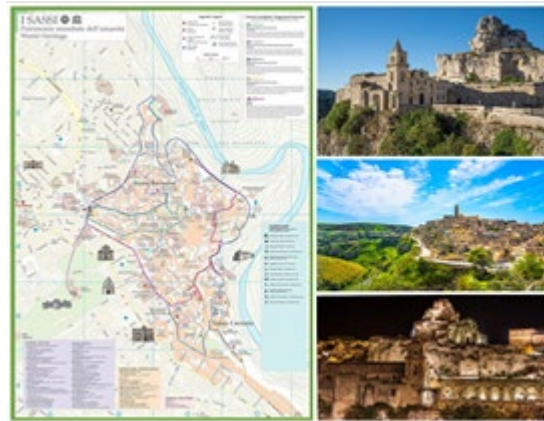


Figure 3. Adapted from SAASI I world heritage.

The city started to expand in the Greek times with significant importance of the city center known as Civita, and the defense walls in the town came in the Roman era with expanded living spaces. The most elaborate stonework dates back to the Renaissance when many caves were adorned with new facades and extended ceilings to make vaulted rooms. The Byzantine monks created the most splendid rock-hewn churches during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries with exquisite frescoed interiors. The superposition of the construction reveals various stages in history; therefore, it was declared a Cultural heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 1993. <sup>6</sup>

The City of Matera saw an era of degradation, poverty, and decline in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the modern city expands along the flat terrain of the ravine by developing administrative and religious buildings right where the ancient city uses its resources from like the storage of grains, water systems. The pits, barns, shared wells, and gardens on the flat plateau, the crucial centers of the Sassi infrastructure system, were buried and belonged to a new power structure. <sup>7</sup>

The major shift due to the laws and space allocation, resources led Matera to decay and made it a disgrace for Italy. The process reached its Peak in 1950 when a special law was passed to evacuate Sassi, and the relocation process started in the modern neighborhoods. <sup>8</sup>

In the 1950s, the site was considered essential for experimentation and innovation. Matera became the first city in southern Italy to be listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1993. The ‘Sassi’—alongside the Park of Rupestrian Churches, comprising more than one hundred religious buildings carved in the rocks—was inscribed in the UNESCO WHL. Among the various reasons and motivations for the inscription, specific Importance was acknowledged to the peculiar water collection system conceived and adopted by Ancient inhabitants consisting of rock reservoirs, caves, and dug ice houses that illustrate significant stages of development in human history, which is adapted perfectly to its geomorphological setting and ecosystem. <sup>9</sup>



Figure 4. Adapted from ECOC Matera 2019

### **UNESCO Parameters for the City of Matera**

Following are the parameters due to which Matera was listed in the WHL and the UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 1993.

1. The Sassi and the Park of the Rupestrian Churches of Matera represent an outstanding rock-cut settlement, adapted perfectly to its geomorphological setting and ecosystem and exhibiting continuity over two millennia.
2. The town and park constitute an outstanding example of an architectural ensemble and landscape illustrating several significant stages in human history.
3. The town and park represent an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement and land use, showing the evolution of a culture that has maintained a harmonious relationship with its natural environment over time.

The Park of Rupestrian Churches is located in the territory of Matera and Montescaglioso. Listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site and measuring 8,000 hectares, the park contains more than 150 ancient cave churches, some hidden under dense vegetation on the banks of the ravine.

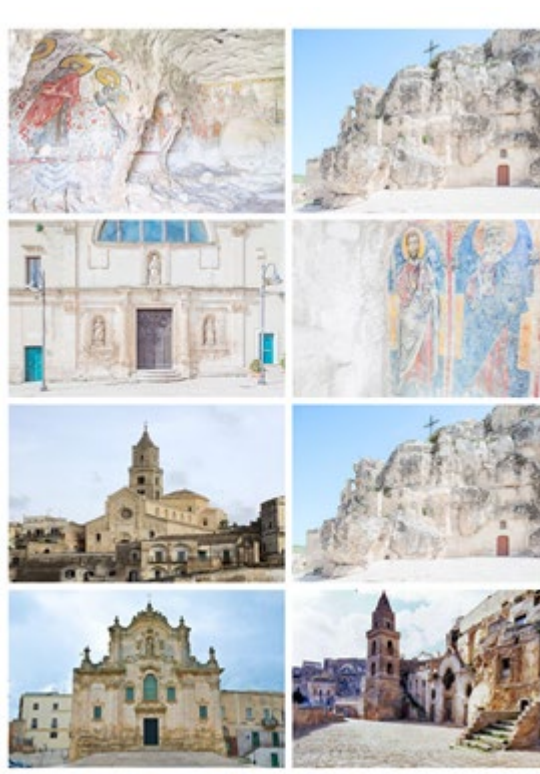


Figure 5. Park of rupestrian churches WHS

### Timeline of events and strategies after 1993-2030

After the inclusion in the WHL, Matera saw an incredible rise in the number of tourists. It also attracted various research-based groups that aim to study the city's dynamic character and document the cityscape for future interventions and growth. The Commune di Matera (2014-2019) and various international agencies worked toward consolidating heritage perimeters, buffer zones, mapping projects, including digital heritage, focusing on tangible and intangible heritage, collecting traditions, etc. Along with the continuous efforts from the local community and officials in 2014, the city was titled the European Culture Capital for the year 2019, which marks one of the most critical events in the History of Matera Sassi—followed by various thematic events, activities, exhibitions, conferences, books, researchers, writers, and artists, especially those focused on underground heritage and its reuse. In 2019, the city of Sassi developed a new paradigm of urban planning and scholarly research based on the critical principles of infrastructure reuse, environmental sustainability, material economy for future growth, sustainability, and economic viability.<sup>10</sup>

Central heritage planning and design intervention strategies were materialized during this time, which focused on the concept of living heritage, re-inventing of new building functions, and sustainable initiatives for the landscape of Sassi, which were aimed to minimize the physical impact of interventions and focused on building sustainable and valuable infrastructure. The premise is to use scientific, creative, and technological expertise that combines Matera's exceptional landscape with new digital frameworks to create a new city identity.

Following the year 2019, as the cultural capital of Europe, the I-DEA Museum, the open design school, Arca di Prometeo Theatre, and collaborative research linkages were developed with the University of Bari, School of Advance Training in Restoration, University of Basilicata, and the University of Lecca which towards developing strategies, policies, projects, and interventions focused on the redevelopment of Sassi.<sup>11</sup>

### **HOMME Charter and CONAF 2023**

In 2021, The HOMME charter was developed, which focuses on Mega events in heritage-rich cities in Europe and provides principles and recommendations that can help cities Reuse and adapt existing infrastructure and facilities or design context-sensitive interventions that can benefit from meaningful uses of places that have proved to be resilient over time. It has given a new layer to the existing development in the Matera city landscape, followed by the CONAF 2023-2030 Agenda for cities based on Food safety, livable towns, environmental safety, and sustainable forest management.<sup>12</sup>

### **HERITAGE CONSERVATION STRATEGIES FOR MATERA**

The main conservation approaches for the Matera Saasi are based on the collective work of different national and international organizations and charters.

1. The development of the cultural landscape is the leading conservation approach for the city with the newly emerging paradigms, the humanistic and the ecological paradigms. This approach aligns with (2011), a unifying approach to the landscape, a systematic vision that includes all the factors and interdependencies between natural and artificial components. (UNESCO, 2011)
2. City conservation is a multi-faceted approach that integrates Urban Landscape, nature, people, and intrinsic value, which aligns with the BURRA charter (1979-2013).
3. The use of material economy as a central force for the adaptive reuse of a city focuses on future growth, sustainability, and economic viability.<sup>13</sup>
4. Use of technology for mapping the complex landscape of Matera, with the help of IOT devices, optimization of digital surveys, and photo-geometric techniques for determining the potential use of heritage.<sup>14</sup>
5. Another vital strategy utilized in the Sassi is the flexibility and adaptability of the urban environment. – Spaces, buildings, and infrastructure; the construction chain characterized by efficient dismantling and separation, etc.

### **Adaptive reuse intervention strategies for Matera**

Following are the strategies used in the landscape of Sassi Matera to minimize the physical impact of interventions according to the European agenda, the BURRA charter, ECOC, HUL, Charters of Matera, HOMME, UNESCO parameters, UBH and (Varriale R ).

1. Four different levels of reuse have been recognized:  
Re-inventing cultural heritage: interpretation of historical functions, restoration, fruition as an artistic site (e.g., installations of technological instruments to communicate underground culture, reconstruction of underground life, etc.).
2. Re-introducing old functions: The historical sites are restored and used again according to new parameters (e.g., productive spaces with the adoption of contemporary hygienic and security standards).
3. Re-interpreting historical spaces: The sites are restored, and new functions are allocated, but the communicative role is preserved (e.g., shops, hotels, restaurants, and urban facilities in pre-existent underground spaces).
4. Re-building: New caved artifacts are built with the adoption of the historical negative building culture (e.g., duplication of the original).

## Case Studies on Re-inventing Cultural Heritage

### Palombaro Cistern – Piano

Palombaro Lungo is a 16th-century Water Cathedral located under the central Piazza Vittorio Veneto in the piano district of Matera. It served as a water supply source and a reservoir where rainwater and spring water from the surrounding hills converged; it has 15m high tuff walls covered with a special waterproof plaster and a capacity of 5 million liters. The cistern symbolizes “Negative architecture, “created by subtracting material from the calcarenites.<sup>15</sup>

After being used for about a century and a half as a water reserve, with the construction of the Apulian Aqueduct in 1920, the Palombaro Lungo was unused and wholly abandoned. It was rediscovered in 1991, during the requalification works of Piazza Vittorio Veneto, and restored as a Museum of Water.<sup>16</sup>



Figure 6. Palombaro Water cathedral

## Case Studies on Re-interpreting Cultural Heritage

### Oi Mari restaurant – Civita

The 17th-century-old cave church has been reimagined as a restaurant in the heart of the Civita district. New spaces within the cave were created through subtraction, adding to the existing living areas by removing material from the calcarenites. All the rooms are treated in the same way. The site has been enhanced, exposing the limestone completely and introducing a few simple, functional furnishings.<sup>17</sup>



Figure 7. Ol Mari Restaurant Plan and Details

### Aquatic Cave Hotel and Wellness Retreat - Caveoso

Aquatio is a wellness retreat hotel in the Sasso Caveoso district of Matera, dating back to the thirteenth century. This exclusive hotel is now a UNESCO World Heritage Site, has 35 luxury suites, a Mediterranean restaurant, a lobby bar and lounge area, a 500-m<sup>2</sup> spa with natural pools dating back to the 9th century, and a heated indoor swimming pool.<sup>18</sup>

Simone Michelle designs them as a wellness retreat, combining old aesthetics and modern technology. The rooms in this hotel stand out for their size and minimalist decoration, where the natural stone has a dual function: Construction and Decoration. The space's lighting has been kept discrete to create emotions, as described by Simone Michelle.<sup>19</sup>

The hotel rooms are distinguished as excavated or built-up typology; the cave rooms are hidden in the structure complex with all modern age comforts and are spacious with minimal interiors and furnishing. The built suites comprised the upper part of the structure with ample natural light and breathtaking views of the ancient city dating back to the bronze ages.



Figure 8. The Aquatic Luxury Hotel adapted from Arch Daily

### Casa Cava - Barisano

Case cava is a unique cultural center carved entirely from rock in the Sassi Barisano district. Originally a sizeable tuff quarry in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it was later used as a dumping ground in the 19<sup>th</sup> century before being abandoned. However, it was transformed into the world's first underground cultural center and theatre, boasting around 900 square meters of an auditorium accommodating up to 140 people. This center is considered a hub for youth creativity and a significant step towards a cultural revival of Matera.<sup>20</sup>



Figure 9. Casa Cava by Cultural Heritage Online



New research, author findings supported by research methods, and site visits suggest that rebuilding has never been practiced in Matera. Instead, the interventions focus on re-invention, re-interpretation, and innovation. The image below displays an analytical study conducted on four different interior typologies in Matera to analyze the type of Design intervention for the further development of research. It also features two projects that are part of world heritage sites: Aquatio Luxury Hotel and Spa and Casa Cava Cultural Center, which redefines creativity, innovation, and sustainable design solutions. The below image model is adapted from (Varriale R.) while the case study analysis and research findings are by the author.

Functional classification	Adaptive reuse strategies	Design Parameters	New typologies	Projects	
17 <sup>th</sup> century old cave church in the Civita district	Intervention Re-interpreting	Subtractive strategy	Restaurant	Oi Mari restaurant	
16 <sup>th</sup> -century Water cistern Underground water cathedral "al piano"	Installation re-Inventing	Protection of artifacts and architectural elements	Museum Water cathedral	Il Palombaro	
13 <sup>th</sup> -century cave complex Sasso Caveoso UNESCO perimeter Village cave complex	Intervention Re-interpreting	Old cisterns were connected Tuff caves The original complex is used for the hotel	Luxury Hotel and Spa 2018	Aquatio cave hotel	
Tuff quarry Sasso Barisano	Intervention Re-interpreting	Tuff quarry Removal of debris cleaning	Underground cultural Centre 2019 ECOC	Casa Cava Multipurpose complex	

Figure 10. Analysis of the Case Studies interior Intervention typology

## CONCLUSION

Matera is a remarkable cultural landscape that holds immense cultural and intrinsic significance. It is known as the world's most resilient city that recently transformed a decaying, invisible town in southern Italy into one of Europe's most celebrated cities. Matera's revival story is exceptional, as it emerged from a deteriorating city in the 1930s and was declared a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1993, regaining its importance worldwide.

Matera's journey to becoming the Cultural capital of Europe in 2019 is a prime example of infrastructure reuse and environmental sustainability. Its streets, buildings, monuments, and heritage precincts embody the true spirit of resilience and growth, showcasing the ability to transform decaying spaces into new interior environments for future use.

The modern reuse of the Sassi historic interior is incredibly inventive, featuring caves, hotels, restaurants, cafes, galleries, cave clubs, mediation spas, swimming pool art galleries, Cultural centers, living museums, and the contemporary Art museum MUSMA. These innovative and futuristic interior typologies add a new layer of urbanism to the existing cultural landscape, designed to meet the demands of present and future generations while preserving the authenticity of the city fabric.

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# THE ROLE OF HERITAGE IN THE ENTREPRENEURIAL CITY: THE CAS OF THE COSME TODA FACTORY IN L'HOSPITALET

Authors:

**MARIA GABRIELA NAVAS-PERRONE**<sup>1,2</sup> **MARGARITA DÍAZ-ANDREU**<sup>1,2,3</sup>

Affiliation:

<sup>1</sup> UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA (UB), SPAIN, <sup>2</sup> INSTITUT CATALÀ D'ANTROPOLOGIA-GRUP DE RECERCA EN ANTROPOLOGIA I ARQUITECTURA (ICA-GRANAR), SPAIN, <sup>3</sup> INSTITUT D'ARQUEOLOGIA DE LA UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA (IAUB), SPAIN, <sup>4</sup> INSTITUCIÓ CATALANA DE RECERCA I ESTUDIS AVANÇATS (ICREA), SPAIN

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## INTRODUCTION

This article offers an innovative approach to analyzing the role of industrial heritage in urban commodification, taking L'Hospitalet de Llobregat (shortened as L'Hospitalet or L'H) as a case study. The discussion will center on one of L'Hospitalet's main industrial enterprises in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, the former Cosme Toda ceramics factory, whose production is now redeveloped. L'Hospitalet is the second most populous city in Catalonia, second only to Barcelona. It is located within the Barcelona metropolitan area, which includes both cities together with 36 other municipalities. It is located southwest of the capital of Catalonia, Barcelona, and both have historically had a center-periphery relationship. Since the end of the twentieth century, L'Hospitalet's former industrial zones have been converted into urban areas in order to strengthen the city's conversion into an economic centrality. The increase in real estate and growing speculative pressure have led to conflicts over the conservation of buildings listed as industrial heritage. Therefore, this study analyzes the conflictive relationship between the institutional criteria of heritage preservation, the interests of the real-estate market and citizens' heritage-related demands. Inspired by the conceptual division proposed by Henri Lefebvre<sup>1</sup> between the city planned by specialists and the city lived by its inhabitants, we explore the role of heritage as a field of dispute. The conclusions aim to provide a few analytical keys to rethink the role of heritage within the urban dynamics of the entrepreneurial city.

## HERITAGE IN THE ENTREPRENEURIAL CITY: DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE CITY AND THE URBAN

In recent decades, the growing interest in heritage conservation<sup>2</sup> has been directly linked to the process of the capitalist reappropriation of cities. There has been a "shift to entrepreneurialism in urban governance",<sup>3</sup> whereby local governments, regardless of their political ideologies, promote urban policies that seek to turn cities into commodities. Behind the planning of the entrepreneurial city are the banking and financial sectors, together with real-estate companies.<sup>4</sup> As the geographer Mercè Tatjer has studied, this turn has been "characterized by the entrée of financial entities and real-

estate companies into ownership of the urban space”.<sup>5</sup> Heritage plays a strategic role in this type of governance. As British archaeologist Kevin Walsh suggested back in 1992, “the heritagization of space represents one of the mechanisms that can be used to attract capital”.<sup>6</sup> When analyzing the role of heritage, it is therefore essential to unveil the *modus operandi* of entrepreneurial management. Understanding this connection is fundamental on a regional, national and global scale.

On the basis of this debate at the macro level, we will explore the processes that occur at the micro level, in particular regarding the outsourcing of the Cosme Toda factory in L'Hospitalet. The urbanization of this former industrial land has led to the construction of a new housing area that integrates the protection of industrial buildings listed as heritage into its design. In our analysis, we depart from the conceptual division proposed by Henri Lefebvre<sup>7</sup> between the city and the urban, which alludes to the conflictive relationship that usually exists between the city planned by experts and the city lived by its inhabitants. The city refers to the morphological and material dimension, that is, to a physical-spatial structure that defines the arrangement of buildings, coupled with administrative regulations that organize the urban space. The urban, however, corresponds to the social and intangible dimension, shaped by the set of practices, social interactions and urban imaginaries that constitute the essence of life in the city.

The city is critically analyzed, revealing the financial and political interests behind urban planning. To this end, the interests of real-estate profitability promoted by the outsourcing of former industrial areas are investigated, with particular attention to the case of Cosme Toda. The urban dimension will also be examined through the discourses, demands and imaginaries of neighborhood collectives. The role played by citizens and their tactics of resistance to a speculative urban plan that threatens the preservation of heritage buildings will be explored.

The methodology used in this study includes a review of literature and archival documents containing the memory of urban plans. Moreover, testimonies published in the press have been collected in order to analyze the alternative discourses that have circulated in the media about what deserves – or does not deserve – to be preserved as heritage.

## THE CITY: DEINDUSTRIALIZATION, INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE AND THE L'H BRAND Heritage in urban planning dynamics

In the nineteenth century, the then-village of L'Hospitalet (it only became a city in 1925) went through an industrial boom that led to the appearance of many factories and housing for workers in what until then had been agricultural land. The neighborhoods that make up the municipality were created at that time.<sup>8</sup> Our case study, the Cosme Toda factory, was built in the Sant Josep neighborhood.<sup>9</sup> Its first line of business was on the ceramics industry, which was in demand because of Barcelona's urban expansion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries<sup>10</sup> (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Panoramic view of the Infanta Canal in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat in 1957  
Source: L'Hospitalet Municipal Archive

The industrial apogee lasted until the 1960s, when the first factories began to leave the urban areas of the municipality for good or in favor of new areas in the outskirts. The economic crisis of the 1980s led to the closure of several factories. L'Hospitalet was no exception to the process of deindustrialization was also taking place all over Catalonia and Spain.<sup>11</sup> In reaction, in 1976 the Pla General Metropolità (PGM) was approved to regulate land redevelopment after the displacement of industry.<sup>12</sup> This occurred during the urban developmentalism period of the Franco regime (1960-1975).

Developmentalism was characterized by “the expansion of public and private development neighborhoods towards the peripheries of the city and the metropolitan area (...) despite the lack of the necessary conditions and infrastructures”<sup>13</sup> (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Housing estates, 1973.

Source: L'Hospitalet Municipal Archive.

The dismantling of L'Hospitalet's industrial area coincided with the country's transition to democracy in the late 1970s and early 1980s a period when the protection philosophy radically shifted.<sup>14</sup> As a result, in 1985 the Special Plan for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of L'Hospitalet (abbreviated as PEPPA) was published (with a revised edition in 1988). The preservation of the industrial heritage would soon take center stage. In the 1990s, a plan was devised for L'Hospitalet to become an economic centrality in competition with Barcelona. At the end of 1996, the new urban regeneration strategy took shape in the so-called *Plan L'Hospitalet 2010* (hereinafter Pla L'H 2010), which laid out the guidelines for its urban development over the following three decades. It is in this context that heritage was taken into account with the aim of reinforcing L'Hospitalet's conversion into a marketable brand:

Now the goal is to further the city's projection abroad as a fundamental part of its new economic development model. The presentation of the heritage creates identity and a sense of citizen pride. The L'H model has to be complemented with the presence and story of the city's memory.<sup>15</sup>

This plan soon required more specific legislation that regulated real-estate activity on industrial land. As a result, the *Plan de Reforma de las Áreas Industriales de L'Hospitalet de Llobregat* (PRAILH, Plan for the Reform of the Industrial Areas of L'Hospitalet de Llobregat) was approved in 2002. After it, three other strategic urban plans were subsequently approved to consolidate first an economic district in 2002. The first was the Distrito Económico Gran Via<sup>16</sup> (Figure 3). Secondly, a cultural

district in 2014 – Document inicial de conformació del Districte Cultural de la ciutat de L'Hospitalet de Llobregat (Initial document of conformation of the Cultural District of the city of L'Hospitalet de Llobregat).<sup>17</sup> Finally, a biocluster in 2022 – Pla director urbanístic-PDU-Biopol-Granvia.<sup>18</sup>



*Figure 3. Distrito Económico Gran Via of L'Hospitalet. In the foreground the chimney of the old Godó and Trias textile factory.*

*Photo: Joan Cortadellas. Source: El Periódico, 2023.*

The construction of these urban plans, from the *Pla L'H 2010* of 1996 to the *PDU-Biopol-Granvia* of 2022, has strategically attempted to regenerate L'Hospitalet's image to allow it to compete with the other cities in the Barcelona metropolitan area and attract international financial investment. This conversion of L'Hospitalet into an image for urban marketing is the context in which decisions about the preservation of the industrial heritage are taken today. Therefore, it is necessary to highlight the framework of this entrepreneurial urban management when analyzing the urban transformation of former industrial areas and buildings, such as Cosme Toda (Figure 4).



*Figure 4. Redevelopment of the Cosme Toda Factory. L'Hospitalet, 2022.*

*Photo: Margarita Díaz-Andreu.*

### **The redevelopment of the Cosme Toda factory: From ceramic industry to real-estate factory**

The Cosme Toda factory building is one of the main industrial heritage sites in the Barcelona metropolitan area. The first building of the old ceramic factory was built in 1884,<sup>19</sup> although it was later extended. In 1937, during the Spanish Civil War, the factory was collectivized and used to manufacture war material, and a few months later, in 1938, an explosion caused by a fire affected part of the buildings.<sup>20</sup> After the postwar period, industrial activity resumed,<sup>21</sup> and its trade name was



changed to Fabricación de Cerámica S.A (Manufacture of Ceramics Ltd.) in 1950. A decade later, at the height of the construction boom, the company stopped manufacturing ceramics, moved to the outskirts of the city and became a warehouse for the sale and distribution of bathroom and kitchen items (Figure 5).



*Figure 5. Cosme Toda factory and surrounding, 1955.  
Source: L'Hospitalet Municipal Archive.*

In 1999, a first urban regeneration project was announced for the so-called ‘Cosme Toda block,’<sup>22</sup> but it never came to fruition. In 2001, the three buildings of the Cosme Toda factory were listed as heritage buildings and included in the PEPPA heritage protection list. This meant that the conservation of these historic buildings would be controlled by means of a regulation to which future urban plans for the sector had to adhere (Figure 6)



*Figure 6. Cosme Toda Factory, 2001.  
Source: Diputació Barcelona*

The first plan to urbanize the Cosme Toda block was approved by the Urban Development Agency (ADU) in 2007. However, the project also failed to materialize due to the 2008 economic crisis. It was

not until June 2016 that the project was publicly presented by Mayor Núria Marín Martínez (a representative of the Socialist Party of Catalonia and mayor since 2008). The implementation of the new plan began at the end of 2016. The new urban plan included the remodeling of historic buildings to convert them into public facilities and the construction of residential buildings. It also stipulated the creation of a parks and gardens area and a road artery (Figure 7). Since then, this urban requalification of the land has been governed mainly by legal considerations and a forecast of the economic costs that would be earned from building and selling the new housing. Therefore, it “ensures a sufficient margin to cover the technical and financial management of the operation”.<sup>23</sup>

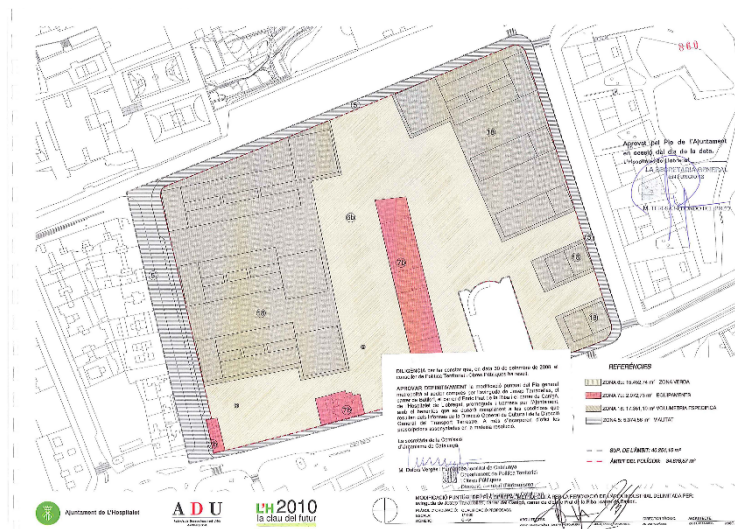


Figure 7. Map of the reform of Cosme Toda. The industrial heritage is shown in red and with the reference “zone 7b.” Source: File 17 of the PEPPA, 2008.

The urban planning regulations stipulate the total number of dwellings to be built (885) and the height of the eight buildings in the housing plan.<sup>24</sup> According to Article 264 of the General Metropolitan Plan, the new buildings must have at least one hour of direct sunlight per day. However, the map of shadows that appears in the plan report approved by the City Council wrongly calculated the shadows because of either error or omission. This has led to an increase in the number of dwellings built, exceeding the number allowed by the regulations by 34.5%.<sup>25</sup> This irregularity reveals that the real-estate market’s interest in economic profitability is behind this urban operation, giving continuity to “the irresponsible urban development and overcrowding in L’H”<sup>26</sup> (Figure 8)



Figure 8. On the left, the calculations of the sunlight in the approved plan. On the right, the calculations by an expert. Source: Rodríguez, 2022.

## THE URBAN: CITIZENSHIP'S DEMANDS AND IMAGINARIES

In this section, we explore the reactions to the new housing plan coming from *the urban*, i.e., from the lived space.<sup>27</sup> We focus on the neighborhood associations of L'Hospitalet, very active during the transition to democracy,<sup>28</sup> but at that time with no claims related to heritage. The concern for heritage issues only appeared around 2003,<sup>29</sup> leading several neighborhood associations to defend the heritage buildings threatened by real-estate projects. One of them is the Stop Masificació L'Hospitalet Cosme Toda platform, founded in 2019 when residents of the Sant Josep neighborhood became aware of the construction irregularities of the new housing plan due to non-compliance with the so-called shadows law. In addition to reporting this to the Urban Development Agency (ADU), the platform warned about the appearance of a sinkhole during the excavation. This event confirmed the warnings of several neighborhood groups about the “possibility of locating historical remains in this part of the city”<sup>30</sup> (Figure 9). These archaeological remains found after excavating the land were not catalogued as heritage within the PEPPA heritage protection list. To meet the citizen demand to preserve the historical heritage, the City Council contracted an archaeological survey, which was carried out in parallel to the urbanization project.<sup>31</sup> In December 2020, the City Council plenary declared the industrial remains of Cosme Toda Cultural Assets of Local Interest,<sup>32</sup> and they were incorporated into the PEPPA heritage protection list. There is some resistance to this by members of the neighborhood, given that they consider the documentation and protection of the archaeological remains insufficient. In this sense, the response of Stop Massificació L'H Cosme Toda shows how heritage is produced in a disputed field. The preservation of this industrial heritage is disputed between the voices authorized from the institutional sphere and the imaginaries and demands of the citizens:

The archaeologists continue their cataloguing efforts, but soon the industrial heritage of more than a century of history is going to be destroyed. Culture and history have a price in our city: the price set by the real-estate market. If you go by the #Cosmetoda zone you'll see that they have begun to install children's playground equipment on a concrete foundation. We residents are asking ourselves, will these swings make up for all the services that the neighborhood has been requesting for decades? Can the neighborhood absorb the almost 4,000 new inhabitants who will live in the 24 buildings (885 apartments) to be built? How does it make sense to increase the population in the most densely populated city in Europe?<sup>33</sup>



Figure 9. Archeological remains found during excavations.

Source: Facebook page of the platform Stop Massificació L'H Cosme Toda, 2022.

The new plan approved by the City Council contrasts with what the public is voicing. This is illustrated by an alternative plan drawn by an anonymous neighbor. The disparity between the city planned by specialists and the city imagined by its inhabitants is stated in the text accompanying the image published on social media (Figure 10):

Dreaming is free, and probably not very realistic... But dreams can sometimes be the start of many realities... What image would you rather for the #Cosmetoda area: the first one designed by a resident of #lhospitaletdellobregat or the second one designed by the urban planners in the City Council? Anonymous<sup>34</sup>



Figure 10. Project approved by City Council and proposal by a resident of the neighborhood. Source: Facebook page of the platform Stop Massificació L'H Cosme Toda, March 1, 2021.

The alternative plan proposed by the neighborhood indicates their demands, which always revolve around preserving the heritage. They point to a lack of green areas and urban facilities and to an increase in housing overcrowding. They also condemn the irregularities detected in the urban plan and its gentrifying effects and, finally, the need for participatory processes.<sup>35</sup> Although the City Council made the project public to the neighborhood associations on June 13, 2016, participatory proposals to decide on the new functionality of the heritage buildings (community facilities) have not yet been initiated. This is one of the points that appears in the petition backed by 5,300 signatures in the campaign led by the neighborhood platform, Let's Rescue Cosme Toda from Speculation before it is too late (Salvem Cosme Toda de la especulació abans de que sea demasiado tarde). The petition to halt the urban development project was delivered to the City Council on November 4, 2021. In it, the platform asks that that “a participatory process with citizens be launched to agree consensually to the urbanistic development for the former factory area and the uses it will have in order to improve residents' lives.” The case of Cosme Toda reproduces another of the paradoxes of heritage processes: “even when the heritage is presented as something that belongs to everyone and therefore is (or should be) a sphere of citizen concern, not everyone has the chance to participate in the discussion and definition of heritage policies”.<sup>36</sup>

The real-estate pressures of the Cosme Toda redevelopment plan have endangered the conservation of the heritage. They have also led to gentrification, which may well lead to the displacement of the current inhabitants of Sant Josep neighborhood.

## CONCLUSION: HERITAGE AS A FIELD OF DISPUTE

The analysis of the redevelopment process of the Cosme Toda factory has unveiled the existing disputes surrounding the preservation of industrial heritage. For this purpose, Lefebvre's distinction between the city and the urban, i.e., between the planned city and the city lived by its inhabitants, has been used as the basis for our analysis. The result of the study provides evidence about the

management of industrial heritage as a field of dispute among institutional technical criteria, the profitability interests of the real estate sector and citizens' needs and imaginaries.

The city's entrepreneurial management practice is reflected in the urban plan devised for the Cosme Toda block. The interest of real-estate profitability governing its urbanization criteria is evident. The irregularities of the plan with respect to the shadows regulation has allowed for more housing than what was apportioned by the urban planning regulations. This municipal permissiveness in the face of speculative practices gives continuity to the overcrowded urbanism that has historically characterized L'Hospitalet de Llobregat. This illegality has been condemned by the Stop Cosme Toda platform, alluding to the defense of heritage. The way in which this process has been implemented has brought to light the limitations of citizen participation and the demands for a fairer and more participatory urban model.

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# EXPLORING TWENTIETH CENTURY DANISH VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE

Author:

**BIRGITTE T. EYBYE**

Affiliation:

AARHUS SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, DENMARK

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## INTRODUCTION

In Denmark, the comprehension of vernacular architecture approximately corresponds to the notion “egnsbyggeskik” which can be translated into regional building practice. Such buildings were usually half-timbered, built in preindustrial time and mainly situated in rural areas.

Traditional building ceased in the second part of the nineteenth century due to a number of socio-economic and technological factors. Main causes include the relatively quick industrialization of Denmark, which included railways. The railway network facilitated easy transport of e.g. building materials and fuel, so common people no longer depended on local resources. Moreover, the invention of the ring kiln enabled easily available and cheap bricks that were considered a prestigious and durable building material. Additionally, agriculture changed from vegetable to animal production which required larger buildings.<sup>1</sup>

Concurrently, interest in peasant culture started. Surveys of such buildings took place in three periods; the early, unmethodical collections in the late nineteenth century, the nationwide collections of the 1920s and 1930s and finally, the so-called “farmhouse investigations” organized by the National Museum and carried out from 1944 to 1960.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, a collected work of this material was never compiled and since then, research into Danish vernacular architecture has been limited with the exception of recent studies into connections between such buildings and sustainability.

Within the last decades, a broader notion of vernacular architecture has gained forward. This gives rise to new examinations of the twentieth century Danish vernacular architecture with a view to enlighten our appreciation of this field.

## OBJECTIVE AND METHODS

This paper investigates twentieth century building in order to discuss and broaden the understanding of Danish vernacular architecture. A further objective is to throw light on such building types, i.e. by looking into their characteristics, to examine to what degree the twentieth century vernacular has similitudes to the traditional and possibly identify examples as young vernacular heritage.

The first part of the paper comprises the preliminary examination which establishes the theoretical and analytical scope of the study. Initially, a literature review scrutinizes the current comprehension of vernacular architecture. Next, the characteristics of traditional Danish vernacular architecture are outlined with a view to identify key features of this building culture. This part concludes with the selection of cases. The second part of the paper investigates potential types of twentieth century

vernacular architecture through three case studies. The findings of these are then discussed and finally, conclusion.

Main sources include literature on architecture, architectural theory and history, research methodologies such as literature reviews and case study research as well as other relevant material. Case study materials include literature, interviews, drawings, photos, site visits and empirical surveys in the buildings.

Applied methods include a literature review and case study research. Methodically, the review is not comprehensive for temporal reasons and thus, authors recognized for essential contributions to the field is chosen. The synthesis is narrative.<sup>3</sup> Case study research is appropriate to provide in-depth information on a phenomenon (twentieth century vernacular) through exploration of a small number of dense case studies (twentieth century dwellings).<sup>4</sup> In order to maximize information, the case selection strategy is “information-oriented.”<sup>5</sup> The three cases are chosen with a large variation among them (time and typology) and to each is proposed a presumption with a view to throw light on contemporary vernacular aspects.

## **PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION: THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL SCOPE**

### **Literature review: The contemporary comprehension of vernacular architecture**

Vernacular architecture is also called traditional, folk, anonymous, non-pedigreed and indigenous among others. There are two overall discourses within the field; the first studies Western historic, rural heritage whereas the second mainly focuses on non-western vernacular buildings and current processes of change. Relatedly, vernacular architecture is often associated with the past in Western societies, whereas such construction is ongoing in the rest of the world.<sup>6</sup>

The frequently applied definition of vernacular architecture by Paul Oliver goes: “*Vernacular architecture comprises the dwellings and all other buildings of the people. Related to their environmental contexts and available resources, they are customarily owner- or community-built, utilizing traditional technologies. All forms of vernacular architecture are built to meet specific needs, accommodating the values, economies and ways of living of the people that produce them.*”<sup>7</sup>

In 1993, Dell Upton argues that the vernacular is perceived as static (i.e. associated with the past or poverty) due to the current understanding of tradition and urge future (Anglo-American) studies to focus on the ambiguous, contested vernacular landscape.<sup>8</sup>

Marcel Vellinga is also concerned about “the reification”<sup>9</sup> of vernacular architecture, as he regards tradition as dynamic processes. Thus, Vellinga calls for a broader comprehension of the notion so it comprises all buildings that “*are distinctive cultural expressions of people who live in or feel attached to a particular place or locality.*”<sup>10</sup> For the purpose of illustration, a contemporary Minangkabau dwelling with its distinct roof, modern materials and conveniences is next stage of this building culture.<sup>11</sup>

To Kingston Heath, vernacular architecture is “*when representative numbers of people within a region embrace aspects of a unique building response in a collective and consistent manner*”<sup>12</sup> by which it is perceived as “*a dynamic process of development over time by the collective actions of individuals.*”<sup>13</sup> Thus, a differentiation is made between by “personal idiosyncrasy” and vernacular. Moreover, Heath distinguishes between evolving, stabilized and extinct vernacular. The first is in transition, the second in stasis and the last has become obsolete<sup>14</sup> – such as the traditional Danish vernacular.

Daniel Maudlin regards vernacular architecture as “the other” opposed to canonical architecture, i.e. buildings with a “*perceived status of art, of aesthetics and of authorship.*”<sup>15</sup> As the other, vernacular architecture is “*the architectural language of the people*”<sup>16</sup> and, it includes buildings and other places that are “*traditional, regional, anonymous, everyday, modern and contemporary.*”<sup>17</sup> Examples

include Georgian tenant farmhouses of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and undersides of bridges.<sup>18</sup> The notion of vernacular as the other is also discussed by Vellinga.<sup>19</sup>

Conclusively, there is not an unambiguous, modern comprehension of vernacular architecture. Maudlin offers a very broad understanding, whereas Heath and Vellinga emphasize the dynamic processes and regional affiliation of a particular building culture. This study aims to argue whether buildings are vernacular or not and thus, it draws on Heath and Vellinga.

### Building cultural characteristics: traditional Danish vernacular architecture

What we today perceive as Danish vernacular architecture, probably developed from the Middle Ages onwards, since half-timbering very likely was introduced at this time.<sup>20</sup> The half-timbering is found in a variety of types, in which the load-bearing structure and timber joints vary according to regions and available timber resources. West Schleswig was influenced by Frisian building and consequently, brick-building became prevalent in this area from the eighteenth century onwards and then spread up along the Danish West Coast.<sup>21</sup> Few post-and-plank constructions are preserved, mainly in the south-eastern Jutland.<sup>22</sup>

The primary building materials were wood (timber, boards), earth (wattle and daub, later adobes and baked bricks) and, reed or straw (thatching). They were cheap and in the most cases easily accessible, except that some regions struggled with lack of timber.<sup>23</sup> In addition, boulders and lime were used. Particular regional materials are seen, e.g. the seaweed roofs of Læsø. Furthermore, reuse of building materials such as timber, boards, doors and windows was extensive.<sup>24</sup>

Concerning the design and layout, the traditional vernacular buildings are so-called longhouses. Generally, the steep roofs were pitched in the eastern Denmark and hipped or half-hipped in the western. If possible, the dwelling would be east-west orientated with the main facades facing north and south. In Northern Jutland and at Sealand, all fireplaces usually were gathered around the kitchen chimney. South of the Limfjord, a layout with two main fireplaces was prevalent.<sup>25</sup>

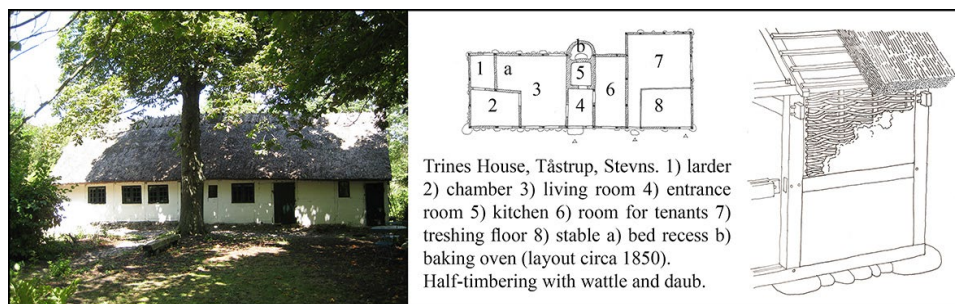


Figure 1. Trine' House with its white-washed timber is a prime example of vernacular architecture in Southern Sealand. Figure by the author

Until the Agrarian Reforms in the late eighteenth century, thus in the time of the village community, construction was a joint task for the villagers. Usually, construction would involve craftsmen such as a carpenter and a thatcher. The building owner would take part, often helped by neighbours and family members. For instance, females and children daubed the infills. Moreover, maintenance formed part of everyday tasks and was adapted to farm work.<sup>26</sup>

Summarily, the main characteristics of the traditional vernacular buildings includes the longhouse (shape and layout), simple constructions, natural and biogenic materials, reuse and, egalitarian construction techniques. These elements constitute the analytical frame.

## Case selection

There is no unequivocal comprehension of the contemporary vernacular architecture for which reason this study investigates different types of dwellings constructed through the twentieth century in order to throw light on the subject matter. For the purpose of securing a thematic dispersion of the empiricism, the three cases are selected as illustrated in Figure 2.

TIME	TPOLOGY	PRESUMPTION
1900 (1870-1910)	The sharply outlined Eclecticism farmhouse	Examines the transition from traditional to early twentieth century vernacular
1940 circa and onwards	The lignite workers' dwellings of Søby	Investigates an evolving vernacular
1980s and onwards	The dwellings of Hjortshøj Eco-village	Looks into current vernacular tendencies

Figure 2. Case selection criteria (time and typology) and related presumptions. Figure by the author

## CASE STUDIES

### The sharply outlined Eclecticism farmhouses

Around the year 1800, brick-building superseded half-timbering in Western Jutland, yet the farmhouses retained the same shape and proportions.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, the transition from the traditional to the early twentieth century farmhouses appeared less radical than other regions.

The sharply outlined Eclecticism farmhouses<sup>28</sup> were constructed from circa 1860 to 1910 all over Denmark. Common features of these farmhouses are the sharply outlined longhouse shape with a marked base (boulders or plastered), brickwork with a few details and a pitched roof, often covered with slates, see Figure 3. Inspirational sources include contemporary official buildings of the provinces such as railway stations and “Swiss style” villas.<sup>29</sup> Construction work is done by professional craftsmen, yet sources narrate of building owners with particular requests for their new farmhouse.<sup>30</sup>

The comparison between the Bølling traditional and early twentieth century farmhouse (a clear example of the sharply outlined Eclecticism farmhouses) shows that the latter maintained the longhouse design, now in a precise form with a pitched roof. Moreover, the building became wider and shorter, but with approximately the same number of rooms. In the interior, the lengthwise partition lead to a layout with more “standard size” rooms including bedrooms instead of bed recesses.<sup>31</sup> The floor-to-ceiling height increased, providing space for four casement windows (so-called “Dannebrog windows”). These changes were in keeping with contemporary ideals.<sup>32</sup>

Though the construction still is simple, it developed into cavity walls and, new materials were applied such as concrete used for the base, joints and roof tiles. Moreover, the Ny Boel farmhouse features brickwork details; decorative arches with sawtooth bond and two semi-circled windows with decorated arches in each gable.

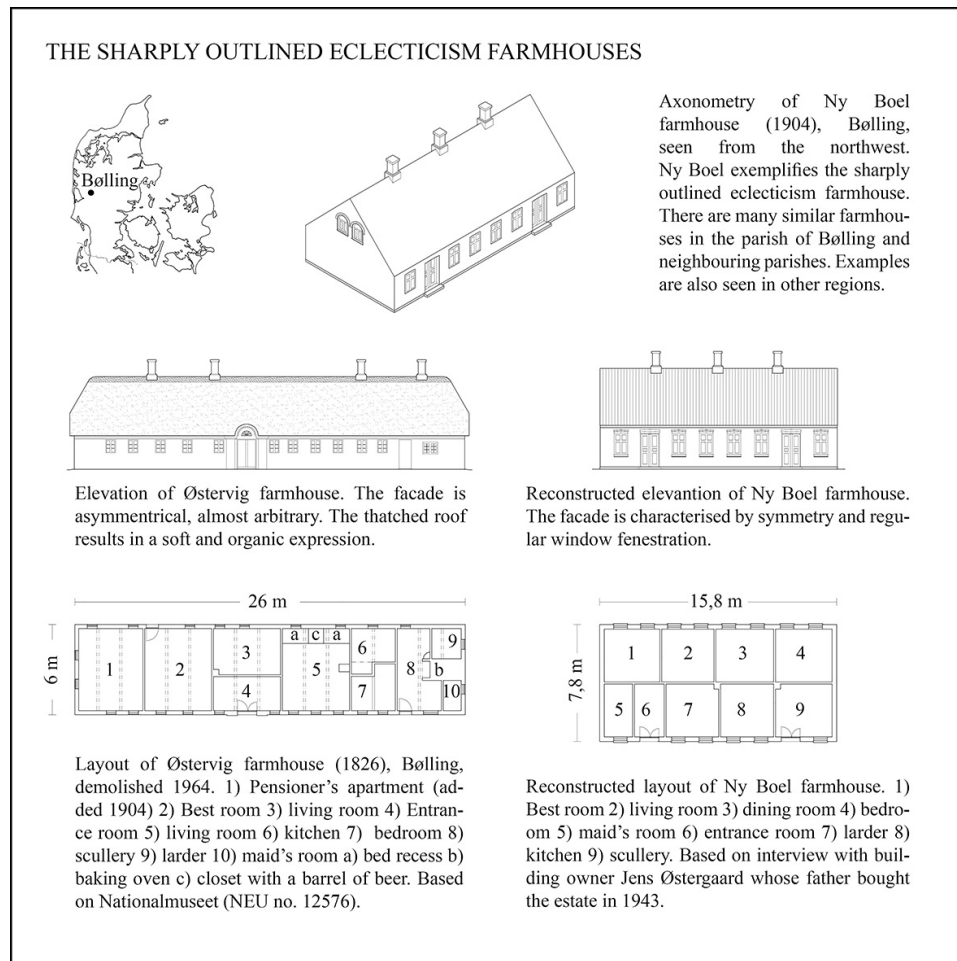


Figure 3. Comparison between the traditional farmhouse “Østervig” and the early twentieth century farmhouse “Ny Boel” both of Bølling parish. Figure by the author

### The lignite workers' dwellings of Søby

In relation to World War Two, lack of fuel was foreseen in Denmark. Consequently, the quarrying of lignite started in the late 1939. The pits became one of the most important Danish workplaces in the 1940s and, settlements grew up around these sites with Søby near Herning as the most significant.<sup>33</sup>

The lignite workers' dwellings of Søby can be divided into three categories; “the bachelor dwelling”, “the medium dwelling” and, “the luxury dwelling”. Bachelor dwellings included small shacks built of board or metal and, sources also narrate of wardrobes, henhouses and even earths used for habitation. The medium dwelling comprised two to four rooms (e.g. “Tørve Søren's House”<sup>34</sup>). Lastly, the luxury dwelling was covered with boards, it had more rooms including a small kitchen or it was a retired bus or railway carriage. In many cases, a dwelling was gradually extended and improved from a single room into more and better conditions, such as Tørve Søren's House.<sup>35</sup>

Generally, the lignite workers' dwellings are characterized as small, almost square longhouses with a low roof pitch and, perhaps add-ons, see Figure 4. The constructions were simple and, materials were easily assessable or reused. It is highly probable that many dwellings were built or rebuilt by the owner. Moreover, the rudimentary character of the buildings is likely due to the provisional conditions of the lignite quarrying that nobody knew the duration of.<sup>36</sup>



Figure 4. View of Søby circa 1946. Though all buildings differ from each other, there is a strong affinity between them. Photo by the courtesy of Evald Eybye

### The dwellings of Hjortshøj Eco-village

The co-operative community of Hjortshøj (“Andelssamfundet i Hjortshøj”) was founded in 1986 with the vision of a socio-ecologic community. One of the focal points of the community concerns the use of eco-friendly building materials and solutions. Consequently, the municipality of Aarhus required substantiation that it would be possible to apply historic building techniques, natural and biogenic materials while meeting the demands of the building legislation. As a result, construction on the selected site in Hjortshøj northeast of Aarhus could not begin until 1992,<sup>37</sup> see Figure 5.

Hjortshøj Eco-village has a diverse settlement pattern of low-rise high-density housing that comprises long-houses as well as other designs. The primary construction materials include earth (taken from the basement excavation) and used for rammed earth or cob, wood for the load-bearing constructions and facing and, cellulose insulation made from recycled paper or fiber wool. Traditional paint such as linseed paint, lime wash and distemper are used for surface treatments. Moreover, reused bricks have been applied. Materials are processed as little as possible. The residents take part in the construction of their dwellings and community houses and thus, construction principles are egalitarian.<sup>38</sup>

### DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS

The main finding of the literature review was the ambiguous contemporary comprehension of vernacular architecture. More material had probably diversified the notion further, but not changed the outcome, since the texts very chosen carefully. The study looked into three cases that were selected with a view



*Figure 5. View of Hjortshøj Eco-village in the early 1990s. Photo by the courtesy of Andelssamfundet i Hjortshøj*

to secure the dispersion of the empiricism. The cases were indeed very different from each other, but the twentieth century is a large subject matter in building, and clearly, more cases had highly likely added to the findings. This was, however, not possible for reasons of time and extent.

The first case study aimed to throw light on the transition from traditional to twentieth century building, illustrated by two farmhouses. At first, the transition seemed radical, but looking deeper into the details, the buildings have several similarities. The new farmhouses had absorbed some of the contemporary tendencies in building, yet it is important to note that the traditional farmhouses continuously developed in preindustrial times, too.<sup>39</sup> Though craftsmen now undertook construction, the building owner usually influenced the design and construction. Concerning whether the sharply outlined Eclecticism farmhouses are vernacular, it is logical to draw on Vellinga and his example of the modern Minangkabau dwelling, thus regarding these farmhouses as next step in the traditional, rural building culture. Consequently, such buildings are to be regarded as vernacular heritage. Studying more farmhouses built between 1850 and 1910 would presumably add more details to this transition process and how it was influenced by the industrialization. As for the increased area of their distribution, improved possibilities of exchange might offer an explanation.

The second case looked into the lignite workers' dwellings as an evolving vernacular. These dwellings were a quick regional building response to the need for habitation of the workers and their families. The workers' dwellings refer to the traditional vernacular in many ways such as materials at hand, reuse and simple constructions which developed into a particular typology, since the buildings (i.e. the medium and luxury categories) are so homogeneous. It is interesting to note that the lignite workers' dwellings meet the definition of vernacular architecture proposed by Paul Oliver. Lignite quarrying concluded in 1970<sup>40</sup> and thus, this case exemplifies both an evolving and an extinct vernacular. For this reason and due to the quality and size of the dwellings, many of these buildings have disappeared. Consequently, the remaining are regarded as vernacular heritage. Additionally, the lignite workers' dwellings have certain similitudes to the contemporary allotment huts and the tiny house movement.

Lastly, the third case concerns the dwellings of Hjortshøj Eco-village and the related current, vernacular tendencies. The buildings of the eco-village are informed of more (sustainable) aspects of the traditional vernacular (e.g. materials, simple constructions and egalitarian construction principles) – that are used for inspiration and not necessarily are specific to the construction site. Niels Park Nygaard denotes the approach of the vernacular as a historic and geographic inspirational source, with local harvested and little processed materials and, regardless of authentic regional design as “material regionalism”.<sup>41</sup> In continuation of this, it can be argued that the dwellings of Hjortshøj Eco-village are examples of contemporary vernacular, because they “*are distinctive cultural expressions of people who live in or feel attached to a particular place or locality*”<sup>42</sup> by way of their owners having subscribed to the Hjortshøj habitation principles. Additionally, vernacular aspects include the affinity with buildings in other Danish eco-villages such as Friland and Dyssekilde. With social media, it is possible for eco-builders to facilitate online groups thus, embracing and developing eco-building independent of regions.

## **CONCLUSION**

The main objective of this study was to investigate twentieth century Danish vernacular architecture which reflects a subject matter that has been under-researched. Further objectives were to throw light on such building types, examine to what degree the twentieth century vernacular has similitudes to the traditional and possibly identify examples as young vernacular heritage. To achieve the objectives, the study presented a preliminary examination of the contemporary comprehension of vernacular architecture and the characteristics of traditional vernacular. The study augmented knowledge of Danish twentieth century vernacular by way of three case studies. Furthermore, it was established that these cases in different ways pass on or has similitudes to the preindustrial vernacular architecture and lastly, examples of vernacular heritage were pointed out.

Since this study is author’s initial research into the subject matter, it is highly probable that further studies will lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the rich twentieth century vernacular and identify more cases of young vernacular heritage.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Peter Brogaard, "Gårde og huse," in *Landbrugets Huse*, eds. Peter Brogaard, Hakon Lund and Hans Edvard Nørregaard-Nielsen (København: Gyldendal, 1985), 58-67; Mette Skougaard, *Bonden bygger: Om opførelsen af bindingsværksbygninger i det gamle landbrugssamfund* (København: Nationalmuseet, 1985), 40; Birgitte T. Eybye and Inge Vestergaard, "A survey of Danish earthen heritage for sustainable building," in *Vernacular and earthen architecture*, eds. Camilla Mileto et al. (London: Taylor and Francis Group, 2017), 591.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Michelsen, "The Investigation of Old Rural Buildings," in *Dansk Folkemuseum og Frilandsmuseet, History and Activities*, ed. Holger Rasmussen (København: Nationalmuseet, 1966), 51-76.

<sup>3</sup> Maria J. Grant and Andrew Booth "A typology of reviews: an analysis of 14 review types and associated methodologies," *Health Information and Libraries Journal* 26, no. 2 (2009): 91-108. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-1842.2009.00848.x

<sup>4</sup> Bent Flyvbjerg, "Five Misunderstandings About Case Study Research," *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12, no. 2 (2006): 219-245. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405284363>; Robert K. Yin, *Case study research* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Flyvbjerg, 230.

<sup>6</sup> Lindsay Asquith and Marcel Vellinga, introduction to *Vernacular Architecture in the Twenty-First Century: Theory, education and practice*, eds. Lindsay Asquith and Marcel Vellinga (London: Taylor and Francis Group, 2006), 1-5.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Oliver, *Built to meet needs: Cultural issues in vernacular architecture* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, Architectural Press, 2006), 30.

<sup>8</sup> Dell Upton, "The tradition of change," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 5, no. 1 (1993): 9-15.

<sup>9</sup> Marcel Vellinga, "Engaging the future: Vernacular architecture in the twenty-first century," in *Vernacular Architecture in the Twenty-First Century: Theory, education and practice*, eds. Lindsay Asquith and Marcel Vellinga (London: Taylor and Francis Group, 2006), 87-89.

<sup>10</sup> Vellinga, 90.

<sup>11</sup> Vellinga 81-94; Marcel Vellinga, "The Inventiveness of Tradition: Vernacular Architecture and the Future", *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 13, no. 2 (2006/ 2007).

<sup>12</sup> Kingston Wm. Heath, *Vernacular Architecture and Regional Design: Cultural Process and Environmental Response* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, Architectural Press, 2009), 12.

<sup>13</sup> Heath, xiv.

<sup>14</sup> Heath, 3-21.

<sup>15</sup> Daniel Maudlin, "Crossing Boundaries: Revisiting the Thresholds of Vernacular Architecture," *Vernacular Architecture* 41 (2010), 13.

<sup>16</sup> Maudlin, 13.

<sup>17</sup> Maudlin, 13.

<sup>18</sup> Maudlin, 13.

<sup>19</sup> Marcel Vellinga, "The End of the Vernacular: Anthropology and the Architecture of the Other," *Etnofoor* 23, no. 1 (2011), 179-181.

<sup>20</sup> Marie Foged Klemensen, "Bondegård fra tidlig middelalder i Jylland: fra et arkæologisk perspektiv," *Bol og By: Landbohistorisk Tidsskrift* 19, no.1-2 (2003), 33.

<sup>21</sup> Regional examples include the aisle-truss houses ("højremskonstruktioner") of Northern Jutland whose main construction features a number of arcade posts carrying two arcade plates on which the rafters rest, making the building principally tree-aisled, the ridge-pole houses ("sulekonstruktioner") of Funen characterized by a number of central placed posts carrying the ridge pole and, the so-called "sidebåndskonstruktioner" of Northern Sealand, in which a long, narrow timber plate is trenched into the façade posts, either on the outside or the inside of the building (Brogaard, "Gårde og huse," 58-67).

<sup>22</sup> Jeanne Brüel, *Traditionelle bygningsmaterialer - eksempler på byggemetoder i historiske huse* (København: Historiske Huse, 2022), 75.

<sup>23</sup> Axel Steensberg, *Den danske bondegård* (København: Forum, 1974), 110, 144.

<sup>24</sup> Birgitte T. Eybye, "Bæredygtighed i Danmarks førindustrielle bygningskultur: Belyst gennem studier af seks boliger," (PhD diss., Arkitektskolen Aarhus, 2016), 102-103.

<sup>25</sup> Bjarne Stoklund, *Bondegård og byggeskik* (København: Dansk Historisk Fællesforening, 1972), 63-76.

<sup>26</sup> Skovgaard, *Bonden bygger*, 13-44.

<sup>27</sup> Halvor Zangenberg, "Gamle Gaarde og Huse i Sydvestjylland," in *Turistforeningen for Danmark* (1935), 233.

<sup>28</sup> According to Hanne Birk and Merete Lind Mikkelsen, the so-called “slate-roofed farmhouses” (Danish: skifertagshuse) were part of Danish Eclecticism (circa 1850-1915), as they were constructed circa 1860-90 (Hanne Birk and Merete Lind Mikkelsen, *Stuehuse: en grundbog* (Århus: Landbrugsforlaget, 2004), 17). Søren Vadstrup looks into farmhouses of the late-neoclassical period and delimits these to circa 1845-1870 (Søren Vadstrup, *Landhuset: historie, bevaring, istandsættelse* (København: Lindhardt and Ringhof, 2021), 212-219). This study recognizes that the farm houses of the two styles have more similarities, yet it draws on Lind and Mikkelsen’s conceptual framework, since construction times around the year 1900 is extremely late for late-neoclassical buildings.

<sup>29</sup> Birk and Mikkelsen, 23.

<sup>30</sup> Esben Hedegaard and Anders Myrtue, *Landbrugets bygninger 1850-1940* (København: Miljø- og Energiministeriet, Skov- og Naturstyrelsen, 1996), 51.

<sup>31</sup> Peter Dragsbo and Helle Ravn, *Jeg en gård mig bygge vil – der skal være have til* (Kerteminde: Landbohøjskole Selskab, 2001), 46.

<sup>32</sup> Hedegaard and Myrtue, *Landbrugets bygninger*, 66.

<sup>33</sup> Jan Svendsen, *Det brune guld: Brunkulseventyret i Danmark* (Brande: Dialogforum, 2007), 5-7.

<sup>34</sup> “Tørve Søren’s House” had one room of 11 m<sup>2</sup> in 1947. It was gradually extended with an entrance room, a kitchen and a bedroom until 1956. The dwelling comprised a family of five (Da Danmark blev flettet sammen, season 2, episode 7, “Brunkul for fremtiden” produced by Siggie Production and Tramontane, aired September 8, 2021, on Danmarks Radio.

[https://www.dr.dk/drtv/se/da-danmark-blev-flettet-sammen\\_-brunkul-for-fremtiden\\_247734](https://www.dr.dk/drtv/se/da-danmark-blev-flettet-sammen_-brunkul-for-fremtiden_247734)

<sup>35</sup> Svendsen, *Det brune guld; Da Danmark blev flettet sammen; Historien om Brunkullet*, produced by Kulturkanalen (2020), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ODUCaTFQ-Qw>

<sup>36</sup> Svendsen, *Det brune guld*, 19.

<sup>37</sup> Lis Ellemann, “Andelssamfundet i Hjortshøj,” in *Økosamfund i Danmark: Hvordan drømme bliver til virkelighed*, eds. Allan Elm and Troels Dilling-Hansen, (Galten: Landsforeningen for Økosamfund, 2003), 36-45; Andelssamfundet i Hjortshøj, “Hvem er vi: Historien”, accessed June 25 2023, <https://www.andelssamfundet.dk/historien>

<sup>38</sup> Andelssamfundet, “Byggeri og miljø: Konstruktioner og materialer”, accessed June 26 2023, <https://www.andelssamfundet.dk/konstruktioner>

<sup>39</sup> Examples of the development of the preindustrial vernacular farmhouses include improvements to the fireplace such as chimneys to prevent fire, ceilings that increased the thermal comfort in living rooms and, larger windows (from small and leaded to neo-classical two casement windows) just to name a few. Relatedly, Søren Vadstrup accounts for the absorption of stylistic features such as profiles of window casements into vernacular architecture (Søren Vadstrup, *Huse med sjæl* (København: Gyldendal, 2004), 62-64).

<sup>40</sup> Svendsen, *Det brune guld*, 6.

<sup>41</sup> Niels Park Nygaard, “Sustainable Edification: Questions of tectonic congruence, material genuineness, and adequate concepts of time and place,” (paper presented at the Eighteenth Annual International Architectural Humanities Research Association [AHRA] Conference, Loughborough University, Loughborough, November 11-13, 2021), <https://www.lboro.ac.uk/departments/abce/ahra2021-region/>

<sup>42</sup> Vellinga, *Engaging the future*, 90.

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# UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE SITES AND INDIGENOUS LAND RIGHTS: WHY ARE SOME INDIGENOUS PEOPLES TREATED BETTER THAN OTHERS BY UNESCO AND THE WORLD HERITAGE COMMITTEE?

Author:

**JORDAN THORNE**

Affiliation:

GLOBAL CAMPUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ITALY; UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI, FINLAND

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## INTRODUCTION

Worldwide, Indigenous Peoples continue to experience violent evictions and other human rights violations in the name of conservation, including in and around UNESCO World Heritage Sites. This paper seeks to identify why Indigenous Peoples are afforded differing levels of protection, particularly concerning land rights, by UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee (henceforth the Committee). The broad topic limits the depth achievable regarding particular cases or aspects of the Committee's process; the goal is to achieve a general conclusion to be applied to future research, whilst illuminating how UNESCO and the Committee can unify their approach and root it in human rights protection. Ultimately, the study argues that protection of Indigenous land rights depends on compatibility with a “productive” use of land.

## Indigenous Land Rights and Conservation

Given international law's state-centrism, Colchester reflects that ‘[w]hen the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) developed a global system for protected areas, the presumption was that these areas should be owned by the State and run by government agencies.’<sup>1</sup> World Heritage is rooted in this model of conservation, with sites run by governments upon advice of UNESCO – an intergovernmental organisation (IGO) composed of states – and often erasing Indigenous Peoples from the conversation.

Despite increasing discussion around the beneficial role of human-nature relationships, which has gone hand in hand with the development of legal protection for Indigenous Peoples, fortress conservation remains the dominant model. It assumes that humans are enemies of nature and idealises “wilderness”, which is dangerous as it gives the ‘false perception that no humans ever traversed or lived there’<sup>2</sup> and also inaccurate. Using wilderness terminology undermines Indigenous contributions to conservation as well as their land rights. This conversation has played out in the Tasmanian Wilderness Zone in Australia, with a proposed name-change being explored in consultation with the Aboriginal community.<sup>3</sup>

The desire for “wilderness” is linked to alienation of industrialised societies from their environment. Survival International has concluded that, although costly to governments in money and popularity,

evictions of Indigenous Peoples ‘are justified in the interests of the lucrative tourist trade and the belief that tourists want to see wilderness and wildlife, not people.’<sup>4</sup> This is embedded in the World Heritage List as most sites have information about their “integrity” detailing levels of human disturbance.

Domínguez and Luoma argue that conservation policy is a colonial legacy, identifying that land practices other than cultivation, ‘served as a pretext to treat such lands as “unoccupied” and thus free for the taking’, echoing the construction of wilderness underlying fortress conservation.<sup>5</sup> This need to be “productive” ingrained in Western capitalist societies is a point of incompatibility between Western and Indigenous “conservation”. Indigenous scholar Jessica Hernandez explores this, concluding that ‘Western conservation focuses on the usefulness of nature to humans’ whilst Indigenous Peoples ‘never associate a value to our environments.’<sup>6</sup> This illuminates the conceptual difficulty of a value – Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) – being the entire basis of World Heritage.

### POLITICISATION OF WORLD HERITAGE

As a UN agency, UNESCO has certain duties concerning Indigenous rights as set out in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Despite recent positive steps, UNESCO has no real policing powers concerning World Heritage as decision-making lies with the Committee, and broadly IGOs ‘are rarely openly critical of a Member State or State Party’.<sup>7</sup>

The Committee has increasingly become a forum for States to pursue national interests at the expense of Indigenous Peoples and effective conservation. A 2019 World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) report documents that 46% Committee decisions concerning nomination of natural and mixed sites went against advisory bodies’ suggestions, as shown in Figure 1.<sup>8</sup>

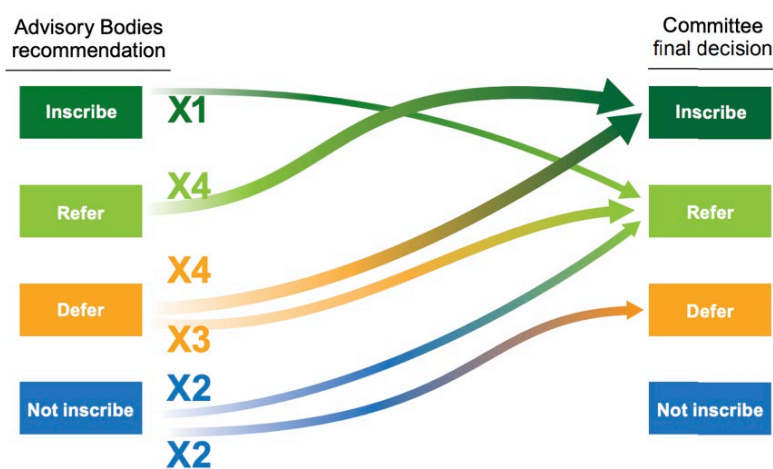


Figure 1. Changes Made to Advisory Bodies' Recommendations 2014-18.<sup>9</sup>

The report also identified that upgraded sites were not fulfilling conservation criteria to the same extent as not-upgraded sites, demonstrating that conservation is being undermined by politicisation.<sup>10</sup> Whilst national interests have individual dimensions, all countries want their nominated properties inscribed and those already inscribed to stay off the List of World Heritage in Danger.

The Committee attracted international criticism in 2021 concerning simultaneous inscription of Thailand’s Kaeng Krachan Forest Complex (KKFC) and the decision to keep the Great Barrier Reef off the List of World Heritage in Danger. Despite its generally exemplary image of Indigenous involvement in heritage management, Australia entered into “unholy” pacts to keep the reef off the in-danger list.<sup>11</sup> In 2018, Australia’s delegation said they would not ‘support an inscription placed on the World Heritage List where the advice before us is that it should not be inscribed.’<sup>12</sup> However,

Australia raised no objections to inscribing the KKFC despite human rights violations against the Indigenous Karen People; in fact, the only Committee member that defended official advice against inscription was Norway.<sup>13</sup> Thailand was one of twelve Committee members that supported an amendment to not list the Great Barrier Reef as in danger.

Inscription of the KKFC saw the Committee bow to political interests and practically endorse violations of Indigenous rights as well as ensuring the continuity of fortress conservation by inscribing the site under purely natural criteria, classifying the Karen as a threat.

### **INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND OUV**

As well as being of OUV, sites must meet at least one of ten criteria to be included on the World Heritage List. There is considerable scope for Indigenous Peoples to be recognised as part of OUV, but these criteria bring Indigenous Peoples unwillingly into competition to be ‘unique or at least exceptional’.<sup>14</sup>

For example, the 2013 International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) advisory evaluation of Pimachiowin Aki in Canada described the relationship between the Indigenous Anishinaabeg and land as ‘not unique and persists in many places associated with indigenous peoples in North America and other parts of the world’.<sup>15</sup> The Anishinaabeg did not wish to be considered exceptional ‘as they did not want to make judgements about the relationships of other First Nations’ with their lands and thus make comparisons.’<sup>16</sup> However, this uncompetitive way of thinking is incompatible with the World Heritage process, and the site was inscribed in 2018 having been deemed ‘an exceptional example [...with] the strongest claim to Outstanding Universal Value over and above the four others’ when compared to similar sites across Canada.<sup>17</sup>

### **The Quest for Authenticity**

Sites are also assessed on authenticity, placing unrealistic expectations on Indigenous societies to be “authentic” despite having been exposed to assimilation policies of colonisers, or simply existing in connection with the modern world. At the 2011 session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, over 70 Indigenous groups and organisations highlighted this: ‘We are concerned that the concepts of “outstanding universal value”, “integrity” and “authenticity” are interpreted and applied in ways that are disrespectful of Indigenous peoples and their cultures, inconsiderate of their circumstances and needs, preclude cultural adaptations and changes, and serve to undermine their human rights.’<sup>18</sup> The sentiments of disrespect and preventing “cultural adaptations and changes” essentially objectify Indigenous Peoples.

When Manú National Park became a national park in 1973, the Indigenous inhabitants were “allowed” to remain if they engaged in “traditional” subsistence activities.<sup>19</sup> The 1987 nomination of the site as World Heritage noted that ‘[n]ative populations living in the park are largely unaffected by modern civilization and provide special opportunity for anthropological study.’<sup>20</sup> This embodies the “open-space museum” concept discussed by Marta Kania<sup>21</sup> and is particularly problematic given that many of the Indigenous Peoples concerned were not “unaffected by modern civilization”. Park inhabitants were restricted from using ‘firearms and mechanized implements, particularly, motorboats and chainsaws’,<sup>22</sup> in violation of Indigenous Peoples’ rights to ‘own, use, develop and control’ their LTRs.<sup>23</sup>

Interestingly, the park was initially inscribed under the old criteria (ii) and (iv) with criteria (ii) referencing “man’s interaction with his natural environment”.<sup>24</sup> With revision of the criteria in 2004, Manú National Park is now inscribed under criteria (ix) and (x) with no reference to human interaction.

### **Natural, Cultural, and Mixed Sites**

Like many aspects of the World Heritage system, distinction between natural and cultural sites is effectively incompatible with Indigenous cultures, given that culture and nature are interwoven. When sites are inscribed solely under natural criteria, Indigenous Peoples are not considered part of the OUV. Joseph King, a senior professional at ICCROM, has spoken about the Committee's "unbundling" approach, focusing solely on OUV;<sup>25</sup> if Indigenous Peoples are not recognised as part of this, they may be classified as a threat. Violations against Indigenous Peoples therefore become more likely and less of concern in purely natural sites. This was exposed by a 2020 WWF report, which examined human rights abuses in protected areas – of the eight areas examined, five are natural World Heritage Sites.<sup>26</sup>

In 1992, the Cultural Landscape classification was introduced to recognise 'combined works of nature and of man'.<sup>27</sup> This categorisation does offer protection of Indigenous land rights with Indigenous Peoples serving as the basis of nomination for some sites but is a poor substitute for the pre-2004 criteria, given that it requires more conscious effort to involve Indigenous Peoples, as well as, similarly to mixed sites, more logistical difficulties. From the perspective of World Heritage status, it is conceivable that States would choose the "easier" route.

### **Different Treatments in Similar Cases**

A comparison of two sites in Sápmi, the traditional region of the Sámi people, demonstrates the power of the accepted narrative of a site. In both instances, the Sámi conduct reindeer husbandry which is deemed to be of OUV in one case where it enhances the narrative, but not in the other where it does not relate to the recognised history.

The Laponian Area was inscribed in 1996 as a mixed site, described as 'the largest area in the world (and one of the last) with an ancestral way of life based on the seasonal movement of livestock'<sup>28</sup> and is often cited as an exemplary case of Indigenous involvement in World Heritage management. In comparison, Røros Mining Town and the Circumference is a cultural site, which does not recognise Sámi heritage in the OUV, despite consultation with the Sámi community in the 2010 extension process. The intention of the extension was to reinforce 'the mining town narrative from the 1980 inscription, rather than to revise and broaden the scope of the OUV with an additional indigenous dimension.'<sup>29</sup> Therefore, inclusion of Sámi issues was decided on the basis of sources 'describing functional and mutually beneficial relationships with the mining community';<sup>30</sup> because Røros' value comes from its mining history, the Sámi could only be included from this angle.

Here it is clear that protection of Indigenous Peoples is not related to inherent merits of their cultures, but more how they "fit" – this is particularly true when considering tourism and commercial interests.

### **Tourism and Resource Exploitation**

The World Heritage List effectively functions as 'one of the best known global brands',<sup>31</sup> with inclusion boosting international visibility and tourism. The economic benefits associated with this drive States to pursue World Heritage status, often at Indigenous Peoples' expense.

For example, the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) in Tanzania received around 650,000 visitors in 2014 and this number is only increasing.<sup>32</sup> Whilst tourists are welcomed to visit the Ngorongoro crater, the semi-nomadic Maasai pastoralists that have lived around the NCA since being relocated from their traditional lands were forbidden from settling there in 1975.<sup>33</sup> In 2016, the Maasai were also ordered to stop grazing and watering their livestock in the crater following 'numerous complaints from tourism and conservation stakeholders that cattle present an imminent threat to the fragile slopes and floor of the crater and that tourists are coming for wildlife not livestock'.<sup>34</sup> A Maasai community



leader articulates that ‘the craters are exclusive[ly] open for those who bring money, I mean the tourists and wawekezaji (investors).’<sup>35</sup>

UNESCO and the Committee have certainly played a role in violations against the Maasai through repeatedly recommending “voluntary” relocation;<sup>36</sup> their concern about the site’s human capacity has provided Tanzania with justification for violating Maasai rights.

### The Laponian Area

On a visit in June 2023, I gained some insight into how the Sámi are involved in management and tourism of Laponia. Generally, Sámi people expressed positive sentiments about the site’s incorporation of Sámi culture and the majority Sámi representation on the management board. However, there was concern about land use in Sápmi for hydropower and mining. Boundaries of the national parks that make up the Laponian Area have been adapted to make way for hydroelectric dams to the detriment of Indigenous rights. This is not an isolated instance – the Lepcha People of India’s Khangchendzonga National Park express similar concerns as Sikkim’s sacred rivers are omitted from the site’s boundaries: ‘One cannot help but wonder if this deliberate omission has something to do with the dams.’<sup>37</sup>

The current issue of concern around the Laponian Area is the proposed opening of a mine in Gallok on Sámi grazing lands, which would completely cut off the route followed by the Jáhkgaska tjiellde community during the summer reindeer migration.<sup>38</sup> This would not only violate Indigenous rights but threaten World Heritage listing, which has been articulated by UN Experts.<sup>39</sup> It remains to be seen whether UNESCO and the Committee use the threat of losing World Heritage status effectively to prevent this.

### NATIONAL POLICIES

Even with recognition as part of the OUV, management rights, and involvement in tourism, Sámi land rights are not secure. They have international protection but remain vulnerable to national interests, which largely dictate differing treatments of Indigenous Peoples.

As well as tourism, Survival International also identified control over an area and its people, and paternalistic attempts to force assimilation as rationales for eviction.<sup>40</sup> Seeking control under paternalism and racism, which manifests as human rights violations has all the characteristics of colonialism, and indeed colonial history plays a key role in national policy.

By examining World Heritage Sites on or around Indigenous lands, all of which I have not been able to discuss, the following countries emerged as having the best and worst treatment of Indigenous land rights.

“Best” Examples	“Worst” Examples
Australia	Tanzania
New Zealand	Kenya
Canada	Democratic Republic of Congo
United States	Central African Republic
Sweden	Cameroon
	India
	Nepal
	Thailand

Figure 2. “Best” and “Worst” Countries in Contemporary Protection of Indigenous Land Rights Concerning World Heritage Sites.

### **Best Examples**

Historically, these five states have not treated Indigenous Peoples within their boundaries well; Yellowstone National Park in the US is considered to be among the first instances of fortress conservation. Despite the exclusively Western composition of the “best” examples, it is not my intention to equate Western States with “best” practices towards Indigenous Peoples.

Whilst Sweden is somewhat of an anomaly, included solely on the basis of the rights protection offered by the Laponian Area, the other States have historic similarities. They were all British colonies that evolved as settler societies and undertook frontier expansion, which involved conflicts with Indigenous Peoples and evictions. It is interesting to consider Hernandez’s assessment that settler colonialism is embedded in contemporary conservation, focusing on the “usefulness” of nature.<sup>41</sup> It is not a stretch to apply this to people and hypothesise that settler colonial history has manifested in assessing “usefulness” of people to World Heritage Sites.

The commonality between the “best examples” is not necessarily that they are the “best”, but that given their developed economies, relative political stability, global influence, and high human rights indexes,<sup>42</sup> their interests mainly centre on building their international and national reputation by redressing past injustices. There is also greater international awareness about the Indigenous Peoples in these countries, enabling them to fit more easily with tourist desires. This hypothesis is supported by Australia’s inclusion of Indigenous Peoples in its own heritage policy whilst ignoring violations in Thailand for instance.

### **Worst Examples**

Of the eight countries I recognise, six were subject to European colonisation; however, unlike Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the US, they were not settler but exploited colonies. The colonial legacy is far more recent and intense in these countries, especially considering that colonisers destabilised them and prevented economic development by exploiting their resources.

During colonisation, Africa effectively served as a playground for Europeans: ‘creating protected parks in Africa allowed them to expand their dominion over the continent and quench their thirst for “undisturbed” nature, all without threatening their ongoing expansion of industrialization and capitalism in their own countries.’<sup>43</sup> With a history of evictions for control and management of LTRs, it is hardly surprising postcolonial regimes continue these practices.

Thailand and Nepal were not colonised but certainly not immune to colonial ideas. Particularly, the spread of the “culture of modernity” influenced violations of Indigenous land rights in the name of development; modernisation in the European colonial sense is incompatible with maintenance of traditional cultures and their use of land.

It is important to acknowledge the World Heritage process itself is “Western-oriented”; ex-ICOMOS member Henry Cleere argued that ‘[i]t operates in accordance with an aesthetic and historical perspective that is grounded in European culture’.<sup>44</sup> As of 2023, 47.19% of all World Heritage Sites are in Europe and North America, with 85.9% of these being listed as cultural.<sup>45</sup> It follows from this that States from other regions would nominate natural sites that offer the “wilderness” that tourists from urban centres desperately seek.

### **CONCLUSION**

This study has illuminated how World Heritage concepts of OUV, authenticity, and wilderness, combined with States’ pursuit of inclusion on the List have driven differing treatments of Indigenous Peoples. Ultimately, protection of Indigenous land rights relies on compatibility of Indigenous Peoples with “productive” uses of land. This is rooted in Western conceptions of value and although production implies cultivation, it can relate to resource interests and tourism. UNESCO and the

Committee treat Indigenous Peoples differently on this basis, in accordance with national interests and whether Indigenous Peoples are “productive” for the site’s OUV and visitor experience.

It is difficult to conclude who to “blame” for violations against Indigenous Peoples in relation to World Heritage: politicisation of the Committee is a dangerous trend, which has compartmentalised the system into solely what is and is not of value, with states manipulating the system to inscribe as many sites as possible. UNESCO and the Committee must work for more Indigenous involvement in the World Heritage process and face up to their obligations, tackling Committee politics, and prioritisation of profit over Peoples.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Marcus Colchester, “Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas: Towards Reconciliation?” in *World Heritage Sites and Indigenous Rights* ed. by Stefan Disko and Helen Tugendhat (Copenhagen: IWGIA, Forest Peoples Programme, Gundjeihmi Aboriginal Corporation, 2014), 39-53, 40.

<sup>2</sup> Chrissy Grant, “Australia: Tasmanian Wilderness And Wet Tropics World Heritage Area,” in *Case Studies Carried out within the Our Common Dignity Initiative 2011-2016: Rights-Based Approaches in World Heritage* ed. by Amund Sinding-Larsen and Peter Billie Larsen (Oslo: ICOMOS Norway, 2017), 4-7, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Grant, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Survival International, *Parks need peoples: Why evictions of tribal communities from protected areas spell disaster for both people and nature* (2014), 4.

<sup>5</sup> Lara Domínguez and Colin Luoma, “Decolonising Conservation Policy: How Colonial Land and Conservation Ideologies Persist and Perpetuate Indigenous Injustices at the Expense of the Environment,” *Land*, no. 9.3 (2020), 5-6, doi: 10.3390/land9030065.

<sup>6</sup> Jessica Hernandez, *Fresh Banana Leaves: Healing Indigenous Landscapes through Indigenous Science* (California: North Atlantic Books, 2022), 78.

<sup>7</sup> William Logan, “Australia, Indigenous peoples and World Heritage from Kakadu to Cape York: State Party behaviour under the World Heritage Convention,” *Journal of Social Archaeology*, no. 13.2 (2013), 153–76, 160, doi: 10.1177/1469605313476783.

<sup>8</sup> Dalberg for WWF, *Our Natural World at Risk: How politicization is limiting the effectiveness of the World Heritage Convention* (Gland: WWF, 2019), 4.

<sup>9</sup> Dalberg for WWF, 20.

<sup>10</sup> Dalberg for WWF, 20.

<sup>11</sup> Graham Readfearn, “‘Low point’ in world heritage committee history as politics ‘tramples’ human rights of the Karen people,” *The Guardian*, August 6, 2021, accessed April 13, 2023, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/aug/06/low-point-in-world-heritage-committee-history-as-politics-tramples-human-rights-of-the-karen-people>.

<sup>12</sup> UNESCO-WHC, *Summary Record (Forty-second session Manama, Bahrain)* (24 June – 4 July 2018), WHC/18/42 COM/INF.18, 40.

<sup>13</sup> Readfearn.

<sup>14</sup> UNESCO-WHC, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (31 July 2021), WHC.21/01, §49.

<sup>15</sup> ICOMOS, *Evaluations of Nominations of Cultural and Mixed Properties: ICOMOS report for the World Heritage Committee 37th ordinary session, Phnom Penh, June 2013* (2013), WHC-13/37.COM/INF.8B1, 39.

<sup>16</sup> ICOMOS, WHC-13/37.COM/INF.8B1, 39.

<sup>17</sup> ICOMOS, *Evaluations of Nominations of Cultural and Mixed Properties: ICOMOS report for the World Heritage Committee 42nd ordinary session, Manama, 24 June - 4 July 2018* (2018), WHC-18/42.COM/INF.8B1, 25.

<sup>18</sup> Endorois Welfare Council et al, *Joint Statement on Continuous violations of the principle of free, prior and informed consent in the context of UNESCO’s World Heritage Convention* (UNPFII, Tenth Session New York, 16-27 May 2011), §13.

<sup>19</sup> Glenn Shepard et al, “Trouble in Paradise: Indigenous Populations, Anthropological Policies, and Biodiversity Conservation in Manu National Park, Peru,” *Journal of Sustainable Forestry*, no. 29.2 (2010), 252-301, 258 cited in Daniel Rodriguez and Conrad Feather, “A Refuge for People and Biodiversity: The Case of Manu National Park, South-East Peru,” in *World Heritage Sites and Indigenous Rights* ed. by Disko and Tugendhat (2014), 459-87, 466.

<sup>20</sup> IUCN, *World Heritage Nomination – IUCN Summary 402: Manu National Park (Peru)* (June 1987), §5a.

<sup>21</sup> Marta Kania, “Indigenous Peoples’ Rights and Cultural Heritage: Threats and Challenges for a New Model of Heritage Policy,” *Latinoamérica Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos* (2019), 121–57, 132, doi: 10.22201/cialc.24486914e.2019.68.57064.

<sup>22</sup> IUCN, *IUCN Evaluation of Nominations of Natural and Mixed Properties to the World Heritage List: IUCN Report for the World Heritage Committee, 33rd Session, Sevilla, Spain, June 2009* (April 2009), WHC-09/33.COM/INF.8B2, 74.

<sup>23</sup> UNGA, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2 October 2007), A/RES/61/295, §26.

<sup>24</sup> Rodriguez and Feather, 467.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph King, personal communication (31 August 2012) cited in Logan, 162.

- <sup>26</sup> WWF Independent Panel of Experts, *Embedding Human Rights in Nature Conservation: From Intent to Action* (WWF Independent Panel of Experts of the Independent Review of allegations raised in the media regarding human rights violations in the context of WWF's conservation work, 17 November 2020).
- <sup>27</sup> UNESCO-WHC, WHC.21/01, §47.
- <sup>28</sup> "Laponian Area," UNESCO-WHC, accessed 2 April, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/774>.
- <sup>29</sup> Erlend Gjelsvik, "Norway: Negotiating Sami Rights and Heritage in Røros World Heritage Area," in *Case Studies Carried out within the 'Our Common Dignity Initiative 2011-2016* ed. by Sinding-Larsen and Larsen (2017), 21-23, 22.
- <sup>30</sup> Gjelsvik, 22.
- <sup>31</sup> Amicar Vargas, "The tourism and local development in world heritage context. The case of the Mayan site of Palenque, Mexico," *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, no. 24.9 (2018), 984-97, 986, doi: 10.1080/13527258.2018.1428670.
- <sup>32</sup> Asantael Williams Melita, "Tourism and the Target of the Convention on Biological Diversity: Community Acceptance for Involvement – A Case Study of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania," *World Journal of Social Science Research*, no. 2.1 (2014), 1 cited in IUCN, *Ngorongoro Conservation Area: 2020 Conservation Outlook Assessment* (2020), 4.
- <sup>33</sup> Survival International, 23.
- <sup>34</sup> Kokel Melubo and Brent Lovelock, "Living Inside a UNESCO World Heritage Site: The Perspective of the Maasai Community in Tanzania," *Tourism Planning and Development* (2019), 197-216, 203, doi: 10.1080/21568316.2018.1561505.
- <sup>35</sup> Participant 6 – Community Leader in Melubo and Lovelock, 11-12.
- <sup>36</sup> UNESCO-WHC, "Ngorongoro Conservation Area," *State of Conservation*, accessed July 10, 2023, [https://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/?action=list&id\\_site=39](https://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/?action=list&id_site=39).
- <sup>37</sup> Tseten Lepcha, Gyatso Lepcha and Shweta Wagh, "Undermining Cultural Values: An Indigenous Perspective on the Khanchendzonga Nomination," in *World Heritage Watch 2018* ed. by Stephan Doempke (Berlin: World Heritage Watch, 2018) 52-56, 55.
- <sup>38</sup> "Welcome!" Jåhkågaska tjiellde, accessed June 20, 2023, <https://www.gallok.se/en-gb/>.
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- <sup>40</sup> Survival International, 4.
- <sup>41</sup> Hernandez, 78.
- <sup>42</sup> Bastian Herre, Pablo Arriagada and Max Roser, "Human Rights", Data from Varieties of Democracy project (v13), accessed June 10, 2023, <https://ourworldindata.org/human-rights>.
- <sup>43</sup> Joseph Lee, "How the world's favourite conservation model was built on colonial violence," *Grist*, April 13, 2023, accessed May 10, 2023, <https://grist.org/indigenous/30x30-world-conservation-model-colonialism-indigenous-peopl/>.
- <sup>44</sup> Henry Cleere, "The concept of "outstanding universal value" in the World Heritage Convention," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, no. 1.4 (1996), 227-33, 228, doi: 10.1179/135050396793139042.
- <sup>45</sup> "World Heritage List Statistics," UNESCO-WHC, accessed June 24, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/statistics>.

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# NOTTINGHAM LACE: STORIES OF INDUSTRIAL DECLINE AND TEXTILE HERITAGE

Author:

**AMANDA BRIGGS-GOODE, GAIL BAXTER, TONYA OUTTRAM, JAYNE CHILDS**

Affiliation:

NOTTINGHAM TRENT UNIVERSITY, UK

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## INTRODUCTION

Nottingham's relationship with technological innovation in textile manufacturing began in the sixteenth century with the invention of the Stocking Frame by Rev Lee. It was this technology which paved the way for the production of machine-made lace by the beginning of the nineteenth century in the region. It is both the manufacturing technology and the fabric which elevated the city of Nottingham to have global influence as the manufacturing capital of lace.

The technological innovation to manufacture lace was driven by the demand for the consumption of handmade lace which was, until the early-nineteenth century, limited to the wealthy and considered a luxury product. In the eighteenth century the technology was adapted to create lace-like structures, using a knitted net, and later patterned lace, but the fabric was unstable and unraveled if a thread was broken.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, John Heathcoat invented a different way of making net by replicating the actions of bobbin lace makers and twisting threads together. This resulted in the 'twist-net machine' which created a more stable net fabric which could be hand embroidered to make lace. Shortly afterwards John Lever developed the 'Leavers lace machine' which integrated lace patterns to be constructed directly on the machine.

## Early exports

The lace industry in Nottingham became a fragmented one which included lace machine makers, lace manufacturers and makers, auxiliary and finishing trades (washing, bleaching, dyeing etc), and the wholesalers who sold and distributed the finished product. There were also numerous technical and design roles from draughtsman to lace designers as well as yarn merchants. In addition, lace production was split into three divisions: plain net, curtains, and dress laces (made on Leavers machines). This complex industry became a global phenomenon which relied upon imported raw materials coming into Nottingham and machines and lace being exported around the world.

However, there were initially Government prohibitions on the export of lace machinery and skilled workers, with heavy penalties in place: "by 1818 the penalty for exporting lace machinery was £500."<sup>1</sup>

Despite the restrictions, twist-net machines and their operators were smuggled into Calais, France in 1816. The early lace machines, as illustrated in Figure 1., were about 1 meter wide and therefore easy to dismantle and be taken by boat as 'scrap' metal.



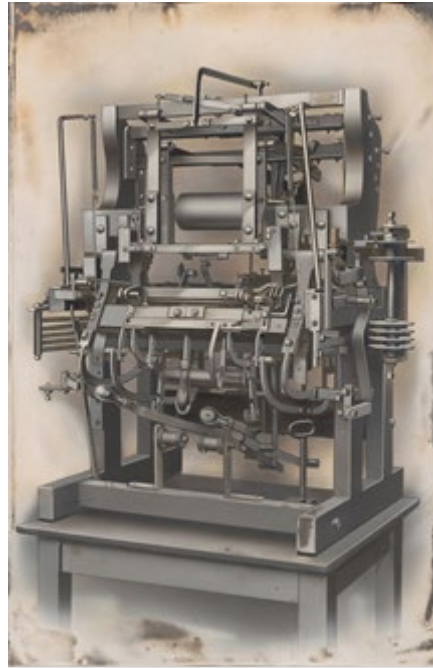


Figure 1. Early Leavers Lace Machine

According to Kelly, in the wake of the success of these first machines “by the end of 1820 there were 14 manufacturers in Calais who owned 32 machines.”<sup>2</sup> In the 1820s lace makers headed across northern France and into Paris. Others, as export controls eased, “travelled to Belgium, the US, Prussia, Vienna...and by 1839 there were at least seven machines built in Nottingham that were operated in Moscow by British workers.”<sup>3</sup>

### Expanding export trade

John Jardine & Co. were Nottingham’s largest lace machine builders, they also traded in second-hand lace machines and other equipment. Jardine’s produced a monthly ‘Lace Machinery Register’ which advertised machinery available for sale and gave information on the state of the industry. Between 1897 and 1899 the company exported lace machinery to France, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, Russia and the United States (US). The bulk of these sales were to France, Germany and the US.<sup>4</sup> In August 1899, in addition to listing lace machinery for export, Jardine’s Register also carried an advertisement for skilled twisthands to work in the US.<sup>5</sup> Between 1921 and 1961, their export trade took machines as far afield as: Argentina, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Korea, Mexico, US and Yugoslavia.<sup>6</sup>

Lace products were also widely exported. In the 1840s one-third of British lace production was exported to Germany. By the early 1850s the three largest customers were Germany, Netherlands and the US.<sup>7</sup> According to Mason, between 1878 and 1883 lace exports to the US increased by over 200% and in the early-twentieth century accounted for one-million pounds worth of lace annually (just under one-hundred-million pounds today).<sup>8</sup> Inevitably this market declined as the US increased their own manufacturing capacity with machinery imported from Nottingham.

In 1948 Simon May & Co., listed Agents selling in twenty-two countries, from Europe to Australia and South America to West Africa.<sup>9</sup> The incumbent Lord Mayor of Nottingham, John E. Mitchell wrote praising the company’s export achievements: “Our City is known throughout the world as the ‘City of Lace’ ...Today perhaps more than at any time in the nation’s history we are dependent upon our export trade for survival, and we know that the whole of your endeavours are applied to more and more goods for export.”<sup>10</sup> The Nottingham lace industry was based on a two-way trade of exports and

imports. This is exemplified by the carving, illustrated in Figure 2., above the entrance to one of the major lace wholesalers which shows Britannia, flanked by figures representing Trade and Industry, the ships which transported the goods and the industrial facilities that produced them.



*Figure 2. Tympanium at the Adam's Building, Nottingham Lace Warehouse  
Photo: Briggs-Goode*

### **Imported fibers**

Nottingham lace relied on global connections for importing fiber. The UK climate does not enable the commercial growing of any plant fiber other than linen (which is unsuitable for most lace machines) and therefore they required imports of silk coming from Italy and India and long-stapled cotton from America, Egypt or the Sudan.

Mason indicates that “by 1831 the trade was using over one and half million pounds of Georgian ‘Sea Island Cotton’” accounting for at least 85% of British lace production.<sup>11</sup> This came predominantly from the US, it should therefore be acknowledged that it is highly probable that cotton produced by enslaved people was a significant part of lace manufacturing in Nottingham. To further support this, Andrews draws our attention to the wider supply chain stating that: “By 1850, 40% of British exports were finished cotton goods at least three-quarters, and in some years 95%, of the raw materials imported into the Liverpool docks was from US plantations.”<sup>12</sup>

It is also likely that cotton production relying on enslaved people within British colonies was being utilized in the region for both lace and hosiery. Atlantic raw cotton was key, not only the development of quality fabric, but also the technological innovation required to process it and as Berg and Hudson describe: Richard Arkwright Senior’s water frame (patented in 1769) relied on increased supplies of Barbados cotton with its longer staple and that without it, it is unlikely that the jenny would have been developed or widely adopted at this time. They also note that hosiery manufactures from Nottingham, were Arkwright’s main backers in developing the jenny, who were able to utilize these stronger yarns to further facilitate developments of the knitting frame.<sup>13</sup> Despite acknowledging the challenges of piecing together details of this supply chain, Seymour notes that: “There are often missing or only fragmentary records and scattered archives and piecing together product supply chains in particular is time consuming.”<sup>14</sup> Her team were able to establish that in “1790, Richard Arkwright Junior bought 1,300 bags of raw cotton worth £36,000”.<sup>15</sup> And following the trail, they found that the cotton brokers he bought them from, including Nicholas Waterhouse & Sons, were later claimants for compensation to former slave owners after 1833 when UK slavery was abolished.<sup>16</sup>

### **The State of the Trade**

Historical figures for employment in the lace industry are difficult to confirm due to the fragmented nature of the industry and the vast numbers of auxiliary and outworkers. However, Mason cites almost eight-thousand males and just over fourteen-thousand females in 1851,<sup>17</sup> in comparison with Calais and Saint Pierre workshops, where in the same year there were one-thousand-two-hundred men, four-hundred women and five-hundred children.<sup>18</sup> In England this rises to twelve-thousand males and fifteen-thousand females in 1891. Leading to the peak of the Nottingham Industry from an employment perspective in the early-twentieth century when over forty-thousand people were employed in ‘lace manufacture’, and 60% were women. By 1924 these numbers had declined to a little over six-thousand males and nine-thousand females with well over one-thousand female outworkers.<sup>19</sup> And currently estimates are below a one-hundred people employed directly within the lace trade in the region.

There were, of course, many more working at centers across the globe. In 1948 a publication by the American Lace Manufacturers Association reported that: “There are 54 lace mills and 730 Leavers lace machines in the United States today, manufacturing all types of Leavers lace in most gauges up to fifteen points. The Leavers lace industry in this country employs 5000 people and does an annual business of approximately 30 million dollars.”<sup>20</sup>

Challenges to Nottingham’s dominance began to emerge through the number of centers of lace manufacturing that Nottingham businesses had established, mainly in Europe. The frustration of the impact on the home market in 1886 can be seen in this quote from the Nottingham Chamber of Commerce which stated that “enormous quantities of (lace) curtains are shipped from Saxony to Nottingham...they are unpacked and repacked with English labels and thrown into our home markets as of ‘English’ manufacture.”<sup>21</sup>

The practice of ‘reimporting’ was still seen as a threat as late as 1968, when, in a speech to the British Lace Federation, Arthur Faber, of the Austrian-based firm of Faber & Faber<sup>22</sup> mentioned a number, including his own, of British lace manufactories abroad, including Thomas Adam’s curtain factory at Turin, Italy, which had been founded in 1888.

Nottingham machine owners WJ Walker ceased trading, due to loss of premises, and put their 15 machines up for sale. In a letter of November 23, 1956, it was stated that all of the machinery had been sold: “...part to the Argentine, part to Portugal and the bulk to Calais.”<sup>23</sup> The machines had been offered to companies both locally and abroad including France, Chile, Argentina, USA, Spain, Portugal, Italy. The geographical diversity of this list gives a sense of how international the production of lace had become and coincidentally, as Hayes puts it “how export markets were lost, [as] manufacture elsewhere expanded.”<sup>24</sup>

The situation also foregrounds the post-war onset of globalization which saw a wide range of industry dispersed to newly industrializing parts of the world.

### **New technologies**

In parallel with these issues grew another threat which emerged from the 1950s in the form of the new technology of warp-knit machines, known broadly as ‘Raschels’. These machines were enhanced to innovate – they were faster, cleaner, quieter, more flexible, electronic, and later computer-controlled. And importantly they could work with synthetic yarns, including those with stretch properties.

These machines were able to produce high quality lace which ‘imitated’ that made on the Leavers machines. Karl Mayer, of Germany, were, and still are, at the forefront of this technology.

This new technology began to appear across the globe, and also within Nottinghamshire, to replace the traditional Leavers machines.

Nottingham manufacturer Richard Granger noted that: “by 1968, the rapidly improving quality of Raschels lace was making serious inroads into the traditional leavers lace market. As a result, the first Karl Mayer machines were brought from Germany” By 1988 they were using “15 fine gauge Raschels machines and 13 leavers machines – a comfortable balance.”<sup>25</sup>

These challenges to the industry were also further impacted in the 1950s and 1960s by mergers and takeovers which were occurring across the whole UK fashion and textile industry. The lace industry was not immune, and it was not only small companies that were affected. One of the largest and oldest lace companies in Nottingham, and a leader in Leavers lace, was Birkin and Co., who merged with the mainly Raschels firm of J Guy & Co, and then formed a partnership with machine builders Karl Mayer of Germany.

In 1997 Birkin produced sets of lace edged handkerchiefs, illustrated in Figure 3., celebrating the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of Birkin & Company – the lace was made on Raschels machines, perhaps intended as an indication that they were a forward-looking company working with the latest technology.



Figure 2. Handkerchief set produced by Birkin & Co. in 1997 with Raschels lace edging

The Guy Birkin/Karl Mayer partnership in machine development came to fruition in 1982 with the launch of the first Jacquardtronic lace machine. Britain’s high street stalwart department store, Marks & Spencer, partnered with Guy Birkin in the development of all over stretch lace underwear sets. These were a new phenomenon and a direct result of the pioneering technology. Guy Birkin Managing Director, Eileen Measures, stated that: “The arrival of stretch lace meant that there is no longer a need to choose between comfort and glamour.”<sup>26</sup> She also noted that “We are in a period of significant changes, with new markets opening up and older ones forming alliances. The easing of trade between USA, Canada and Mexico will mean new thinking in how we and our competitors approach these markets as the potential is high.”<sup>27</sup> In 1995, Birkin of Borrowash, Derbyshire, were the world’s largest manufacturers of Raschels lace, producing fourteen tonnes of lace weekly, over half of which was exported.<sup>28</sup>

### **‘Textile Tales’**

A faster, electronic machine, was not always well received by those involved with Leavers lace, and here we can turn to some of the testimonies collected in the ‘Textile Tales’ project.<sup>29</sup>

The Nottingham Trent University (NTU) led ‘Textile Tales’ project, ran for eighteen-months, and was funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund in 2019. NTU worked with seven partner organizations, and trained volunteers to interview former and current textile workers in the region. The twenty-five volunteers gathered over fifty-five oral history recordings. The project carried out ‘roadshow’ events which were situated in museums and arts venues, a working factory and a specially commissioned vehicle to enable recordings in smaller towns around the region. The recordings are publicly available at East Midlands Oral History Archive.<sup>30</sup>

The project including oral history recordings from two twisthands, the highly trained lace machine operators. Joe W, now retired, had been a leavers lace twisthand all his life and had worked for various lace companies, including Guy Birkin until they ceased trading in the early 2000s. He was asked his opinion on the new Jacquardtronic machines and if he was keen on the link between Mayer and Birkins. His answer was plain: “No, no, no, not at all. We wanted to put stickers on ours saying ‘Leavers lace, made in Britain’.”<sup>31</sup>

### **Alternative yarns and consumer demands**

There is a suggestion that this new, faster technology had been developed in response to the frequent changes in garment design driven by market demand. This in turn hints that the rise of fast fashion and disposability had a part to play in the ‘boom and bust’ of the lace industry. This later era saw the frequent experimentation with different yarns. As Joe W explained, some experiments were more successfully than others: “I were working wool! Wool, in a lace machine! I mean it’s got no twist or nowt on it you know! ... I worked one acetate that was gold, you know when it were dressed up, and in a certain light, you couldn’t see it! I had to go along the footboard and feel to see if it was still there. But it made beautiful golden lace...”<sup>32</sup>

Tensions emerged between ‘old analogue – technology’ and ‘new digital – technology’. In her 1994 interview, Eileen Measures emphasised the new innovative technology and the consumer ‘demand’ for continual design change: “But styles are not generally being retained for several selling seasons – the market demand for frequent change means that we must bring a constant flow of new ideas and find ways to get those ideas from sketch and into the hands of garment stylists in lace form even faster. Therefore, we must be prepared to invest in any innovation which will enable us to shorten this cycle, whether it is more advanced computer aid in draughting or machinery where the design set-up is faster.”<sup>33</sup>

### **Impact of deindustrialization**

Whilst management may have been enthusiastic about the innovative new technology the impact on the skilled twisthands who had operated the analogue technology could be devastating. ‘Textile Tales’ interviewee, Brian M, spoke of his personal feelings on the changes: “The Machines were sold for Scrap – broke my heart.”<sup>34</sup> Social historians, such as Tim Strangleman and Steven High, have likened the deindustrialisation process to a type of bereavement, and we can understand this through the lace and textile workers oral histories. Workers watching the factory and machines they had developed a bond with being scrapped came through in the oral histories as a deeply emotional experience, even perhaps a type of grieving. Many of the interviews from ‘Textile Tales’ refer to the changes being ‘sudden’, and whilst the move to offshore industry and machine imports from abroad had been coming for some time, it still seemed to be a shock to many of the workers when the industry in Nottingham all but ended. ‘Textile Tales’ respondent, Brian L, had worked in the lace trade all his life

working his way up in the business, working the machines, becoming a mechanic, a foreman, a manager and then a director, before retiring. He summed up the situation for many in his comment that “...when you set [lace] factories up and then you see them die, you don’t expect that happening. I mean, in coal mining, you set a coal mine up you know it’s going to die one day because you’re going to run out of coal, but we never thought that the lace trade would finish. We thought you could always look back and watch these machines running again, it wasn’t to happen.”<sup>35</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The fragmented and complex global nature of the Nottingham lace industry could be said to have contributed to its demise. Whilst the closure of local coal pits, with hundreds made redundant, made national newspaper headlines, no-one really noticed the individual lace factories, or the supporting industries, slipping away one by one. The impassioned letter of July 17, 1956, from W.J. Walker to his MP expressed personal distress at the loss of a company: “...we will have to turn out of this mill where we have been housed for the past fifty years. This will mean that the machinery will have to be sold probably abroad or at heart breaking prices at home on account of the credit squeeze and the general slump in trade.”<sup>36</sup> The loss of many small businesses, with perhaps only a dozen or so workers each, didn’t seem that important in the great push for faster, more efficient production.

Ultimately the cumulative effect of these small closures devastated the industry. Today Nottingham Leavers lace is being produced by one small manufacturer, Cluny of Ilkeston, Derbyshire, with less than ten employees. They had long lost the auxiliary industries for dyeing and finishing and were thus forced to send their lace to France for washing and finishing. In a letter to the Financial Times newspaper Director of Cluny Lace, Charles Mason, remonstrated his frustration at the extra taxes which were imposed retrospectively after the UK left the European Union and had almost caused their demise. While they remain active there is still a hint of the industry that once dominated world production.<sup>37</sup>

The global lace industry is currently thriving, but the vast majority is being produced on the latest technological innovations in the field: clean, fast, efficient, computer controlled, Raschels warp-knit machines. However, in Nottingham lace manufacturing is hanging by a thread, a very minor part of the global lace market, restricted to relatively small batch production for high end clients.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Patricia Earnshaw, *Lace Machines and Machine Laces* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1986), 72.
- <sup>2</sup> Gillian Kelly, ed., *The Lacemakers of Calais* (Queabeyan, NSW: Australian Society of the Lacemakers of Calais, 1998), 57.
- <sup>3</sup> Fabrice Bensimon, “The emigration of British lacemakers to continental Europe (1816–1860s),” *Continuity and Change* (2019): 34.
- <sup>4</sup> Jardine’s Lace Machinery Register, “Lace Machinery Sales,” September 1899, 23.
- <sup>5</sup> Jardine’s Lace Machinery Register, “Work People Wanted,” September 1899, 29.
- <sup>6</sup> Sheila Mason, *Nottingham Lace 1760s-1950s* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1994), 211.
- <sup>7</sup> Mason, 148.
- <sup>8</sup> Mason, 184.
- <sup>9</sup> Simon May & Co., *1849-1949 A Century of Achievement: The Simon – May Story* (Nottingham: Simon May & Co., 1949), 58-59.
- <sup>10</sup> Simon May & Co., 5.
- <sup>11</sup> Mason, *Nottingham Lace 1760s-1950s*, 43.
- <sup>12</sup> Kehinde Andrews, *The New Age of Empire* (UK: Allen Lane, 2021) 104.
- <sup>13</sup> Maxine Berg and Hudson Pat, *Slavery, Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2023) 153-154
- <sup>14</sup> Susanne Seymour, Lowri Jones and Julia Feuer-Cotter, “The global connections of cotton in the Derwent Valley mills in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,” in *The Industrial Revolution: Cromford, The Derwent Valley and The Wider World*, ed. Chris Wrigley (Derbyshire: Arkwright Society, 2015), 166.
- <sup>15</sup> Seymour, 154.
- <sup>16</sup> Seymour, 163.
- <sup>17</sup> Mason, *Nottingham Lace 1760s-1950s*, 159
- <sup>18</sup> Fabrice Bensimon, “Women and Children in the Machine-Made Lace Industry in Britain and France (1810-1860),” *Textile*, 18:1 (2020): 66-69.
- <sup>19</sup> Mason, 159.
- <sup>20</sup> Vittoria Rosatto, *Leavers Lace: A Handbook of the American Leavers Lace Industry* (Rhode Island: American Lace Manufacturers Association, 1949), 15.
- <sup>21</sup> Mason, *Nottingham Lace 1760s-1950s*, 151.
- <sup>22</sup> Faber & Faber had also taken lace machines out of England in 1832.
- <sup>23</sup> W.J. Walker, *Letter to Col Scott, Owner of Birchwood Mill*, November 23, 1956. Nottingham Trent University Lace Archive NOTLC:2007:36
- <sup>24</sup> Nick Hayes, “Heritage, Craft, and Identity: Twisthands and Their Machinery in What is Left of the British Lace Industry.” *Labour History Review* 83 (2) (2018): 151.
- <sup>25</sup> Patricia Earnshaw, *Lace Machines and Machine Laces Volume 2* (Guildford: Gorse Publications, 1995), 33.
- <sup>26</sup> Eileen Measures interview, *Dessous Mode International: Guy Birkin special ed*, No 31 August 1994, 29.
- <sup>27</sup> Measures, 29.
- <sup>28</sup> Earnshaw, *Lace Machines and Machine Laces Volume 2*, 33.
- <sup>29</sup> <https://www.textiletales.co.uk/>
- <sup>30</sup> <https://le.ac.uk/emoha/collections/all/textile-tales>
- <sup>31</sup> Joe W, Oral history interview, Textile Tales project recordings, September 6, 2019. <https://le.ac.uk/emoha/collections/all/textile-tales>
- <sup>32</sup> Joe W, Oral history interview, Textile Tales project recordings, September 6, 2019.
- <sup>33</sup> Measures, 29.
- <sup>34</sup> Brian M, Oral history interview, Textile Tales project recordings, 22<sup>nd</sup> November 22, 2019. <https://le.ac.uk/emoha/collections/all/textile-tales>
- <sup>35</sup> Brian L, Oral history interview, Textile Tales project recordings, 28<sup>th</sup> June 28, 2019. <https://le.ac.uk/emoha/collections/all/textile-tales>
- <sup>36</sup> W.J. Walker, *Letter to John Jennings, MP*, July 17, 1956. Nottingham Trent University Lace Archive NOTLC:2007:37.
- <sup>37</sup> Charles Mason, Letter: “One company’s bitter experience of Brexit.” *Financial Times*, August 7, 2023. <https://www.ft.com/content/7d2fa6d1-1994-4f74-a59f-b2c63b301f1c>

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# **EXPERIENCES, NOT ARTEFACTS: BUILDING CONNECTION THROUGH INTERACTIVITY AND VISUAL STORYTELLING**

Author:

**JO LI MARIE-JOELLE TAY, COREY BATTERSBY, WESLEY LAMONT, ALAN PEARCE,  
JOHN HENRY MARTIN, ANDREW WOODS**

Affiliation:

CURTIN UNIVERSITY, AUSTRALIA; CURTIN UNIVERSITY, AUSTRALIA; CURTIN  
UNIVERSITY, AUSTRALIA; FREMANTLE PORTS, AU. CURTIN UNIVERSITY,  
AUSTRALIA; CURTIN UNIVERSITY, AUSTRALIA

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Museums have traditionally been viewed as educational institutions or physical archives of historical and cultural artefacts.<sup>1</sup> Over the past few decades, however, public perceptions and expectations of museums have shifted and now they are increasingly viewed as public spaces that are expected to educate, engage, and immerse audiences. This paradigm shift means that today's museums are less likely to dictate facts about artefacts. They instead use these artefacts as prompts or props in experiences that enable visitors to discover more about themselves and each other. The display of information has evolved due to this as well as changes in technology and the use of digital and interactive media. On the one hand, these media can be seen as a necessary response to the need to attract and retain visitors; on the other, it is also an opportunity for museums to rethink the role they play and their relationship with the public.

This paper presents an example of digital and interactive media used in visual storytelling to augment a museum experience for visitors by examining a Curtin University student internship project (the Fremantle Harbour Animated Panorama Project) and its subsequent adaptation for exhibition use at a local Western Australian state-run museum.

## **BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT**

To provide the necessary background to contextualise the Fremantle Harbour Animated Panorama Project (or the Project), we will discuss the roles of museums in Australia followed by an overview of the WA Maritime Museum in Fremantle, Western Australia.

### **The Role of Museums in Australia**

The roles of museums are not fixed; they are influenced by those who work in or with them and those who visit them. To understand this in an Australian context, it is useful to read Scott,<sup>2</sup> who examined the impact and value of museums in Australia by studying the perceptions of two cohorts: professionals working within or in association with a representative cross-section of museums from across Australia; and public visitors and non-visitors of museums from a range of locations, ages, and

lifestyle sectors. Significantly, Scott found that, at a societal level, both cohorts saw museums not just as “places for interaction and engagement”,<sup>3</sup> but also as contributors to social inclusion, community identity, and social cohesion.<sup>4</sup> However, only the public cohort alone valued museums as “leisure attractions” and for providing “access to the past”.<sup>5</sup> This demonstrates that the public perceives museums as “a source of entertainment” that they can enjoy with family and friends,<sup>6</sup> while concurrently demonstrating an appreciation of the role that museums play in providing “a common awareness of history” and recording a community’s “progress, achievements and improvements over time”.<sup>7</sup>

Museums have a significant role in Australia in terms of connecting people to their community. People who can understand and situate themselves in relation to their community, its history, and location are more likely to feel connection to a place and to each other. Building this connection to community and place is particularly important in a multicultural country like Australia, where less than 4% of the population is Indigenous,<sup>8</sup> almost 30% of the population is born overseas,<sup>9</sup> and almost 50% of the population has a parent born overseas.<sup>10</sup>

### The Western Australian Context

The focus of the Project, the Fremantle Harbour, is located within the City of Fremantle, Western Australia. Perth is the capital city of Western Australia and Fremantle is one of the main ports in Western Australia. Establishment of Fremantle into a port commenced in 1892 and Fremantle Harbour was opened in 1897. In 1903, the Fremantle Harbour Trust was created by the Western Australian state government to manage the port. Today, it is known as the Fremantle Port Authority and trades under the business name Fremantle Ports; the state government still manages it today.<sup>11</sup>

Fremantle Ports was one of the key partners and supporters of this Project. The Fremantle Ports Administration Building, which opened in 1964, is eleven storeys tall and overlooks the Fremantle Harbour<sup>12</sup>. It is a short walking distance along the Fremantle Harbour from the WA Maritime Museum, where an updated version of the Project was later exhibited. The WA Maritime Museum is a state-run public museum that primarily houses artefacts and presents exhibitions related to Western Australia’s maritime history, particularly Fremantle’s role as a coastal city and port. It is one of six museum locations managed by the Western Australian Museum (WA Museum) in the state of Western Australia.<sup>13</sup>



Figure 1. Aerial view showing the location of the WA Maritime Museum and the Fremantle Ports administration building (Background map: Google Maps)

## THE FREMANTLE HARBOUR ANIMATED PANORAMA PROJECT

### Overview

The Project was a collaboration between Curtin University and Fremantle Ports. It involved the creation of an animated panoramic video sequence of Fremantle Harbour using archival photographs from the Fremantle Ports collection. The final video chronicled thirty-one Fremantle Harbour-centred

historical events from 1963 to 2022 as viewed from the Fremantle Ports Administration Building observation deck.<sup>14</sup> The original team from Curtin University and Fremantle Ports later adapted the video with the support of the WA Museum for use in the *Fremantle Then & Now: Historical Panoramas* exhibition at the WA Maritime Museum.

### Project Background

The Curtin HIVE (Hub for Immersive Visualisation and eResearch) is a research facility at Curtin University in Western Australia. It was established to address the demands of industry and academia for new approaches to interpreting, presenting, and communicating data, through visualisation, virtualisation, and simulation. The HIVE has five main large-scale visualisation systems that can cater for a range of project and content types: the Wedge, the Tiled Display, the Cylinder, the Hologram Table, and the Dome.<sup>15</sup> For this paper, only the Cylinder will be discussed (shown in Figure 2). Measuring three metres high with a diameter of eight metres, it is “designed for the presentation of immersive stereoscopic panoramas, virtual environments and performance art.” It has a 180° cylindrical projection surface “lit by three high-end projectors that are warped and blended to provide a continuous display surface of about nineteen megapixels” and is “fitted with a tracking system, and content can be displayed in stereoscopic 3D, using supplied 3D glasses.”<sup>16</sup>

Each summer since 2015 the HIVE has run a ten-week full-time internship program for students. One of the projects in the 2021-2022 program was the Fremantle Harbour Animated Panorama Project, which was financially supported by Fremantle Ports through their Community Investment grant program. The Project aim was to create an animated panorama for a cylinder-style display using a combination of historical and current photography taken from the top of the Fremantle Ports Administration Building, to provide a dynamic and interesting insight into the history and development of the Fremantle Harbour.

The project team for the Project was comprised of Corey Battersby (student), Andrew Woods (primary supervisor and project lead), Jo Li Tay (co-supervisor), Wesley Lamont (Curtin HIVE visualisation technology specialist), and Alan Pearce (Fremantle Ports liaison). Upon completion of the Project, a written report was completed by Battersby (2022); key points from this report have been included in this paper.



Figure 2. Corey Battersby with the Cylinder display at the Curtin HIVE (Photo: Andrew Woods)

### Creation of the Animated Panorama

The main challenge faced during the Project was that there were not enough photographs taken around the same time and day, from the Fremantle Ports Administration Building observation deck, to generate complete panoramas of each key event or date, despite the Fremantle Port’s sizable collection of archival photographs. Kwiatek and Woolner<sup>17</sup> also noted similar issues in a Charles

Church (Plymouth, UK) panorama, where artistic composition was needed to generate a digital reconstruction of the entire inner part of the church because no archival images could be acquired. In the Project, this compounded the usual challenges of creating panoramas from a set of photographs such as differing vantage points, image quality, levels of lens distortion, among other issues.<sup>18</sup> Automated feature-based image stitching, which involves “combining two or more images from the same scene into one high-resolution panoramic image”,<sup>19</sup> could not be used as originally intended. Battersby had to undertake labour-intensive and time-consuming manual image stitching instead, which required all his technical and creative skills to execute well.<sup>20</sup>

For the Project, Battersby and Pearce audited the Fremantle Ports archival collection to identify suitable images, then Battersby determined the best approach to combine and animate the selected images using a range of software from Adobe Creative Cloud, including Photoshop, Premiere Pro, After Effects, and Illustrator. The process used is outlined below.<sup>21</sup>

1. Identify the historical photographs
2. Determine location(s) with most images (including estimating the capture location of identified historical images)
3. Capture modern-day panorama
4. Determine a historical timeline
5. Merge and warp historical images to create wider-angle views
6. Create additional image assets
7. Migrate project assets from Photoshop to Premiere Pro
8. Iterate and improve results
9. Export and render the animation

Using the photographs identified, Battersby determined that the two most promising vantage points from the observation deck, each of which offered a unique viewpoint of the Fremantle Harbour. Together, these two vantage points revealed a large amount of significant port changes and historical activity of the Fremantle Harbour as opposed to selecting just one vantage point. For each historical event, an eighteen-second animated panorama scene was created.<sup>22</sup> This duration was used so the viewer could comfortably process the visual information. Since the number of photographs required for each animated panorama scene exceeded what could be provided by the Fremantle Ports archival collection, it was necessary to explore alternative techniques to illustrate how the harbour landscape changed over time. The goal was still to produce a panoramic video but use an approach to visual storytelling that could compensate for the insufficient quantity of photographs. This approach used three main techniques.<sup>23</sup>

1. **Line-art illustration:** To provide continuity across the different scenes, a line-art illustration was used as the background image throughout the panorama video. Where there were missing sections in a scene, this illustration fills in missing information. An example of how this was done can be seen in Figure 3. The illustration was created in Adobe Illustrator using an image tracing technique.

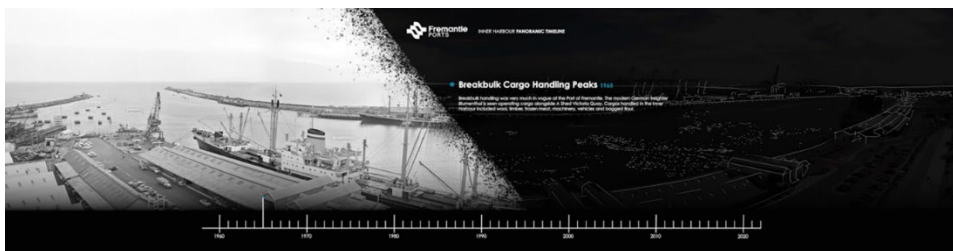


Figure 3. Screenshot from Fremantle Harbour Animated Panorama Project showing the use of line-art illustration

2. **Photomontage:** To provide additional context for the viewer and fill in the empty areas for which suitable images could not be found in the archival collection, additional photographs were added to each scene to provide visually interesting details and context. These additional photographs were darkened (in relation to the main photograph of the harbour) to ensure that the emphasis remained on the panorama scene, as seen in Figure 4—note the brighter main photograph on the left accompanied by a darkened photo collage on the right. The additional photographs of the older events generally comprised a selection of historical photographs; old paper textures were also applied to indicate the historic nature of these events. Cropping, animating and editing was used to further highlight figures or objects of significance. Adobe Photoshop was used to assemble the photomontage and achieve the various collage effects.

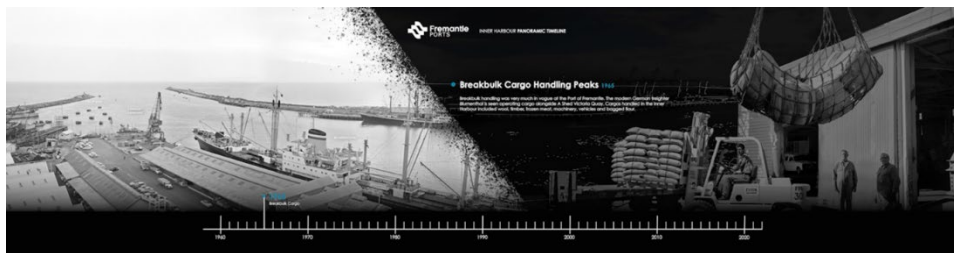


Figure 4. Screenshot from Fremantle Harbour Animated Panorama Project showing the use of photomontage

3. **Animated timeline:** An animated timeline was added to the panorama video to structure it chronologically. The timeline would display the year and event information relevant to the historical scene shown, changing with each event, an example of which can be found in Figure 5. The timeline was created using Adobe After Effects.



Figure 5. Screenshot from Fremantle Harbour Animated Panorama Project showing animated timeline

### Considerations for Future Projects

In addition to the issues related to creating the animated panorama discussed above, there were several other limitations and constraints.<sup>24</sup> These are presented here as a general list of notable considerations for future projects that seek to create panoramic images or videos from existing archival photographs:

- Photographs may not all be properly indexed or digitised; sufficient time must be allocated for this to be done.
- Photographs may not be taken from the same vantage point, location, or angle; this means that not all photographs are suitable for creating a panoramic image or video.
- Photographs may differ greatly in image quality, level of lens distortion, and colour, based on the type of camera used as well as the weather or lighting at the time.

- Since a photograph typically captures a limited field of view, many archival photographs are often required to generate a single panoramic image.
- The identification of suitable photographs for manual image stitching is laborious and time-consuming.

### Evidence of Success

Following its completion, the Project was shared with staff from the WA Museum in early 2022 as an example of using archival photographs to generate an animated panorama. The Project was invited for inclusion in the September 2022 *Fremantle Then & Now: Historical Panoramas* exhibition<sup>25</sup> (see Figures 6 and 7), alongside other artefacts and panoramic videos. To better suit the exhibition environment, Battersby worked closely with Lamont, Pearce, and staff from the WA Maritime Museum to reduce the run-time of the video, incorporate visual elements, and include recorded narration. A virtual version of the exhibition, which includes the Project video, is accessible at <https://tours.eventspace3d.com/view/museums-wa/fremantle-then-and-now>.

With nearly 30,000 visitors during its almost five month run, the exhibition was well-received by the public—67% agreed or strongly agreed that the videos enhanced the experience of the exhibition; several responses specifically named the videos as the highlight of their visit to the exhibition.<sup>26</sup> The exhibition also won the Interpretation Project category at the 2022 WA Heritage Awards<sup>27</sup> and received a Highly Commended award in the Temporary or Travelling Exhibition category at the 2023 Museums and Galleries National Awards (MAGNA) from the Australian Museums and Galleries Association (AMaGA).<sup>28</sup> In response to demand, the WA Museum is currently working towards including the exhibition as a permanent display.



Figure 6. Entrance to Fremantle Then & Now: Historical Panoramas exhibition (Photo: Andrew Woods)



Figure 7. The cylinder display and audience at the Fremantle Then & Now: Historical Panoramas exhibition (Photo: Andrew Woods)

## DISCUSSION

The Project offers a practical example of how interactivity and visual storytelling are used together to augment the museum visitor experience, while also demonstrating the importance of interdisciplinary collaboration in the creation of these experiences.

### Digital and Interactive Media in the Modern Museum

The use of digital and interactive media in museums has been discussed extensively over the past few decades. Some discussion focused on case studies of various exhibitions and museums, including Kwiatek and Woolner<sup>29</sup> (mentioned above) as well as Decker<sup>30</sup> and Nisi.<sup>31</sup> Others examined the use of digital technologies in museums to enhance storytelling from the 1990s until the present day.<sup>32</sup> At a broader level, Anderson discussed the impact of technology on museum practices, concluding that the museum community must work together to maximise their use of technology to harness its full potential.<sup>33</sup>

Anderson also noted, like Scott,<sup>34</sup> that museum visitors see museums as sites of entertainment (e.g. theme parks). Thus, to attract and retain visitors, museums must compete effectively with entertainment venues. Among the challenges museums must contend with because of this competition, one of the most significant is the disparity in terms of variety and quality, but of budget as well, which inevitably impacts the former two.<sup>35</sup> To address this and other issues, museums must therefore carefully and strategically consider the differing needs and wants of their visitors when deploying the use of digital and interactive media—for example, the visitor who is simply looking for interesting chance encounters needs to be enticed and entertained, while a repeat visitor or member who seeks deeper knowledge rather than substitutions for real objects wants their understanding to be enhanced.<sup>36</sup>

### Augmenting the Visitor Experience with Visual Storytelling: Experience, Narrative, and Immersion

Instead of presenting a series of panoramic images, the Project sought to transform them into a narrative experience. In doing so, the Project embodies this statement by Samis<sup>37</sup>—“The museum is the sum not of the objects it contains but rather of the experience it triggers”—which suggests a different understanding of the museum, not as a display space for artefacts, but as a place to engage in

experiences, both individual and shared, with artefacts becoming prompts and props within narratives. This interpretation also clarifies why storytelling has been integral to the museum experience for some time. Well-executed narratives can produce immersive experiences, in which we “experience a sense of being transported to a different place”<sup>38</sup> and, as Nielsen explained, “Whether talking about interpretation, visitor interaction or communication, any museum essentially wants visitors to participate in its stories.”<sup>39</sup>

Narratives and storytelling can be used to create immersive experiences both with and without the use of digital and interactive media; the use of media is not as crucial as the extent to which the museum visitor is engaged with the experience. Even so, when used well, the use of digital and interactive media can increase immersion in the narrative and augment the experience for the visitor. The progress of digital and interactive technologies also offers a constant stream of new ways for museum visitors to contextualise and connect differently and more meaningfully with artefacts,<sup>40</sup> which then contributes to expanding and extending the visitors’ experience. As the Project shows, it is important to remember that incorporating these technologies in a well-constructed narrative requires significant time and commitment from those involved.

### **The Role of Interdisciplinarity**

The importance of interdisciplinarity in the creation of museum experiences has been recognised.<sup>41</sup> The delivery of high-quality, engaging museum experiences requires an interdisciplinary team that typically includes designers, historians, curators, and technologists, among others.<sup>42</sup> With the inclusion of digital and interactive media, additional expertise may be brought in via consultants with specialised skills (e.g. music composition, data visualisation, 3D animation), which involves additional time and costs. To ensure these are spent efficiently, museums should test ideas and proposals before implementing them. One way to experiment involves museums working with academia, government, and/or industry to experiment and share ideas and resources (e.g. staff, time, materials). The Project demonstrates this can be done successfully.

### **CONCLUSION**

Experiences are engaging and memorable because they not only connect disparate artefacts together by constructing them into a narrative for the visitor. Experiences connect the visitor to community, history, and culture by providing the context to situate themselves in relation to historical artefacts. The creation of quality experiences, however, presents challenges and requires a commitment to interdisciplinary collaboration. This paper highlights the challenges of working with existing archival material to create an animated panorama and offers useful considerations for future projects. It is also an excellent example of a successful interdisciplinary collaboration that not only provided shared benefits to collaborators, museum visitors, and local community. The Project connected museum visitors to Fremantle, Perth, and each other.



## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Hermann Heinrich Frese. *Anthropology and the Public: The Role of Museums* (Leiden: Brill, 1960).
- <sup>2</sup> Carol Scott, "Museums: Impact and Value," *Cultural Trends* 15, no. 1 (2006): 45-75, doi:10.1080/09548960600615947.
- <sup>3</sup> Scott, 61, Table 6.
- <sup>4</sup> Scott, 61-64, Table 6.
- <sup>5</sup> Scott, 60.
- <sup>6</sup> Scott, 63, Table 6.
- <sup>7</sup> Scott, 61, Table 6.
- <sup>8</sup> "Estimates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians: Preliminary 2021 Census-Based Estimated Resident Population of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and Non-Indigenous Australians – June 2021," Australian Bureau of Statistics, accessed August 25, 2023, <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-peoples/estimates-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-australians/latest-release>.
- <sup>9</sup> "Migration, Australia: Statistics on Australia's International Migration, Internal Migration (Interstate and Intrastate), and the Population by Country of Birth – 2019-20 Financial Year," Australian Bureau of Statistics, accessed August 25, 2023, <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/population/migration-australia/latest-release>.
- <sup>10</sup> "2021 Census: Nearly Half of Australians Have a Parent Born Overseas," Australian Bureau of Statistics, accessed August 25, 2023, <https://www.abs.gov.au/media-centre/media-releases/2021-census-nearly-half-australians-have-parent-born-overseas>.
- <sup>11</sup> "Fremantle Harbour," National Archives of Australia, accessed August 25, 2023, <https://www.naa.gov.au/help-your-research/fact-sheets/fremantle-harbour>.
- <sup>12</sup> "Administration Building," Fremantle Ports, accessed August 25, 2023, <https://www.fremantleports.com.au/the-port/history-and-heritage/administration-building>.
- <sup>13</sup> "WA Maritime Museum," Government of Western Australia, accessed August 25, 2023, <https://visit.museum.wa.gov.au/maritime>.
- <sup>14</sup> Corey Battersby, *Fremantle Harbour Animated Panorama Project Report*, (Perth, Western Australia: Curtin University, 2022).
- <sup>15</sup> "Visualisation Systems," Curtin University, accessed June 7, 2023, <https://hive.curtin.edu.au/visualisation-systems/>.
- <sup>16</sup> Curtin University.
- <sup>17</sup> Karol Kwiatek and Martin Woolner, "Transporting the Viewer Into a 360° Heritage Story: Panoramic Interactive Narrative Presented on a Wrap-Around Screen" (paper presented at 16th International Conference on Virtual Systems and Multimedia, Seoul, Korea, October 20-23, 2010), doi:10.1109/VSM.2010.5665980.
- <sup>18</sup> Alomran and Chai 2017, cited in Battersby, *Fremantle Harbour Animated Panorama Project Report*, 6.
- <sup>19</sup> Battersby, 6.
- <sup>20</sup> Battersby, 6.
- <sup>21</sup> Battersby, 7.
- <sup>22</sup> Battersby, 15.
- <sup>23</sup> Battersby, 13-14.
- <sup>24</sup> Battersby, 17-20.
- <sup>25</sup> The *Fremantle Then & Now: Historical Panoramas* exhibition used historical panoramic photography of Fremantle, dating as far back as the 1860s, to tell the story of Fremantle. The exhibition was inspired by the Historical Panoramas Project which commenced as another HIVE summer internship project in 2015, and was launched as a public website ([www.historicalpanoramas.com.au](http://www.historicalpanoramas.com.au)) in 2016. The centrepiece of the exhibition was the Cylinder display, a clone of the Cylinder display at the Curtin HIVE. On this display, a series of five panoramic video sequences were created, including the animated video sequence described in this paper. The exhibition ran at the WA Maritime Museum from 22 September 2022 to 19 February 2023.
- <sup>26</sup> Western Australian Museum, *Fremantle Then & Now: Historical Panoramas Exhibition Audience Survey Report* (Perth, Western Australia: Western Australian Museum, 2023).
- <sup>27</sup> "Fremantle Then and Now: Historical Panoramas Exhibition Wins Interpretation Project at 2022 WA Heritage Award," Government of Western Australia, last modified November 28, 2022, <https://museum.wa.gov.au/about/latest-news/fremantle-then-and-now-historical-panoramas-exhibition-wins-interpretation-project>.

- <sup>28</sup> “AMaGA National Awards 2023 Winners Announced,” Australian Museums and Galleries Association, last modified May 18, 2023, <https://www.amaga.org.au/news/amaga-national-awards-2023-winners-announced>.
- <sup>29</sup> Kwiatek and Woolner, “Transporting the Viewer.”
- <sup>30</sup> Juilee Decker, ed., *Technology and Digital Initiatives: Innovative Approaches for Museums* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).
- <sup>31</sup> Valentina Nisi, “The Changing Panorama of Interactive Storytelling: A Review from Locative to Transmedia,” *Doc On-line Special Issue* (December 2017): 43-68, doi:10.20287/doc.esp17.dt02.
- <sup>32</sup> Nisi, “The changing panorama.”; Alexander and Nevine 2008, cited in Nisi, “The Changing Panorama.”; Federica Dal Falco and Stavros Vassos, “Museum Experience Design: A Modern Storytelling Methodology,” *The Design Journal* 20, sup. 1 (2017): S3975-S3983, doi:10.1080/14606925.2017.1352900; Peng Liu and Lan Lan, “Museum as Multisensorial Site: Story Co-Making and the Affective Interrelationship Between Museum Visitors, Heritage Space, and Digital Storytelling,” *Museum Management and Curatorship* 36, no.4 (2021): 403-426, doi:10.1080/09647775.2021.1948905.
- <sup>33</sup> Maxwell L. Anderson, “Museums of the Future: The Impact of Technology on Museum Practices,” *Daedalus* 128, no. 3 (1999): 129-162, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20027570>.
- <sup>34</sup> Scott, “Museums: Impact and Value.”
- <sup>35</sup> Anderson, “Museums of the Future.”
- <sup>36</sup> Anderson, “Museums of the Future.”
- <sup>37</sup> Peter Samis, “The Exploded Museum,” in *Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience: Handheld Guides and Other Media*, edited by Loïc Tallon (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2008), 4
- <sup>38</sup> Frank Biocca, “The Evolution of Interactive Media: Toward ‘Being There’ in Nonlinear Narrative Worlds,” in *Narrative Impact: Social and Cognitive Foundations*, ed. Melanie C. Green et al. (New York: Psychology Press, 2013), 101.
- <sup>39</sup> Jane K. Nielsen, “Museum Communication and Storytelling: Articulating Understandings Within the Museum Structure,” *Museum Management and Curatorship* 32, no. 5: 455, doi:10.1080/09647775.2017.1284019.
- <sup>40</sup> Maggie Burnette Stogner, “The Immersive Cultural Museum Experience – Creating Context and Story with New Media Technology,” *The International Journal of the Inclusive Museum* 3, no. 3 (2011): 128, doi:10.18848/1835-2014/CGP/v03i03/44339.
- <sup>41</sup> Marco Mason, “Prototyping Practices Supporting Interdisciplinary Collaboration in Digital Media Design for Museums,” *Museum Management and Curatorship* 30, no. 5 (2015): 394–426, doi:10.1080/09647775.2015.1086667; Toni Roberts, “Interpretation Design: an Integrative, Interdisciplinary Practice,” *Museum & Society* 12, no. 3 (2014): 191-209, <https://journals.le.ac.uk/ojs1/index.php/mas/article/view/259/271>.
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# HERITAGE AND IDENTITY, MUSEUMS AND MEMORY-RECREATING HERITAGE: THE CASE OF DAVID BOMBERG AND THE SARAH ROSE COLLECTION AT LONDON SOUTH BANK UNIVERSITY

Author:

**NICOLA BAIRD**

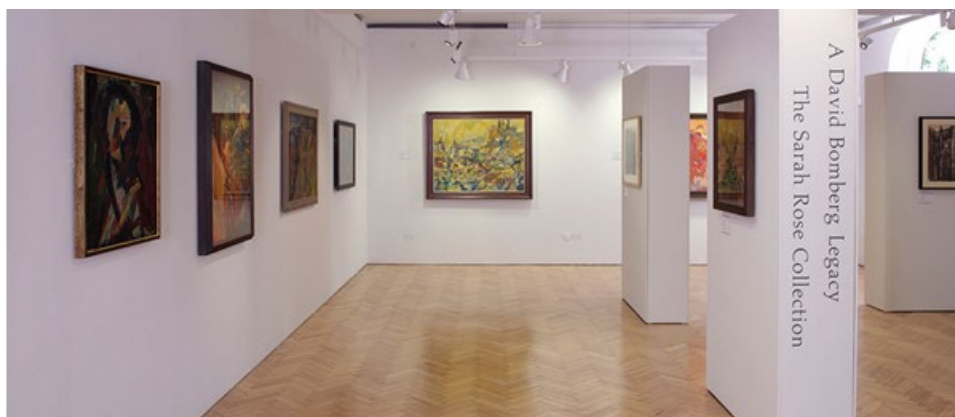
Affiliation:

INDEPENDENT RESEARCHER AFFILIATED WITH THE CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF THE NETWORKED IMAGE, LONDON SOUTH BANK UNIVERSITY, UK

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## INTRODUCTION

London South Bank University (LSBU) is home to a collection of 120 paintings and drawings by British artist David Bomberg (1890-1957) and selected former pupils bequeathed by independent collector Sarah Rose.<sup>1</sup> Following the subsequent receipt of a £236,200 grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) for the provision of a dedicated gallery space and a curator for a period of two years, the Borough Road Gallery, home of the Sarah Rose Collection, opened in June 2012.<sup>2</sup> A full-time programme of temporary exhibitions ran until July 2016 at which point the budget was cut rendering the collection effectively hidden and homeless – what was once public facing ostensibly physically inaccessible and requiring privileged access.



*Figure 1. The Borough Road Gallery, London South Bank University.*

## DETERRITORIALISATION OF THE SARAH ROSE COLLECTION

The Sarah Rose Collection-LSBU project initially sought “to explore with a community of interest... the cultural value of a group of artists whose work remains largely unknown” and “to promote the enjoyment and value of a nationally important artistic heritage within local, commercial and

educational communities” in line with a definition of heritage sanctioned by the HLF.<sup>3</sup> And yet, the challenges for the collection have always been those of belonging as well as status and legitimation.<sup>4</sup> Despite forming part of the multidisciplinary School of Arts and Creative Industries and benefiting at various stages from the involvement of and collaboration with academic staff and students, the project was seen as peripheral to core teaching and research activities, never fully understood by the university’s executive and thus inassimilable within institutional operational systems.<sup>5</sup> The reasons for the collection’s status as unconfirmed, unsettled, marginal and troublesome, as well as practically and academically incommensurate are, however, more manifold. Well before the inauguration of the Gallery, the unravelling of the project arguably began on 11th August 2008 with the signing by former Vice Chancellor Deian Hopkin of the original Deed of Trust, which stipulated that “exhibitions should be devoted exclusively to works of art by David Bomberg, Dennis Creffield, Cliff Holden, Thomas Holden, Edna Mann, Dorothy Mead, Evert Lundquist and Miles Richmond.”<sup>6</sup> Seeming, paradoxically, to secure its future such an intransigent and thus practically unworkable agreement, has resulted instead in the collection’s deterritorialisation. Those responsible failed, initially, to grasp the implications of the Deed which remains in an almost permanent state of renegotiation, and which has contributed to the disintegration of the project behind what was, in effect, a legitimising façade.

### **VISIONS OF AND FOR THE SARAH ROSE COLLECTION**

Interviews with key institutional players in relation not only to the heritage, but also the artistic, educational and financial value of the collection including trustees— Michael Simmons, Mike Molan and Philip Richmond—as well as Academic Project Director Andrew Dewdney and then Provost Pat Bailey, reveal in part the institutional work-net, or rather the network of relations constructed, maintained, and subsequently partially dissolved in July 2016 with the effective closure of the Borough Road Gallery as its public facing home.<sup>7</sup> In so doing they expose the nature of the relations between selected University representatives and the collection, enabling the examination of the agency of the collection within the Sarah Rose-LSBU assemblage and of the ways in which it is valued, venerated or otherwise. Despite institutional representatives’ varying roles and responsibilities, the collection is generally perceived to be not only emphatically idiosyncratic, but also uneven. Evident, too, is a palpable tension between Rose’s “aspic view,” and an approach that is “dynamic, changing,” manifested in the dichotomy between considering the gallery to be a mausoleum and the collection as consisting of “living, breathing thing[s],” needing “oxygen,” or rather, “bringing to life” instead of being “stuck,” “locked away” in what is telling labelled “a cupboard.”

Rose’s rationale for collecting reveals her very personal and particular vision of and for the collection – built up over thirty years – and in so doing her efforts to recreate such heritage: “I made the collection to draw much needed attention to ...[the] teaching of Bomberg, and to his understanding of the tradition of painting he both valued and exemplified.”<sup>8</sup> She proclaims, “I’m the only one buying Bomberg and the Borough Group” – “if I hadn’t collected it, it would have been lost.”<sup>9</sup> Despite not having any “formal academic or practical training in art”<sup>10</sup> she says, “I wouldn’t change my collection for anything anyone could give me, if someone offered me all the Rembrandts in exchange for my collection I wouldn’t take them because it’s not making the point I want to make.” She explains, “the works appealed to me because ... they are physically restful, and at the same time intellectually and visually exciting... To me, these painters succeed in conveying both what we see with our eyes and feel with our bodies.” Branding herself a “simple enthusiast,” Rose feels the analysis and exploration of “the act of viewing” is “key to a more profound, more widespread understanding” of the work: “The nervous system and the breathing are affected, and we experience a feeling of relaxation or

rest.”<sup>11</sup> Such a meditative effect, of which she speaks mystically and to which she refers as “the source of the force” is, she asserts, “the only reason I collected” these works, not wanting to dilute “the effect” by including anything additional or extraneous.

Endeavouring to articulate “The Source of the Force” in a talk at LSBU, advertised as exploring the relationship between “forces of nature” and the works in the collection as part of which “parallels will be drawn with other art forms: music, literature and architecture,” Rose begins by asserting that there is in Bomberg’s work ‘an element of the power that was in cave paintings.’ She constructs a confused and amateur brand of linear art history featuring Delacroix, Goya, Velasquez, Modigliani and Augustus John as well as Bomberg, Mead, Holden and Creffield,<sup>12</sup> before claiming that the works in the collection were created “spontaneously out of feeling and sensitivity” “without” the artists “using their brains” and that “that’s how we should look at them...not looking for meaning...just experiencing...feeling the shapes.” Having pursued a fairly lengthy discussion of the effects of movement on the viewer she quotes Holden’s assertion that, Bomberg’s paintings are in fact “static,” seeming to contradict her previous pronouncement that “every stroke” on the surface of a painting or drawing “is a record of a movement,” resulting in a disjointed and enigmatic thesis.

Rose’s idiosyncratic vision of and for the collection – characterised by an opposition to hybridity and a persistent commitment to purification as well as self-authored cryptic theories – explain in part the struggle LSBU has faced in attempting to narrativise Bomberg (and The Sarah Rose Collection) differently as well as the ways in which such intransigence can be seen to contribute to the artist’s art historical and cultural isolation and thus unsettled and insider-outsider status. The establishment of a narrative of heritage, key to which is Bomberg’s position within an ancient and venerable art historical lineage, both sought to enable and failed to secure its legitimisation. And yet, despite such a struggle, subsequent attempts by former curators of the collection have sought to render its heritage useful and relevant to today by departing from the exhibition of prescribed artworks and expected outcomes, and placing emphasis instead, on contemporary artist residencies, as well as art, poetry, music, and dance commissions.

### **“A VIBRANT STARTING POINT FOR A RANGE OF NEW WORK, RESPONSES AND RESEARCH”**

Heritage as “present-centred,” created, shaped and managed by, as well as in response to, the demands of the present is therefore “open to constant revision and change.”<sup>13</sup> As users of heritage, those responsible for curating and reinterpreting the collection can be seen active in their appropriations, accommodations, and negotiations with it. Alternative conceptions of heritage as functioning as a form of resistance to hegemonic discourses and as a marker of plurality in multicultural and plural societies can also be seen to relate to the Sarah Rose Collection and the commitment to narratives which present Bomberg as outsider and maverick, his teaching a form of resistance to accepted academic protocol.<sup>14</sup> In so doing former gallery curators have sought to reconfigure Rose’s interest in Bomberg’s teachings by celebrating the artist’s constructive legacy in the form of exhibitions and displays which demonstrate his formal and philosophical influence on those he taught – emphasising the “radical,” “revolutionary” and “subversive” nature of his approach – as well as on contemporary practitioners who have found inspiration in his work, using the collection not only to inform audiences about Bomberg’s classes at the Borough Polytechnic and the formation of the Borough Group, but also as “a vibrant starting point for a range of new work, responses and research.”<sup>15</sup>

An exhibition at the Borough Road Gallery in September 2013 curated by Rachel Fleming-Mulford and titled *David Bomberg: Objects of Collection*, brought together work from the Sarah Rose and LSBU collections. Six short texts were commissioned in order to “explore...David Bomberg’s life and art practice through a range of different perspectives” and in discussing a work “from the

contributors' own viewpoint or specialism" to offer "glimpses of the multi-faceted ways that this celebrated artist can be understood and appreciated" thereby "enrich[ing] visitors' understanding of [both] Bomberg' and 'individual works.'" The inclusion of unorthodox voices, including those of LSBU staff members Lisa Pine, reader in History, Paula Reavey, Professor of Psychology and Karlien van den Beukel, Senior Lecturer in Creative Writing reveal the attempt to court hybridity, something which was more successfully engendered, however, via the events programme which featured two writing workshops in which emerging writers were invited to create poems in response to the exhibition.<sup>16</sup>



Figure 2. Susan Sluglett, *Three Floors Down: In the Studio*, Borough Road Gallery, London South Bank University.

Two subsequent exhibitions titled *Three Floors Down: In the Studio* (December 2014-February 2015) and *Hands Rhythm: Susan Sluglett, a Conversation* (April-July 2015) presented a selection of work from the collection alongside new work by the gallery's first artist in residence, Susan Sluglett. Displaying Sluglett's practice-based response to the collection, the transformation of one part of the gallery into a studio space for the live creation of new work and the incorporation of visitors' thoughts, reactions, anecdotes lent the exhibition an experiential quality. It evidenced, too, the possibility of alternative approaches to the material beholden neither to the objects in the collection nor existing narratives. Sluglett's residency subsequently spawned further lines of flight in the form of an art writing commission and a dance performance coincident with and in response to *The Elemental Force of Charcoal* which opened at the Borough Road Gallery in October 2015. As a result, artist and Camberwell BA Drawing course leader Kelly Chorpening presented a paper relating Bomberg's charcoal drawings to those of contemporary practitioners William Kentridge, Kara Walker and Robert Longo, while dance performances by Siobhan Davies Dance, Trinity Laban and Independent Dance Creative Practice MA students Benjamin Skinner and Marie Andersen explored what is referred to as a "natural affinity" between drawing and dance by way of personal research interests in improvisation and the potentialities found in physical interaction and investigations into the boundary between performance and art, art and artist.



Figure 3. Susan Sluglett, *Presented in White: For Dorothy*, 2015, acrylic on paper, 29.5 x 42cm each.

“Keep the Paint Moving”: *David Bomberg and the Art of Radical Teaching* (April-July 2016), curated by Sophie Persson included works by Bomberg and five of his pupils. While the exhibition itself reproduced extant and oft repeated narratives, hybridity was introduced, as with *Objects of Collection*, via an associated and alternative participatory commission. In “comparing Bomberg’s teaching methods with the ways in which students and staff at LSBU, as well as gallery visitors, felt about their own education and education in general,” the commissioning of contemporary artist Lucy Harrison culminated in the publication of “ART CANNOT BE TAUGHT,” a “Crowd Sourced Manifesto for Education.”<sup>17</sup> Associated with projects engaging with places, their histories and communities, Harrison made use of quotations by Bomberg and his pupils in order to pose questions to LSBU students and staff including, “Is success limited to those who choose to be part of a group?” “Is self-expression encouraged?,”<sup>18</sup> the resulting manifesto another example of the possibility of connecting Bomberg with a more diverse and democratised set of outcomes.

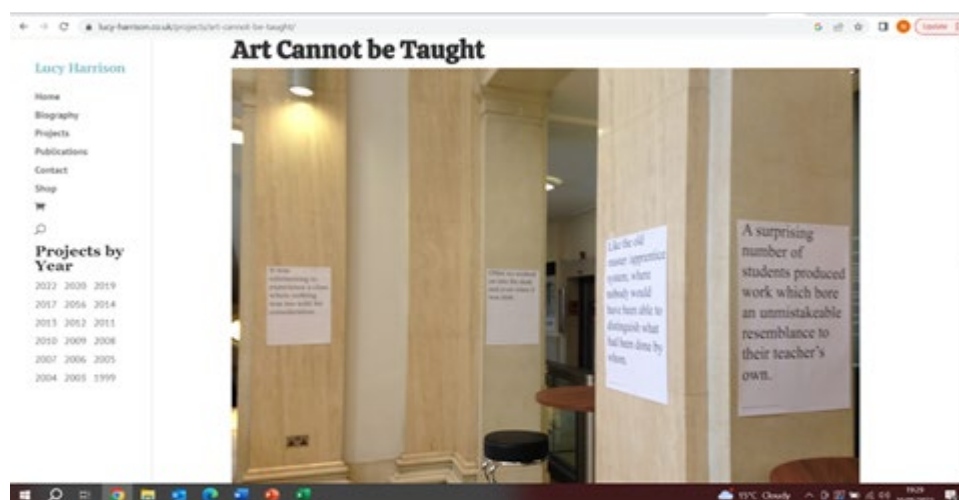


Figure 4. Lucy Harrison, *Art Cannot be Taught*, Borough Road Building, London South Bank University.



## THE SARAH ROSE COLLECTION AS DIGITAL ARCHIVE

The effective closure of the gallery following “*Keep the Paint Moving*” and the coincident conclusion of maternity cover curator, Persson’s contract resulted in the decision by Provost Bailey, in consultation with Dewdney, to hire a part-time “digital curator” in order to continue to part fulfil the conditions of the Deed, whilst minimising expenditure on the production of physical exhibitions – demonstrating not only the University’s decrease in investment in the collection, its failed assimilation and deterritorialisation, but also the assemblage at the macro and micro level – how funding and its close association with value and meaning making happen institutionally, aided and abetted by the agency of individuals. It was anticipated that the digital curator would be responsible for the development of online curatorial projects and the coordination of public events designed to explore the collection in alternative ways.<sup>19</sup>

As a result, in May 2017 Theresa Kneppers’ tenure as digital curator began during which time, she has commissioned short stay exhibitions and performances, and organised talks, workshops, and screenings, the details of which are stored on a new and purpose built website [www.boroughroadcollectionarchive.com](http://www.boroughroadcollectionarchive.com) described as “a platform for research and... an exploration of... The Sarah Rose Collection through new writing, recordings, performances, archival material and digital artworks.”<sup>20</sup> As the domain name implies, Kneppers has reconceptualised and relabelled the collection an archive, in embracing the invisibility of which opportunities have been created for contemporary artists to respond to its hibernation. Unconventional and multidisciplinary, such events, also seen as “hybrid projects” are often conceived in collaboration with external partners/organisations. Designed to live “both an online/offline life that is accessible to LBSU students as well as a broader audience,” they connect Bomberg with a range of alternative/unconventional outcomes, proof not only of the possibility of breaking away from established and repeated narratives, but also of the enactment of a new and novel approach which does not seek to reproduce Rose’s confused and amateur art history.<sup>21</sup>

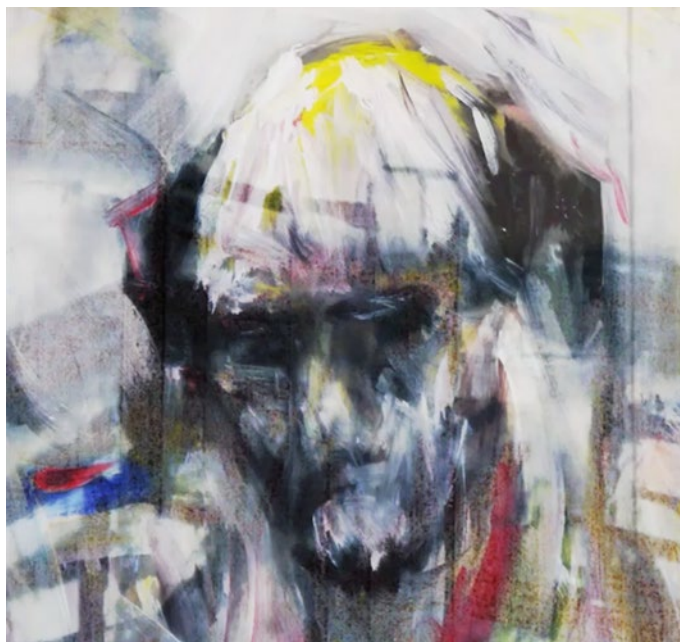


Figure 5. Oscar Lewis, *Bomberg: Motion and Music*, 2017.

*Bomberg: Motion and Music* was an immersive performance combining animated imagery by contemporary artist Oscar Lewis relating to “the distinct phases in Bomberg’s career” set to a score by

chamber musicians, *Three Parts Vied*.<sup>22</sup> It took place at the Borough Road Gallery on November 30, 2017 and was advertised as highlighting the artist’s “creativity and influence on future generations of artists,” succeeding, though not perhaps seamlessly, in linking Bomberg both to alternative media – animation and music – and original content.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, *Archive: Reimagining the Borough Road Collection* (October 31–November 3, 2018) was a movement-based performance and exhibition marking the culmination of Johanna Bolton’s research-based residency in the collection store (April–November 2018). Bolton, a sculptor with an interest in archives, labels, series and categorisation, presented an archive of the directional marks in the Borough Road collection, which having been cut out, reassembled, and rearranged are not assigned a painter or painting, resulted in an anonymised, emancipated and dissectional approach to the collection – allowing “new room for these [de-contextualised and reorganised] painterly moments to exist.”



Figure 6. Johanna Bolton Residency, Borough Road Gallery, London South Bank University, April–November 2018.

*Breathing in the Borough Road Archive* (April 11–13, 2019) curated by Braden and Angela of the Accounts & Records Collective, consisted of an audio meditation and accompanying installation informed by insufflation appreciation, Walter Benjamin’s theory that, with the right guidance, the “aura” of a painting might be physically inhaled resulting in the triggering of “acute and profound synaptic responses.”<sup>24</sup> Designed as a way in which to analyse and to consume the collection, *Breathing* simultaneously acknowledged the impossibility of such a scenario. Blue and white water painted sheets of paper cover the pock marked gallery walls with intermittent gaps serving to highlight the absence of exhibited artworks, a number of which are swaddled in bubble wrap, stacked and bound together with tape marked FRAGILE. Having been branded an archive and consigned to a stored existence, such a presentation cleverly repackages the collection as a spatially conceived installation aimed at attracting a contemporary art viewing public, (perhaps unfamiliar with Bomberg and the Borough Group) whilst also drawing overt attention to its invisibility and implied institutional neglect. In so doing the exhibition sets the potential for empathising with a work of art on a metabolic rather than a purely visual level, the ability to inhale its innate essence in the form of “microscopic residue” against the physical inaccessibility of the works—insufflation vs suffocation—reflecting what is arguably the burdensome nature of the collection for the University as well as the decline in

its physical and emotional investment. It is noteworthy, too, that Braden and Angela's interpretation of Benjamin's theory corresponds closely with Rose's feeling that the act of viewing the works in her collection affects not only one's nervous system, but also breath rate.



*Figure 7. Breathing in the Borough Road Archive, Borough Road Gallery, London South Bank University, 11-13 April 2019.*

## CONCLUSION

Assemblage informed thinking around the revisions, reworkings and recreations of the heritage associated with the Sarah Rose Collection as undertaken by Sarah Rose, Borough Road Gallery curators and commissioned artists and creatives results in the revelation of multiplicity, processuality, labour and uncertainty. Firstly, despite Rose's practice of persistent purification and resistance to hybridity the interpretative work initiated by former curator Fleming-Mulford in arranging the gallery's first contemporary artist residency, and subsequently carried forward by Persson and Kneppers in commissioning further alternative responses to the collection, has, however, succeeded in diversifying approaches to Bomberg and the collection. The collection then, means different things to different people, each of whom can be seen to contribute to the remaking of Bomberg, or rather the recreation of heritage through their own lives. Secondly, the collection was acquired, occasioned and was built in conjunction with the making of Rose's idiosyncratic – in part spiritual and physically affective and in part confused and amateur – art historical knowledge. Thirdly, labour on the part of the curators includes enacting and enabling the reinterpretation and recreation of heritage, in an effort not only to assimilate the collection, in practical and passionate terms, within LSBU's systems and culture, but also to engage the student body and local community. Finally, as a result of budget cuts, the failure to renegotiate the original Deed of Trust, the reduction in permanent, full time curatorial staff and subsequent (effective) closure of the Borough Road Gallery, the collection now faces an uncertain future, evidence, in turn, of the Sarah Rose Collection-LSBU assemblage's status as forever in flux, its stability seen to be always and already provisional. And yet, the materiality and longevity of the collection, however uncertain, means that it both creates and consists of relations that are not just a phenomenon of the past but continue to be re-negotiated in the unfolding present. Tracing networks of interaction allow both the implications and material traces of short-term shifts and long-term patterns to be explored.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The Sarah Rose Collection includes works by Dorothy Mead executed on paper, canvas and board between the 1950s and 1970s; works by Dennis Creffield executed on paper, canvas and board between the 1949 and 2009; works by Edna Mann executed on paper in the 1940s; works by Miles Richmond executed on paper, canvas and board between the 1950s and 1990s; works by Cliff Holden executed on paper, canvas and screenprint between the late 1940s and 1950s; works by Thomas Holden and one work by Douglas Westbury executed on board in 1981. The Sarah Rose collection is unique in holding large numbers of works by these artists as well as being the only public collection in the UK to include oil paintings by Miles Richmond (aside from LSBU) and Thomas Holden.

<sup>2</sup> The Borough Road Gallery is located on the ground floor of the University's Borough Road building.

<sup>3</sup> The HLF application defined the project as 'the preservation, display and active interpretation of and engagement with the heritage of the Borough Group of artists, including renowned artist and teacher David Bomberg', including the potential for the exploration of Bomberg's Jewish heritage and the history of the art of the Jewish Diaspora. The collection's importance to the University, its 'spiritual home', as well as to the heritage of Southwark, 'the social and cultural history embedded within it' was highlighted, as was its claim to being the only public collection of the work of David Bomberg and members of the Borough Group. It is interesting to note, however, that Bomberg's Jewishness has thus far remained largely unexplored within the Borough Road Gallery/LSBU programme.

<sup>4</sup> As a powerful and legitimating agent, Bomberg is key to the Collection. For Rose he is a Messiah figure, a forgotten genius marginalised by the modernist mainstream and the true inheritor of a venerable European tradition, included within which are Giotto, Uccello, Michelangelo, El Greco and Van Gogh. Refusing to engage with debates surrounding his position in relation to aesthetic modernism, she pits Bomberg against the modern, in so doing engaging with only one part of the most familiar of bipartite art historical narratives—that which deems the artist's early work to have been wholly 'modern' and his mid-career and late work to have been non-modern or even anti-modern.

<sup>5</sup> Initially, selected University staff members had 'works connected to the [Borough Road Gallery] project built into their forward job plans, as outlined in the original HLF submission'.

<sup>6</sup> The Deed also stipulated that 'special exhibitions may be held to include the work of former students other than those represented in the collection who did not study with David Bomberg—in which cases the selections will be made by the Donor'.

<sup>7</sup> These interviews were carried out as part of the first phase of my fieldwork and designed in part to 'hear' the actors involved in telling the story of collection's history at LSBU from an ethnographic perspective.

<sup>8</sup> Andrew Dewdney, ed., *A David Bomberg Legacy: The Sarah Rose Collection* (London: London South Bank University, 2012), 23.

<sup>9</sup> Sarah Rose in an interview with the author, 2016.

<sup>10</sup> Andrew Dewdney, ed., 22.

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Dewdney, ed., 26.

<sup>12</sup> As well as Holden's son, Thomas and former pupil Douglas Westbury.

<sup>13</sup> B. Graham and P. Howard, eds., *Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 2-3.

<sup>14</sup> B. Graham and P. Howard, eds., 3.

<sup>15</sup> Former and now defunct Borough Road Gallery website.

<sup>16</sup> The workshops were followed by an evening of performances accompanied by Richard Price, Robert Vas Dias and Bomberg's niece, Cecily Bomberg.

<sup>17</sup> Former and now defunct Borough Road Gallery website.

<sup>18</sup> Art Cannot be Taught. Accessed January 8, 2021, <https://www.lucy-harrison.co.uk/projects/art-cannot-be-taught/>

<sup>19</sup> At the time of writing the collection continues to be stored and maintained onsite at LSBU while the Borough Road Gallery functions as a shared space, only occasionally used for the hosting of events relating to the collection.

<sup>20</sup> About, *Borough Road Collection Archive*, accessed January 10, 2021, <https://www.boroughroadcollectionarchive.com/events/2018/10/31/archive-re-imagining-the-borough-road-collection>

<sup>21</sup> Theresa Kneppers in an email to the author, 2020

<sup>22</sup> Bomberg: Motion & Music, *Borough Road Collection Archive*, accessed April 20, 2023,

<https://www.boroughroadcollectionarchive.com/events/2017/11/30/ensemble-performance-and-projection>

<sup>23</sup> Bomberg: Motion & Music

<sup>24</sup> Breathing in the Borough Road Archive, *Borough Road Collection Archive*, accessed April 20, 2023, <https://www.boroughroadcollectionarchive.com/events/2019/4/11/breathing-in-the-borough-road-archive>

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# THE CONTRADICTIONS OF LITERARY HERITAGE IN EDINBURGH: PLACED YET INTANGIBLE

Author:

**CATRIONA SCHOFIELD**

Affiliation:

EDINBURGH NAPIER UNIVERSITY, UK

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## INTRODUCTION

In 2004, Edinburgh became the first of 42 UNESCO Cities of Literature, confirming and furthering its literary identity.<sup>1</sup> This designation invites readers to go beyond the book to visit a city, suggesting there are some literary experiences which can only be had in specific places.<sup>2</sup> This contradicts how literature is commonly experienced – alone and internally – and where – anywhere a book can be taken, although often in private, domestic spaces. Yet fixed literary sites are an established tradition. In the UK, these are generally orientated around a few canonical writers and their works.<sup>3</sup> A variety of such sites are visible in Edinburgh’s historic centre, including the Scott Monument, Waverley Station (named for Scott’s novel), two prominent libraries, and a writers’ museum.<sup>4</sup> Thus, literary connections are imbedded into the cityscape, where they are constantly viewed and visited, becoming normalised despite the contrast between experiencing literary sites and literary texts. They function as heritage sites, as heritage is traditionally understood as “old”, grand, monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites, buildings, places and artefacts’ like the Scott Monument, the National Library of Scotland, or the manuscripts displayed inside.<sup>5</sup> This provides well-established ways of navigating and engaging with their offerings, and brings with it the associations with education, culture and good-for-you-ness which also mark canonical literature. Thus, Edinburgh provides a template for how literature can be located: as heritage, officially recognised at material sites.<sup>6</sup>

However, in this paper I propose another understanding of literature heritage sites, as unofficial, unmarked and personal. This accords with shifting understandings of heritage visiting, which increasingly recognises that people ‘create their own meanings’, and therefore ‘are not mere passive recipients of [heritage’s] offerings, but actively contribute to narratives’.<sup>7</sup> These sites – which are stumbled across, imagined or sought out using the guidance of text – are made meaningful by individual reader-visitors, making them near impossible to recognise under official designations or on generic literary tours or maps.<sup>8</sup> Yet they are important to acknowledge, because they impact reader-visitors and their engagement with literary places. The history of literary heritage sites proves this, as unofficial work has shaped the UK’s current literary landscape: the Brontë Parsonage Museum (a blueprint for writer house museums) was started by a fan society, whilst the establishment of Edinburgh’s Scott Monument was led by a couple of individuals, and demonstrates that ‘actual places were made through the remembrance of literary lives and works’.<sup>9</sup> This placemaking continues today: in Edinburgh, as at Inspector Rebus’ Oxford Bar, in Craiglockhart, or through wynds evoking *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*,<sup>10</sup> as well as in also in numerous smaller, quieter ways, as part of personal heritage practices.

## LITERARY HERITAGE

It might be assumed that literature is synonymous with the text, and literary heritage is embodied in unique or valuable things.<sup>11</sup> However, critical heritage scholars including Laurajane Smith have argued that heritage objects are not ‘inherently valuable, nor do they carry a freight of innate meaning’.<sup>12</sup> Heritage is not things, but rather the ongoing ‘process of remembering and forgetting’ which gives those things value and meaning.<sup>13</sup> This has been recognised as true for literary heritage too.<sup>14</sup> However, the processes which create literary heritage differ from generic heritage processes, and instead intersect with the processes which create literary value. Canonisation consolidates a text’s cultural meaning, and is therefore necessary for its official preservation and promotion: for a literary text to be canonised is, in a sense, for it to be recognised as heritage. In the UK, this is most obvious in the overlap between the national canon and the subjects of specialist writers’ museums. However, the objects which benefit from canonisation (and other markers of prestige, like awards) may also be commercial and common, as with mass-produced books.<sup>15</sup> Discussing bookselling, David Wright notes that, although ‘books are imagined as “different”, they are bought, sold and circulated’.<sup>16</sup> I would argue that that “difference” is both a result of literature’s perceived heritage value, and part of its sales appeal. The status of certain texts creates an incentive to acquire them as books, and their presence on shelves distinguishes bookshops, libraries, and less prestigious books nearby; commerce and heritage blur in literary spaces.<sup>17</sup> Books as sensory objects generate reverent reactions unrelated to the text inside, and despite their mass production.<sup>18</sup> This sensory value cannot originate entirely in the object, as Smith makes clear – its value is not inherent. Instead, literature’s associations – with quality, history, prestige; all associations which heritagisation generates – benefits even new books. Thus, literature and literary heritage might be understood, not as separate, but as often effectively interchangeable. Both depend on overlapping processes to produce value which keep things – sites, objects and texts – remembered.

Therefore, mass-produced books might be understood as the ultimate literary heritage object. Through books, the core manifestation of literature – the text – can be encountered, valued, shared, and thereby remembered.<sup>19</sup> However, their commonness means books are usually not recognised as heritage. Yet as museums increasingly embrace contemporary and popular collecting, everyday things can become official heritage objects.<sup>20</sup> Literature’s simultaneous engagement with commerce and prestige means that literary heritage sites have a particular capacity to recognise the popular.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, recent works are displayed in some literary museums: the Museum of Literature Ireland highlights works by living authors in its displays, and children’s literary exhibitions regularly include recent publications.<sup>22</sup> However, the literature represented depends on an institution’s judgement of what stories matter; in this, books function as traditional heritage objects, despite their newness. Yet contemporary collecting does challenge traditional approaches to heritage. Stuart Hall writes of heritage that

What is curious in the British usage is the emphasis given to preservation and conservation: to keeping what already exists — as opposed to the production and circulations of new work in different media, which takes a very definite second place.<sup>23</sup>

Contemporary collecting demonstrates the possibility of this second usage, affirming the idea that ‘heritage is formed in the present’ by showing that conceptions of heritage itself are constantly being produced.<sup>24</sup> But other models for recognising literary heritage can be found beyond official sites. Robinson and Silverman write that ‘heritage also is being prolifically produced and meaningfully practiced as popular culture by communities of individuals who share particular values’.<sup>25</sup> Communities producing literary heritage can be found around all kinds of texts, authors and genres. They practice collecting, create narratives, and canonise certain works. Some go on to locate literature in place, including officially-organised but limited groups like book festival goers or author-

appreciation societies, as well as unofficial communities. Although their unofficial practices might be dismissed as fandom work, it takes the form of heritage production, albeit in small-scale and unofficial ways. If taken up by a community, any literature might become literary heritage, no matter how recently published or narrowly appreciated. This broadens the scope of literary heritage far beyond the memorialised, legitimised and canonised places which dominate Edinburgh's city centre. If all literature might be literary heritage, then bookshops have considerable import as literary heritage sites, being where books – that ultimate literary heritage object – are encountered. Bookshops also have tourist appeal, and so are visited in tandem with official heritage sites, becoming associated with them. They may also have their own heritage appeal, occupying long-standing or beautiful buildings. Yet bookshops can also have literary heritage resonances felt only by individuals. For a reader, the bookshop where a book is bought may be part of their understanding of that text's history. If they understand the text as heritage, then the bookshop becomes a literary heritage site, albeit only for that reader. This suggests another, personal type of heritage: the kind which Robinson and Silverman describe as 'disconnected from official designations but connected to more meaningful legacies of the past'.<sup>26</sup> Building on the precedent for understanding one's own life as heritage, and its material traces as heritage things,<sup>27</sup> I wish to suggest an understanding of literary heritage as personal. Heritage, like canonisation, is not a uniform process which impacts everyone equally.<sup>28</sup> What someone values as heritage depends on what they learn and know to value, based on their locality, teachers and interests. The remembering and forgetting is therefore enacted individually, as well as institutionally. Of course, this will likely not impact wider perceptions of heritage; as John Guillory points out with regards to canon, '[a]n individual's judgment that a work is great does nothing in itself to preserve that work, unless that judgment is made in a certain institutional context'.<sup>29</sup> However, Hall's implication – that preservation is not the entirety of heritage – allows an understanding of heritage which does not depend on institutions. When it comes to literature, which is already individually experienced (even whilst influenced by wider processes), what a person sees as literary heritage depends on what they have read – and enjoyed.

## LITERARY CITIES

The subjectivity of literary heritage is evident within urban literary heritage site visiting. For cities with literary associations, particularly those which mine an identity through it, many literary trails and maps exist in guidebooks and online, and no two have the same stops, or even scale. There is not, then, a single, objective body of literary heritage sites which matter, but an array of itineraries shaped by the values of their creators, be they an official institution or individual fan. The existence of these itineraries, which are continually being produced, demonstrates that there is a desire to visit literary sites, despite the disconnect between reading and visiting. The explanation for this might be found in James Donald's remark that 'text is actively constitutive of the city. [...] It plays a role in producing the city for a reading public'.<sup>30</sup> Individuals' understanding of cities is based in key images, such as famous landmarks, and as setting from literature and other arts. A full experience of the city for a reader therefore necessitates visiting sites they know from literature.<sup>31</sup> This accounts for the long association between tourism and reading,<sup>32</sup> but also applies to residents, as literature can provide new knowledge about a city's histories, cultures and space. Literary texts provide routes through the city, acting as 'metaphorical maps of the city' through which 'tourist, traveller and local can experience the urban geographies of everyday life'.<sup>33</sup> As a reader-visitor myself, Walter Benjamin's words on collecting still resonate with me: 'How many cities have revealed themselves to me in the marches I undertook in the pursuit of books!'<sup>34</sup>

These explorations might be mediated through pre-written set tours, but external factors like weather, other people and diversions will create very different impressions of place, evoking de Certeau's



comment that movements ‘cannot be reduced to their graphic trail’.<sup>35</sup> Given literary heritage is created personally, a reader-visitor may skip a stop which feels irrelevant, thus making their own route. They may also literally create their own routes, taking texts as maps themselves.<sup>36</sup> Literary heritage sites might also be discovered spontaneously, whilst on-the-go, through plaques, artworks, information points,<sup>37</sup> or even spaces which match someone’s imagined image of a setting, despite having no intended associations. These can still function as resonant heritage sites; fan work has made Edinburgh’s Victoria Street synonymous with *Harry Potter*’s Diagon Alley (despite being in a different city and looking nothing like the films). This demonstrates Ashley Orr’s observation about Jane Austen placemaking, that a reader-visitor’s ‘sense of connection [with a site] has little to do with any intrinsic qualities of the space itself. Rather, it is entirely dependent upon the fan’s ability to transform’.<sup>38</sup> It is notable that Orr writes of a singular fan, highlighting that the individual, imaginative work of reading is often continued when transposing literature into locations. Like a bookshop becoming part of a text’s heritage for a single sale, a street or building may be a literary heritage site for one person.<sup>39</sup> There is a strange tension here, in which material reality and public biography is deprioritised; in contrast, reader-visitors ‘want’ the oxymoronic ‘reality of the place as they imagined it’.<sup>40</sup> This is another way in which the locating of literary heritage is strange, as (to appropriate de Certeau’s description of memory) imagination represents ‘a sort of anti-museum: it is not localizable’.<sup>41</sup> However, visiting a city does not require literature to be localised, at least not at one site. Donald writes of ‘the imaginary city which, snail-like, I carry around with me’, suggesting a key idea: literary associations, because they are imagined, are transportable.<sup>42</sup> One site can benefit from associations around the city: Victoria Street’s claims are strengthened by the plethora of better-evidenced *Harry Potter* sites elsewhere in Edinburgh. An urban experience of literary heritage therefore unfolds across the city.

The city itself might be understood as a literary heritage site, giving ‘city of literature’ new meaning. Nineteenth-century London particularly has been understood as transformed ‘into a literary heritage site for tourists and novel readers’.<sup>43</sup> Watson says that a visit to literary London at this time was uniquely characterised by ‘the walk, dictated and coloured by the reader-walker’s literary imagination, as it rummages promiscuously along a mental bookshelf’ divorced ‘almost entirely from the dictatorial logic of any single author, text, oeuvre or genre’.<sup>44</sup> These ideas, that the city/heritage site is explored in motion, by an individual, according to their personal canon, have continued resonance for cities of literature. Foucault writes that ‘space takes for us the form of relations among sites’, and I believe this is a useful way for conceptualising the city here: composed of associations.<sup>45</sup> However, relevant sites are not only fixed locations or buildings. There is literary precedent for outdoor and in-between spaces to be valued too. Writing frequently details movement across spaces, reflecting authors’ ‘love of mobility as a spur to creativity’, which Saunders describes further.<sup>46</sup> Sites of writing, she suggests, are not limited to the desks which characterise writers’ museums, but are found in motion. Thus, trails, routes and streets have literary heritage value.<sup>47</sup> These extend beyond the city centre, where visiting is usually focused, and which can become erroneously synonymous with the city as a whole entity.<sup>48</sup> Writers and their works are not constrained by these limits, and recognising this gives literary heritage more resonance: for residents particularly, effective writing about a city must embrace residential space, where lives are lived.<sup>49</sup> Locating literary heritage through motion across the city also creates an embodied experience. When discussing placemaking, Jones and Evans note that movement ‘allows spaces to become object prompts’.<sup>50</sup> When applied to the literary city, where ‘geography is perceived from the angle of its textual descriptions’, the affective experience of reading is evoked, and its associated emotions can deepen a visit to a setting.<sup>51</sup> Where traditional heritage sites often focus on visual experiences (consider the ubiquitous ‘Do Not Touch’ sign), the motion and emotion of literary heritage creates an experience actively engaged with place.<sup>52</sup>

It is important to note that literary heritage is never the only reason for visiting a city of literature. There are always other attractions and motivations, which often render it an afterthought. In contrast, the most prominent UK literary heritage site type, writers' museums, are often rural and dedicated to a single author, creating a high threshold of interest, mobility or money for visitors. Cities allow for spontaneous literary heritage experiences, guided by random encounters with open doors, plaques, leaflets and memories. This capacity, Deyan Sudjic notes, is key to cities, which 'offer us the chance to find people and things we did not know existed and that we did not know that we wanted to find before we went there [...] Navigating a city is a bit like negotiating a way through a library'.<sup>53</sup> Cities therefore allow readers and non-readers to 'just flirt with' visiting literary heritage sites, among a more general itinerary, and thus make them more accessible.<sup>54</sup> Although someone may hesitate to visit a literary setting (particularly if it lacks official recognition), they are likely to engage with that text's locations if they are in the city anyway. Cities also allow for a more inclusive definition of literature. Niche, popular and genre literature can form expectations of place alongside canonical texts, and there is space for all of them, because literary heritage is not reliant on material monuments and has an entire city to work with.<sup>55</sup> Reader-visitors will visit personal literary heritage sites on the same itinerary as landmarks, which are everything they are not: public, publicised and visible. However, like a person's favourite texts, landmarks are familiar and thereby 'widely "loved" and deeply appreciated'.<sup>56</sup> There is capacity, then, for official and unofficial heritage sites to become emotionally (as well as geographically) conflated. Experientially, then, official and personal heritage cannot be easily separated. All are legitimate to the person experiencing it, even if that is difficult to acknowledge currently, under current prevalent heritage understandings. This is true in scholarship, but also for reader-visitors, meaning those experiencing and creating their own literary heritage experiences of cities sublimate that work as trivial, fannish or pointless, even if it is deeply meaningful in the moment.<sup>57</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Thus, the literary heritage sites discussed here are difficult to capture, beyond personal anecdote. Sometimes, this may be what reader-visitors want, as official literary heritage often implies passivity, formality, fees and limited definitions of literature. However, they are key to urban reader-visitor experiences, and occur alongside official and commercialised practices. For Edinburgh as a city of literature, failing to recognise this keeps its literature synonymous with the handful of dead authors remembered in its imposing official literary heritage sites, and leaves little space for the interests of non-, new, casual or genre readers. It also maintains the misleading conflation of the city and its historic, touristic centre; Edinburgh's official literary sites largely fall within its UNESCO World Heritage Site borders, despite that being an entirely separate designation to the City of Literature. This signals that literature is only for those with the resources to live or journey into the centre, rather than being a city-wide interest. Recognising that people do engage in literature heritage in unofficial ways, through books of all levels of prestige and popularity, in bookshops, side streets and individually-discovered sites, creates a place for existing readers and reading practices to be better acknowledged.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> As of 2023.

<sup>2</sup> In this, the UNESCO designation functions like other urban tourism promotions, wherein literature is used as branding to encourage visiting. See, for instance, Anne Hoppen, Lorraine Brown, and Alan Fyall, 'Literary Tourism: Opportunities and Challenges for the Marketing and Branding of Destinations?', *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management* 3, no. 1 (2014): 37–47; Angharad Saunders, 'Literary Geography: Reforging the Connections', *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 4 (2010): 436–52; Susan Carson et al., 'Literature, Tourism and the City: Writing and Cultural Change', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 15, no. 4 (2017): 380–92.

<sup>3</sup> Types of sites marked for their literary importance include the settings for stories, memorials, and author 'homes and haunts', to use the terminology identified by Alison Booth in her work on the practice's history. (Alison Booth, *Homes and Haunts: Touring Writers' Shrines and Countries* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016]; see also Nicola J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist* [Basingstoke; Palgrave Macmillan, 2008]).

<sup>4</sup> Writers' museums are the most commonly accepted and acknowledged type of literary heritage site in Britain, although Edinburgh's is unusual. More commonly, these are located in a house where a writer lived (even if briefly), which is posthumously appropriated as a kind of shrine, biography or haunted house. Examples include the Charles Dickens Museum in London (a rare urban example), the Brontë Parsonage Museum or the Jane Austen House Museum (both of which are rural). Edinburgh Writers' Museum was not a writer's house, and is dedicated to three writers and is therefore unusually crowded. More typical sites can be found nearby, though, with the John Buchan Story in Peebles, and Abbotsford, former home of Walter Scott, in the Borders.

<sup>5</sup> Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Florence: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> This is not necessarily a part of the UNESCO City of Literature designation, which today falls within the Creative Cities designation, and is much more focused on a city's on-going production within a creative industry. It is notable, however, that when Edinburgh proposed the designation in 2004, they put themselves forward as a 'World City of Literature', in line with UNESCO's pre-existing World Cities of Heritage designation. It is also notable that Edinburgh conforms to the types of physical heritage sites, which traditionally composed UNESCO's understanding of heritage. This provided an example of placed and located literary heritage that was at once visible, and already had proven relevant to UNESCO: the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh were designated as UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 1995. In creating something new, Edinburgh was able to play on established traditions of heritage, to demonstrate how literature could be and was embedded in the landscape of cities, and therefore made specific to place.

<sup>7</sup> Mike Robinson and Helaine Silverman, 'Mass, Modern, and Mine: Heritage and Popular Culture', in *Encounters with Popular Pasts: Cultural Heritage and Popular Culture*, ed. Mike Robinson and Helaine Silverman (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015), 12; Szilvia Gyimóthy et al., 'Popculture Tourism: A Research Manifesto', in *Tourism Research Frontiers*, vol. 20 (United Kingdom: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2015), 26.

<sup>8</sup> In using the term 'reader-visitor', I do not only refer to tourists, but anyone exploring cities through texts. The capacity of literature to create new experiences – which I will explore later – means there is a sense of visiting implicit in this act, even if one is on their own doorstep.

<sup>9</sup> Andrea Zengulys, *Modernism and the Locations of Literary Heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 14.

<sup>10</sup> Despite the book being set in London, some readers have claimed Edinburgh as inspiration, on account of its dark alleys and gothic reputation, suggesting the imaginative nature of literary visiting. The claim does have some strength, as Robert Louis Stevenson was brought up in the city, and did explicitly write about its morbid side, as in short story 'The Body Snatcher'.

<sup>11</sup> In using the term 'read', I mean experiencing a book more broadly, and include reading on electronic devices, listening to audiobooks and reading braille.

<sup>12</sup> Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Laurajane Smith, 'The "Doing" of Heritage: Heritage as Performance', in *Performing Heritage: Research, Practice and Innovation in Museum Theatre and Live Interpretation*, ed. Anthony Jackson and Jenny Kidd (Manchester: University Press, 2011), 69.

<sup>14</sup> See Zengulys, *Modernism and the Locations of Literary Heritage*, 69; Jordi Arcos-Pumarola, Nayra Llonch-Molina, and Eugeni Osacar Marzal, 'The Concept of Literary Heritage: A Definition through Bibliographic Review', *Forum for World Literature Studies* 11, no. 1 (2019): 100.

<sup>15</sup> As well as literary tote bags, pencil cases, posters, jigsaws and so on, which in the UK are commonly themed around prominent literary names, like Austen, Dickens, Christie, as well as independent bookshops.

<sup>16</sup> David Wright, 'Book Retail', in *The Cultural Intermediaries Reader*, ed. Julian Matthews and Jennifer Smith Maguire (55 City Road: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2014), 180.

<sup>17</sup> Robinson and Silverman note that '[w]hat is taken as reified "high culture" is made popular through consumption' (12), and likewise, what was popular can become canonised, as with how 'the undoubted populism and popularity of authors such as Mark Twain, Walter Scott, and Charles Dickens in the nineteenth century have given way to their occupying more elite positions in contemporary literary culture' (Robinson and Silverman, 'Mass, Modern, and Mine', 12, 9). Heritage's capacity to generate commercial value has also been noted elsewhere. See Barbara Kirshenblatt Gimblett, 'Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production', *Museum International* 66, no. 1–4 (2014): 61. Likewise, the capacity of literary and other cultural heritages to bring in new modes of funding to locations has been written about. See Carson et al., 'Literature, Tourism and the City'; Hoppen, Brown, and Fyall, 'Literary Tourism'; Gyimóthy et al., 'Popculture Tourism', 23–24, 26.

<sup>18</sup> See Hoppen, Brown, and Fyall, 'Literary Tourism', 43; Wright, 'Book Retail', 189.

<sup>19</sup> This is acknowledged by Arcos-Pumaola et al, who write that, 'the book, regarded as the original material substratum of the literary expression, appears as the first source of literary heritage' (Arcos-Pumarola, Llonch-Molina, and Marzal, 'The Concept of Literary Heritage', 113).

<sup>20</sup> See Robinson and Silverman, 'Mass, Modern, and Mine', 8.

<sup>21</sup> See Carson et al., 'Literature, Tourism and the City', 382.

<sup>22</sup> I recently observed this at the Story Museum, Seven Stories: the National Centre for Children's Books and the British Library's 2023 touring exhibition, 'Marvellous and Mischievous: Literature's Young Rebels'. The relative willingness of children's literary places to embrace recent work, compared to literary sites with a general audience, presumably relates to changing ideas of what kind of stories children are interested in and receptive to. However, it may also be worth considering whether, for children, relatively recent works like *The Gruffalo* or *Tracy Beaker* from before their births may seem as historic as anything written by Austen or Scott. The differences between literary heritage experiences created for children, and those intended for adults, is worth further investigation.

<sup>23</sup> Stuart Hall, 'Whose Heritage?: Un-Settling "The Heritage", Re-Imagining the Post-Nation', *Third Text* 13, no. 49 (1999): 3.

<sup>24</sup> Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2013), 14.

<sup>25</sup> Robinson and Silverman, 'Mass, Modern, and Mine', 6.

<sup>26</sup> Robinson and Silverman, 15–16.

<sup>27</sup> See Robinson and Silverman, 14–16.

<sup>28</sup> My evocation of the canon here is in reference to what Alasdair Fowler terms the 'personal canon, works [a reader] happens to know and value'. This is as opposed to the official canon, which is 'institutionalized through education, patronage, and journalism' (Alasdair Fowler, 'Genre and the Literary Canon', *New Literary History* 11, no. 1 [1979]: 98). An official canon would include what I earlier termed the national canon, but I believe they can also exist for smaller communities – even the fandom ones mentioned earlier. The processes of institutionalisation look different, but may be similarly rigorous and elite.

<sup>29</sup> John Guillory, *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 28.

<sup>30</sup> James Donald, *Imagining the Modern City* (London: Athlone Press, 1999), 127. As author and artist Alasdair Gray makes clear in one of his best remembered lines, the reverse can also be true: 'think of Florence, Paris, London, New York. Nobody visiting them for the first time is a stranger because he's already visited them in paintings, novels, history books and films. But if a city hasn't been used by an artist not even the inhabitants live there imaginatively' (Alasdair Gray, *Lanark: A Life in 4 Books* [New York: G. Braziller, 1985], 243).

<sup>31</sup> This, in turn, affirms the text's relation to the city and reality, giving it new value; thus, geographer Nuala C. Johnson describes visiting a literary site as an act of 'exploring the novel and the city simultaneously' ('Fictional Journeys: Paper Landscapes, Tourist Trails and Dublin's Literary Texts', *Social & Cultural Geography* 5, no. 1 [2004]: 97).

<sup>32</sup> Mike Robinson, 'Reading between the Lines: Literature and the Creation of Touristic Spaces', *Current Writing* 14, no. 1 (2002): 3; James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 13.

<sup>33</sup> Johnson, 'Fictional Journeys', 91. Likewise, Saunders writes that '[a]udiences can approach novels as fiction, as social documents, as historical records, or [...] as tourist guides and navigational matrices' (Saunders, 'Literary Geography', 448).

<sup>34</sup> Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 63.

<sup>35</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 99. The authors of 'Walking Across Disciplines' further observe that 'corporeal ways of knowing the town [...] rendered it significant in ways far beyond the maps we used to find its starting point' (Sarah Pink et al., 'Walking across Disciplines: From Ethnography to Arts Practice', *Visual Studies* 25, no. 1 (2010): 1. This usefully clarifies that it is not simply the embodied experiences that vary, but the meanings drawn from them.

<sup>36</sup> To give an Edinburgh example, in Muriel Spark's 1965 novel, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, the eponymous teacher leads her students on a tour from the Meadows to Edinburgh's Old Town, to 'see where history had been lived' (29). It remains interesting to consult the book for familiar streets and locations, as well as to note the differences between today's Old Town and that of the 1930s, which provides a further layer of Edinburgh's history (Muriel Spark, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, Penguin Classics [Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 2000], 29–40).

<sup>37</sup> To continue with the example of Spark, the author is recognised in Edinburgh with a path named for her across Bruntsfield Links, a plaque on Warrender Park Crescent, a mural dedicated to *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* on the Meadows and inside the Morningside Pizza Express. All these serve to remind passersby of her writing about and origins in the city.

<sup>38</sup> Ashley Orr, 'Plotting Jane Austen: Heritage Sites as Fictional Worlds in the Literary Tourist's Imagination', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 24, no. 3 (2018): 234.

<sup>39</sup> It may not even have to align with a setting in a book; it may just be where it was read.

<sup>40</sup> Hoppen, Brown, and Fyall, 'Literary Tourism', 43. Imagined reality is particularly oxymoronic when drawn from literature, whose 'claims to truth apply and take place only in the private realm of the imagination', rather than the public realm of city space to which it is applied (Saunders, 'Literary Geography', 440).

<sup>41</sup> de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 108.

<sup>42</sup> Donald, *Imagining the Modern City*, 7.

<sup>43</sup> Zemgulys, *Modernism and the Locations of Literary Heritage*, 34. Zemgulys credits nineteenth-century literary guidebooks with this, although it has also been traced to the work of the novels themselves: in *The Country and The City*, Raymond Williams suggests that Dickens crafted a London in which 'the experience of the city is the fictional method; or the fictional method is the experience of the city' (Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1973], 154).

<sup>44</sup> Nicola J. Watson, 'Rambles in Literary London', in *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture*, ed. Nicola J. Watson (Basingstoke; Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 145, 138.

<sup>45</sup> Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 23.

<sup>46</sup> Saunders, 'Literary Geography', 444.

<sup>47</sup> In this, they become the sites of 'play and learn[ing]', described by Henri Lefebvre (*The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno [University of Minnesota Press, 2003], 18).

<sup>48</sup> Robinson and Silverman, 'Mass, Modern, and Mine', 2.

<sup>49</sup> Seeking literary heritage beyond visitor-orientated sites overdetermined by preexisting images may also be particularly appealing for reader-visitors engaged in imaginative work, in contrast with most tourists, as it has been observed that moving beyond such tourist attractions 'frees visitors to [...] explore them in their own way, to exercise their imaginations' (Robert Maitland, 'Everyday Life as a Creative Experience in Cities', *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4, no. 3 [2010]: 182).

<sup>50</sup> Phil Jones and James Evans, 'Rescue Geography: Place Making, Affect and Regeneration', *Urban Studies* 49, no. 11 (2012): 2322. See also Pink et al., 'Walking across Disciplines', 3: '[w]e cannot but learn and come to know in new ways as we walk'.

<sup>51</sup> Joanna Maj, 'Literary Tourist Guides as a Form of New Literary History. A Popular Genre in the Field of Professional Literary Knowledge', *Open Cultural Studies* 2, no. 1 (2018): 502.

<sup>52</sup> Johnson, 'Fictional Journeys', 98.

<sup>53</sup> Deyan Sudjic, *The Language of Cities* (UK: Allen Lane, 2016), 75.

<sup>54</sup> Gyimóthy et al., 'Popculture Tourism', 20. See also Susan Carson et al., 'Practices of Literary Tourism: An Australian Case Study', *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 7, no. 1 (2013): 47; Maj, 'Literary Tourist Guides as a Form of New Literary History. A Popular Genre in the Field of Professional Literary Knowledge', 507.

<sup>55</sup> This can be effectively seen on the website *The Book Trail*, which allows authors and fans to submit a novel to their database according to its location, and create an accompanying map (and therefore trail) of key sites from that location. Here, Edinburgh can be discovered through rom-com, science fiction, horror and thriller novels; genres which tend to be officially unrecognised, but which clearly are still located and have the capacity for placemaking. The maps these books create overlap, but it is up to the reader-visitor to choose which to engage

with, and the existence of one does not preclude another. ('Home', The Book Trail, accessed 22 August 2023, <https://www.thebooktrail.com/>).

<sup>56</sup> Robinson and Silverman, 2.

<sup>57</sup> There is a negative association with fandom, which dismisses its behaviours as outwith traditional concepts of heritage, even as it enacts heritage processes – and has historically, as discussed in the introduction. As Zengulys observes, '[i]t is now the fan - the video-watching, role-playing, web-posting other reader - who is, like the tourist, assumed to be a poor reader' (Zengulys, *Modernism and the Locations of Literary Heritage*, 195).

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## THOH TIM: A CASE STUDY OF MEGHALAYA'S LESSER-KNOWN SPORT NURTURING CULTURAL CONTINUITY

Authors:

**ABHIRUP SARKAR, GILBERT SANGRIANG, PREQUEENDALIN TYNSIAR, F. LALRINPUIA**

Affiliation:

NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY, INDIA

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### INTRODUCTION

Not the typical casino that we see in cities. No slot machines or poker tables, and neither is there a roulette table in sight. No tuxedo-clad attendants walk around serving expensive beverages. The counters to place the bets aren't only within the vicinity of the arena where the sporting event happens but are scattered around the entire state of Meghalaya including certain areas in the neighbouring state of Assam. You may even choose to place your bet through their website. The gambling sport of Thoh Tim<sup>1</sup> has been an integral part of the Khasi<sup>2</sup> cultural milieu for more than half a century now, especially since the legalization of the sport by the Meghalaya government. But what makes this gambling sport worth reading in detail (from varying perspectives) is not merely the fact that it has been in constant practice (six days a week) since the time of its inception, but also the fact that this sport has successfully helped the traditional sport of archery survive at the dead centre of an urban setup. Moreover, while the origin and transmission of cockerel-fighting (another popular traditional sport that has always been infused with gambling) and other similar gambling activities have somewhat contesting narratives, the origin and transmission of Tim, despite being the only gambling sport of its kind is known to have a definitive origin as well as the motive and motivation behind the continued practice. Further, while most gambling traditional sports have more than one variant much similar to the case of folk narratives, for instance, the cockerels-fights have transcended from roosters to dogs, to bulls, and various other animals that are pitched against each other in the arena, or the card games that have multiple variants starting from Poker, to Black Jack, et al. This particular gambling sport has no other variant apart from the one being discussed currently. Thereby, not only is this particular gambling sport unique by continuing to exist in the form that it originated in, but also by aiding the continued practice of the sport using the traditional bows and arrows, alongside a regionally devised dream interpretation (even if used sparingly) connecting dreams to cardinals for placing bets, and the performance of the entire spectacle that Tim is. As of today, people from around the world are trying their hand at Tim, placing bets through agents and the website. Tim has ceased to be a mere mode of amusement for the members belonging to a certain folk group and has transcended much beyond a mere extension of a traditional sport. Hence, it becomes imperative to read and realize Tim as it exists today. As a performance, through the parameter of gender, as a sport based on luck fabricated sparingly within the unconscious, and as a cultural heritage as it is perceived by those who are a part of it. As Ananda Coomaraswamy in his work, *The Symbolism of Archery* says, "The



symbolic content of an art is originally bound up with its practical function but is not necessarily lost when under changed conditions the art is no longer practised of necessity but as a game or sport; and even when such a sport has been completely secularized and has become for the profane a mere recreation or amusement it is still possible for whoever possesses the requisite knowledge of traditional symbolism to complete this physical participation in the sport, or enjoyment of it as a spectacle, by an understanding of its forgotten significance, and so restore, for himself at least, the "polar balance of physical and metaphysical" that is characteristic of all traditional cultures." And thereby, Tim warrants to be realized by the meaning it upholds for the folk today.

For a considerable period, a folkloric analysis was a selective analysis of either the structure that gave meaning to a certain folk practice or system, or the meaning that resulted in the emergence of new structures in a particular folk group. However, with the realization that neither exists in isolation and both must be considered interdependently, folkloric research has constantly attempted to realize folklore both in context and through structure, simultaneously. It is only through the structure that the folklore establishes the unique essence and meaning that it holds for the folk, while if there exists no meaning for a certain system of knowledge and the related practices, a notion will not be able to conjure a structure stable enough to sustain in time within the societies. Therefore, this work also attempts not to disconnect the lore from the folk to analyze its uniqueness. Hence, to realize the context and the essence of this sport (despite being infused with gambling - an activity usually adjudged to be a vice), the work highlights excerpts from the interviews that were recorded on the field. These interviews were conducted in three languages - Khasi, English, and Hindi. The recorded interviews were transcribed and translated into English with minimal or no modification to the original response. These responses have not been analyzed initially and have only been highlighted to establish the context of this cultural practice/sport. The analysis based on the interviews and related information about the sport is provided after the context has been established therefore, attempting to prioritize the context in this work, without which the ancient and traditional sport of archery would have not survived the dunes of time.

### **From the Folk**

Andrew Lang writes, "The folk-lore of a nation, comprehends all the "culture", if the term may be used, that the people have created out of its own resources..." The sport of Thoh Tim could not stand any truer to the above statement for the people from the Khasi Hills in Meghalaya. Thoh Tim or the Teer<sup>3</sup> is so integral to the Khasi culture and the people belonging thereof that it is touted as one of the cultural flag bearers alongside the Mawbyinna<sup>4</sup> or the other such cultural heritage of the Khasi folk group. About to complete almost seventy<sup>5</sup> years of its existence, Tim has permeated through the cultural confines of the Khasi Hills not only to pervade the remainder of India starting with its neighbouring state of Assam, spreading across the nation. But the game of Tim has found itself having takers even beyond the national margins. A lot has been written in magazines, both online as well as offline about this sport that is touted to have the ability to turn you into an overnight millionaire with an investment of merely a few hundred rupees, quite literally. However, as Alan Dundes in *Interpreting Folklore* says, "... Attempts to define folklore by means of criteria external to the materials of folklore are doomed to failure." Therefore, as important it is for a folklorist to look at such practices of the folk externally, looking at it from within becomes imperative to realize a lore more holistically, thereby completing the transcendence of the knowledge that the lore entails. Dundes continues, "... The context of an item of folklore is the specific social situation in which that particular item is employed. It is necessary to distinguish context and function... Usually, the function is an analyst's statement of what (he thinks) the use or purpose of a given genre of folklore is."

Therefore, without delineating the analytical assertions at the inception of this discourse, this work hereby highlights the context of the Khasi Tim by looking at the sport through the perspectives of the folk, from whom the sport has emerged. Reading folklore from within is majorly an endeavour that can only be undertaken by the members of a particular folk group. However, it is not always possible for the members of the folk to either be able to translate it for those who do not speak the language but wish to learn about the culture or to have a platform where they can share their perspectives and world-views without being under an imminent apprehension of being misquoted. Therefore, this work attempts to segue the gap between the folk, their practice, and the rest of the world by highlighting segments of the interviews about the selected criteria of analysis of the practice. Thus, highlighting the perspectives about Tim as realized by the Khasi folk not only imbibes a sense of respect for the ones because of whom the current analysis becomes possible but also firmly establishes the premise of this practice being a cultural heritage that continues to be a vital part of the Khasi cultural milieu.

The interviews were scheduled spanning bi-weekly over a timeline of two months. Given this was the first full-fledged academic interview surrounding this sport in the state, a lot of the interviewees were quite sceptical to partake in the beginning. However, the team managed to interview approximately twenty people on the field and more off the field as a part of the discussions. The interview was structured with questions divided among three categories of interviewees that were identified by the team – the organizers (including the counters to place bets), the archers, and the players/gamblers. Each of the identified personnel was interviewed individually.

One of the members of the organizing committee who aids in managing the monetary and social media accounts mentions the well-known and frequently cited ancient tale of the two brothers who sought amusement in the sport of archery that led to the emergence of the traditional archery competition in the Khasi society. Everyone who was asked whether they were aware of the origin of Tim or at least archery as a traditional sport in the Khasi society mentioned this tale in one or another of its forms, including the secretary of the Shillong Tim arena who mentioned how the traditional archery competition used to be held before it was morphed into Tim, “Earlier it was played between villages, but now it is organized in the town. It has given employment to thousands of people in Shillong.”. He adds, “Although nowadays it is also organized in Laitlyngkot, Mawngap, and Jaintia Hills. This is the oldest establishment and has existed for almost 70 years now. Therefore, people trust this space comparatively more owing to the establishment being old and managed by the cooperation of many people.”. Another member of the organizing committee mentions, “Almost every household in Shillong I would say has had at least one member of the family who might have gambled in Teer or been a part of the game one way or another.” When asked about the aspect of theatrics as a part of the experience, one of the oldest members of the sport (who crafts the arrows) says, “Theatrics have not been a part of Teer. We just come here to do our part, our job. This is our workplace. We might get called out attempting to do theatrics.”. He adds, “I find pleasure in being an archer. I earn as well as contribute my part in keeping the archery tradition alive.”, about the work that he does. But a person who has frequented the arena as a player (gambler) had a different perspective about theatrics being performed by the archers during the rounds, “I have seen many times, people trying different antics and theatrics while shooting. Although that only happens within the permissible shooting area. They are not supposed to cross that arched pavement where they sit and shoot. But holding the bow and shooting it in a particular style is their own choice. There is no singular way and I have seen them try new tricks always.”. Although, from the perspective of being salaried as an archer, the involvement of theatrics finds a similar stance for both, the organizers as well as the archers, as one of the organizing members corroborates the sentiment shared by the arrow maker, “It is dependent on the archer entirely. They are being paid a salary. So if they do not perform well, it will be their loss at the end of the day.” About the involvement, or rather the non-involvement of the Phawar<sup>6</sup> in Tim, everyone has

a consentient remark. One of the players (gambler) mentions, “Earlier, traditionally they used to sing the phawar, but here it is taken as a business and a game. So, it is no more required.” An archer shares a similar sentiment about the phawar not being a part of archery in this format anymore, “It was loved in the earlier times, but phawar nowadays does not accompany the sport as it was also used to discourage the losing team. Since there is no team competition in this version of the sport. It is not used here.” He adds, “However, there are still traditional archery competitions that are held in the villages where phawar is still a part of the performance.”

While being an archer has been the prerogative of the male gender in traditional Khasi archery as well as in Tim, the counters for placing bets seem to have an abundance of women on the contrary. Upon asking about women who come to place bets, a lady who has had a counter for about 15 years, says, “Women do come, but the number is less as compared to men. And also the amount that the women bet is usually considerably lesser compared to what the men usually bet.” While a male player who was interviewed, mentions, “This game is not based on gender at all. In the organization also, there are many women.”

When asked about the involvement of dreams as a part of the game, a player says, “People say it is a game of dreams. Even I place bets based on my dreams, at times. Although earlier you had to ask around, nowadays if I have to go by the dreams, I usually google. It is all available online. What dream results into what number, so you can just do that too.” At the counter, a counter manager mentions, “Many people say Shillong has a lot of money because of this. Like, you can just dream about something and place a bet on the dream and you might end up winning quite a hefty amount if the bet succeeds. I mean, you even get money if someone dies.” She adds, “IF you dream of an old person, then the number is supposed to be 9. Well, because he is about to die, right? And I cannot say it is entirely false, I have seen it happen a considerable number of times.”



*Figure 1. Interviewing Bah Easter Khongsngi, the oldest archer and arrow-maker in the Shillong arena.*

Towards the conclusion of one of the interviews, when asked about the folks’ perspective about Thoh Tim in totality, a manager at the counter shares, “This is not just about gambling, it is about a game of luck too. And because of this game, all those who are widows, those who are orphans, and also those who have been unemployed for a considerably long time found a livelihood. Found a way to survive quite amicably.” She adds, “This job is so accommodating that you can stay employed and also take care of your household chores. While this work has resulted in many people being able to earn enough to seek a better future, it has also been a conduit for the destruction of futures - although that is only

for the ones who have been addicted to gambling. Like every other aspect of society, this sport too has a deplorable side. But those who have worked for the sport have only seen brighter days in terms of being able to afford a better life and education. And I do not even want to do any other work. I feel extremely peaceful sitting and working at this counter. I mean, if you work as you are supposed to and are not involved in any illegal activities, you will not only love doing this but will be able to make a fairly decent living out of it too.”. The oldest archer in the arena shares a similar sentiment, “One good thing about Ka Thoh Tim is if you have a bad dream, like a dream that involves death or the fear thereof, you can use the dream interpretation to gamble in Tim. Any bad omen thereby will be taken away by Ka Thoh Tim and you will not encounter any mishap.”.

Most of the interviewees concluded on an encouraging note that they appreciate the academia taking an interest in practically understanding such cultural heritage and how they sustain in the society for the folk, as one of the interviewees mentions, “A lot of people have been here. This is the first time though that academics are talking to us. Many people have come to write articles. We were also promised a movie about us. But that never happened. So, I feel this might have a positive outcome for the sport and for us too.”.

It is therefore deemed imperative of us to dignify the lore of the folk, through the folk’s perspective as it not only helps put the entire cultural practice in the context of the study but also aids in the analysis thereof.



*Figure 2. The target after a round of shooting. The arrows that don't hit the target are collected first and kept aside.*

### **From the Folklorists**

The bow and the arrow, having been an integral part of the Khasi arsenal was also a sport since the olden times. It was more of a transcendental coexistence than a chronological transference. However, with the advent of a sophisticated arsenal owing to technological advancements, archery as warfare ceased to be worthy in the Khasi society. Its amusing counterpart, however, not only sustained but thrived as a marker of cultural heritage and thereby, its representation of the olden bond that the Khasi folk have with the practice of archery, including the various aspects that become a part of the performance, starting from the materials selected to craft the bows and the arrows to their size, to the way the bow and the arrow are held, and the final act of shooting the arrow that includes the posture, the stance, etcetera. Thus, the traditional sport of archery in Khasi society has not only survived through time but continues to highlight the deep and intricate relationship that the Khasi folk exercise

with archery. In the book, *Revisiting Khasi Archery: A Study*, which is a detailed exegesis of Khasi archery and its cultural connotations, Roplyned Lyngdoh writes, “The sport of archery is said to have been started by the two brothers, namely U Batiton and U Shynna sons of Ka Shinam and U Mangring. Ka Shinam and U Mangring lived in one of the caves at Mawmluh near Sohra. They gave their two sons bows and arrows and taught them the art of archery as amusement and entertainment. This was supposed to be good for their physical fitness and intelligence. At the same time, she warned them not to lose their temper over the game.”<sup>7</sup>. Not only does the foundation of a narrative to the cultural materiality establish its essence and worth for the folk in the physical realm. But it also aids in avoiding the replacement of the sentiments that have been attached with archery since the olden times, in the Khasi society. Three features of this quasi-material cultural heritage have been considered to realize this sport as it thrives currently in the Khasi society. Its performance, the notion or the aspect of gender, and the element of dream analysis that has become a part of the sport. These aspects have been chosen given that a sport, is primarily a performance-oriented phenomenon within a society with the sportsperson taking the role of the performer in front of the spectators and has had gender play an integral role in such performances historically. The dream interpretation as an aspect of analysis has been chosen because this sport has been directly associated with the dream-to-number interpretation, almost since the time of its inception. The analyses are based on the interviews taken on the field and through discussions with others who have known about the sport. The analyses here do not include the non-academic articles that have been written about this particular sport.

### Performance

In their work, *A Psychobiological Study of Archery*, Daniel M. Landers and others mention, “... analysis indicated that relative leg strength, reaction time, depth perception, endomorphy, imagery usage, confidence, and focus on past mistakes were variables associated with archery performance.”. And it is quite obviously visible in the case of professional archers competing in national as well as international sporting arenas. But in the case of Tim, the case is not so. As the archers gather at the arena by noon, a set number of arrows are placed at designated spots on an arched pavement by the organizers. The archers crouch at the edge of the pavement, the permissible shooting limit. And they shoot, continuously for 3 minutes. The objective is to shoot all the arrows assigned to them at the target, which is a cylindrical stump made of straw. The entire performing setup has an extremely congenial environment, with people from all strata, genders, and ethnicities walking in and out to place their bets or to witness the shooting and the results. Anxious about the fate that awaits after each round. The performance, albeit no more competitive in essence, is rooted in the reverence that archery luxuriates in Khasi society. From organizing the event six days a week diligently to the counters that are no longer merely locations to place the bets but have now become public spaces where the exchange of varied information takes place regularly, Tim has kept the Khasi archery alive not only through continued practice but by tapping into the Khasi psyche of communal exchange of thought and the aspect of gambling. The information or exchange of thoughts at these counters ranges from being as generic as the day’s forecast for the game to as intimate and personal as sharing one’s dreams to know which number to place the bet on. From the archers belonging to the different teams flocking in the arena on their designated day for the shooting, to the gamblers who pour in to witness the event, anxiously waiting for the number to be written on the board, hoping it to be the one they predicted. The entire performance that takes place in the Tim arena, therefore, has been one of the prime conduits in the continued preservation of the cultural heritage by continued practice.<sup>8</sup> Without the specificity of the performance, the sport would cease to survive which highlights a perfect example of traditional practices being preserved by diffusing with aspects of the human behaviour that have been known to be an addictive vice. The performance herein includes not only a few minutes of shooting

but also the different components that enable the archer to perform his job. The bows continue to be crafted in the traditional style using bamboo and the bowstring is crafted from strips of cane. The arrows are handcrafted as well. While the conduits for performance adhere to traditionality, the hold on the bow and the arrow also follows the traditional ways, as shared by the archers. Thus, the performance in its entirety, despite having been through multiple modifications has been able to preserve the cultural heritage by retaining the crucial traditional elements of the performance of archery.



*Figure 3. The archers preparing for a round of shooting.*

## Gender

A performance, therefore, entails multiple aspects that become the chauffeur for the performance to induce the intended effects not only in the audience but the performer as well. And one of the primary aspects of performance has been that of gender. Whether it be about the inclusion of gendered roles or the segregation of gender-based roles. Whether it be predetermination of the different roles in the performance, or whether it be a conscious divergence from the dogmatic establishment of genders in performance or of a role. In recent times, the notion and discourses around gender have erupted voraciously on various social platforms. However, whether the assignment of gendered roles in different performances within the human culture is appropriate or not is beyond the scope of this work. But as has been observed and realized through the interviews and observances, Tim does continue the olden tradition of male-only archers in the teams. Although there does not seem to be any complication regarding the organization of the sport where archery is restricted to the masculine gender only, while other aspects of the sport have no gendered restrictions. And neither of the genders seems to be perturbed by this. While for someone who looks at this phenomenon externally, this might be assumed to be problematic on the part of one gender, and complacency on the other since an entire aspect of the sport is male-centric. It might just be neither of the cases for Tim. The male-centric role of the archer can be considered to be a function that aids in preserving the traditional thought and essence of archery that has been a part of the Khasi society, where the male member of the society was entrusted with the bow and the arrow and considered to be the protector of the clans. While in today's time, it has become imperative to look at elements that have been a part of the olden traditions that might have emerged from the highly patriarchal society. It also becomes important to consider cases where specific roles that were assigned to the different genders based on certain beliefs and customs continue to be embraced and preserved. Thoh Tim is one such case where the assignment

of the role does not aim to disrespect the ability of either gender. Thus, in one of the interviews, an interviewee does share that maybe, in the coming years, women will be archers in Tim too. However, as of today, the organizing committee, the betting counters, as well as the gamblers, are not gender-specific. However, in preserving the olden traditions, archery continues to be a male-centric aspect of the performance, although that might change in the near future. But, during the interviews, it was also realized that female members of the Khasi society who are a part of the Tim organization have no qualms with archery being a male-specific part of the sport. In fact, many female interviewees said that they prefer being the organizers than to partake in the shooting. As the world and the societies therein continue to deal with the olden problems revolving around gendered notions, especially the atrocities that have been perpetrated by the patriarchy. Thoh Tim, as a bearer of traditionality highlights the fact that the Khasi society even if not entirely, but to a great extent is efficient in not only embracing the emerging notions revolving the human existence and society but also simultaneously preserving traditional sentiment and thought.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the notion of gender whether it seems to be problematic from an external perspective or be adhered to by the folk has contributed directly or indirectly to the continued practice of the sport in its traditional form, thus sustaining the cultural heritage.



Figure 4. Ongoing interview at one of the counters inside the arena where bets are placed.

### Dreams

The third and final aspect of the sport that is being looked into in the current work, derives from the traditional notion of interpreting dreams to decipher real-world incidents. Although, oft when such interpretations are found in different cultures, they are subjective in form, either as a tale, or as a part of a creative endeavour, and likewise. As Sigmund Freud mentions in his work *Interpretation of Dreams*, “Even if we are willing to disregard these by no means trifling objections, we must yet admit that the qualities of dream-life hitherto considered, which are attributed to withdrawal from the outer world, cannot fully account for the strangeness of dreams. Otherwise, it would be possible to reconvert the hallucinations of the dream into mental images, and the situations of the dream into thoughts, and thus to achieve the task of dream interpretation. Now this is precisely what we do when we reproduce a dream from memory after waking, and no matter whether we are fully or only partially successful in this retranslation, the dream remains as mysterious as before.”. However, the Khasi folk, in terms of interpreting dreams have not only interpreted the dream-life into cardinals but have also put the interpretations into active usage in the sport of Tim. This interpretation<sup>10</sup> often

subscribes to the beliefs and practices of the culture and the folk. As mentioned by Freud while citing Haffner, “To begin with, the dream continues the waking life. Our dreams always connect themselves with such ideas as have shortly before been present in our consciousness. Careful examination will nearly always detect a thread by which the dream has linked itself to the experiences of the previous day.”. The cardinal dream interpretation is no less the same in the case of Tim. For instance, the dream of death is assigned the number nine in the interpretation chart. While it might seem like a random assignment from the outside, a folkloric realization of the number may reveal otherwise. In the traditional Khasi belief system, it was believed that the world after death had nine layers that were under the control of the higher Gods and were termed Khyndai Pateng Niamra (nine levels of the sky). Thereby, the graves that were dug for the deceased were supposed to be nine feet deep. The same was shared by one of the interviewees at the counter who joked, “An old person is assigned the number nine because he is about to die”. This may be construed to be coincidental, but an entire chart of dreams being assigned a specific combination of cardinals is much beyond a mere coincidence. While a complete analysis requires a deeper study of the beliefs-cardinal connexion that specifically exists in the Khasi society, it is beyond the scope of this work as none of the interviewees could throw any amount of light on the possible origin of the interpretation. However, with the cultural connotations that the interpreted cardinals hold, as highlighted above, this factor thereby becomes one of the most important markers that continue to reassure the meaning and connection that the sport of Archery has with the Khasi folk. Without this particular aspect of the dream being connected to the sport, this will merely be rendered another method of earning quick money. In one of the interviews at a counter to place bets, the manager of the counter shared that she had encountered several people who had come to place bets because they were informed or got to know about someone’s decease. Even one of the archers mentioned that Tim provides a way to relieve the anxieties of your dreams. Thus, on one hand, the interpretations, at least to a certain extent, being based on the Khasi belief systems aid in the continued perpetuation of those beliefs even today. On the other hand, it aids in psychological contentment of absolving the fear and anxiety that come with discouraging and troubling dreams. Employing classical psychological conditioning, the involvement of dreams in Tim allows a person who is troubled by their dreams to place a bet on the dream number. Thus, by the willing suspension of disbelief, the folk are conditioned to the notion that the ominosity that surrounds the person owing to the troublesome dream will be taken away by placing a bet in Tim. This can be broadly analyzed in two ways, one where the dreams may be construed as the arrows that are released from the bow thereby connoting the release of the ominous sentiments that surround the person. As Coomaraswamy writes in *The Symbolism of Archery*, “If all the preparations have been made correctly, the arrow, like a homing bird, will find its own goal; just as the man who, when he departs from this world "all in act, having done what there was to be done, need not wonder what will become of him nor where he is going, but will inevitably find the bull's eye, and passing through that sun door, enter into the empyrean beyond the "purity" of the sky.”. Thus, the person, having had an ominous dream is setting the ominosity free with the arrow, neither knowing where it goes nor holding it within, conditioning themselves to be set free from the anxieties of the dream sequence. The other possible connotation can be that of the arrows piercing the target symbolizing the active annihilation of the dream. However, such analyses are extremely rudimentary owing to multiple factors that feature in to contribute to the interpretation. One of the primary factors is that of this analysis and the connotations thereof are entirely from the perspective of the analyst, thus it might not be apt or the possible dream-function in this case at all. Second, the above analysis has only been mentioned in the case of a dream that is ominous in form. The analysis is neither universal nor uniform for all the other dreams that have been interpreted into numbers. However, it has been mentioned here in case there comes a need for these interpretations to be read in further detail, this may provide a helpful



foundation to begin with. However, whether it be the folks' interpretation of dreams based on the belief systems or the analysts' interpretation of why the dreams function in Tim the way they do, this aspect adds to the traditionality of the sport as much as any other aspect related to it deriving from the olden notion of seeking solace in interpreting the unknown and the unwarranted, thereby assisting in the continued practice of the sport, intimately integrated with the non-materiality.



Figure 5. The players (right) eagerly await the results while the archers (left) enjoy the time-out.

## CONCLUSION

In the work, *The Symbolism of Archery*, Coomaraswamy cites what has been talked about in the case of Japanese archery, he says, "...The consummation of shooting is in the release .... the Stance, Preparation, Posture, Raising the Bow, Drawing, and Holding, all these are but preparatory activities. Everything depends upon an unintentional involuntary release, effected by gathering into one the whole shooting posture...". Archery, in most cultures that continue to sustain it, primarily as a sport, has been attested to possess a cultural characteristic that enables its continued sustenance, even if for amusement. About the cultural connotation of the bow and the arrow in the Qoran, Coomaraswamy cites, "Hadith attributes to Muhammad the saying that "there are three whom Allah leads into Paradise by means of one and the same arrow, viz. its maker, the archer, and he who retrieves and returns it," the commentator understanding that the reference is to the use of the bow and arrow in the Holy War; other Hadith glorify the space between the two targets as a "Paradise."". In terms, of holding the bow and the arrow in the Khasi culture, Roplynda Lyngdoh writes, "The Story about the art of shooting using two fingers, that is, index and middle fingers instead of the thumb can be traced from the story of one of the best archers whose name was Eklavya reportedly found in the renowned Indian epic, Mahabharata.", in the book *Revisiting Khasi Archery: A Study*. And in his work, *Archery in South East Asia and the Pacific*, N.W. Simmonds writes, "In the Khasi Hills of Assam, archery is a popular sport practised along with football and dancing on the day after market day. The mark is a cylinder of grass about a hundred by sixty cm. set about thirty cm. off the ground on a pole at about fifty paces range. I was told that a Khasi team won the All-India Archery Tournament at Delhi in 1955.". Thus, even if the Homeric heroes like Ulysses have a contemptuous disregard for the bow and the arrow so much so that he never takes them along to wars. The ancient weapon of war turned sport has survived to date, at least actively, in the Khasi culture. While it has been established as a formal sport worldwide, including in the Olympics, the Commonwealth Games, et al. For the Khasi folk, historically as well as currently, the bow and the arrow signify a lot more than a mere sport. And the

gambling sport of Thoh Tim has been one of the primary driving forces of the continued tradition of archery. Not only are the arrows and the bows still crafted in the olden way, but the target is also the one mentioned to have existed in the olden folk narratives. Ka Tieh Biria<sup>11</sup> is the bow specially designed for the sport of archery, while Ka Tieh Thma is the longer bow that was used in warfare by the Khasi folk. Each part of the bow and the arrow has a designated name and therefore the meaning and the respective connotation that the nomenclature holds for the Khasi society. The arrows are even used to symbolize and mark the role of a newborn boy in Khasi society by placing three arrows in front of the infant during the naming ceremony, each arrow connoting a role that the newborn must fulfil as a member of the clan. While an extensive discussion about the nomenclature and the meaning is beyond the scope of this work, the specific assignment of the names and the usage of the different elements that are a part of archery only highlights the importance that the entire performance (including the material aspects related thereof) of archery holds for the Khasi folk. Thus, Thoh Tim, a legal gambling sport, that the government continues to levy a hefty tax from, continues to sustain the ancient art of archery in the Khasi society through its performance and continued practice, six days a week. Through adhering to cultural beliefs while accommodating the ever-changing world (the numbers, predictions, dream chart, everything is now accessible online as well). And through the dreams of not only the Khasi folk but whoever wishes to be a part of Thoh Tim – a previously lesser-known gambling sport of Meghalaya, upholding the cultural continuum of the quasi-material tradition<sup>12</sup> of Khasi archery.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Tim comes from the English word team, which means a group. The archers form a group among them for playing this game. Therefore, the game is also called Ka Tim Pynlang or a combination of teams. Tim playing has now become an organized game under the control of the Khasi Hills Archery Sports Institute (K.H.A.S.I), *Revisiting Khasi Archery: A Study*.

<sup>2</sup> The Khasi people are an ethnic group of Meghalaya in North-Eastern India. They are the majority population residing at the eastern part of Meghalaya, known as the Khasi Hills. This is the state's largest community. They are among the few Austroasiatic-speaking people in South Asia. *Wikipedia*.

<sup>3</sup> Borrowed from classical Persian, Teer, is the Urdu/Hindi term for an arrow. The game of Thoh Tim, with time and cultural amalgamation, the game is now locally and more frequently addressed as the Teer.

<sup>4</sup> The Mawbynna is the memorial stone (monolith) that is integral to the death rites of the Khasi community. As the Khasi traditional death rites undergo phases of rituals, the Mawbynna is the site of initial burial of the deceased. This traditional practice persists till date. *Ka Modern Khasi-English Dictionary (Ka Thiar Ktien)*.

<sup>5</sup> While the exact record is unavailable as to when Thoh Tim emerged, it is known historically to be a sport that was established to replace the sport of polo that was introduced in the region by the Colonialists. With the departure of the colonial regime, it was supposedly Tim, that replaced the sport of Polo.

<sup>6</sup> Phawar is the Khasi verse that has been an integral part of the various aspects of culture and its practices. In case of traditional archery, Phawar used to be an important component during the contest. While it was sung to encourage one team, it was also sung in order to discourage the opponents. Phawar was traditionally spontaneously composed in a quatrain with the first couplet incorporating a metaphorical anecdote and the second couplet entailing the primary message.

<sup>7</sup> It is the folktale of U Batiton and U Shynna, the two brothers that the Khasi traditional archery has been accredited to. However, the tale is also accredited for having established the red and the black colored arrows that the Khasis use in traditional archery.

<sup>8</sup> Traditionally, there are two types of the Khasi bow – Ka Tieh Thma, which is a bow used for warfare and Ka Tieh Biria, which is a bow used for the archery game. There is a third type of bow known as the Ka Tiegpondeng, a special bow that can be used in both war and the games. The Ka Tieh Thma is longer in height than Ka Tieh Biria and is made with a bamboo with five joints, while Ka Tieh Biria is a little shorter and is made of bamboo with four joints.

<sup>9</sup> The Khasi society follows the matrilineal system of heredity, that is, the women are the tradition bearers of a particular family or a clan.

<sup>10</sup> A few other dream interpretations are as follows – A dream of a broken tooth signifies the loss of a beloved friend or relative connoting to the protective nature of the bodily appendage. A dream involving consumption of any sweet signifies a possibility of a pleasant incident while dreams of consuming sour food items connote a possible mishap. Dream interpretations in the Khasi culture also include projective inverse wherein a dream of someone falling sick connotes that the person will continue to stay in good health. And these interpretations have been collected in the form of two-digit cardinals.

<sup>11</sup> The term Tieh translates to bow, while the term Biria translates to comedy or amusement. Thus, the nomenclature Ka Tieh Biria quite literally (roughly) translates to the bow for amusement and therefore used specifically for the purpose of the sport. Even as of today, in the sport of Tim, this bow is used. The bow is hand-crafted, and retains the traditionality.

<sup>12</sup> In the Khasi society the game of archery has always involved betting. No archery competition has been played without a bet. It is known as Ka lasiat Thong (shooting arrows with a bet). It is believed that Kwai (Betel nut and betel leaf) were the first commodities that were used as bet during the time when barter was prevalent. Although, while Phawar was an integral part earlier, with the commercialization of the sport into Tim, that element faded in time. Therefore, the term Quasi-Material culture is used here. As, this tradition did not evolve solely as a part of the cultural materiality, but had distinct non-material components as well.

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# FASHIONING HISTORY: RETHINKING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TASTE AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Author:

**CHUNYAO LIU**

Affiliation:

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY, U.S

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## INTRODUCTION

In 1994, architectural historian and historic preservationist Richard Longstreth published a thought-provoking article titled “Taste versus History” in *Historic Preservation Forum*.<sup>1</sup> In the article, Longstreth discusses the issue of taste, a seldomly discussed concept in the field of historic preservation. Significantly, he criticizes the subjective nature of preservation professionals’ taste and its opposition to history and suggests that taste is influential, unavoidable, and even problematic in numerous historic preservation activities. Rather than opposition, this paper proposes a more nuanced interaction between taste and history in historic preservation through the lens of fashion in the contemporary context of consumer society.

The paper is divided into three parts. First, it analyzes Longstreth’s 1994 article, clarifying the scope of application of his viewpoints as well as the prerequisites upon which his arguments are based. Second, it explores the theory of taste in the field of sociology and consumer culture, providing an interdisciplinary perspective that aids in a better understanding of how fashion redefines taste-history exchanges. Finally, this article examines historic preservation projects initiated by fashion companies, arguing that taste, especially the “vertical taste” of fashion companies and mass consumers, can serve as an engine for uncovering, and further spreading history.<sup>2</sup> When involved with fashion, taste can positively enhance historic preservation, especially the preservation of historic interiors. Notably, through an in-depth exploration of the relationship between taste and historic preservation, preservationists can gain insights into the driving forces behind numerous preservation endeavors in the context of consumer society.

## UNDERSTANDING LONGSTRETH’S “TASTE VERSUS HISTORY”

The concept of taste, while not frequently explored in historic preservation, holds undeniable significance in influencing various decision-making processes within the field. As Longstreth says in his essay, “taste lies just below the surface of numerous preservation activities; ... no matter how objective one seeks to be, it is impossible to avoid actions predicated on contemporary outlooks.”<sup>3</sup> In essence, even though preservation professionals strive for objectivity and professionalism, taste plays a significant role in determining what gets preserved and how it is preserved.<sup>4</sup> It is evident that Longstreth holds a negative disposition towards taste, which he believes is associated with irrationality and bias that are detrimental to the historic preservation profession. The subsequent

section delves into the rationale underlying Longstreth's critique of taste, addressing the following two questions: 1) whose taste does Longstreth criticize, and 2) why does it stand as opposed to history?

Longstreth defines taste as “individual preferences that codified to a degree by projects and images sanctioned by at least some leaders in the field,” which ties to subjectivity and lack of historicity in the assessment of a property's historical significance. Through various examples across the United States, spanning from nineteenth-century schoolhouses to architecture designed by renowned architects like Frank Lloyd Wright, Longstreth elaborates on why taste opposes history. He criticizes the unofficial policy of selecting only a limited number of the “best” examples of a given kind of architecture. He further criticizes situations in which preservation professionals base their judgments on factors such as the extent of recognition an architecture receives, the aesthetic quality of its architectural elements, the prioritization of specific historical periods, and so forth. These judgements, according to Longstreth, reveals the issue of taste.<sup>5</sup>

However, this paper argues that the issues identified by Longstreth are not inherently matters of taste. Rather, the concerns he highlights grounded in the regulatory processes of historic preservation within the United States, a top-down preservation regulatory system has been used for decades, including the designation of historic landmarks, the Nation Register of Historic Places, the categorization of different types of significance on inventory forms, the stereotyped historical resources, and devalued history of recent past.<sup>6</sup> In other words, what stands in oppose to history, instead of taste, is the top-down preservation regulatory system that historic preservation works rely on.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, while Longstreth criticizes the taste of preservation professionals, governmental agencies, preservation regulations, and laws, he overlooks the taste of the mass, including residents, tenants, users, consumers, visitors, local citizens, and so forth. The taste that Longstreth criticizes is a narrow concept that pertains to a specific kind of taste.

Nonetheless, despite questioning Longstreth's narrowly defined view of taste, his essay is illuminating as it underscores the significance of preserving the social aspects of historic preservation activities. This paper builds on Longstreth's essay and concurs that a building should not be judged solely by its age, aesthetics, styles, outstanding features, or the involvement of a celebrity. Whether a building is extraordinary or commonplace, preservationists should not overlook its social significance, including its contribution to shaping place identity, its connection to the everyday lives of local residents, and more.

## **THEORETICAL EXPLORATION OF TASTE IN CONSUMER CULTURE**

This section delves into a theoretical exploration of taste in the field of sociology, where scholars conduct research on fashion, commodification, and consumer culture. These scholarly viewpoints offer valuable insights for preservationists and enrich the ongoing discourse about the issue of taste in historic preservation, extending and complementing the ideas presented by Longstreth.

Taste in sociology is considered as “connecting to an individual's personal, cultural, and aesthetic patterns of preference;” it is “a core component of being a person in consumer society.”<sup>8</sup> Studies on taste are based on two major theorists: one is 18<sup>th</sup> century German philosopher Immanuel Kant, the other is 20<sup>th</sup> century French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Kant considered taste as pure, artistic and universal; his emphasis was on pure aesthetics without considering factors like social judgement or monetary value.<sup>9</sup> Unlike Kant, Bourdieu focused on socio-cultural implications of aesthetic judgement. He saw taste as a kind of resource that helped to develop social distinctions through accumulating “cultural capital.”<sup>10</sup> Bourdieu's taste theory was later summarized as the “class taste model,” as famous quotes from his influential 1979 work *Distinction* stated, “taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier”.<sup>11</sup> Based on *Distinction*, consumer research scholar Edward McQuarrie introduced two meanings of taste: “distinction-between” or “a horizontal operation of taste,” versus

“distinction-over,” or “a vertical operation of taste.”<sup>12</sup> The former serves as a device for affiliation and draws boundaries between different groups with no hierarchy, while the latter serves as a standard for discrimination, showing a hierarchy of “a good taste” versus “a bad taste.” As McQuarrie states, while horizontal taste “distinguishes in from out, us versus them,” vertical taste “distinguishes better from worse, above from below, up versus down.”<sup>13</sup>

Following in the tradition of Bourdieu, this paper concentrates on the social dimensions of taste, specifically on the idea of “distinction-over taste,” or “vertical taste” introduced by McQuarrie. Differing from Longstreth's essay, which criticizes professionals' taste for aesthetics and styles, this paper delves into the taste associated with more stakeholders in historic preservation, encompassing both preservation professionals and the general public, including local citizens, visitors, consumers, and even users of social media platforms. The concept of “vertical taste” holds considerable relevance in the realm of consumer society, where architects and designers act as taste leaders, amplifying their influences and further converting “cultural capital” to “social position and economic resources.”<sup>14</sup> Consequently, the theory of “vertical taste” offers valuable insights into historic preservation endeavors within the context of consumer society. Based on this theory, the subsequent section examines historic preservation projects initiated by the fashion company Prada.

### **REDEFINING TASTE-HISTORY EXCHANGES THROUGH THE LENS OF FASHION**

By employing case study research and content analysis, this section examines the historic preservation projects initiated by Prada using the theory of vertical taste. It provides an interdisciplinary perspective to understand the nuanced taste-history exchanges in the context of consumer society.

Prada stands out as an exemplary brand because it focuses on integrating the realms of fashion and historic preservation. In recent decades, Prada has showcased its commitment to meticulously restoring and reusing various historic architecture and interiors across the globe. Notable projects like Ca' Corner della Regina (2011) in Venice, Italy, Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II (2015) in Milan, Italy, and Prada Rong Zhai (2017) in Shanghai, China, exemplify how historic preservation serves as a central mission of the brand.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the brand has published promotional materials (Figure 1) that offer valuable insight into its preservation efforts. Prada's promotional materials are valuable for preservationists, revealing the ideas that Prada seeks to convey regarding its preservation endeavors as well as its tastemaking strategies. By analyzing how Prada emphasize on vertical taste in historic preservation, this paper proposes the relationship between history and taste: 1) Historic preservation functions as a taste-making strategy; 2) Taste uncovers, and further spreads, history.



Figure 1. Prada's Promotional Booklet that Documents the Historic Preservation Efforts of Rong Zhai, Image by 2 x 4 Inc.

### Historic Preservation and Tastemaking Strategies

The case study of Prada identifies two strategies for tastemaking through historic preservation, illustrating the interaction between taste and history as follows: 1) Through engagement with historic architecture, Prada established a connection to history. This aligns with the concept of brand heritage, allowing the brand to emphasize its unique “distinction” from others that sets itself apart from its counterparts. 2) Historic architecture, which is a tangible form of art, accumulates cultural capital and showcases Prada's artistic identity. In other words, historical architecture functions as a canvas on which fashion brands like Prada project their artistic identities, which are further communicated to consumers.

### Historic Preservation and The Connection to History

For fashion brands like Prada, historic preservation functions as a strategic tool for tastemaking, showcasing the brand's connection to history. An analysis of Prada's promotional materials illustrates Prada's emphasis on connecting “the present” with “the past.”<sup>16</sup> For example, the book *Ca' Corner della Regina* by Fondazione Prada features a conversation involving Italian Art Historian Germano Celant, the head designer Miuccia Prada, and Patrizio Bertelli -- Miuccia Prada's spouse and former CEO of Prada. A recurring theme emerged from the conversation underscores the fundamental concept of *Ca' Corner della Regina*: the establishment of “a dialog between past and present.”<sup>17</sup> through its connection to the history of esteemed historic architecture such as Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II and Rong Zhai, Prada enhances its brand image as long-standing and authentic. In other

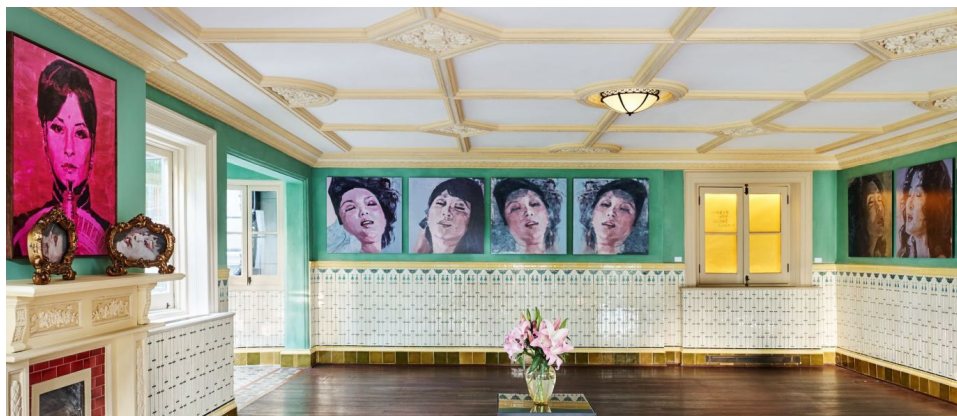


words, by connecting to history, historic preservation can be strategically employed to elevate the brand's taste and reputation.

The convergence between fashion's vertical taste and historic preservation is evident as both share a common pursuit of historical continuity. The purpose of historic preservation, as preservation scholar William Murtagh suggests, is to avoid a loss of identity, maintain a sense of continuity and improve livability.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, fashion brands emphasize their links to the past as a way of showcasing their distinct brand identity. Scholars in the field of brand management defines the brand's connection with history as brand heritage, which refers to “dimension of a brand's identity found in its track record, longevity, core values, use of symbols and particularly in the organizational belief that its history is important.”<sup>19</sup> This perspective also positions historic preservation as a facet of heritage marketing, a means to celebrating a fashion brands' connection to the past.<sup>20</sup> Within this framework, historic preservation can elevate the brand's vertical taste by setting it apart from other fashion labels that have lesser historical associations.

### Historic Preservation and the Patronage of Art

Another avenue by which historic preservation serves as a tastemaking tool is through its engagement with the patronage of art. Prada's patronage of art is initially discussed by fashion theorist Nicky Ryan, draws upon Pierre Bourdieu's ideas on social distinction. Ryan suggests that the “cultural capital” of artists “is appropriated to produce symbolic capital” for high-end fashion brand like Prada.<sup>21</sup> Figure 2 depicts the interiors of Prada Rong Zhai — that once belonged to the renowned Chinese entrepreneur Yung Tsoong-King — showcasing artworks adorning the walls as part of the “Rear Windows” exhibition.<sup>22</sup> Unlike conventional retail spaces filled with merchandise, these vacant interiors, embellished with a thoughtfully curated array of artworks, emanate a museum-like atmosphere. This museum-like interiors communicate a refined taste underscored by the elegant backdrop that the historic interiors of Rong Zhai provide.



*Figure 2. The Interiors of Prada Rong Zhai Showing the Rear Window Exhibition, 2019, courtesy of Prada.*

Another exhibition that exemplifies how Prada acquired "cultural capital" from artists and architects as a means of tastemaking through its art patronage is the inaugural exhibition held at Rong Zhai in October 2017. Architectural models, drawings, and photographs of other Prada buildings designed by celebrity architects, such as Herzog & de Meuron and Rem Koolhaas, highlight the transformation of the historic mansion into a gallery space (Figure 3). Design scholar Lucinda Kaukas Havenhand suggests in her research on museum and marketing using the example of MoMA, that museums contribute “to the development of public trust and reputation.”<sup>23</sup> Prada, in this case, acts as a museum

organization as well as a taste leader. Although not directly mentioned in Prada's promotional materials, some online comments help illustrate this point: a Chinese blogger said, "[t]his museum definitely showcased Prada's taste of art." Another Chinese social media user commented, "I cannot afford their products, ... but I respect designer Miuccia Prada."<sup>24</sup> The museum-like interiors in Rong Zhai render Prada as a professional taste-leader who cares about history and carries social responsibility. Through meticulous preservation and thoughtful repurposing of this historic mansion, Prada showcases not just its fashion products, but its elevated vertical taste, resonating with elite history, renowned architectural design, and high art.



*Figure 3. The Interiors of Prada Rong Zhai Showing the Prada's Other Architectural projects, Including the Architectural Model of Epicenter Tokyo, a Building Commissioned by Prada and Designed by Herzog & de Meuron. 2017, Image by 2 x 4 Inc., retrieved from <https://2x4.org/work/prada-rong-zhai/>.*

### **Taste Uncovers and Spreads History**

This section delves into an alternative interaction between taste and history, which differs from the contradictory relationship proposed by Longstreth. Here, taste serves as a catalyst for uncovering and disseminating history. This taste-history relationship is exemplified through an examination of Prada Rong Zhai, where Prada established taste through preserving and reusing an early 19th-century historic mansion originally owned by the Flour King, Yung Tsoong-King. Through its commitment to historic preservation, Prada unveils the rich history of the Chinese tycoon in intricate detail. Promotional materials and tours of the interiors depict the story of how each room was originally used by Yung's family as well as how the architectural elements Prada saved are connected to the tycoon's personal life.

Of particular interest is the resonance observed among younger generations of Chinese individuals, who have been captivated by the historic site primarily due to its association with Prada. This surge of interest has led to a notable increase in the number of visitors to the mansion, and at the same time, fostering excessive interactions on various Chinese social media platforms. Notably, these engagements revolve around the stories of the mansion's history — a historical narrative that remained neglected for over half a century. For those who are less familiar with the history of

Shanghai, Prada’s diligent restoration endeavors have served as a gateway, introducing them to the legendary life of the Flour King during the 1930s in Shanghai. On social media platforms, as depicted in Figure 4, numerous photographs of architectural and interior details are shared on Weibo, a Twitter-like social media platform in China, showcasing a widespread appreciation of the historic mansion.

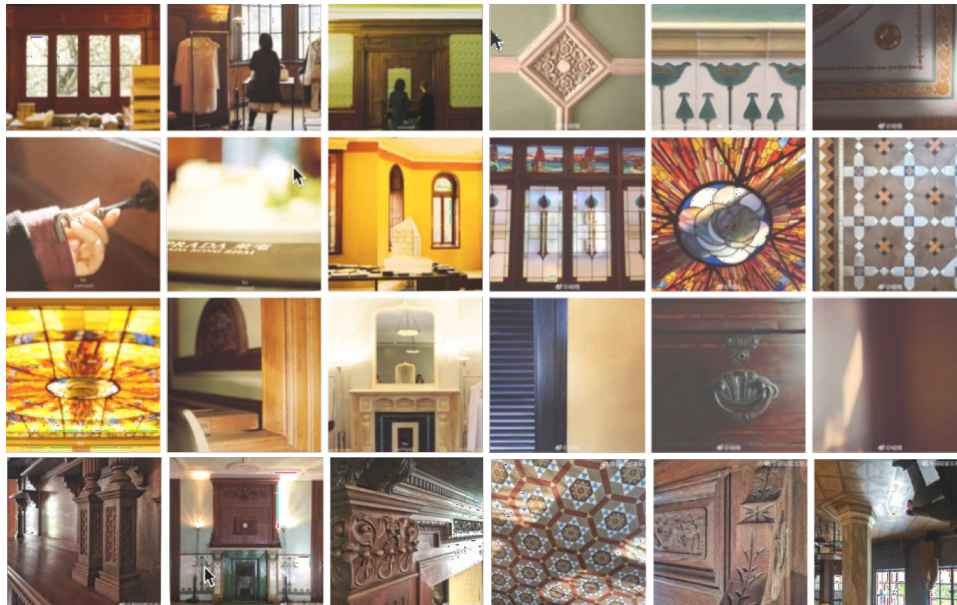
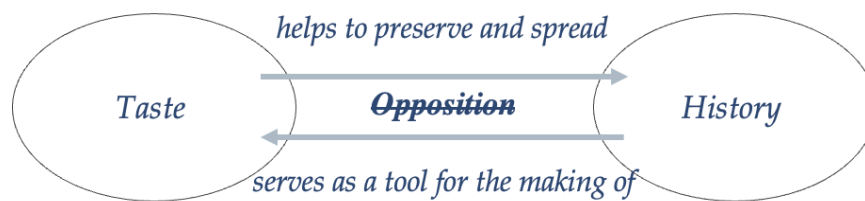


Figure 4. A Screenshot of Images Tagged “Prada Rong Zhai” Posted on Weibo, a Twitter-like Chinese Social Media, 2018, adapted by author.

In summary, the relationship between taste and history is not necessarily contradictory. Across various social media platforms, fashion influencers and consumers, who serve as taste-followers for the luxury brand Prada, depict themselves within the historic ambience of the mansion to showcase their refined taste and substantiate their appreciation for art, contributing to the widespread dissemination of the mansion’s history. In turn, Prada has leveraged the influence of fashion influencers who employ the mansion as a tool for tastemaking. Both fashion brands and the influencers establish their sense of superiority within the consumer society through their association with Rong Zhai, which aligns with McQuarrie’s theory of vertical taste.

## FINDINGS AND NEXT STEPS

An “aesthetically pleasing view of the world” and a historic place that “represent meaning, orientation, use, or beauty in the lives of a given group or culture” are not necessarily contradictory.<sup>25</sup> This research proposes a nuanced relationship between Taste and History — one characterized by complementarity rather than conflict, as shown in Figure 5. Also, this research underscores the significance of understanding the theory of taste – a theory that lies the intersection of fashion and historic preservation. Fashion companies employ historic preservation as a strategic tool for tastemaking to enhance their brand image and stimulate consumer engagement. In return, the pursuit of vertical taste by fashion brands and consumers can motivate and catalyze historic preservation activities, which enrich the field of historic preservation.



*Figure 5. Redefined Relationship Between Taste and History.*

Within the case studies, Longstreth's concern about biases persist in historic preservation projects initiated by fashion companies; fashion companies may selectively interpret history. Nonetheless, fashion's role in historic preservation acts as a bridge between the general public and professionals, commerce and art, as well as taste and history. This role has the potential to alleviate issues stemming from the top-down historic preservation approach, the issues that Longstreth identifies in his essay "Taste vs History."<sup>26</sup>

As this research project continues to evolve in the future, it aims to broaden its scope. Future endeavors will involve collecting additional information and including more historic structures that have been preserved, restored, or repurposed by Prada. Additionally, there will be an extended analysis that spans various brands involved in historic preservation. Moreover, the investigation will encompass diverse social and cultural contexts, enhancing the insights into the intricate interplay between taste, historic preservation, and fashion.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Richard Longstreth, "Taste versus History," *Historic Preservation Forum* 8, no. 3 (1994): pp. 40-45.

<sup>2</sup> McQuarrie introduces two concepts of taste: a vertical operation of taste versus a horizontal operation of taste. While horizontal taste distinguishes between "in" and "out," and "us versus them," vertical taste distinguishes between "better" and "worse," "above" and "below," and "up" versus "down. Edward F. McQuarrie, *The New Consumer Online: a Sociology of Taste, Audience, and Publics* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016), 50. Edward F. McQuarrie, Jessica Miller, and Barbara J. Phillips, "The Megaphone Effect: Taste and Audience in Fashion Blogging," *Journal of Consumer Research* 40, no. 1 (January 2013): pp. 136-158, <https://doi.org/10.1086/669042>.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Longstreth, "Taste versus History," *Historic Preservation Forum* 8, no. 3 (1994): pp. 40-45.

<sup>4</sup> Longstreth, "Taste versus History," 40.

<sup>5</sup> For example, a late nineteenth-century schoolhouse may not be revered for what it tells us about the interplay between national design tendencies and local building patterns, about rising standards in public education, about its significance as a symbol of neighborhood progress, or even its longstanding role as a community center. Instead, it might be valued primarily as one of East Clambake's "best" surviving examples of a specific "style." Longstreth, "Taste versus History," 40-45.

<sup>6</sup> Issues with judgment are common in regulatory systems and laws, extending beyond the evaluation of historical significance during the listing process for the National Register of Historic Places. These judgments, or Longstreth's notion of taste, are guided by a framework of regulations. For instance, criteria such as age distinctions—more than 50 years old versus less than 50 years old, differentiations between historic and non-historic architecture, listings versus non-listings, and the approval or rejection of rehabilitation tax credits represent a dichotomous classification system of "all" or "nothing." This top-down approach often struggles to capture the nuanced aspects of everyday social life, which is at the heart of Longstreth's concerns about taste. In the current preservation regulations in the United States, the "50-year rule" stipulates that properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are generally ineligible for the National Register, except for instances of "exceptional importance." This rule has faced challenges from contemporary preservation scholars like Elaine Stiles. For more details, see: Elaine Stiles, "50 Years Reconsidered," *Forum Journal & Forum Focus* 24, no. 4 (2010).

<sup>7</sup> It is evident when examining Longstreth's other articles on historic preservation, wherein he introduces how regulations and laws related to historic preservation heavily rely on a top-down approach. For example, see: Richard Longstreth, "Architectural History and the Practice of Historic Preservation in the United States," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (1999): pp. 326-333, <https://doi.org/10.2307/991525>. See also: Richard W. Longstreth, *Looking beyond the Icons: Midcentury Architecture, Landscape, and Urbanism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016).

<sup>8</sup> Ian Woodward, "Objects and Distinction. The Aesthetic Field and Expressive Materiality," in *Understanding Material Culture* (London: SAGE, 2007), pp. 113-131.

<sup>9</sup> Woodward, "Objects and Distinction," 117.

<sup>10</sup> Bourdieu suggests that taste is an inevitable and universal practice that applies to all social classes, and he emphasizes that aesthetic judgment cannot be separated from social relations. He delves into the analysis of different consumption patterns across various social classes, contrasting the bourgeois' inclination towards artistic consumption with the working class's focus on functional necessity. Moreover, he asserts that tastes are cultivated within the mechanism of habitus and function as resources for accumulating social and cultural capital, which is then employed for distinguishing between social classes. Cultural capital encompasses an individual's social assets, including education, intellect, clothing style, speech, and demeanor. Bourdieu places particular significance on the taste of the ruling class. McQuarrie, Miller, and Phillips, "The Megaphone Effect," 154. Pierre Bourdieu, "Introduction," in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 1-7.

<sup>11</sup> Bourdieu, "Introduction," 6. For Kant's "pure taste model" and Bourdieu's "class taste model," see: Woodward, Objects and Distinction," 119.

<sup>12</sup> McQuarrie, *The New Consumer Online*, 50. See also: McQuarrie, Miller, and Phillips, "The Megaphone Effect," 136-158.

<sup>13</sup> McQuarrie, *The New Consumer Online*, 50.

<sup>14</sup> McQuarrie, Miller, and Phillips, "The Megaphone Effect," 146.

<sup>15</sup> Prada Rong Zhai and other preservation efforts are supported by Fondazione Prada, a cultural and art institution founded by Miuccia Prada and Patrizio Bertelli. See: Chunyao Liu and Erin Cunningham, "Capturing

the Haipai Spirit: Garden Villa Interiors and the Preservation of Prada Rong Zhai,” *Journal of Interior Design* 48, no. 2 (2023): 139–53, <https://doi.org/10.1177/10717641231155084>.

<sup>16</sup> Promotional materials for analysis include *Prada, ca' Corner Della Regina*, and *Prada Rong Zhai*. See: Prada. (2017). *Prada Rong Zhai*. Unpublished. See also: Germano Celant, *ca' Corner Della Regina* (Milan: Progetto Prada Arte, 2011).

<sup>17</sup> Celant, *ca' Corner Della Regina*, 25.

<sup>18</sup> William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, 2010).

<sup>19</sup> Mats Urde, Stephen A Greyser, and John M T Balmer, “Corporate Brands with a Heritage,” *Journal of Brand Management* 15, no. 1 (2007): pp. 4-19, <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.bm.2550106>, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Andrea Boccardi et al., “The Role of Heritage and Authenticity in the Value Creation of Fashion Brand,” *International Business Research* 9, no. 7 (December 2016): p. 135, <https://doi.org/10.5539/ibr.v9n7p135>.

<sup>21</sup> Nicky Ryan, “Prada and the Art of Patronage,” *Fashion Theory* 11, no. 1 (2007): pp. 7-24, <https://doi.org/10.2752/136270407779934588>, 7.

<sup>22</sup> Fiammetta Cesana, “Li Qing Presents His Site-Specific Exhibition At Prada Rong Zhai, Shanghai, Creating A Cinematographic Atmosphere Where the Ghosts of the Past Meet Those of Present Day,” collectible DRY magazine, November 22, 2019, <https://collectibledry.com/art-design/rear-windows-by-li-qing-prada-rong-zhai-shanghai/>

<sup>23</sup> Lucinda Kaukas Havenhand, “Principles, Not Effects’: Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., MoMA and the Legitimization of Interior Design,” in *Shaping the American Interior Structures, Contexts and Practices*, ed. Paula Lupkin and Penny Sparke (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), pp. 143-155.

<sup>24</sup> The quotes are from wearchive of Weibo, a social media platform in China. The quotes were originally written in Chinese and translated by author.

<sup>25</sup> Influenced by Richard Longstreth, historic preservation scholar Rice Patty Jo Smith states, “Architectural history tends to provide an aesthetically pleasing view of the world, one that is limited politically...Places worthy of preservation should represent meaning, orientation, use, or beauty in the lives of a given group or culture.” See Patty Jo Smith. Rice, “Systemizing the Search for Significance: a Point-Based System for Evaluating Eligibility on the National Register of Historic Places” (dissertation, 1996), 89.

<sup>26</sup> Longstreth, “Taste versus History,” 40-45.

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# MEMORY LOSS OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE CORE OF ISTANBUL: SPATIAL TRACES OF PHYSICAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE HISTORICAL QUARTER OF FENER-BALAT

Author:

**ALISIA TOGNON, EKIN OLCAY**

Affiliation:

POLITECNICO DI MILANO, ITALY

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## INTRODUCTION

The historical center of Istanbul reflects its origin established by several ethnically diverse neighborhoods whose culture is still traceable into the urban fabrics and architectural artifacts of great social and traditional wealth. Today, many situations demonstrate alienation, neglect, abandonment, marginalization, and memory loss after the replacement of various social groups.

The papers' context focuses on the district of Fener-Balat, which is famous for its peculiar typology of architecture which became the UNESCO Heritage site in 1985.<sup>1</sup> Today, the district risks losing its identity due to the migration of low-income/low-education populations from rural areas. The neighborhood's character has shifted drastically from a place where the residents were primarily Armenian, Greek, and Jewish into a low-qualified residential settlement in just a few short years. As a result of decay, gentrification, and unmanaged transformations, Balat's multicultural architecture is at high risk of vanishing.

Nowadays, understanding the traces of memory loss and investigating the possible ways of regenerating the district is the goal, starting from the changed identity of the community as a pioneer and expanding in the architectural scale of transformation. The relationships between memory, history, and identity have profoundly marked architectural thought over time. Declining them in the sphere of architectural heritage into a design strategy and methodology inevitably involves an investigation that cannot be exhaustive and makes partial choices within the theoretical constellations that can be covered.

## ISTANBUL AS A MEGALOPOLIS BETWEEN PAST TRACES AND FUTURE TRANSFORMATIONS

The city of Istanbul has always been one of the most crucial cities in history. Geographically, the city serves as a physical bridge between Europe and Asia, and this junction is manifested in the structure of the city itself and a crossroads where different ethnic groups have settled there, which has always made it a multicultural city and a unique city with lands in two continents. Figure 1.





Figure 1. Location of Fener-Balat comparing with Istanbul by Ekin Olcay

Even though the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923, just a century ago, Istanbul has manifested its centrality since the early periods of the Roman Empire and, over the years, has been incorporated into its physical body by the succession of dominations. This series of events gives a unique character and distinctive sense of place, omnipresent in every urban fabric fold.

Throughout history, including other civilizations and empires as well as the modern state of the Republic, it has been the largest city and the principal center for finance, culture, history, and a crossroad of settlement for different groups of ethnicities. It is considered one of the oldest cities in the world and has always been the capital of the empires throughout history.<sup>2</sup>

The current residents, Turks, have always lived on these lands along with many other ethnic groups for almost 1000 years.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, Turkey is one of the world's first permanent settlement spots, is and always has been home to different ethnicities and inhabited by ancient civilizations such as the Hattians, Hittites, Anatolian society, Greeks, Assyrians, Persians, and many others.<sup>4</sup> Figure 2. By the end of the 18th century, the biggest power regime-Ottoman Empire, started to decline with the gradual loss of the lands and caused the starting point of the departure of some cultural groups.<sup>5</sup>

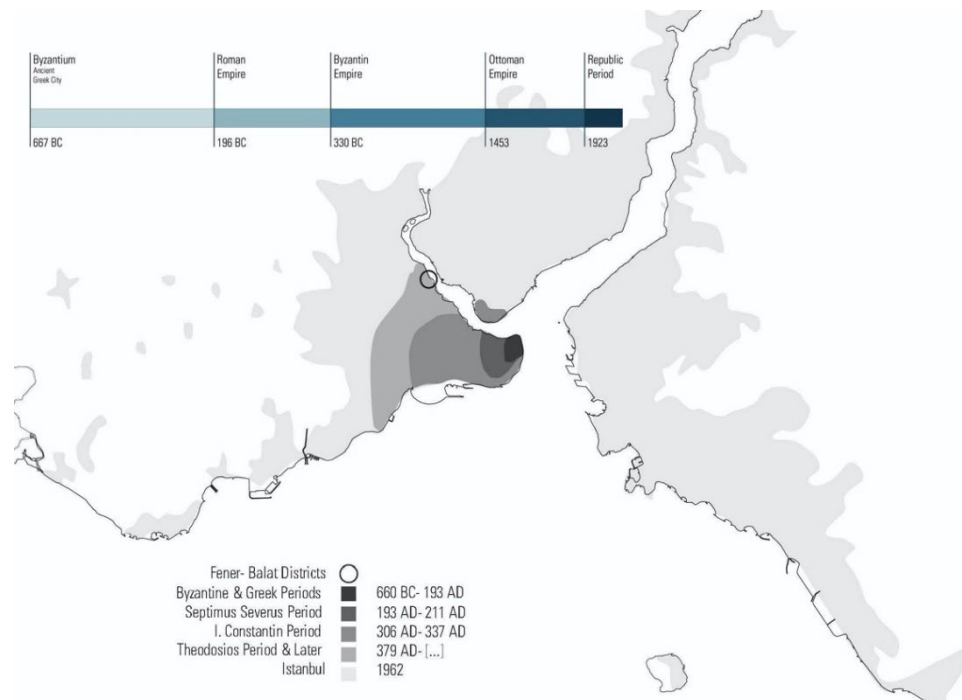


Figure 2. Historical Development by Ekin Olcay

The Republic of Turkey has a population of about 85 million, with Istanbul already having more than 16 million by the end of 2022, making it the most crowded city in Turkey and Europe.<sup>6</sup> However, we must consider a large part of the non-official population, which enlarge the city to more than 20 million.<sup>7</sup> This data represents 1/4 of the total number of inhabitants in the country. Moreover, we should highlight that the city experienced remarkably rapid growth during the second half of the 20th century, with its population increasing tenfold between 1950 and 2000. Since the beginning of the Republic era, there has never been a decrease in population besides 1927.<sup>8</sup> One of the most relevant data is that the city's annual population growth of 1.5 percent ranks among the seventy-eight largest metropolises in the world.<sup>9</sup> As a result, identifying the current city boundaries is no longer possible. In addition to the construction of the new airport, the city has grown all the way to the Black Sea.<sup>10</sup> As well as how unpredictable and irrational the expansion is, it severely affects the historical center even more than is necessary.

Although the issue of the relationship between historical centers and new growth is complicated, it becomes particularly challenging in those countries where the race for globalized development is particularly pressing but not supported by foresightful political guidelines. Many developed countries have taken significant advances towards creating new human-centered and environmentally conscious urban plans while protecting tangible and intangible assets of ancient metropolises. However, in today's poorly managed metropolis like Istanbul, this issue manifests itself in various ways, ranging from physical composition to daily living. The reality is, it severely affects the historical center even more than is necessary.

Growth is uncontrolled and irregular, which raises an urgent question: how to control the loss of the cultural identity and collective memory of historical places against inhomogeneous urbanization and urban sprawl.

### **A MULTICULTURAL CITY: THE ROOTS OF FENER-BALAT DISTRICT**

As a peculiarity of Istanbul, it is located on two lands, has trade roots, and is geographically located at an essential transitional point. The city was a congested area with a mixture of ethnicities, and it has always been a home for numerous ethnicities throughout the time.<sup>11</sup> Figure3. It contributes to the vibrancy, interest, and uniqueness of Istanbul. As a result, these newcomers faced a dilemma where they had two options to choose from. Firstly, either they had to establish a cluster of their own within a city to have their own familiar area to live in, or they had to abandon their roots, adapt completely, and become localized. Fener-Balat was selected as one of those points due to the primary events that occurred in the place.

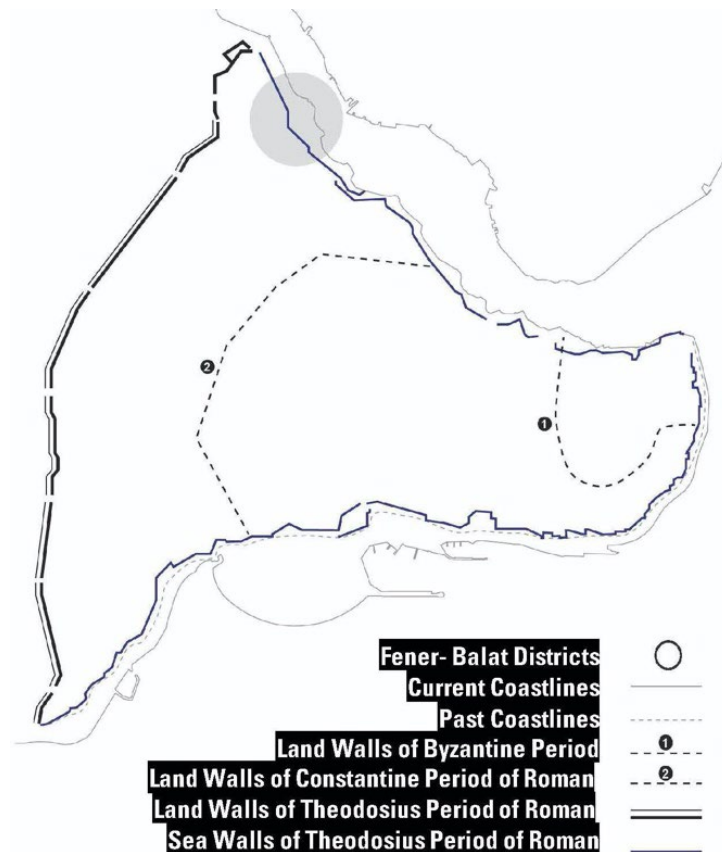


Figure 3. Historical Boarder- Development of Historical Peninsula by Ekin Olcay

Balat has been known for its ethnic composition and various ethnic groups for decades. During the Byzantine period, the Palace of Blachernae was the center of the empire, 16 which was probably named “Balat” during the Ottoman Empire.<sup>12</sup>

Within the urban fabric of Balat, cultural traces of the passage of rulers are still present. During the reign of Justinian, a new church dedicated to the Virgin Mary was constructed outside the city walls in the neighborhood of Blachernae.<sup>13</sup> The valley between Karagümruk and Balat became a holy place where monasteries were collected in the 13th Century.<sup>14</sup> There are other synagogues erected by Byzantine Jews during this period of time. According to a restoration order in 1694, the Ahrida, Yonbol, Cana, and Veria Synagogues existed.<sup>15</sup> These were obvious signs of new residents from diverse backgrounds who moved into the neighborhood over some time, creating a sense of community.

The Jewish community’s importance also has given Balat a unique character. During the reign of Ottoman ruler Sultan Fatih, there were 17 Jewish neighborhoods in Istanbul: Hasköy, Galata, Bahçekapı, and Balat are among the four largest neighborhoods in the former city core, although there were in additionally Armenians, Greeks, and Ladinos.<sup>16</sup> Figure 4. The Jewish communities were created under Sultan Fatih’s reign (1451 – 1481),<sup>17</sup> and the original settlers were primarily from the Macedonian city of Castoria.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, a Jewish party was abducted from Thessaloniki. Many Jews were relocated to Balat from the Bulgarian towns of Yanbol, Veria, and Istip in Macedonia.<sup>19</sup>

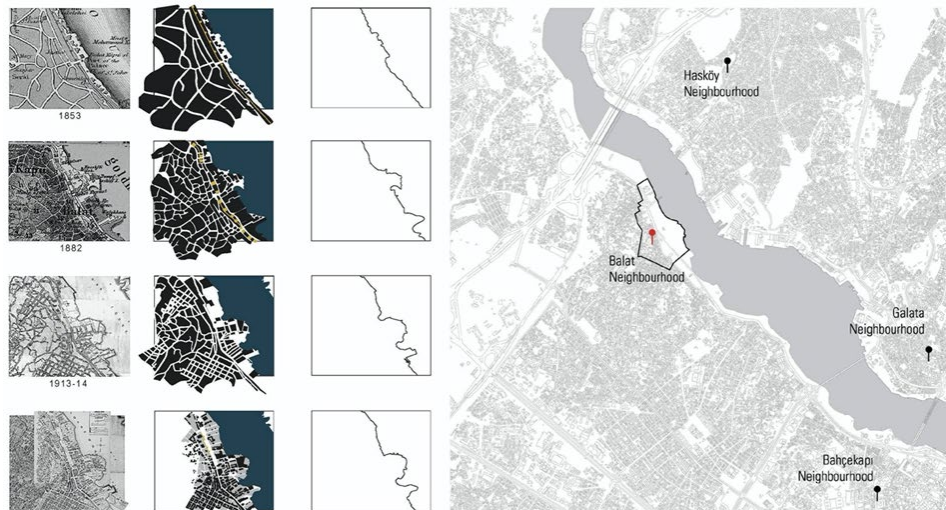


Figure 4. Urban-Fabric Development of Fener Balat and other nearby ethnically diverse neighbourhoods by Ekin Olcay

The Jews started fleeing during the 15th century for the brutal persecution in Spain.<sup>20</sup> They were welcomed by the monarch of the time, Sultan Beyazıt (1481 – 1512), and the majority of them settled in Balat with their religious companions, with help from others who became the neighborhood's local residents.<sup>21</sup> Following the Ayazmakapı fire in 1660, Jews in other Istanbul areas were recommended to migrate to Balat.<sup>22</sup> With the assistance of other Jewish institutions, a successful Jewish community was established beginning in the 17th century.<sup>23</sup>

#### DETERIORATION OF CONDITION DISTRICT

Although the neighborhood of Balat has been recognized for its concentration of Jewish community since the 14th century, it features a mosaic of ethnic communities who have visited the region since the Byzantine period.<sup>24</sup> Balat was home to Armenians, Muslims, and Jews. It was known that there were also Armenians in Balat, but they did not form a distinct neighborhood as Jews did.<sup>25</sup>

Following up, In the 19th century, Balat was known as a humid and poor town with dark features and narrow streets. However, after World War I, the Jewish population began to trade business, and the overall economic situation in the district was slightly improved. After 1925, with considerably more money and development, the wealthier inhabitants moved to Istanbul's more respectable Jewish communities, while some of the poorest people were sent away to the Galata district.<sup>26</sup>

The atmosphere began deteriorating in the late Ottoman Empire when minorities demanded independence.<sup>27</sup> Following political and social challenges later in the republican period, many of that period's local inhabitants immigrated outside the nation or to other rapidly growing regions of Istanbul.<sup>28</sup> With the fast industrialization that began in the 1950s and accelerated in the 1980s, Balat became a magnet for a large number of migrants who arrived from mainly the Northern or Eastern corners of Anatolia to Istanbul.<sup>29</sup>

Anatolian migrants, Balat's new residents, were primarily middle- and low-income laborers and their families. They lacked the commitment and financial resources to preserve the environment. When refugee families joined the migrant population of Balat in the 2000s, the region became a social deprivation zone and gained importance on Istanbul's urban agenda.<sup>30</sup>

### **First key readings**

What is interesting to note, and what has emerged from interviews with residents during the survey time in the Balat district <sup>31</sup> is that the Jewish community, as well as Armenians, Greeks, and Turks, co-existed in this neighborhood, but the economic and commercial advantages of the ethnic mosaic were not mixed. According to the interviews, the Jews were mainly involved in business, while the Greeks ran cafés, bars, and other similar establishments. Furthermore, ethnic identity was evidently represented in the neighborhood's daily life and is still reflected in the physical fabric, dotted with several churches, synagogues, and mosques, which provide a rich heritage.

From an analysis of the neighborhood, it is also interesting to note how educational institutions, residential areas, and religious structures became established as each ethnic group set their own prestige frameworks, which stand out in the physical fabric. Nonetheless, the only Balat Bazaar was a meeting place for all social groups, including the various professional groups.

The neighborhood reflected in its buildings the peculiarities of the various ethnic groups, who thus did not live in separate enclaves. They were in constant contact with each other and had social and cultural interactions, often supporting each other in their daily lives and on occasions important to their beliefs.

### **AFTERMATH STATUS**

In the 2000s, Istanbul's urban space was at a turning point. Urban governments became the dominant players in the building and real estate sectors.<sup>32</sup> They attempt to change the property regime by privatizing valuable public land, interfering with slum areas and residential neighborhoods within the historical center under the name of urban transformation. The sites with the most considerable profit margins appear to be historical centers, deterioration zones in city centers, and slum regions in the process of physical, social, and cultural commercialization and privatization of urban space. This condition has significant consequences for the spatial production dynamics of Balat, making it a prime target for urban transformation initiatives.

The district is part of the Fatih sub-municipality. It is in Haliç (in English known as Golden Horn), commonly called the famous Historical Peninsula of Istanbul, a crucial location in the city's center. Moreover, the interest in the Fener-Balat area grew significantly in recent years. Because of its location and distinctive architecture, it has served as a popular real-life location for films and television series.<sup>33</sup> Throughout the years, very popular television shows were filmed with a massive number of cast crew and filming equipment, and it has now become a new-hip/popular area as a result of gentrification caused by the opening of high-end/posh restaurants and bars and a new interest of residences along its main street by famous actors.<sup>34</sup>

### **Second key readings**

As we have already highlighted, the research area has several monumental structures built over time and by different social groups. The excess of different ethnic identities was represented in the neighborhood's everyday life and its creation of physical tissue. The district has a rich legacy with its various churches, synagogues, and mosques. Furthermore, each ethnic group establishes prestige structures that still stand out in the physical texture. In particular, the survey focuses on the historical quarter border, which differs from the administrative quarter one.<sup>35</sup> The research on the historic quarter is not only culturally significant but also one of Istanbul's oldest historic residential neighborhoods. Our observation shows that the lively and multicultural social life of old Balat and the authentic architecture are at risk of loss. Most of the buildings still in use are for residential and commercial purposes. While relatively very few buildings for cultural activities are still in use in the district.

Our observation shows that the lively and multicultural social life of old Balat and the authentic architecture are at risk of loss. Most of the buildings still in use are for residential and commercial purposes. While relatively very few buildings for cultural activities are still in use in the district. The survey mapping of the area also reveals a highly alarming fact: the density of the voids within the urban fabric, a symptom of entire buildings collapsing and the porosity of the neighborhood as a result. Figure 5. Today, due to the increasing number of empty spaces, the risk for the district is either physical and social decay or uncontrolled or poorly managed urban transformation and gentrification.

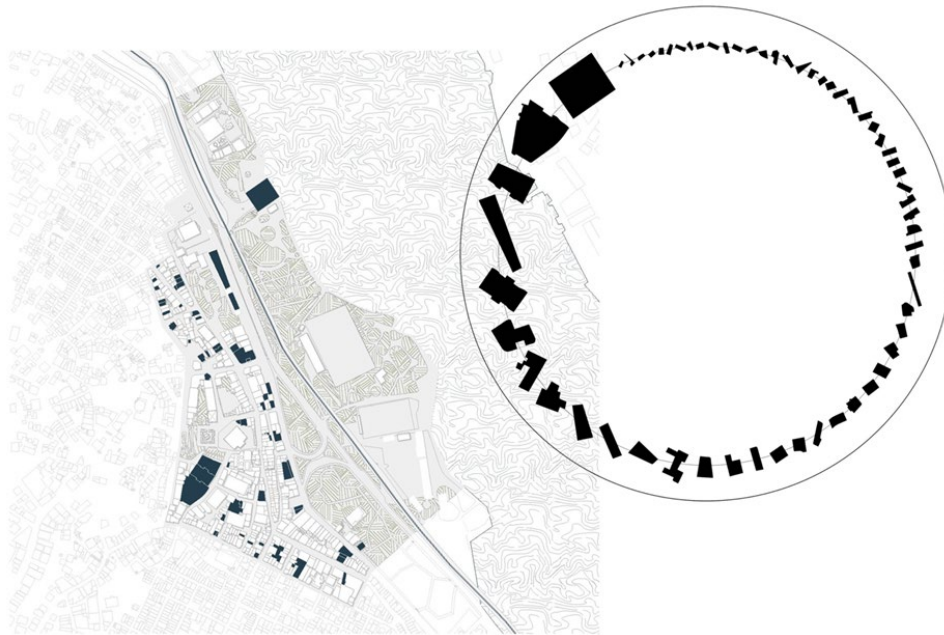


Figure 5. Mapped voids in the Balat district during on-site survey by Ekin Olcay

Today, due to the growing number of empty spaces, the risk for the neighborhood is physical and social degradation or urban transformation and uncontrolled or poorly managed gentrification. Furthermore, most of the traditional architecture made of wooden structures and mansories, which were the distinctive features of the neighborhood, have almost disappeared due to neglect and urban planning modifications. The few remaining are seriously damaged. Figure 6. Furthermore, the high costs for their restoration have, over time, led to their gradual replacement with 4-5-story concrete buildings, which are at odds with the context of the neighborhood not only on a structural level but also in stylistic language and landscape.



Figure 6. Photos taken during on-site survey by Ekin Olcay 2020

However, in general, a state of decay in the neighborhood remains. The buildings are not in optimal condition, both structurally and sanitary. Most inhabitants live in relatively recent structures built with poor architectural and building quality. According to the on-site survey, more than 85% of the examined area is in medium or severe condition, which would undoubtedly require immediate intervention. The general physical degradation of urban spaces is the result of empty lots, abandoned buildings, demolished spaces, and improper and informal use of places (car park spaces in urban voids, unused areas to dry clothes, collection of various kinds of waste).

Despite this, the Municipality continues to neglect the district, and the community does not have the necessary resources to preserve the environment and its historical value and identity as a community. On the contrary, the risk of gentrification is driving to reverse the trend.

## **CONCLUSION**

As can be seen from the analyses during the historical research and in the site surveys carried out, the actors and places along major historical events have changed over time. Within cities in general and in a district like Balat, the changing interrelationship between society and the environment impacts identity itself and its conservation.

What has been evident in Balat is how significant changes in the population who have lived/lived here impacted the built environment and urban spaces. Proof of this are the ancient remains of buildings that testify to the myriad of cultures condensed here or the current abandonments.

The focus has focused on how the social and economic changes and urban dynamics of the last 20th century have greatly influenced the area, affecting the tangible and intangible values of Balat. Indeed, what has been lost as a material fact is no longer recovered.

However, as a future perspective, we stress a possible hierarchical and temporal intervention model in the area. On the one hand, it is necessary to work primarily with a bottom-up reconstruction of the inhabitants' sense of place and to rebuild the link with identity. Already in other cities (even in challenging contexts, such as India), we have tried to engage the population by pushing them to find solutions and visions from the bottom up, even starting with small things (a bench, a community garden,...)

Secondly, it is possible to work on abandoned spaces in the urban fabric in a symbolic stitching-up action. Indeed, empty lots, abandoned buildings, or misused spaces are considered lost community pieces. However, these spaces of “absence” will likely generate new contemporary meanings. The challenge is then to identify missing social functions. However, it is also to set up low-impact or reversible projects and seek material and technical solutions or architectural languages that fit the intrinsic meaning of the place.

An important goal is to start providing healthier public spaces and social rehabilitation of the area for the local community. In this way, meaningful actions should be created to facilitate the regeneration of Balat as a whole by joining an active citizenship and social project.

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# DIFFERENT KINDS OF NOSTALGIA AND THEIR PRODUCTS: THE CASE OF THE DIVIDED CITY OF NICOSIA

Author:

**CHRISTAKIS CHATZICHRISTOU, KYRIAKOS MILTIADOUS**

Affiliation:

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE, UNIVERSITY OF CYPRUS, CYPRUS

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## INTRODUCTION

Nostalgia and heritage are concepts related by complex interactions and intersections at multiple scales, aspects, and levels of operation. Their common origin can be traced back to the basic need of human beings to develop emotional bonds with physical objects, places, sites and cultural traces that connect them with the past. On the one hand, heritage is a field that traditionally focuses on both tangible and intangible properties of the past which are considered as important for the formation of collective identity and for the construction of a sense of belonging to a culture. Nostalgia on the other hand, is defined as an emotional longing for a place and time that no longer exists or has never existed.<sup>1</sup> But while nostalgia enters the field of heritage in several ways, the two practices have been seen as mutually exclusive for a long period of time.

Until recently, any reference of nostalgia as an important element in the field of heritage, was seen as irrelevant if not a dangerous task. Nostalgia is repeatedly accused for facilitating reactionary heritage politics, historical manipulation, political conservatism and social decline.<sup>2</sup> However, within the last two decades a more sophisticated interest around the theme of nostalgia can be traced in the field of heritage. Several debates indicate the need to reconsider the values and meanings of nostalgia in the area of heritage. Nathan Steinmetz for example, argues that ‘heritage industry feeds on nostalgia’<sup>3</sup>; Giovanni Galli claims that heritage practices are ‘nothing more than institutionalizations of nostalgia’.<sup>4</sup> In such discussions, nostalgia is not only defined as intrinsically passive in nature but rather it can be mobilized as a creative mechanism through which ‘unforeseen pasts and future anteriors’ ‘can still transform our present’.<sup>5</sup>

The persistent and complex nature of nostalgia in the field of heritage, is unpacked explicitly and in detail through an in-depth engagement with the term. Titled ‘Nostalgia and heritage: potentials, mobilisations and effects’, the special issue of the International Journal of Heritage Studies, published in 2017, is devoted in a systematic exploration of the interconnection between nostalgia and heritage. In some other occasions, nostalgia enters the heritage discourse in a rather indirect way, as a means of challenging traditional approaches to heritage. In this direction, nostalgia can be found in critical debates that lie somewhere between, memory, emotion and materiality. These provocative discussions put into doubt existing ontological approaches by paying attention on the affective dimensions of physical objects as well as the impact they can potentially have on contemporary issues of political, social, or cultural concern.

The role of both nostalgia and heritage becomes even more crucial in the context of contested landscapes marked by loss and sudden change. As a city with a turbulent history, Nicosia falls under the category of contested landscapes where both nostalgia and heritage hold a key position. Here, a long period with various socio-political disputes between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot community, resulted in the violent establishment of a de facto boundary namely Green Line and the total separation of the two communities, following the Turkish invasion in 1974.



*Figure 29. The walled city of Nicosia*

In Nicosia, the role of heritage, can be a productive as well as a counter-productive one. On the one hand, it is frequently seen as a friction point between the opposing actors involved in the socio-political conflict. On the other hand, heritage is promoted to encourage intercommunal dialogue by providing the foundations for pursuing conflict transformation. But what are the theoretical and practical insights when nostalgia and heritage are studied simultaneously in the divided city of Nicosia? How is nostalgia incorporated in the design of memorials and artworks dealing with the division of Nicosia? How does this incorporation contribute to the formation of new cultural meanings concerning the past, the present and the potential future of the city?

This paper looks at how memorials and artworks dealing with the division in Nicosia, might interact with practices related to nostalgia. For the purposes of this work, we focus on the Greek-Cypriot segment within and around the old city of Nicosia. By interrogating the structure, formal characteristics, materiality and goals of these projects we aim at unravelling the diverse forms that nostalgia can take in heritage practices dealing with the past and envisioning alternative futures for the city. The analysis is carried out with onsite observations. The collected data are then discussed in relation to the theoretical framework of nostalgia as it is developed across the fields of memory studies, anthropology and social sciences. Our aim is to illustrate nostalgia as a multifaceted practice with a direct impact on wider issues of spatial, political and social dimension.

## **INSCRIPTIONS OF NOSTALGIA IN MONUMENTS AND ARTWORKS IN THE DIVIDED CITY OF NICOSIA**

### **The Liberty Monument**

During the mid-1970s, a period very close to the 1974 partition, the Greek Cypriot state promoted a central strategy: a campagne through which Greek Cypriots were encouraged to remember their lost homeland, by maintaining the past as it was before the partition, in its supposedly beautiful image. Consequently, nostalgia has been strategically applied as a powerful political weapon in promoting partial aspects of the past while camouflaging others. Such selective versions of the past, used to underline the ancient Hellenic past of the country and its two interconnected sub-categories: Christianity and antiquity. Particular attention was given in the commemoration of heroic victories and struggles of the Greek Cypriots for the union with motherland Greece. To a great extent the dominant strategy affected the cultural policy with direct impact on art centers and cultural institutions. Situated in key positions in Nicosia, official memorials and artworks embody in their structure a common, yet fundamental principle: a longing for an ‘imagined community’ of pure origins.

The Liberty Monument that is located along the Venetian walls within the old city, is perhaps the most characteristic example that falls under this category. Through figurative means, the composition features seventeen bronze figures, representative members of the Greek Cypriot society. The figures are captured in motion, as they leave a dungeon, facing the light after a long period of time in the darkness. At the top of this symmetrical composition stands an emblematic female figure, symbolizing Liberty.

The monument was created in 1973, by the Greek artist Ioannis Notaras, to honor the Greek-Cypriot fighters of the struggle against the British colonial rule. One year later, the Turkish invasion, inevitably led to an expansion of the initial purpose. The notion of freedom is not merely mentioned to celebrate the glorious past of the state but it is reshaped into a future aspiration ‘when [this land] is resurrected from the tomb of Cypriot slavery’.<sup>6</sup>

Through its post-1974 presence the monument expresses two different longings: first, it celebrates a glorious past of the country through the commemoration of the heroic sacrifice for the sake of union with the motherland Greece; second, it expresses a yearning for a future when the island is freed from the Turkish occupation. In both cases, nostalgia is manifested, as a longing for total return to an ideal homeland. Timeless materials such as bronze and marble, are used to stress the acknowledgment of a past that only exists as a perfect image strongly resisting to the patina of time. Notions of truth, tradition and monumentality, are essential concepts of the Liberty Monument and powerful tropes of the nostalgic imagination.



Figure 30. The Liberty Monument.

### The Cyprus Singing Tree of Peace

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, remarkable changes are observed in the official policy of the Greek Cypriot state. Several heritage practices go beyond the established negative perceptions, by carving alternative trajectories to the oppressive official narratives. This tendency had been further facilitated due to the opening of the first checkpoints along the Green Line, allowing people from both communities to cross to the other side and meet after a long period of time. Contrary to the longstanding strategy focusing on monolithic representations underling the ‘Greekness’ of the city, there is now an attempt to ignore the disputed past by turning the gaze towards a hopeful common future for the two communities. The artworks that support this dominant narrative are the result of bi-communal practices and participatory approaches. One such example is an artwork titled ‘The Cyprus singing tree’. It has been created by eight Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot artists with the support of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force (UN). It is installed in the facade of the ruined Ledra Palace Hotel, within the buffer zone in Nicosia. The composition is characterized by vivid colors, intense brightness and elements from the common culture of the two communities. It features a central tree with colorful flowers and fruits. Around the tree one can distinguish indicative living organisms from the flora and fauna of the island, architectural elements from the common tradition and also embraced children looking ahead. Such reflections on positive events aim to undermine the painful and troubled past of the two communities. Nostalgia is not expressed as a past-oriented emotion. The utopian dimension is directed towards a united future free from the disputed past. Here, the central notions are neutrality, forgiveness and the erasure of certain aspects of the past that might make people feel uncomfortable.



Figure 31. The Cyprus Singing Tree of Peace.

### The Human Rights Monument

At the end of Ledra Street, one of the most popular commercial streets of Nicosia, very close to the Greek Cypriot checkpoint that connects the south with the north part of the city, there is an artwork titled The Human Rights Monument. The sculpture is a donation of the Ministry of Education and Culture to the city of Nicosia on the occasion of the European cultural month, which took place in the year 1995. It presents a concrete cylindrical base which symbolizes the bank where collective decisions are taken. Upon the cylindrical surface, several articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are inscribed in a non-linear fashion. In the centre of the concrete base lies a stack of metal lances, which appear to destroy the text.

Although there is no direct reference to the past, the focus on the violation of human rights through the emphasis on universal values, that does not only refer to the Greek Cypriot community but includes all the inhabitants of the city, creates the foundations for imagining a common democratic future of the city. Nostalgia is used to trigger optimism, inspiration and social justice.<sup>7</sup> It is available for ‘inspiring thinking and imagining that is oriented to the future’.<sup>8</sup>



Figure 32. The Human Rights Monument.



### **Ipervasi (Transcended)**

Today, almost fifty years since the physical partition, a radically new setup is identified that put into doubt the binary models of nostalgia mechanisms. The digital revolution with new media allowing expanded forms of communication, contributed to the formation of a new spaces of rupture nurturing more complex understandings regarding the way we approach the past and we deal with the present, leading to the construction of alternative visions for the future of the city. Artistic practice is used as an active medium to ‘construct an alternative reality through the deformation and reformation of the standing situation’.<sup>9</sup>

A permanent artistic installation, titled ‘Ipervasi’ situated on the exterior space of NiMac may perhaps provide an instructive example of artworks falling under this new tendency. Designed and created by the artists Konstantinos Kalispera, and Nikos Kourousi in 2012, this artwork is attached to the south facade of the existing building, at a height of six meters above the level of the street. The installation consists of a mobile telecommunications container of the UN in Cyprus, which was abandoned for a long period near the buffer zone in Nicosia. The object has been preserved in its ruined condition with no attempt to eliminate the signs of decay. On the lower part of its surface which is made of a reflective material one can find in linear sequence, engraved numbers symbolizing the resolutions of the UN Security Council for Cyprus. Due to the reflection, the numbers are projected at the pedestrian level, suggesting an interactive relationship with the passer-by. According to the artists, ‘the existing object has recorded the history of the city, and therefore our aim was to turn it into a living work of art’.<sup>10</sup>

As a physical remnant of the past, the object is brought back to the present to convey a series of socio-political understandings and an interpretive framework for looking at the past through physical objects. Nostalgia acts as a negotiation between the past and the perceived present: it develops correlations and re-evaluation of specific aspects between the two. It acts as a reflective longing that allows a transference of elements from one reference system to another. Therefore, this type of nostalgia could be discussed as what Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky define phenomenal transparency.<sup>11</sup>

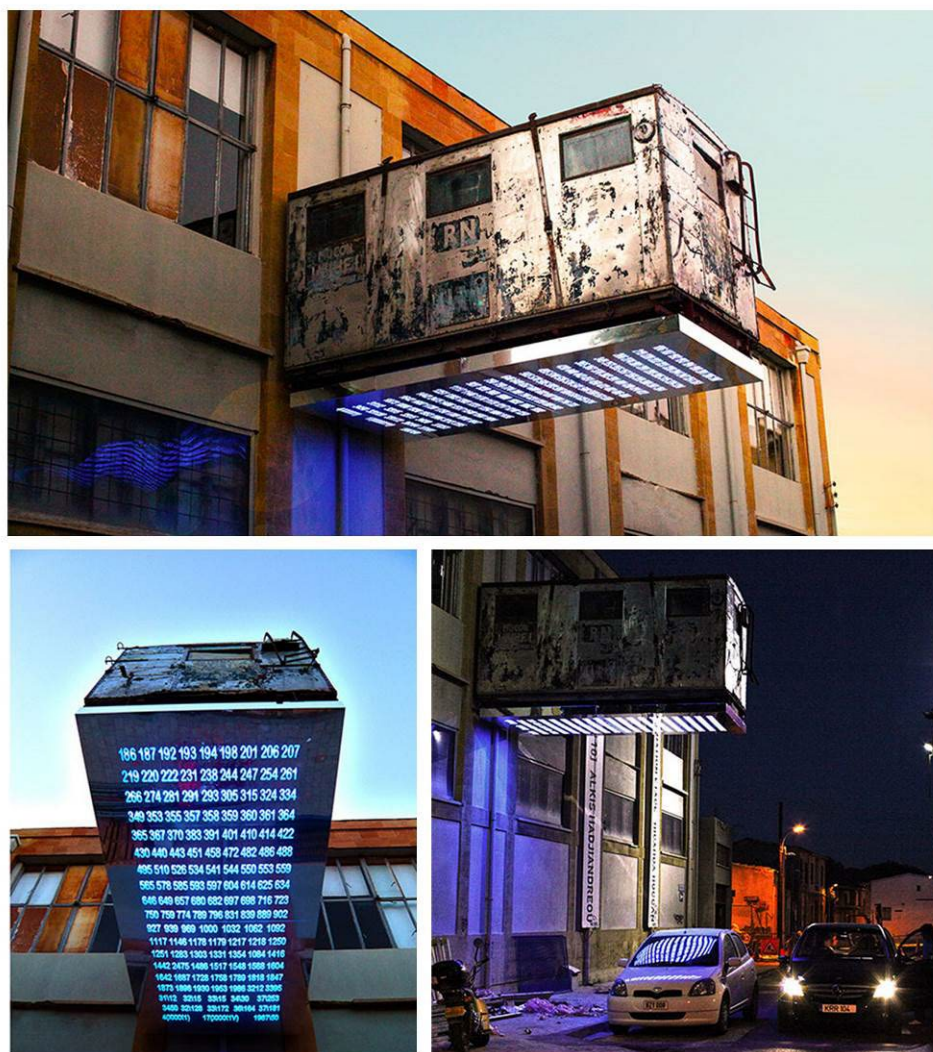


Figure 33. *Ipervasi (Transcended)*.

### Record, Replay, React Show - Re-sculpting Freedom

In some other cases, artistic practice is used to propose re-readings of hegemonic narratives through the reproduction of existing monuments. This is the case of a performative act named ‘Record, Replay, React Show – Re-sculpting Freedom’, by the artist Lia Haraki. Presented at the NiMac in 2014 this act is a reproduction of the figures of the locally famous Liberty Monument described above, sculpted in space. The artist-performer develops an opened dialogue with the sculptural figures assuming once the identity of a child, of a woman, but also of Freedom itself. What gradually emerges in the space of the artwork is a polyphonic narrative, often playful or with ironic, ‘which becomes utterly universal and, at the same time, it shatters into pieces any submissive nationalisms and oppression dialectics’.<sup>12</sup>

Haraki’s performance indicates the need to break the monolithic, singular narrative into multiple fragments of personal and more intimate narratives. It is an attempt to develop what Foucault defines ‘counter histories’: those unspoken histories that are unfolded from different viewpoints. The nostalgia that is expressed is more oriented ‘toward an individual narrative that savours details and memorial signs, perpetually deferring homecoming itself’.<sup>13</sup> Whereas the narrative told by the existing monument strives to rebuild the image of a totalized national past, in an attempt to conquer and

spatialize time, Haraki's nostalgic narrative 'cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space' in a way that is 'ironic, inclusive and fragmentary'.<sup>14</sup>



Figure 34. *Record, Replay, React Show - Re-sculpting Freedom.*

### Free Prisoners

A different approach was adopted by the architects Christakis Chatzichristou and Kyriakos Miltiadous in proposing a public work of art commemorating the experience of the Greek-Cypriot prisoners of the 1974 Turkish invasion. It will be erected in the south side of the buffer zone that divides the island in a north and south part, and very close to the first checkpoint that opened between the two sides. The work is composed of two main elements that intersect obliquely: a box and a horizontal concrete bench.

The box is composed of two sets of human-like vertical elements, one made out of rusted metal and the other of varnished metal. The two sets encounter each other, symbolizing the prisoners and their relatives who came to the location without knowing whether their men were dead or alive. Found between two horizontal planes, both sets seem to be trapped in a new form of prison since the whole population of Cyprus is still hostage to the new and difficult to resolve political situation created by the war. Traversing these parallel vertical metal elements are glass panes which carry snapshots related to the events of imprisonment and release. Being partly transparent, these images are perceived in a layered manner depending on the observer's position and the time of the visit. The climatic conditions also influence one's perception creating a variety of potential experiences.

The horizontal concrete bench symbolizes the timeline and positions the events commemorated in a historical context, aiming to avoid misleadingly portraying the event as an isolated incident. Through the reflection of their image on the glass surfaces, but also with the possibility of being between them, the visitors are offered a sense of agency. Flexible and accessible from different perspectives and paths the memorial is opened to a spectrum of different interpretations and criticism.



Figure 35. Free Prisoners.

## CONCLUSION

The above analysis may provide important and useful insights regarding the interconnection between the phenomenon of nostalgia and the heritage practices that are used in varying degrees of formality, in the making of the contemporary city. As it is demonstrated by the various case studies, embodiments of nostalgia can have diverse and often surprising characteristics: they can be sterile or conservative, restorative and sentimental, critical, reflective and even progressive. The essence of the present study lies partly in the plurality of the shades of nostalgia that it brings into light. Negative or sterile forms of nostalgia can be those which exhibit a fixation on a mythologized past, striving to reconstruct or restore it as part of the present through literal and absolute means. Progressive forms of nostalgia may be those which adopt a more critical approach, suggesting a creative interplay between a past, a perceived present and a possible future. In some other heritage practices, a particular type of nostalgia is expressed when the object of longing is an ideal future, free from the contested past. However, our intention is not to foster a binary classification of good and bad versions of nostalgia. After all, there is a certain degree of fluidity, transparency and a kind of amalgamation between these different types. Rather than fostering a ‘battle of good and evil’ it may be more useful to facilitate more the opportunity for exploring nostalgia as a transitional and mediated practice deeply bound by the places and contexts that trigger it. This nuanced and more sophisticated understanding of nostalgia could be used as a tool in coping with the complexities of the constantly changing urban environment.

## NOTES

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- <sup>2</sup> Gary Campbell, Laurajane Smith & Margaret Wetherell, "Nostalgia and heritage: potentials, mobilisations and effects", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23, no. 7 (2017), 609-611.
- <sup>3</sup> George Steinmetz, "Colonial Melancholy and Fordist Nostalgia: The Ruinscapes of Namibia and Detroit". In Julia Hell and Andreas Schönle, eds., *Ruins of Modernity*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 316.
- <sup>4</sup> Giovanni Galli, "Nostalgia, Architecture, Ruins, and Their Preservation", *Change Over Time* 3, no. 1 (2013), 12-26. doi:10.1353/cot.2013.0001.
- <sup>5</sup> Svetlana Boym, "The Off-Modern" (New York and London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 39.
- <sup>6</sup> Chrysaleni Loizidou, "On the Liberty Monument of Nicosia". In Loizos, P., Philippou, N., Stylianou Lambert, *Re-Envisioning Cyprus*, (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2010), 96.
- <sup>7</sup> Wing-Yee Cheung et. al. "Back to the Future: Nostalgia Increases Optimism", *Pers Soc Psychol Bull* 39 no.11 (2013), 1484-1496.
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- <sup>11</sup> Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky, "Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal" *Perspecta*, 8, (1963), 45-54.
- <sup>12</sup> Andria Christofidou and Dimitra L. Milioni., "Art heterotopias against hegemonic discourses: Dancing the Cyprus conflict", *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 26 no.4, (2023), 534–553. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13675494221118385>.
- <sup>13</sup> Svetlana Boym, "The Future of nostalgia", 50.
- <sup>14</sup> Svetlana Boym, "The Future of nostalgia", 7.

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# USE OF ONLINE PLATFORMS/ SOCIAL MEDIA IN THE DOCUMENTATION AND PRESEVATION OF PUBLIC ART IN THE CITY OF OPORTO: watch/art, A CITIZEN SCIENCE PROJECT

Author:

**CARLOTA DE CARVALHO, EDUARDA VIEIRA, PATRÍCIA R. MOREIRA**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY CATÓLICA PORTUGUESA- CENTRO REGIONAL DO PORTO, PORTUGAL;  
CITAR- RESEARCH CENTER FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY OF THE ARTS,  
PORTUGAL

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## INTRODUCTION

In recent years we have seen an increasing use of social media across the population, especially on apps that allow us to share photos and videos, such as Facebook, Instagram and Tik Tok.<sup>1</sup> Due to the steady increase of technological development capturing the world has never been easier, and sharing it is just as simple.<sup>2</sup> This social media expansion has gained relevance in diverse research areas. Within these research areas, when associated with Cultural Heritage, Instagram is the social network that is most commonly referred.<sup>3</sup>

While using Instagram, Facebook and Tik Tok people can share their lives with their friends, family, or strangers, but it has also allowed brands and commercial institutions to market their products and engage with their consumers in a more informal and dynamic way.<sup>4</sup>

The world of Cultural Heritage as an online presence, however institutions that hold cultural assets are not yet seizing most of the power of social media to connect to the community or explore innovative ways to protect their assets.<sup>5</sup> Social media are changing the way people engage with the world around them and keep up with the political, social, and environmental changes that are taking place.

This research aims to explore strategies using social media platforms for the monitoring and consequent conservation of Public Cultural Heritage. It is fundamental an active community participation in this monitorization process because will allow the design for sustainable approaches in the long term in a heritage that is part of cities life.<sup>6</sup>

## The presence of Cultural Heritage on social media and citizen engagement

Cultural Heritage has gained a prominent presence and popularity on social media. Art institutions acknowledge that these networks play a crucial role in audience engagement and promotion of its assets.<sup>7</sup> Another emerging phenomenon that is reflected in the social networks is the so-called Cultural Tourism.<sup>8</sup> Although Cultural Heritage takes an important role when choosing a tourism destination, it is not until recently that this link has started to be explored and investigated more intensively.<sup>9</sup>

Cultural Tourism can be defined as an activity in which the participant main goal is to visit, experience and learn more about the heritage of the place they are visiting in a tourist destination.<sup>10</sup> Cultural Heritage and cultural events provide motivation to travel and allows sharing stories and knowledge about what you have visited<sup>4</sup>. Considering the growing flow of tourists in cities it is necessary to take a more sustainable approach to this phenomenon and engage the community and visitors into a more active part in the protection of the Heritage.<sup>11</sup>

Destinations try to create a buzz around their Cultural Heritage and aesthetically pleasant spots. Those locations are searched by tourists to take photographs and share it in their social media platforms<sup>12</sup> thus receiving a lot of visitors every day. Although this can create a greater population concentration in those spots and eventually increase the risk for the monuments, on the other hand, it also promotes those cultural spaces, especially in the social media platforms such as Instagram, that encourages the share of an aesthetically pleasing lifestyle from its users.<sup>13</sup>

In the case of Instagram and Tik Tok, posts (or videos in the case of Tik Tok) created by its users, they are organized chronologically from most recent to oldest, and the fact that you can add a description to each one contributes to a certain storytelling that can help create a collective memory and feeling of connection with the person who made the post. Regarding time, social media promote ‘in the moment experience’, as its users can publish a post and have an interaction in near real-time with their followers.<sup>14</sup>

Some monuments are highly photographed on a daily basis and identified through location sharing (mapping) and associated hashtags, which could be the basis for diverse social media apps to be used to promote, document, and even preserve Cultural Heritage by involving citizens that interact with it.<sup>15</sup>

The use of social media in citizen science projects allows the gather of a large amount of data in real time. These are also free platforms that most of the population can access and that already uses it on a daily basis, so it becomes easier for volunteers of the project to be part of it in an easier way and also to know how to use the selected online platforms. Social media also allows citizens to be involved in an active and dynamic way, fulfilling part of citizen science project goals, in the watch/art specific case, while transmitting knowledge about cultural heritage and its conservation.

### **CITIZEN SCIENCE: WHAT IT IS?**

Citizen participation can be an auxiliary measure in the monitoring of Public Art and can contribute to a more sustainable preservation of this Cultural Heritage. In the late 20th century, the term ‘citizen-science’ began to be talked about and it slowly gained prominence in various areas of scientific research.<sup>16</sup> This term presents several definition depending on the context in which citizen participation occurs in a given project.

Considering the case of Public Art and the understanding of what citizen-science associated with it should be considered, are two definitions that stand out, one from UNESCO from 2013 and other from OSPP (Open Science Policy Platform) from 2018.<sup>17</sup> According to the UNESCO definition, citizen-science consists of “The participation of a range of non-scientific stakeholders in the scientific processes. In its most inclusive and innovative, citizen-science involves volunteers as partners in the entire scientific process (...)”.<sup>18</sup> OSPP broadly defines that “(...) citizen-science is ‘scientific undertaken by members of the general public, often in collaboration with or under the direction of professional scientists and scientific institutions. Citizen-science (...) aims of collaboration between academic and citizens researchers and a broad range of scientific disciplines. (...)’”.<sup>19</sup> Both definitions advocate public participation throughout the research process and that this one should be inclusive and acknowledged.<sup>20</sup>

Citizen-science projects promote a cooperation between the public and specialized researchers, so that besides actively contributing to the final goal they are simultaneously receiving training and education in the various scientific areas present in the projects. In the case of Public Art, the collaboration of citizen-science may contribute to monitoring these works on a more regular basis.

The citizens of an urban center recognize their Heritage and consequently they are more aware of changes that may occur in it and thus communicate the responsible and specialized entities, while at same time they would receive training about this same Heritage. The changes that occur in the works of Public Art can also provide information about the environment in which they are inserted, including the connection to Climate Change. Associating citizen-science with Public Art could encompass two aspects: monitoring the environment and the work of art while educating the public about the impact of Climate Change on Cultural Heritage preservation, as this is an active indicator of environmental changes.<sup>21</sup>

It is necessary to empower and involve citizens in this maintenance process by providing training to participants, creating project-specific manuals and guidelines that are in an accessible language.<sup>22</sup> Once the objectives of a citizen-science project related to Public Art are clear, the public can act since photographing the Cultural Heritage that is in its urban center. The exercise of Heritage Management is not only up to large government entities and experts. The protection of Cultural Heritage, it is not an individual exercise, but a society one, so practical policies, financial support and social participation are needed to support these changes that are occurring.<sup>23</sup>

These are the main goals of the watch/art project. It is intended to use data obtained by citizens for monitoring changes (biodeterioration or anthropic action) that are visible in Cultural Heritage inserted in public spaces. To increase the public's proximity to the preservation of Cultural Heritage, the aim is to dynamize various social media platforms that will be associated with a citizen science project to share photographs of selected works of Public Art.

### **watch/art: a citizen science project**

watch/art is a citizen-science project within the HAC4CG (Heritage, Art, Creation for Climate Change-Living the City: Catalyzing spaces for learning, Creation and Action Towards Climate Change) project that intends to monitor, and document selected public artworks in different areas of the city of Oporto in Portugal. The aim of this project is to monitor the presence of changes, such as, the colonization of organisms in the public sculptures of the city. With the collected data we intend to improve the management and conservation strategies that are used to monitor and preserve this type of cultural heritage that is more vulnerable to climatic and anthropic action.

The volunteers of the project will be able to contribute for the watch/art project by taking a photograph of the artwork framed by a structure that contains a mobile phone holder, so every person takes the photo in the same position and distance. In that structure they can find a poster with instructions that the research team developed, informing how to put the phone in the structure and how to take the photo, and also presents our research goals. After the photo is taken the volunteer can share it via social media using specific hashtags (one is specific of the project and other associated to the artwork and both of them are present on the informative poster) or using watch/art e-mail. All of our social media platforms are gather in a Linktree page that is associated to the QR Code that is present in the informative poster.

In the long term, our goal is to develop a constantly updated database of similar photographs, in terms of position and distance from the artwork, in order to allow the observation of the changes, especially the ones related to biodeterioration that occur in the works of Public Art and in the surrounding environment through days, months, and years, thus helping conservation and restoration researchers



understand which strategies are the most suited to preserve each specific heritage (considering year of execution, technique, materials and other factors) in the long term.



Figure 1. Informative layout of the prototype for citizens taking part in the watch/art project to take photographs.

To complement the research carried out through the watch/art citizen-science project, sensors will also be placed in the vicinity of the sculptures in order to evaluate several environmental and air quality parameters. This will allow the study of the influence of the surrounding environment on the changes in the public artworks. Classical microbiological and metagenomic methodologies will also be used to demonstrate the presence of microbial activity and the identification of colonizing microorganisms in the artworks and their surroundings. Visual microscopic and colorimetric inspection equipment will be used in order to verify surface changes of the selected sculptures over time and relate them to the photographs taken by the watch/art project volunteers.

With the gather and interconnection of different data the principal the intention is to monitor and predict how the works of art will change according to the environment they are exposed to and the relation to events associated with Climate Change. This information will enable strategies for safeguarding cultural heritage in public spaces in a more sustainable way and to ensure that it is passed on to the next generations in the best possible state of conservation.

## WATCH/ART MARKETING MIX AND COMMUNICATION PLAN

For the watch/art project it was developed a marketing mix in order to establish the main goals and define tactics to achieve them. Since it is a citizen science project it is fundamental to reach a big and diverse number of people and driven them to participate actively on the watch/art project. Hence the submission of the photography's is via online, it was fundamental to define which social media and online platforms to tackle and outline our main tactics to achieve our goals for the project in the long term.

A total of six communication channels were selected, most of them online, which is the only way for volunteers to participate in the citizen science project and contribute with data for it.

At the same time, the entire visual identity of the watch/art project was developed so that there was visual coherence between the in-situ media and the social networks and online platforms that were developed.

## **Marketing Mix: product, distribution, promotion and partners**

### **Product**

The main product is essentially associated with online platforms, since the primary objective is to allow the public to submit photographs of works of Public Art that have characteristics that are of interest to the project. The aim is to create a database that is updated constantly and over time in order to verify the surface and environmental changes that occur in Cultural Heritage in public spaces.

### **Distribution**

Distribution will be linked to different social networks. In order to increase knowledge of the project, we intend to have information posters with a QR Code associated with a Linktree page where participants can choose which online platforms and associated social media, they prefer to submit their photographs to.

### **Promotion**

The promotion of the project is explored in the sections on the communication plan. Different strategies for recognizing the project are presented, considering the participants and the different communication channels that will be used to communicate with them.

### **Partners**

On a first phase of the project the institutions to be contacted were the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Porto (FBAUP) and the Soares dos Reis National Museum (MNSR). Both institutions are recognized for having a collection that covers the history of art in the city of Porto or for the buildings and spaces in which they are located. The FBAUP has in its collection a large part of the history of Public Art in the city of Porto, as well as Portuguese painting and sculpture in general. The same can be seen in the Soares dos Reis National Museum, which in turn is the oldest public art museum in the country and which was also linked to the Academia Portuense de Belas Artes from an early stage.

The choice of these institutions as partners was based primarily on the quality of their collection and curatorship and the fact that it was diverse between the institutions. Another important factor considered was their geographical distribution throughout the city of Porto.

### **Communication Plan: communication channels**

For each communication channel (with the exception of social media platforms, which have been grouped into a single point) will be presented the main objectives for publicizing and supporting the project and the tactics that will be applied in order to achieve the proposals in the long term.



Figure 2. Schematic of the marketing mix developed for the watch/art project.

### Instagram, Facebook and Twitter

Social media networks are fundamental to the digital advertising of the project and also to citizen participation in it. Free involvement on social media is essential for publicizing the project to new participants and potential partners. Using specific hashtags for each sculpture and the watch/art project will be one of the main ways for volunteers/participants in the citizen science project to contribute with their photographs.



Figure 3. Preview of the watch/art project's Instagram page.

### **Goals**

- > Interact with the public and publicize the project on various social networks;
- > Share information about the project and upcoming actions, such as publications in scientific journals, results of citizen participation and special events that may be held;
- > Provide customer support in a more informal way;
- > Increase the number of followers and therefore possible new project participants and partners.

### **Tactics**

- > Use different online platforms;
- > Encourage action on the part of participants to explore the website and the various social media;
- > Publish content that engages the public and makes them identify with the project;
- > Replying to comments and questions;
- > Live videos in order to create a closer relationship with the public and participants and answer any questions they may have.

### **Linktree**

Linktree allows its users to create a personalized online page that includes all the links they consider worth sharing with the public. In this case, it would be to hyperlink all the online platforms associated with the project.

### **Goals**

- > To bring together on a single online platform all the links of interest for attracting new participants and partners;
- > To make the public aware of the various ways of contacting the team and participating in the project;
- > To use Linktree's data analysis tool to find out how many people viewed the page and how many interacted with it (i.e. accessed the other links provided).

### **Tactics**

- > Link the Instagram, Facebook, Website and E-mail links to the project's Linktree page;
- > Link the QR Codes attached to the works of Public Art associated with the research to the project's Linktree.

### **Website**

A well-designed website that communicates the watch/art message with quality and provides information about the project is a way of standing out from the competition and giving credibility to the project's objectives. This is one of the project's main communication points. It is essential to have a website that is appealing and informative in order to gain new users and partners.

### **Goals**

- > Provide information in a way that is accessible, appealing, and easy to find;
- > Ensure a quality user experience;
- > Serve as one of the main platforms for publicizing and involving the public in the project.
- > Build and strengthen public awareness of the project.

### Tactics

- > Details about the project, case studies, mission, vision and values, partnerships, future publications, participants' contributions, and long-term objectives;
- > Area dedicated to explaining how the project works;
- > Contact area to give participants a quick answer to any questions they may have;

The watch/art website was developed using the WIX platform and can be found via the following link/domain: <https://watchpublicart.wixsite.com/watch-art> .

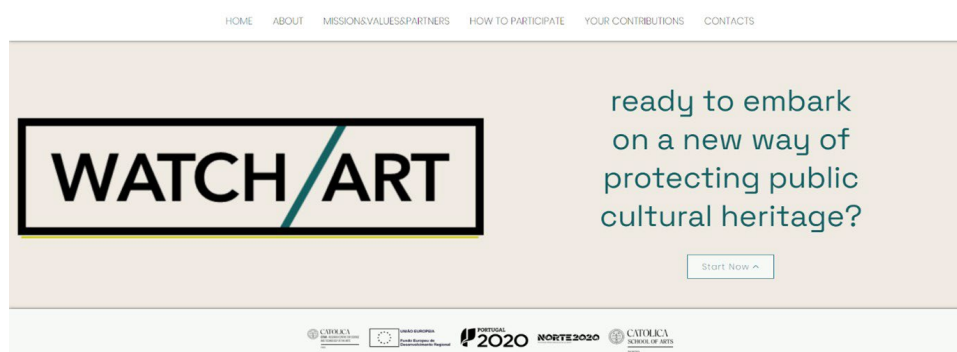


Figure 4. Home page of the watch/art project website.

### E-mail

Developing a marketing strategy using email can help to achieve a better relationship with participants and make communication more personalized. This strategy can translate into a greater number of project participants through a low-cost platform such as email. One of the long-term objectives is to create personalized emails for your participants and use this online medium to publicize the project, keep regular users contributing new photographs and attract new partners.

### Goals

- > To serve as one of the main means of answering questions posed by participants and contact new partners;
- > In the future create a newsletter promoting the new challenges, the most interesting results of the month, possible publications, new partners, and new works of Public Art that are part of the project;
- > Generate traffic to the website;
- > Drive volunteers to the social media and website to participate in the project.

### Tactics

- > Create a promotional newsletter with news about the project;
- > Personalized operational emails based on the Target Audience in question.

### Handouts and posters / Structures attached to the Public Artworks

The use of handouts and posters attached to artworks is a way of promoting the project. The benefits are that they can be flexibly designed, easily distributed and highly visible. The aim of this communication strategy is to make the project known to as many people as possible and to present the aesthetics of the project while communicating the main objectives and long-term results of the and also giving indications of how citizens can actively participate.

### Goals

- > Provide physical support for later reference;
- > Deliver key messages about the project;

- > Encourage in situ actions (explore social networks and website, sign up to the App and actively participate in the project);
- > Build and reinforce knowledge about the project.

#### **Tactics**

- > Distribute printed material at events and on the street in order to publicize the project to a new audience;
- > Posters scattered around the city with QR Codes linked to social networks, the website and e-mail;
- > Information posters next to the works that are part of the project so that more people know about it and participate in it immediately.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Public Art is constantly subjected to changes (climacteric or anthropic), so there is often no record of how these artworks were in the first place, which problems were associated with them, or even which interventions were executed in the past.

With the watch/art project, citizens can be part of the monitorization and also documentation of public artworks while submitting photographs of them via social media or other online platforms. This will allow a regular documentation of this Heritage while simultaneously allowing keeping an evolving record of the artworks in space and time helping define strategies that are more sustainable and appropriate for the future in platforms that are already used by most of the population.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

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# CREATING A NICHE BETWEEN STATE, FAMILY, AND THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR: TOMBKEEPERS AS GATEKEEPERS OF CHINESE GRAVESIDE RITUALS IN SINGAPORE

Author:

**MIENG TAN**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, UK

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## INTRODUCTION

Historically, burial grounds have been managed by certain groups at the community level and/or individuals depending on locale. With churchyards, clergy and congregation cared for the tombstones. Next-of-kin have also cared for the tombs of family members. In early Singapore, Chinese cemeteries were owned by clan-based associations or temples whose members handled their general care and upkeep. Chinese cultural underpinnings mandate that the descendants clean and maintain their ancestors' tombs during the annual Qing Ming Festival, otherwise known as 'tomb sweeping'. This arrangement about the care and upkeep of Chinese cemeteries changed enroute to Singapore's journey to gaining independence as a nation-state. The municipal government assumed responsibility for the regular maintenance of Bukit Brown Cemetery (BBC) in central Singapore, making it the first Chinese cemetery that was managed by formal authority. Opened in 1922, BBC catered to the needs of the early Chinese community regardless of their provincial origins, clan affiliation and/or dialect group, before closing for burials 50 years later.<sup>1</sup> Notably, the government's regular maintenance of BBC focused solely on the environment but not the individual tombs. The villagers who had resided within this cemetery assumed the role of tombkeepers in providing paid labour that involved cleaning and maintaining selected tombs. This arrangement cannot be found in Singapore's other remaining cemeteries now though it was common in the past, making the BBC tombkeepers the last population to be studied in this aspect. The BBC tombkeeper can be considered a niche role because it is neither state-, family- or volunteer-initiated.

This paper compares tombkeepers who offerpaid services of tomb cleaning and maintenance in BBC with 'Friends of the Cemetery (FOC)', which are groups of unpaid volunteers who perform similar tasks of tomb cleaning and maintenance in selected cemeteries in the United Kingdom. It demonstrates that the tombkeepers of BBC are distinct from FOC in terms of their motivation, relationship to the cemetery, membership, role, and function. To safeguard their personal safety while on the job, BBC's tombkeepers adhere to a set of graveside rituals to appease the dead, so that the latter would not cause disruptions to their work. Their observations of these rituals not only acknowledge the coexistence of the netherworld with the mortal world, they also make apparent traditional Chinese customs that memorialise the dead. As such, this paper argues that the niche role

of BBC's tombkeepers places them in the position as gatekeepers of Chinese graveside rituals which face a potential demise due to the rapid cemetery clearances in this land-scarce country.<sup>2</sup>

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Tombkeepers are synonymous with other nomenclatures in literature such as 'cemetery caretaker'. While there is no standard definition available, these individuals are generally understood to perform the tasks of cleaning and maintaining tombs in a cemetery. Studies that examine the profile, role, or function of a tombkeeper are scarce. However, there are ample cursory mentions of 'cemetery caretakers' in journal articles that address issues on cemeteries, interment/re-interment of war veterans, material culture found in tombs, and the like.

In Singapore, secondary resources like the newspaper archives and online articles contain cursory mentions of tombkeepers (e.g., NLB, 2016) but there has not been any in-depth academic study done on this group of individuals. The general socioeconomic profile of BBC's tombkeepers is described by local historian Loh Kah Seng<sup>3</sup> using oral history from his involvement in the government-funded documentation project of BBC. A YouTube video produced in 2016 explores the tombkeeping trade with three tombkeepers of BBC.<sup>4</sup> The dearth of academic literature on tombkeepers in Singapore could be attributed to their largely invisible presence in the cemetery since they appear only during the Qing Ming Festival to collect tombkeeping dues from their clients. Access to tombkeepers is therefore challenging because of their infrequent presence in the cemeteries. Primary data garnered during my PhD fieldwork from 2020-2021 on tombkeepers via participant and non-participant observations as well as face-to-face interviews is therefore highly valuable and rare to come by, since I had overcome the challenge of accessibility and put in significant effort to gain their trust and establish rapport with them.

In the United Kingdom, a formal association called the 'National Federation of Cemetery Friends (NFCF)' 'represents groups of volunteers called 'Friends of the Cemetery' (FOC) interested in conserving cemeteries large and small.'<sup>5</sup> Set up in 1986, this is a formal organisation where there are annual general meetings, visits to different members' cemeteries, and mutual sharing and exchange of useful information on caring for cemeteries amongst the groups.<sup>6</sup> This makes the FOC volunteers highly visible and accessible. The Federation's membership has been expanding over the years in the United Kingdom, and it now has more than 120 groups of active volunteers 'caring for cemeteries and churchyards'.<sup>7</sup> There is a handbook published by the Federation which provides guidance on how to establish groups of volunteers who share the same vested interest in cemeteries.<sup>8</sup> Three FOC groups were thoroughly examined by Gaëlle Jolly in her Masters dissertation in 2013 in terms of their emergence and group composition.<sup>9</sup>

## BBC's tombkeepers versus FOC

This section compares BBC's tombkeepers with FOC in five aspects, viz. motivation, relationship to the cemetery, membership, role, and role function. A summary of each group's distinctive features will be shown in a table to conclude this section.

FOC groups are formed as a result of personal and external factors. Concerns over the fate of their local cemeteries stemming from increased awareness and historic conservation have spurred individuals to collectively lobby for their preservation as FOC groups in the United Kingdom.<sup>10</sup> Budget cuts in local authority funding have spurred them to explore voluntary labour, relieving the financial burdens of maintaining cemeteries and spurring community-level engagement amongst individuals possessing similar vested interests in preserving and tidying the cemeteries. It helps that adequate scaffolding resources are available, such as the Heritage Lottery Fund, which helps to

motivate these groups to apply for, and formal guidance from local authorities in regard to the conservation of public spaces like parks and cemeteries.<sup>11</sup>

FOC groups pursue recreational endeavours in the cemetery in various ways. Some volunteers focus on nurturing certain types of vegetation ('the welcome plants') in cemeteries, performing regular weeding to keep out the unwanted vegetation so as to preserve 'a sense of place' or create 'a sense of enchantment' in the burial space.<sup>12</sup> The presence of 'interesting people' with intriguing social histories encourages volunteers to lobby for preservation of the cemeteries.<sup>13</sup> Other volunteers have also created websites to showcase their research done on interesting personalities buried in the cemeteries that they care for. These efforts have cumulated into self-initiated free guided walks conducted by the volunteers for cemetery visitors to show them the tidied tombs and/or share interesting stories of selected deceased buried there.<sup>14</sup>

From my interviews with tombkeepers during my PhD research, I learnt that the impetus for tombkeeping was driven by the pragmatic need for survival rather than an interest in preserving the cemetery because of its inherent values of heritage, history and culture because most villagers were living in poverty. They had faced language and financial challenges living in the village. Although there was a Chinese-language primary school in the village that served the educational needs of the village children, ascension to higher education beyond the village was a rarity. The language barrier posed the greatest obstacle to personal advancements, thus tombkeeping became the default option to earn a living. Being able to afford the bus fare to travel out of BBC proved to be another obstacle to seek out alternative means of livelihood.

The fact that BBC's tombkeepers are motivated by money is a stark contrast to the FOC volunteers who contribute their time and energy altruistically. Today, BBC's tombkeepers are still fixated on earning their keep although tombkeeping is merely a sideline since most are retired. These individuals continue to hustle for business during Qing Ming Festival by offering various services to visiting descendants, such as tomb renovation and locating the ancestors' graves amidst the dense vegetation.

There is a low level of direct association with the cemetery that is being cared for as evinced in the three case examples of FOC groups examined by Jolly.<sup>15</sup> FOC groups are composed of individuals who have been recruited via personal acquaintance, personal friendship, or word of mouth. Within these groups, some may possess personal links to the cemetery that they volunteer at. For example, their ancestor may be buried in that cemetery. In contrast, BBC's tombkeepers are intimately associated with BBC by more than one degree of association - first as former villagers of BBC, then as descendants whose ancestors may be buried in BBC, and finally, as kin groups who had depended on tombkeeping for survival over generations before the government evicted villagers to public housing flats as part of a national drive to urbanise the country.

The tombkeeping trade is highly insular within BBC because it is passed from one generation to the next with no allowance for entry by unrelated individuals. This sets the BBC tombkeepers apart from the FOC groups. While membership in the FOC groups grows organically, membership amongst the BBC tombkeepers is stagnant owing to the absence of successors. The adult children of the handful of married tombkeepers are not keen on this trade while the majority of tombkeepers are bachelors. Yet, despite expanding membership, there are no permanent members in the FOC groups since volunteers are free to leave the group as they wish.<sup>16</sup> While volunteer groups are advantageous for the well-being of cemeteries, such volunteerism may be short lived since there is an informal mode of managing the cemetery based on individual interests.<sup>17</sup> Jolly's<sup>18</sup> observation suggests long-term consequences for the cemeteries that risk being abandoned by volunteers since they do not receive continued care.

On the other hand, BBC's tombkeepers are permanent fixtures assuming responsibility to care for the tombs that they are paid to clean and maintain. The continued care for tombs is fueled by regular payments of tombkeeping dues by the descendants, whereas the absence of payments would imply

abandonment of tombs, albeit after three years. Paradoxically, tombkeepers would continue to care for tombs for three years even if they do not get paid by the descendants for their labour. Such cases happen if the descendants migrate, pass on, become too elderly to come to the cemetery, or decide to abandon their ancestors' tombs altogether. While no tombkeeper could explain the rationale behind the duration to me, they could explicate on the moral obligation to demonstrate care to the dead, with the hope that they would receive blessings from the latter for their goodwill to upkeep their tombs despite the absence of payment. Table 1 below summarises the differences between FOC volunteers and BBC's tombkeepers based on the five attributes aforementioned.

	Friends of the Cemetery (UK)	BBC's Tombkeepers
Motivation	Self-initiated backed by funding and formal guidance	Survival
Relationship to the cemetery	Low level of direct relationship -Some volunteers may have next-of-kin buried in that cemetery they care for	High level of direct relationship on 3 levels: -They were former villagers in BBC -Ancestors may be buried in BBC -Generations depended on tombkeeping to survive
Membership	Increasing but impermanent -Due to absence of barriers for entry and departure & varied interests	Decreasing but permanent -Due to lack of successors -Insular: no outsiders allowed
Role	Altruistic: Care for the cemetery	Pragmatic: Paid labour to upkeep graves
Function	Recreational: Share interesting aspects of the cemetery via free guided walks to visitors in the cemetery	Practical: Clean and maintain tombs

*Table 1. Summary of attributes*

### **Gatekeepers of graveside rituals**

Singapore has been experiencing cemetery clearances due to its perennial land scarcity problem thus graveside rituals are scarce sights to behold and may be lost over time when cemeteries are cleared to make way for more national development projects. This is why BBC's tombkeepers' observances of graveside rituals are important since they help in the constant rejuvenation of these traditional customs. As the last remaining permanent population of tombkeepers who perform a niche role and function for BBC, BBC's tombkeepers are gatekeepers of graveside rituals which may otherwise be lost due to the onslaughts of urbanisation in Singapore. During my fieldwork, I was invited to observe several graveside rituals by different groups of tombkeepers and this privileged access allowed me to conduct non-participant observations of these practices which I share succinctly here.

BBC's tombkeepers observe graveside rituals because they believe in the netherworld and its associated powers. Hence, these rituals are performed whenever they have figurative encounters with the netherworld. These occur (a) before and after Qing Ming Festival, where tombkeepers prepare to clean tombs that they are paid to maintain, (b) before an exhumation or tomb rejuvenation, (c) before

and after the lunar 7th month, or the Hungry Ghosts' Festival. The objectives of these rituals is to seek permission, appease, and/or protection/blessings from the netherworld which comprises underworld deities, spirits, and the deceased. Netherworld beings are believed to be capable of harming humans if their existence is not acknowledged and their places of dwelling respected. This explains why the tombkeepers go the extra mile by conducting these rituals. Candles, fruits, tea, and paper offerings are made during these rituals. The tombkeepers speak in low tones to communicate with the netherworld as they pray and offer three joss sticks each while bowing thrice in a kneeling position. Lavish offerings are made post-event to thank the netherworld for their cooperation, protection, and/or blessings. Cartons of paper offerings are offered in this case, with paper clothing, hell notes of various denominations, and mortal worldly imitations of cars, cosmetics, tobacco and footwear being the staples. Cooked food and assorted fruits complete the abundant offerings made. The joss sticks and candles used in the post-event rituals were observed to be varied and elaborate, some with gold glitter and others with motifs of dragons carved onto them.

BBC's tombkeepers also pay special attention to rituals relating to ancestor worship. Although they are traditionally performed by the descendants at their ancestors' tombs, tombkeepers have voluntarily offered guidance and assistance in performing this ritual to ensure that it is done correctly, especially if descendants appear to be clueless on what to do. Tombkeepers voluntarily advise descendants on where and how to position offerings and candles, provide ritual accessories like joss sticks if the descendants had forgotten to bring them, or offer valet tombsweeping services to descendants who are unable to come by personally to pay their respects. Valet tombsweeping services began because of the Covid-19 pandemic, when the national lockdown in Singapore had coincided with the Qing Ming Festival. Only individuals who performed 'essential services' like frontline healthcare workers, cleaners, and technicians maintaining utilities services were allowed to travel outside of their homes. However, tombkeepers saw themselves as 'essential workers' who performed the 'essential service' of ancestor worship, thus they persisted in their daily commute to BBC to fulfill descendants' requests. They purchased ritual goods and took photographs of the ritual being conducted, then claimed their tombkeeping dues via online payment from the descendants by sending receipts and photographs.

## **CONCLUSION**

This paper has evinced the distinctive features between the FOC volunteers and BBC's tombkeepers based on five attributes of motivation, relationship to the cemetery, membership, role and function. The niche role and function that BBC's tombkeepers embody have placed them in the important position of being gatekeepers for Chinese graveside rituals owing to their figurative encounters with the netherworld in their trade. Unlike the FOC volunteers who are altruistically motivated and backed by formal funding and guidance in their voluntary work for selected cemeteries, BBC's tombkeepers work in exchange for money to survive. BBC's tombkeepers' pragmatic endeavour has brought them closer to the dead, leading them to perform rituals to acknowledge the latter's existence in exchange for their personal safety while at work. The cooperation gained from the netherworld in turn ensures the continuation of the tombkeeping trade for the generations of villagers in BBC. Not only has this symbiotic relationship underscored the uniqueness of BBC's tombkeepers and the tombkeeping trade, it has also preserved traditional Chinese graveside rituals that face demise with the rapid cemetery clearances in land-scarce Singapore. The upside of being permanent fixtures in performing care work for the dead in BBC is that these tombkeepers continuously rejuvenate graveside rituals by performing them annually. These rituals memorialise the dead, remind the living of their moral obligation to care for the dead, and make visible the efforts of the paid labour performed by the last surviving population of tombkeepers in BBC.

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- <sup>15</sup> Jolly. *The management of historic cemeteries*.
- <sup>16</sup> Jolly. *The management of historic cemeteries*.
- <sup>17</sup> Jolly. *The management of historic cemeteries*.
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# **SOCIO-SPATIAL RECORDINGS: THE SURAT HINDU ASSOCIATION, DURBAN**

Author:

**SUSHMA PATEL**

Affiliation:

TSHWANE UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, SOUTH AFRICA

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## **INTRODUCTION: ISLAND IMAGINARIES**

The Surat Hindu Association, descendants of Surat, India, was established in the Indian Quarter or Casbah in the central area of Durban, South Africa, in response to the need for social, cultural, and educational needs of that community. I argue in this paper, that their approach and formation were drawn from their ancestral acumen of economy. I use the idea of an island as a metaphor to explore the insularity and efficiency with which the community established and developed itself in Durban under colonial and apartheid social restrictions (Figure 1). I employ too, an imaginary, as an interpretive methodology of research to uncover the various aspects of the notions of economy that manifested during their activities in the three building artefacts that they commissioned. An imaginary furthermore allows for a flattening of temporality in order to build on concepts other than time. I use a technique of collage-making as a back-and-forth process of working to uncover some of the themes that unravel, including, ‘haveli dreams’, ‘caravanserais’ as well as ‘island kitchens’ and ‘homes of economy’ to expand on the notions of economy. What follows is a narrative of exploration in the pursuit of narratives of economy for the benefit of architecture and planning toward an immaterial-rich resource-efficient future.



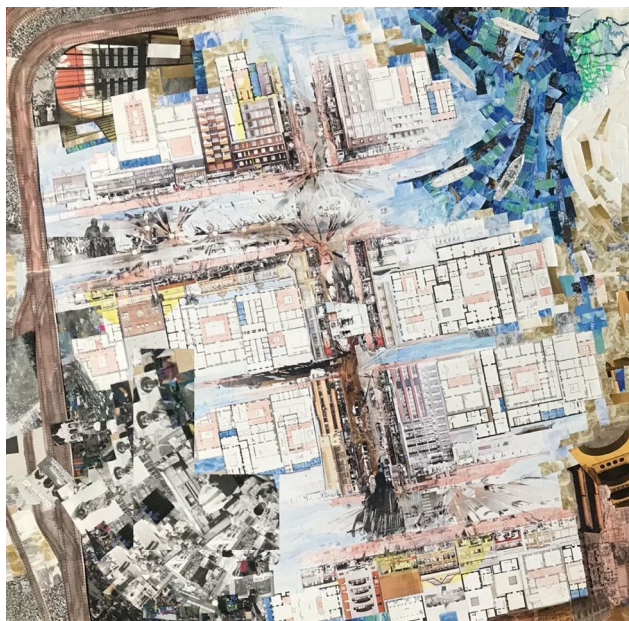


Figure 36. Imaginary islands. Source: by author

### TERRAQUEOUS SURAT

The members of the Surat Hindu Association (hereafter referred to as the Association), hail from the ancestral city region of Surat in Gujarat in India where manifold rivers and land at the shores of the Indian Ocean conjoin to form fertile fields of farmable *terraqueous*<sup>1</sup> territories, referring to the geographic porosity and nebulosity of the land which lends itself to a fluid and plural social, economic and architectural water-landscape (Figure 2). Surat not only became an important rest point in the journeys of foreigners but also became home to those who identified the opportunity for trade and economy in the region. Surat is home to descendants of diverse heritages from Arab, Persian, Portuguese, and more, over its development. Surat has also long been a point of departure for ‘native’ Gujarati Indians seeking economic opportunity in other port cities of the Indian Ocean. Generations of Gujaratis have traded across the seas and centuries, not least of which to South Africa as the second wave of passenger Indians after the arrival of indentured Indians, to the port city of Durban from the mid to late 1800s.

Tamboli and Shah describe the nature of buildings in Surat as being of high plasticity.<sup>2</sup> Due to the economic emphasis of the migrants, buildings were adaptable, for example, the Khatri karkhana<sup>3</sup> and the old havelis<sup>4</sup> of Surat. The havelis were also arranged for multi-generational and extended family situations as separate family apartments on various floors with communal courtyards and living quarters. What may be interpreted by some as aesthetic features like a teak-carved *otla* (a type of raised veranda), for example, was in fact, due to economic efficiencies. The teak was tied into the particular merchant’s trade practices in Rangoon and shipped to Gujarat as a cost-saving exercise. Building practices were highly influenced by global interactions of other port cities of the Indian Ocean including Mauritius, Durban, and Rangoon as well as older interactions with the Middle East and Persia. What if we were to investigate the living and working built environment of the Surtis, could we learn lessons of resource efficiencies and ways in which they worked together to build their city? I propose that looking into the workings of a Surti community, at the port city of Durban in the Indian Ocean, in economic terms could have valuable lessons for our limited resource future of built environments.



Figure 37. *Terraqueous Surat*. Source: by author

With Bombay replacing Surat as a port city in the 1800s Surat's prominence and activity diminished. The attraction of smaller tradesmen, Johnny-come-lately to the business buzz, decided to try their hand at other Indian Ocean port cities like Durban. Gujaratis were often complicit in British Empire atrocities in Surat. Economic survival was paramount. When the British opened passenger class passages to Durban, despite knowing the conditions of post-slavery indentured labour for their fellow Indians to the sugar cane fields of Durban, the Gujaratis vied for economic opportunity above recognition of human rights atrocities.

### **BRITISH TERRA FIRMA**

The meaning of *terra firma* is a firm ground. I use this term in contrast to *terraqueous* as discussed earlier. *Terra firma* and *terraqueousity* set up a contrast of built geography between Surat and Durban and a mode of critically reflecting on British and Indian settlement in Africa. Gujarat's *terraqueous* region of multiple ports, cities, and rivers has the advantage of a disaggregated nature of access to territory and economy. This concept brings into view the democratisation and decentralisation of access to the lands and oceans. It conjures up notions of multiplicity, hybridity, and plasticity of a city region. In order for the British Empire to establish itself as the primary beneficiary of economy and access, a singular form of foundation was required. A *terra firma* was achieved through strategies of a single port, material imposition, grandiosity, and exclusion.

The predominant and established architectural canon adopted in Durban during the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was neo-classicism. The rise of Art Deco from the 1930s<sup>5</sup> in Durban was seen as a resistance to the neo-classical style by mainly White architects. It represented a modern style and a deviation from the revivalist Greek and Edwardian styles. Records from the Killie Campbell collection describe the first Surat Hindu Association building as being of a Vernacular Indian Style. Suffice it to say at this point that it was unlikely that a Vernacular Indian Style even existed, considering the vastness of the Indian subcontinent and the various indigenous, eclectic (particularly those found near Surat) and colonial influences at that time. At best, that description could refer to a hybridized version of a contemporary Indian style.

The Association buildings were established in the Casbah wedged between the northern municipal boundary, the western rail, the eastern beachfront, and the British terra firma to the south. The terraqueous nature of the migrants' homeland in contrast to the terra firma of the colonial city and its boundaried development area, provided a restrictive, compact, and concentrated imperial slum.<sup>6</sup> The Casbah its separateness and boundedness, could be thought of as an island. Inwardly, the Casbah timelessly reproduced the traditions of Surat and outwardly emulated the ideals of the settlers.

Architecture has been practiced as a profession largely within the British constraints of the Beaux-Arts. Buildings in the Casbah were largely designed by colonial architects as non-whites would not have been admitted to universities in order for them to acquire formal degrees in Architecture. There are no known Indian architects who may have practiced in the Casbah between 1920-1960, the construction period of the building artefacts under study here. Preventing other racial groups from entering the profession was part of the British economic project. The only Indian architects, building artisan that I stumbled upon during the research was Murugas Morgasen Naiker who was responsible for the design of the Ganesa Temple.<sup>7</sup> More research into this area is required.

The Casbah developed from a shop and shack informal settlement in the vacant parts of the central city. After the expiry of the indenture, many Indians settled here together with those arriving as free passengers. Many began buying property and developing these parcels of land. The Grey Street and the West Street mosques were some of the earliest iterations of the buildings that they are today. Many wealthier merchants developed family-owned 2 to 3-storey buildings, typical of the time with retail on the ground, residential above, and colonnaded streets with large street-facing balconies. These were typically built in a neo-classical style although some were built in the Art Deco Style. Not only were the British in control of the styles of the White city but were indirectly in control of the styles of the Casbah through the direction of their architects.

The busy period of building the Casbah was between 1930 and 1945. Building work slowed down due to the proclamation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 by 1957 and by 1973 all building work had come to a halt. The uncertainty<sup>8</sup> of the period froze the Casbah's architectural legacy in time. These were deliberate economic decisions by the Apartheid state beyond racial concerns. The uncertainty related to the fear of losing land and property to Whites. In addition, rentals were inflated due to an artificial shortage of land created by the Group Areas legislation and simultaneously left large parts of the built environment underutilized.<sup>9</sup> Also, the rates charged on Indian-owned land were 30-110% more than on White-owned land in the CBD.<sup>10</sup> As a result, lower-rise buildings were developed.

## **AN ASSOCIATION**

Amongst the free passengers were very wealthy merchants, who were mainly Muslim Gujaratis from west coast India. Amongst the free passengers were predominantly Hindu Gujarati traders, petty shopkeepers, and hawkers.<sup>11</sup> Amongst the Hindu Gujarati passengers, there were those who descended from the western desert region of Kathiawad and those who originated from towns around the eastern ports of Gujarat, namely Surat. It is this grouping of people who established themselves in the Casbah and whom the study brings to attention.

There were numerous Indian organisations other than the Surat Hindu Association (established in 1907) set up in the Casbah. The Hindu Tamil Institute (established in 1914) and the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj (established in 1943) are examples of such organisations. The Grey Street Mosque and the West Street Mosque were others. Whilst the Grey Street Mosque was defined as a religious space, it was initially owned and controlled by very wealthy merchants mainly from Kathiawad. The West Street Mosque was owned and controlled by wealthy Surti Muslims. The Hindu Tamil Institute was largely set up by a Mauritian-born Tamil rather than an indentured-class Indian.<sup>12</sup>

The Association provided a platform for solidarity and brotherhood in the pursuit of economic benefit. Amongst the Hindu Surti Gujaratis, there were caste and class differences. The Association sought to flatten these through the pursuit of economic and cultural common interests. Unity was not always achieved by its members, but the Association overall brought an enduring sense of stability to the Casbah through the outwardly visible cultural and educational show of somewhat of a Surti life. The membership of the Association originally was restricted to descendants, from both maternal and paternal sides, of Hindu Surtis from Gujarat. Patrimony, although not specifically defined in their constitution, was practiced as a matter of tradition. The Association was able to reciprocally practice business as charity and charity as business and identified that material building through immovable assets was a means to building a community.

From the Surat Hindu Association Hall for platoon classes in the initial days to the development of the Surat Hindu Association School on the old Prince Edward Street and also to the extension of the school in Cross Street and later the nursery school in Surat Centre are the physical manifestations of a larger social project of advancement of education for the future of the descendants of the Hindu Surtis. All languages, including Gujarati, were advanced as mediums of education in a modern Casbah.<sup>13</sup>

### **A RELATIONAL ECONOMY**

The Association understood that the development of educational and cultural space meant an advancement in the cultural production of the community which in turn forged a strong relational economy. The focal point in the collage is the stage of the Bharat Hall at the Association building on Prince Edward Street (Figure 3). The performance is the traditional garba dance, which seems too large for the stage, visually, but also as a metaphor for being more than a mere act. It is a focus on the celebration of culture. The floor opens to a variety of activities through public association. The space is unremarkable and small in relation to the vibrancy of the culture, again emphasizing the interiority of activity and richness of the cultural aspects of the community in relation to the design of the austere building. The modesty and economy of space and the maximizing of the capacity of the building have lessons for social vibrancy. Culture was important for the relational economy of the community in order to materially prosper. The absence of designated religious spaces and iconography in the buildings, due largely to the direction of the principal and priest of the school, Pt Nardev Vedalankar, adds credence to the assertion that there was in addition an economy of religion that was practiced.



Figure 38. Halls of cultural production. Source: by author

The dining balcony of the Association building on Victoria Street (Figure 4) expresses an overflow of celebration and shared experience. Deviating from the original architectural features of the space, it is embellished by the commune of eating together. Most members speak of nostalgic communal free meals en masse as shared during weddings and events. The collage is layered over the Union Jack, representing a colonial past, lived amongst, yet not privately integrated. The balcony enclosure is embellished, turning outside restriction into internal safety, or a celebration of what and who it holds. Many features are integrated from the West Street Mosque as designed by the same German architect.

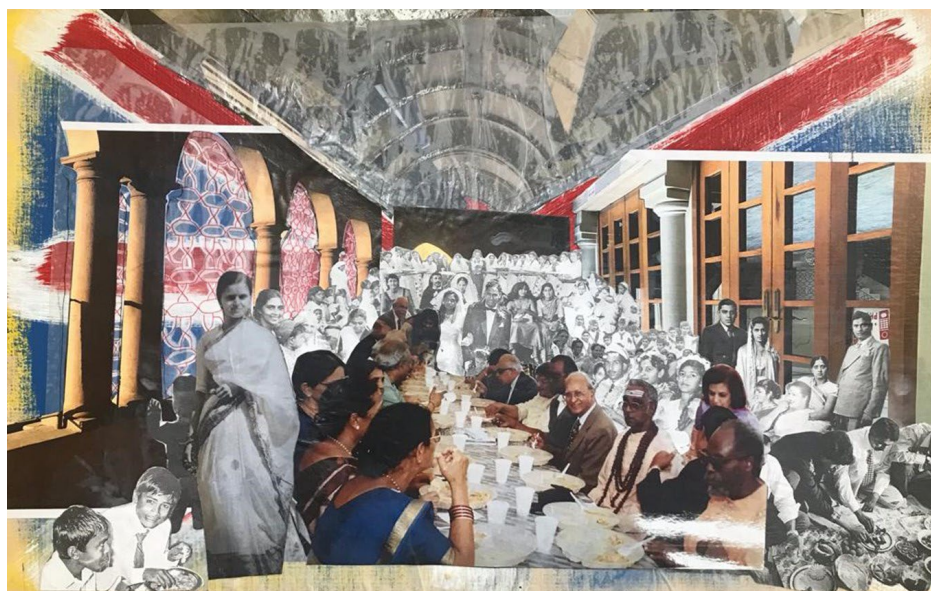


Figure 39. Halls of cultural production 2. Source: by author

## HAVELI DREAMS

Havelis were originally built during the Moghul Period and can be attributed to the influences of migrating Persians to India. They were generally built by and lived in by the middle to upper middle classes and are found in many Northern Indian old urban centres including Jaipur and Delhi.<sup>14</sup> All

havelis have internal courtyards. Rooms which surround the courtyard are spatially ambiguous; enclosed yet open and they hold a sense of fluidity between inhabitants and space.<sup>15</sup> A haveli is attached to its neighbour thereby generating the morphology of the neighbourhood. The haveli typology creates an urban and public realm and simultaneously structures the street. Smaller streets and arcades provide more shade in addition to intimacy and privacy. It is the multiplicity, hybridity, and plasticity<sup>16</sup> of the undefined usage of overall space that makes the haveli a compelling example of economy.

It is plausible that an altered version of the haveli was transferred onto the landscape of the Casbah. The colonnaded streets with full-length balconies above, courtyard spaces behind, and the 2 to 3-storey walk-ups, have moments that relate to the haveli. However, the typology was adapted to the perfunctory needs of people in the Casbah taking into consideration aspects of affordability and capital building. They became much more rudimentary iterations of the ancestral type. In addition, a British influence of formal and colonial style would have added to an eclecticism of the built artefact. Figure 5 depicts street scenes of the Casbah with street blocks infilled with imaginary Haveli plans,<sup>17</sup> a fictional nobility, and a cultured interiority behind an assimilated colonial mask.

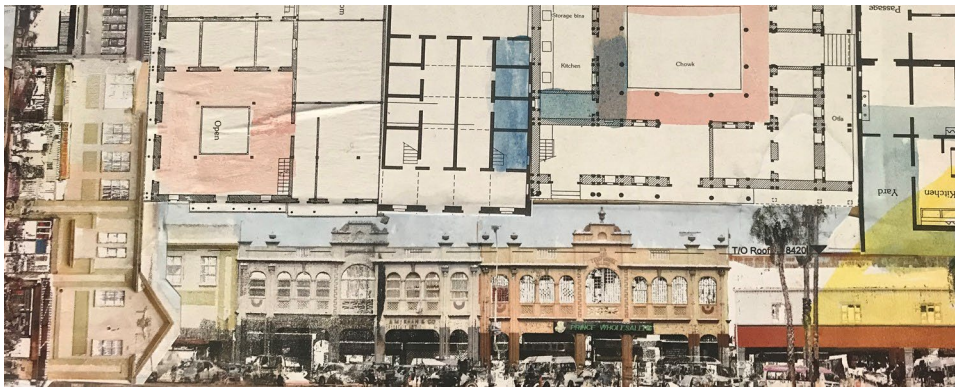


Figure 40. Haveli dreams. Source: by author

## CARAVANSERAI

Caravanserais or dharmshalas are common restrooms found within disaggregated private courtyards designated for travelers in Gujarat. A dharamshala was built as part of the Victoria Street Association building. During British rule and Apartheid, non-whites were excluded from hotels and lodges. The Association provided boarding and lodging to forge and maintain social networks in the interiors of South Africa in order that they could board ships to and from Durban's harbour. In effect, the Casbah, together with the Association buildings could be described as an island due to the frequency of national and global movement.

## ISLAND KITCHENS

Women in the Casbah were mainly restricted to the home. The kitchen was a gendered island. Many of the floor plans of havelis, specifically articulate and designate the kitchen as a female space. In many of the havelis, particularly Muslim havelis, there was one courtyard for men and their business dealings and the other for more domestic, women, and family-related activities. The Association had no female members for most of its existence (about 100 years today). A parallel women's organisation, the Gujarati Mahila Mandal,<sup>18</sup> held regular meetings and events within the spaces of the Association buildings. Women took up social leadership by breaking through caste, class, and racial islands through community and charity work.

## INDIGENOUS ISLANDS

Indigenous Zulu people of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Durban, were at the most marginal in every regard from access to housing, schools, employment, and human dignity. A separate cosmopolitanism<sup>19</sup> characterizes the variety of groupings of the people of Durban. The British genteel, Zulus, and Indian labourers and traders formed this melting pot of cultures yet there was a disunity of communities and the formation of cultural islands. Henry Francis Fynn, Francis Farewell, and James Saunders King were early ‘founders’ of Durban who painted an alternative picture of Shaka, who was the king of the Zulus. They had dramatically altered the image of Shaka to one of a despot murdering thousands everyday.<sup>20</sup> These were the early sowing of the seeds of islands.

The Casbah, while providing goods and services mainly to black people, also provided harbouring resentment toward the Indian entrepreneur, as evidenced by the 1949 and 2021 riots. Much of the African anger directed toward Indians in their homogenous agglomeration is unfounded. In fact, most indentured Indians also suffered greatly under colonial and apartheid rule. The 1949 and 2021 riots<sup>21</sup> were misdirected at all Indians, proof that the colonial project was and continues to be successful today. Class, racial, and cultural differences were used as a weapon to suppress those who were not like them. The nuances of class differences within racial groups have not been sufficiently recognised either in 1949 or in 2021 as key reasons for inequality and remain as a globular racial reason.

An exclusionary practice of recruiting family members, both from South Africa and calling for more members from villages in India, with homogenous backgrounds of religion and language, to assist in the businesses up until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century was employed. Merchant-class Indians, through organisations like the Natal Indian Congress, promoted and secured business interests at the expense of ex-indentured Indians<sup>22</sup> and local African people.

This further gives credence to the assertion that the Associations' sense of safety and belonging has always been tentative and uncertain. The Surti-Hindu-Gujarati were complicit in maintaining harmony with British settlers and were happy to comply with the separation from the Zulus due to their own unresolved intersectional discriminations of caste, class, and racism.

## HOMES OF ECONOMY

The Association developed 4 buildings, of which only 3, Figure 6, have been studied here. The 3 artefacts are the Association buildings at Victoria Street (1925- left), Prince Edward Street (1952- centre), and Cross Street (1960-right). The Victoria and Cross Street buildings are mixed-use retail, housing, and school/community hall typologies of varying units and rentals. The developments have been bulked with maximum footprints. Passages and courtyards are limited but functional. The housing units accommodated many large families, often intergenerational. The domestic ablution spaces were small. There has been a migration of families out of the city, disaggregating families due to political uncertainty, particularly after 1960.

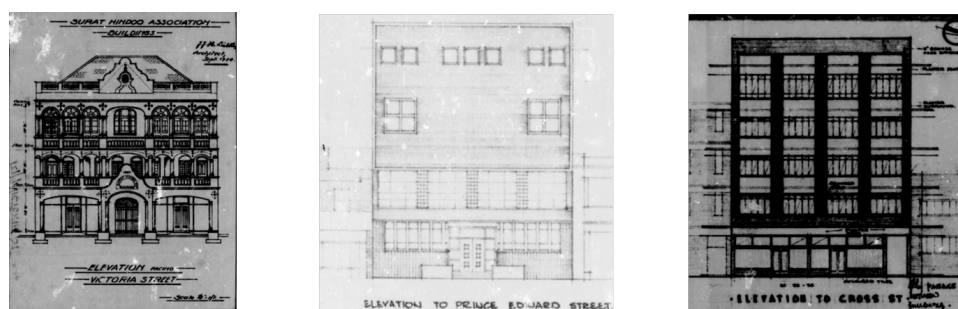


Figure 41. 3 Surat Hindu Association artefacts. Source: Ethekewini municipality

## EDUCATION AS ECONOMIC RESOURCE

This stairwell collage (Figure 7) communicates movement, support, and elevation and is behind the scenes. Climbing the stairs is a metaphor for striving. The association elevated itself and its members through education, learning, schooling, and language. The learning is represented through the stairwells rather than the classrooms, as this is where learning is tested and practiced, outside the classroom. Men are seen climbing the stairs of education and success. And are cycled from schoolboy to teacher, representative of generational development. It is important for one who knows how to share and teach. The image also indicates women and children, vital to the process of learning and elevation.



Figure 42. Education as economic resource. Source: by author

## FACADES AND THE ECONOMY OF AESTHETICS

This streetscape collage (Figure 8) represents an external essence of the buildings. The skies are of news in the streets and a representation of the voices of people and social connectedness. The Association was part of a larger community of Indians from various religious, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. Whilst the Indian quarter was homogenous, it was richly diverse. There were dozens of other organizations representing various interest groups with social development like the Association. Together they built and developed their island. The mainly western facades are mere backdrops to the vibrant social street life. While the Victoria Street building gave the Association its first stake in the ground and foothold in the Indian Quarter with its grand arched facades, the other two artefacts are regular nondescript and unremarkable Modernist brick façade Durban buildings. The economic restraint of the buildings is in sharp contrast to the social and vibrant interiors.





Figure 43. Aesthetics of economy. Source: by author

## CONCLUSION

I have attempted to articulate a thread of the themes of the economy within an island imaginary in the development of the built artefacts of the Surat Hindu Association. I have done so by tracing several themes that assist with building a narrative of an island imaginary. I have explored the *terraqueous* Surat, the original locale of the members of the Association, and its geographical and historic trading and migrant tradition. I have covered aspects of the formation of the Association; how it came to be and its focused effort on economy as a way of life. In addition, I look at the political backdrop of an imposing colonial *terra firma* on the city of Durban and its people. The possible subconscious musings of members of the Association in relation to borrowed (from the middle east) indigenous migrant architecture in the form of havelis from Surat. I also introduce gender spaces in relation to ‘island-making’ through the idea of ‘island kitchens’ of havelis and their translated spaces in the Casbah. Further, I draw on the idea of caravanserais as manifest in the form of *dharamshala* in the Association building as a migrant space. I conclude by noting the physical and mental ‘islands’ created by the indigenous Zulu people of Durban by the political regimes and fortified by Indian traders.

The Association’s most lasting legacy and heritage may be its gift of economy through an island imaginary. In architectural terms, it is a heritage of all manner of resource efficiencies from financial, material, space utilization, construction as well as social and relational. The Association has both benefitted from colonial privilege as well as lost under restrictive laws. But it is through their recognition of uncertainty that they were able to thrive through the economy of social networks and social capital, the economy of modest and perfunctory spatial elements to build a resilient community and culture of vibrancy and education through collective and modest means. There are lessons in the narratives of the Association for a more simultaneously ordinary and vibrant architectural future.

**NOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> Ketaki Pant. "Homes of Capital: Merchants and Mobility across Indian Ocean Gujarat" (dissertation, 2015), 5.
- <sup>2</sup> Tamboli, Binita and Shah, Nikhil Sanjay. "Globalised since 1510: Transitional Morphology of Surat," Sahapedia, accessed August 29, 2023, <https://www.sahapedia.org/globalised-1510-transitional-morphology-of-surat>, 4.
- <sup>3</sup> Pant, Ketaki. "Homes of Capital: Merchants and Mobility across Indian Ocean Gujarat" (dissertation, 2015), 210.
- <sup>4</sup> Sunand Prasad, "The Havelis of North India: The Urban Courtyard House" (dissertation, Royal College of Art, 1988), Volume 2.
- <sup>5</sup> Pillay, Charlene and Davies, Gareth. Grey Street Precinct in *KZNIA journal Durban's Art Deco Architecture*, issue 1/2003. Vol 28. Accessed November 3 2022 <https://www.kznia-journal.org.za/sites/default/files/KZNIA%201-2003%20E.PDF> , 6.
- <sup>6</sup>. Omar Badsha, *Imperial Ghetto: Ways of Seeing in a South African City* (Maroelana South Africa: South African History Online, 2001), 26.
- <sup>7</sup> NAIKER, Murugas (Morgasen), Architect/builder of Ganesa Temple, 1919, Durban. Accessed August 28 2023 <https://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=1145>
- <sup>8</sup> Tashmica Sharma, "Memory, Nostalgia and Reality: A Socio-Historical Perspective of the Grey Street Complex" (dissertation, 2016), 32.
- <sup>9</sup> Tashmica Sharma, "Memory, Nostalgia and Reality: A Socio-Historical Perspective of the Grey Street Complex" (dissertation, 2016), 101.
- <sup>10</sup> Tashmica Sharma, "Memory, Nostalgia and Reality: A Socio-Historical Perspective of the Grey Street Complex" (dissertation, 2016), 101.
- <sup>11</sup> Hiralal, Kalpana. "Indian Family Businesses in South Africa: 1870-2004." (*Anthropologist Special Issue. 2: (2007)*, 99–108). 100.
- <sup>12</sup> South African History Online, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/hindu-tamil-institute-building-durban>.
- <sup>13</sup> Surat Hindu Association, Platinum Jubilee Brochure, 1982. 21
- <sup>14</sup> Sunand Prasad, "The Havelis of North India: The Urban Courtyard House" (dissertation, Royal College of Art, 1988), Volume 2.
- <sup>15</sup> Sunand Prasad, "The Havelis of North India: The Urban Courtyard House" (dissertation, Royal College of Art, 1988), Volume 2.
- <sup>16</sup> Tamboli, Binita and Shah, Nikhil Sanjay. "Globalised since 1510: Transitional Morphology of Surat," Sahapedia, accessed August 29, 2023, <https://www.sahapedia.org/globalised-1510-transitional-morphology-of-surat>, 4.
- <sup>17</sup> Haveli plans represent what the Surti were familiar with and aspired to from their homeland. A superimposition of his nostalgic dreams onto the British street grid terra firma with an eclectic façade complicates the narrative of the built environment.
- <sup>18</sup> Kalpana Hiralal, "'Immigrant Sisters Organising for Change': The Gujarati Mahila Mandal, 1930-2010," *Journal Of Sociology And Social Anthropology* 04, no. 1–2 (2013), <https://doi.org/10.31901/24566764.2013/04.1-2.11>, 20.
- <sup>19</sup> Betsie van Niekerk, *Durban at Your Feet: An Alternative Guide to a City* (Durban: Overport Publishers, 1983), 20.
- <sup>20</sup> Dan Wylie, *Shaka* (Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana Media, 2011), 119.
- <sup>21</sup> Niren Tolsi, "KwaZulu-Natal Races Back to 1949," *The Mail & Guardian*, September 1, 2021, Accessed June 3 2022 <https://mg.co.za/news/2021-07-19-kwazulu-natal-races-back-to-1949/>.
- <sup>22</sup> Hiralal, Kalpana. "Indian Family Businesses in South Africa: 1870-2004." (*Anthropologist Special Issue. 2: (2007)*, 99–108). 101.

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# **[IN]VISIBLE PORTRAYAL OF CONTINUING HERITAGE VALUES: EXPLORING THE BENIGN RELATIONSHIPS OF ADJACENT/ LOCAL COMMUNITIES WITH SOMAPURA MAHAVIHARA WORLD HERITAGE SITE**

Authors:

**PUSHPITA ESHIKA, EDWARD SALO**

Affiliation:

ARKANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY, USA

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The abstract meaning of heritage is hidden in many ways in places, materials, and people in a given context and time. Heritage is produced and preserved through human interactions with nature, place, and other humans, which is the prerequisite of the traditional and cultural development of a family, group, community, or nation. Hence, heritage itself is intangible. The tangible properties and material culture are the physical manifestations of heritage. Significant cultural heritage sites, monuments, and properties of the outstanding universal value stated by the UNESCO World Heritage are places and materials that carry the intangible knowledge, technology, and stories of humans of a particular time and place and connect that time, place, memories and stories to the contemporary society.

Besides monuments and objects, cultural heritage also incorporates living expressions such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, celebratory events, knowledge about nature and the universe, and knowledge and abilities to create arts and crafts passed down from ancestors and carried to successive generations.<sup>1</sup> The transition of such invisible elements as knowledge or tradition is not very easy to identify unless there is any significant materialistic evidence produced in the form of tangible or intangible cultural elements. Even though the relationship between heritage and humans always persists.

Somapura Mahavihara is an 8th-century Buddhist monastery and a world heritage site in Bangladesh. It was a school of a particular spiritual identity that dealt with tantra, an ancient Eastern Indian esoteric practice. The transcendent character of this monastery is stored in its symbolic layout of spaces and masses, excavated idols of different local Vedic and Buddhist gods and goddesses, and terracotta ornamentation in different emblematic patterns. On the contrary, the neighbouring communities of this Buddhist heritage site are non-Buddhists and predominantly Muslim. This contrast in religion apparently made no room for any Buddhist religious identity to enter the socio-religious enclave of this particular region. Yet, the heritage materials of this monastery emblemized in spirituality, magic, and mysticism are flown in the very heart of the local society, and a culture based on magic and mysticism has developed in the adjacent communities, which is indeed invisible in the necked eye yet powerfully connects this ancient Buddhist monastery with the present Muslim population. This paper discussed one of such invisible relationships of local communities with the monastery.

## **BACKGROUND**

Situated in a remote village in the northwestern part of Bangladesh, Somapura Mahavihara stands tall with the remains of an extinct school of Buddhism named Tantrayana, popularly known as Vajrayana or thunderbolt vehicle of Buddhism. Tantra, an ancient form of mystic order, was practiced in Bengal and eastern India for a time unknown. Constructed in the 8th century over the ruin of a Jain temple, this Buddhist monastery represents a glorious past of the inclusion of tantric practices in Buddhism for more than four hundred years, approximately from the 7th to the 12th century. After almost one thousand years of the first two schools, a new and the most dynamic school in the Buddhist creed was erected in the very heart of Bengal with the name of Vajrayana. Vajrayana was not only the most robust and dynamic school but was also the last ruling school of Buddhism in India before the religion was completely eradicated from its birthplace around the 13th century.

A small deltaic region stretched between the Himalayas and the Bay of Bengal is historically known as Ancient Bengal. Ancient Bengal consisted of West Bengal of India, Bangladesh, and Eastern India. Three recorded religions, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, and unrecorded indigenous religions, which are primarily nature worship, were found in ancient Bengal, dating approximately from 400 BC to 1200 AD. Islam entered Bengal in 1200 AD. With the rise of Islam, Buddhism was also completely eradicated from Bengal. By 1872, Muslims became the majority in the demographic chart of Bengal, which eventually instigated the partition of 1947 over religion. Bengal was divided between India and Pakistan, and finally, in 1971, a new nation was born with the name of Bangladesh and a secular identity, yet with a predominantly Muslim population. The majority of the people of Bangladesh is Muslim, containing 89.2% of the total population, according to the 2011 census.<sup>2</sup>

From ancient times, two paths of religion prevailed in Bengal—the path of homeless asceticism and the path of structured religion. All the religions that entered Bengal, including Islam, followed these two streams in a natural instinct. These homeless ascetics brought mysticism to society. Besides, the supreme influence of natural forces in the life and living patterns of rural Bengali people drove them towards transcendental forces and mystic practices like tantra. Hence, stories, myths, and legends were created and became a part of the everyday life of the rural people of Bangladesh.

## **PHYSICAL FEATURES OF SOMAPURA MAHAVIHARA:**

Somapura Mahavihara is situated in Paharpur Union between Malancha, Goalbhita, and Paharpur village. The Vihara complex comprises approximately hundred and fifty acres of area, including the monastery complex, officials' accommodation, a museum, and a buffer area. The architectural layout of Somapura Mahavihara is nearly square, measuring 900 feet from north to south and 898 feet from east to west,<sup>3</sup> with one hundred and seventy-seven monastic cells surrounding a large quadrangular central courtyard. The most researched part of this Vihara is the central shrine or temple, considered the mother form of all Buddhist temples of East and Southeast Asia in the later period. It is a cruciform structure in three gradually descending upward terraces to a height of about seventy feet from the ground level in its current ruined condition. This lofty temple, with its imposing height, has an overwhelming effect on the flat, homogenous horizon of the study area.<sup>4</sup> Communities living in adjacent areas regard that monastery with fear and respect due to its mysterious construction, ornamentation, and most effectively circulated stories and legends.

## **THE POWER OF MYTHS AND LEGENDS IN BUILDING THE BRIDGE BETWEEN HUMANS AND HERITAGE:**

In an ancient site like Somapura Mahavihara, the authorized discourse of heritage must deal with an enormous historical background along with many other issues related to heritage management. In this process, minor emphasis is given to the unauthorized stories, myths, and legends disseminated locally

due to their unsubstantial characteristic. Yet, these stories, myths, and legends are often found intense enough to shape local communities' life and living patterns, which bind them with the heritage site in an invisible yet intrinsic bond of emotion and action, eventually becoming one of their primary identities. Such a relationship prevailed in the adjacent living communities and Somapura Mahavihara. Most of these myths are related to supernatural power, indicating the existence of a spiritual connection of this monastery with the local living communities.

A small temple outside the main vihara complex is regarded as the abode of a supernatural character-Shattyapir. The word 'Shattya' means truth, and the Arabic word 'Pir' means spiritual leader/ guide. Hence, the name Shattyapir depicts 'a true spiritual guide' or 'guide towards the truth.' 'Truth' is the fundamental identity of beingness in Vajrayana or Tantrayana and, eventually, Shahajayayana Buddhism. The ultimate truth was the primary quest of these schools. Buddhism started with the quest for truth, the four noble truths- the truth of suffering, the truth of the origin of suffering, the truth of the ceasing of suffering, and the paths to cure suffering. In Tantrayana, the monks adopted tantric rules and rituals as the fastest path to cease the sufferings of life and attain the ultimate true origin or nirvana.

The adaptation of the name Shattyapir, thus, could be a thoughtfully placed Buddhist philosophy in a Muslim enclave. The extent of this name does not end by connecting a Muslim name with Buddhist philosophy. A popular cultural belief among a widespread Hindu population of undivided Bengal is that Shattyapir is the Muslim incarnation of the Hindu god Shattyanarayan. Shattyanarayan is another name for lord Vishnu, who is regarded as the one and only lord and the ruler of the universe, and among the excavated idols of Bangladesh and this monastery, Vishnu sculpture was the highest.<sup>5</sup> In Islam, Allah is regarded as the One and Only—the ruler of the universe and lord of all living and non-living creatures on this earth.

#### **THE ABODE OF SHATTYAPIR:**

The small temple (Fig-1) outside the monastery wall is believed to be the abode of Shattyapir. It was most likely constructed in the ninth or tenth century, later than the Somapura Mahavihara's initial building era. Locally, this building is referred to as "Shattyapir Bhita." Bhita means "house". It is located around 400 yards (1157.91 feet) east of the monastery. Shattyapir Bhita's current name possibly started circulating around the 16th or 17th century AD. Historians identified this ruin as a temple of the Vajrayana Buddhist deity Shitataptra Tara.<sup>6</sup> During its excavation, a substantial number of small votive stupas were discovered. The discovery of votive stupas, the temple's physical characteristics, and its location outside the monastery wall indicate the high potential of public connection with this temple, apart from the monks. Vajrayana Buddhism was the most secret form of esoteric Buddhism in this region. The Monasteries were secured by high walls and restricted gates with controlled permeability. In contrast, the location of that small temple within notable walking distance of that walled monastery (Fig-2) indicates a different perspective that proposes local people's interaction in ancient times.



Figure 1. Shattyapir Bhita

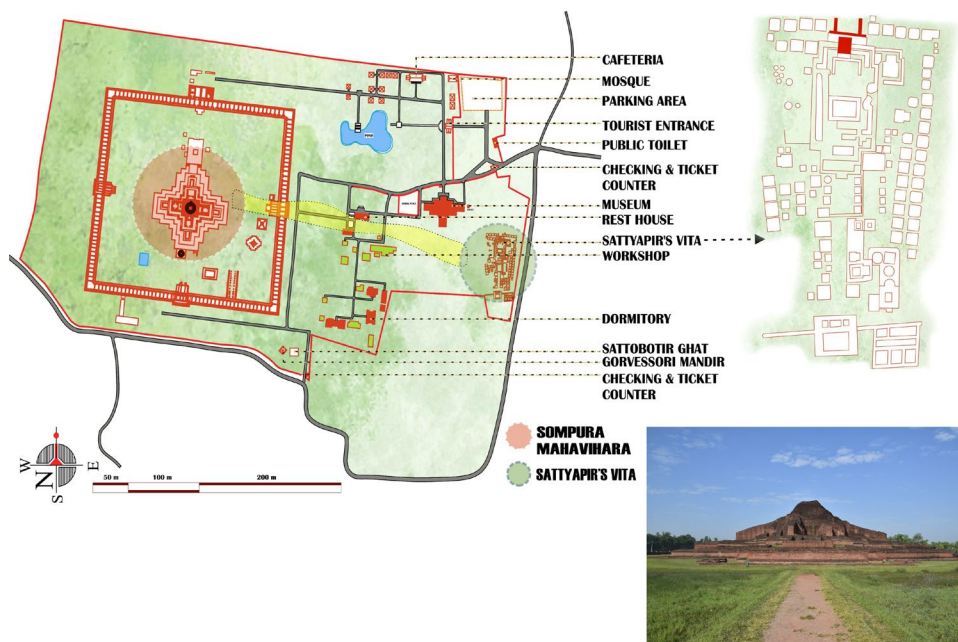


Figure 2. The masterplan of Somapura Mahavihara and Shattyapir Bhita.

### SHATTYAPIR AND HIS DIVINE POWER:

Local people believe that Shattyapir is a spiritual entity that saves them from all unknown disasters, fulfills their hearts' wishes, and protects their children. They produce veneration and food offerings for Shattyapir at the ruins of the existing Tara temple. The particular emphasis on the protection of children directs to a widely circulated story of mother and son- Shattyapir and his mother Shandhyavati. This story is also packed with magical incidents in favor of the weak, destitute, and unjust people and against the despotism of power and position. The Department of Archaeology, the state custodian of this world heritage site, has information about these stories, beliefs, and activities.

Still, they do not acknowledge this legend and myths of Shattyapir as there is no physical or substantial evidence of this identity. Yet, Shattyapir, his magical mystic abilities, and his humble abode, in contrast to the mighty existence of Somapura Mahavihara, remained as a testimony of the local manifestation of this world heritage site, which is very different from its authorized discourse.

### **THE STORY OF SHATTYAPIR AND HIS MOTHER SHANDHYAVATI:**

This study conducted ethnographic fieldwork between October and November of 2022 in almost two hundred and seventy-six villages around Somapura Mahavihara. A significant number of interviewees acknowledged the magical existence of Shattyapir in his home, the Tara temple inside the Monastery complex. After a snowball sampling, a few selected narrations about Shattyapir were recorded. The Story is such as-

The monastery was the palace of a Buddhist king named Mahidol in a long, long time. A beautiful daughter, "Shandhyavati" was born to King Mahidol. Shandhyavati was so stunning that as she ascended to the pinnacle of the Somapura Mahavihara's main shrine at night, she illuminated the area with her brilliant beauty. Locals frequently refer to the Somapura Mahavihara's primary shrine as Shandhyavati's temple. She was an endearingly religious young lady. There is a popular rumor that Shandhyavati formerly resided in a chamber on the top of this temple, even though there is no physical evidence of a chamber on the top of that temple, as the temple had already fallen before it was discovered between 1907 and 1928.<sup>7</sup>

However, Shandhyavati used to take her daily bath in a little river called Nuri outside the monastery wall, accompanied by hundreds of female escorts. As proof that a river once flowed close to this structure, a part of the dry riverbed still persists.<sup>8</sup> The physical existence of a historical river near the monastery gave this story a mythical identity that became impenetrable over the course of time. Despite the published name, that river is popularly known and made its way in the site museum as the river Nuri and a giant rock on the edge of a concave land in a place where the river flowed is known as Shandhyavati's Moor (Fig-3). Hanging in an alcove made by the exhibit displays, a miniature image of the riverbed briefly tells the tale of Shandhyavati. The physical existence of this pertinent property unequivocally shows that Shandhyavati was compelled to be acknowledged in the official historical management of this site.



*Figure 3. Sandhyavati's moor. Photos were taken during the survey by the researcher in October 2022.*



Around Shandhyavati, the narrative of Shattyapir is woven. Shandhyavati went to the river Nuri one day for her daily bath. She spotted a stunning red blossom floating in the water and requested her maids to bring that flower. The flower floated away every time her maids dived to grab it. The flower drifted into Shandhyavati's hand as soon as she stretched her hand out over the water after everyone else had failed. She then took the flower out of the water. The moment she smelled that crimson flower, it turned ashen. A few days later, Shandhyavati was found pregnant. The king was incensed upon hearing this information. Shandhyavati was exiled from his castle to a secluded forest as retribution for her alleged adultery. For the king's behavior toward Shandhyavati, one little observation must be made. It's a miracle that Shandhyavati conceived by inhaling a flower. Mahidol's rejection of magic can be interpreted as being dismissive of all forms of mysticism and tantra by orthodox religious society. In contrast, the uncorrupted minds of the locals are likewise distinguished, where magic appears more reasonable than its rational royal repudiation.

Her unborn child, Shattyapir, shielded Shandhyavati from her womb while she was alone during her exile in the wilderness. One of the locals, named Moslem, an eighty-six-year-old person in a village called Chakla-Darishan in Paharpur Union, described that story as such, *'When the tigers came to eat Shandhyavati, the mother, Shattyapir, the son shouted from her womb, "Hey Tiger, you do not dare to eat my mother. If you touch her, I will kill you." Hearing his voice, the tiger ran away.'* The radiance on Moslem's bedridden, old face was an abstract testimony of deep attachment to his own heritage and sincere preservation effort in a very unofficial yet sustainable way. The ardent presentation of the story of Shattyapir has all the quality of heritage management and presentation in front of an external audience. Unfortunately, it was never aligned with the official heritage discourse.

Moslem said, *'After a few days, Shattyapir went to King Mahidol and said, "One day, I came to your door with my bowl of alms, and you refused me. That is why I entered your daughter's womb and entered your family. Now, you have to accept me and give me veneration. I am Pir for Muslims and Devta (God) for Hindus. I am Shattyapir. You must worship me. Otherwise, I shall destroy you and your empire."* The king said, *"We are Buddhist. How can we worship a Hindu deity or a Muslim Pir? I can not do that."* As soon as the king said that there, a storm started. Large stones and hails started to fall from the sky with heavy rainfall and flooding.' This brief account of Moslem ignites the inquisitiveness of a researcher. The statement, *"We are Buddhists; how can we worship a Hindu deity?"* and finally, the submission of the king sums up the transition from the traditional Buddhist schools to the cutting-edge Vajrayana that included nearly all Vedic and regional gods and goddesses. Both in folklore and religious myth, there are many instances of tales that are comparable to the one about the birth of Shattyapir. Jesus (also a Muslim prophet) was born with God's favor from a virgin woman, much as a god, pregnant Kunti with her illegitimate son Karna in the Mahabharata without causing her to lose her virginity. The blending of religiously significant stories into a local myth is fascinating. The most intriguing part was the intrinsic connection of the local population with the monastery through the tale of Shattyapir and his mother. Shattyapir became a bridge between the past and present, and his transcendental character gave that bridge a timeless entity well preserved and carried forward by generations of the locality.

It was an inimitable strategy to link Shattyapir with a physical structure in Paharpur and to extend the narrative via the structure's demolition. The captivating aspect is how well Shattyapir was able to establish himself as the voice of the average man against power and position, as well as ensure his respect equally in the Muslim and Hindu communities.

In my inquiry about the story, Moslem, and many other interviewees had referred to a lost book with magical chants that could cultivate rain. Moslem attested that he saw his grandfather and a few other people reading that book when there was a drought in the country. The chanting of a particular chapter brought rain to the earth. A dilapidated print of a book named Shattyapir er Panchali<sup>9</sup> on a

website called *Endangered Archives Program supported by Arcadia*. Another historical fact coincidentally related to the story of the month-long rain and storm that destroyed King Mahidol's palace is the recent research finding of two historic floods in 1210 AD. and 1320 AD, respectively, in India by a group of Indian geologists who studied the intensity of precipitation marks on the stalagmites. According to a published article about that research, the rain continued for months, inundating a large part of the cultivable lands of Bengal, and a few kingdoms were destroyed as a consequence. Among the destroyed dynasties, the Sena dynasty of Bengal was one.<sup>10</sup> This flood has not yet been referenced in any historical records. However, multiple accounts of Bengali history provide a clear timeframe and a description of the Senas' persecution. If this flood is added to history, the folklore of the area can lend credence to the Shattyapir narrative, reinforcing the cultural bond between Somapura Mahavihara and its local stakeholders.

## ANALYSIS

The word 'pir' of Islamic origin with etymological roots in Central Asia and the Middle East imprinted in the name of a place connected to an extinct religion connects the thread of memories through generations. Somapura Mahavihara was designed with the concept of a mandala. The tallest and most magnificent structure, the central shrine, is in the center in a crucifix form.<sup>11</sup> The entire complex was clad with terracotta plaques with emblematic depictions of Hindu and Buddhist gods and goddesses, different yogic forms, and symbols. The complex meaning of the mandala with all its cardinal directions was visible in the plan layout of Somapura Mahavihara.<sup>12</sup> On the contrary, the Shattyapir Bhita or the Tara temple outside the monastery was simple, without any significant symbolic forms. Therefore, the living community could hold on to the part of the heritage identity of the monastery, which they could relate to. The creation and circulation of Shattyapir was an intelligent interpretation that ensured religious syncretism between Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, which was essential for heritage to continue on this site. The similar name and transcendental attributes of Shitiatapatra Tara, God Shattyanarayan, and Shattyapir clearly surface the transition and transmission of the heritage of Somapura Mahavihara over the course of time.

Shattyapir, with his transcendental attributes and humble abode, became the protagonist of the story, which immediately brought him close to the local unprivileged population. On the contrary, King Mahidol, radiating authority with the mighty masonry boundary of the monastery, played the antagonist role in this story. The fantasy of the supremacy of God over any human is emitted through the story of Shattyapir. The artful crafting of this narration has many dimensions that present the history, memory, and aspirations of people in the context of social discrimination. The artful grafting of Islam as a mightier religion than Buddhism, yet a balanced religious syncretism, is another dimension of this story. The grandeur of Somapura Mahavihara resides in its capacity to adapt to the minds and memories of the locals in order to guarantee its control in local heritage discourse.

## CONCLUSION

Heritage management and understanding at the local level are quite different from the authorized heritage management by the legislative committees. The third OUV category for this monastery indicates the tangible connection with living communities through ideas, philosophies, and art. The story of Shattyapir and its extended and multifaced association with the local community unofficially justifies this OUV, which is not yet recognized by the authorized heritage management. Heritage management does not necessarily need to follow only the material-based approach. In a context like Somapura Mahavihara, a value-based approach to heritage management is as essential as a material-based approach. The benign relationship between this world heritage site of Somapura Mahavihara and its neighboring communities is indeed a value-based approach reinforced by the mystical

existence of Shattyapir. The Shattyapir storytellers richly illustrated these connections. For them and other residents of the area, Shattyapir is a living spirit borne from the old Somapura bricks and ingrained in their daily life. A mysterious spirituality that can only be sensed blurs the line between the ordinary and the sublime. Expression of such mysticism is a latent quality of the communities, which was unveiled in this study through the story of Shattyapir. The mystic religion originally practiced at Somapura Mahavihara through tantra, mantra, and Mandala is infused with the attributes of this magical character and his association with the monastery, connecting locals with the global.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> UNESCO. “Text of the Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage, Article-2.” UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. 2022 Edition. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention#art2>; Eshika, Pushpita, “Local Manifestation of Global Heritage-The Role of Local Communities in the Management of ‘Somapura Mahavihara’-A World Heritage Site of Buddhist Origin of Bangladesh”, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, (Arkansas State University, 2023). P-03.
- <sup>2</sup> Population and Housing Census, Bangladesh, 2011. <http://www.bbs.gov.bd/site/page/47856ad0-7e1c-4aab-bd78-892733bc06eb/Population-and-Housing-Census>
- <sup>3</sup> Rahman Shah Sufi Mostafizur, *Archaeological Heritage* (Dhaka: Asiatic Soc. of Bangladesh, 2007), 294.
- <sup>4</sup> Mostafizur, *Archaeological Heritage*
- <sup>5</sup> Eshika,
- <sup>6</sup> Eshika, Pushpita, “Local Manifestation of Global Heritage-The Role of Local Communities in the Management of ‘Somapura Mahavihara’-A World Heritage Site of Buddhist Origin of Bangladesh”, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, (Arkansas State University, 2023). 148-149.
- <sup>7</sup> “Buchanan-Hamilton, Francis (1762-1829) on JSTOR,” accessed April 19, 2023, <https://plants.jstor.org/stable/10.5555/al.ap.person.bm000324521>.
- <sup>8</sup> Eshika, 155.
- <sup>9</sup> “Satya Piner Panchali,” Endangered Archives Programme, accessed April 19, 2023, <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP759-1-4>.
- <sup>10</sup> <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/two-major-floods-wiped-out-several-medieval-indian-dynasties-study/articleshow/72716607.cms>.
- <sup>11</sup> M. H. Reza. “Early Buddhist Architecture of Bengal: Morphological Study on the vihāra of c. 3rd to 8th Centuries,” n.d. 151-152.
- <sup>12</sup> Eshika, 217-218.

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# THE ARCHITECTURE OF THREE POROSITIES: READING FORMAL/INFORMAL PRACTICE IN A REVITALISED URBAN HERITAGE SITE

Author:

**DIANDRA SAGINATARI, JONATHAN HALE, TIM COLLETT**

Affiliation:

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT, UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM, UK

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## INTRODUCTION

*As porous as this stone is the architecture. Building and action interpenetrate in the courtyards, arcades, and stairways. In everything, they preserve the scope to become a theatre of new unforeseen constellations.*<sup>1</sup>

Resounding Benjamin and Lacis's idea, this study views porosity as an architectural condition and believes that porosity consists of a linkage between the material quality, the spatial configuration and the socio-cultural practice of the people. Therefore, as an architectural condition, porosity is not a singular concept but can be broken down into three porosities: material porosity, social porosity and spatial porosity, which also address different kinds of scale. The material porosity relates to the 'literal' porosity of the material, which is addressed on a micro-scale that influences the material's performance and condition. The social porosity relates to the socially constructed architectural concept, which is addressed in a bigger macro scale of a social setting, such as an urban context, such as public/private and formal/informal. The spatial porosity relates to the embodied spatial experience and practice, which is addressed in an architectural and human body scale, such as accessibility, the relationship between inside/outside and the spatial practice that involves the arrangement of objects and additional structure.

By utilising this idea of the three porosities, this study aims to unfold, in particular, the encounter of formal/informal practice in Semarang Old Town. The municipal government's heritage city conservation programme, considered a formal practice in this study, has brought significant physical and socio-economical changes since 2013. Nowadays, Semarang Old Town has many restored Dutch architecture-style heritage buildings with new functions, such as café and restaurants, art galleries and hotels. The new functions, the improved infrastructure and the relocation of previously informal practices and inhabitation led to a socioeconomic change in the area, arguably indicating gentrification. However, within this revitalised area, there are still empty, abandoned and decaying buildings that host informal practices by local people. Informal practice here refers to a somewhat unofficial inhabitation and small economic practice, such as unlicensed food and drink sellers.

In this study, the three porosities are translated into porosity mapping to map the material, social, and spatial porosity of some building façade examples in Semarang Old Town. Based on the porosity mapping, this study will situate the discussion of formal/informal practice in a revitalised urban

heritage site with the idea of counterpreservation. This preservation approach embraces decay and views its appropriation as a design strategy that involves material, spatial and aesthetic creation.<sup>2</sup> The result indicates different relationships between porosities in each façade, signifying the different treatment and state of the building results in different formal/informal practices. In particular, decaying buildings seem to have a porous quality that invites and facilitates informal inhabitation. This porosity and the idea of counterpreservation might situate the decaying building in Semarang Old Town to exist as a thirdspace<sup>3</sup> in a revitalised urban heritage site.

### **ON HERITAGE, CONSERVATION AND FORMAL/INFORMAL ENCOUNTER**

This study views the idea of heritage as Harrison<sup>4</sup> suggested, which emerges from relationship and interconnection between people, objects, places and practices and between human/non-human and nature/culture. Such a relationship hints at the dynamic nature of heritage spatiality, especially the urban heritage site, where the heritage structure encounters the socio-cultural and environmental context. However, this encounter is regulated as a heritage building, which means a 'special treatment' that the building will be protected and will be developed and utilised in particular ways based on the law and the regulation. This makes the preservation, conservation and revitalisation of heritage a formal form of practice of the authority.

Semarang Old Town or Kota Lama Semarang or De Oude Stad is a Dutch Colonial city in Central Java, Indonesia. Back then, Semarang Old Town was the centre of the government, military and business, as well as the centre for trading and industry.<sup>5</sup> The municipal government of Semarang has specific regulations for planning Semarang Old Town and has the heritage city conservation programme since 2013. This programme is a response to the previous condition of Semarang Old Town, which, after the independence in 1945, the Indonesian government's nationalisation of Dutch colonial assets resulted in massive bankruptcy and abandonment of the area. At that time, the idea of colonial heritage did not yet exist as during the era of the first President, he preferred to erase any trace of colonialism, and in the 'new order' era of the second President, the development of new modern buildings was pretty much the vision for the nation.<sup>6</sup>

Such a neglected and abandoned condition has resulted in many informal inhabitation, encroachment, some social problems such as prostitution, as well as environmental problems such as flooding in the area. Even though the conservation programme's vision is to be concerned with the locals' socioeconomic and socio-cultural life, the regulation and planning regulation mainly concern physical maintenance.<sup>7</sup> The municipal government also has a vision for Semarang Old Town to be a UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS), which is currently in the tentative list. So all the efforts are done in this direction.



Figure 1. Night scene of Semarang Old Town (Source: <https://www.sumber78.com/2019/12/10-lokasi-spot-foto-terbaik-di-kawasan.html>)

The conservation programme undoubtedly brought a significant change in the environmental quality, as they managed to 'clean up' most of the informal practices that occupied the area's facades, buildings and streets. Many buildings are revitalised, and the streets are paved and beautified with new street furniture (Figure 1). Semarang Old Town is now a result of the vision and execution of revitalisation by removing additional physical and social layers, aiming for a greater economic gain from tourism. This situation inevitably increases the value of the property, the socioeconomic situation of the area is changing, and it hints at gentrification<sup>8</sup> and overtourism, which cause vulnerability issues to the informal sector in the area such as the tension between the municipal government upon removals of these informal sectors and rivalry with the new formal sector.<sup>9</sup> It also reflects the tendency of a revitalisation project in the direction of becoming WHS to aim for a rather pristine historical object, demarcates and purifies space and diverts people away from everyday life,<sup>10</sup> which in Semarang Old Town informality has been part of the everyday life of the local people.

This shows a tension between the formal/informal sector in a revitalised urban heritage site. This study views the conservation programme and any municipal government revitalisation effort as formal practices that will result in formal inhabitation. This formal inhabitation can mostly keep up with socioeconomic changes and the gentrification in the area, leaving any previous informal practice and inhabitation behind if not removed through forced evictions.

This study views this informal practice and inhabitation as part of informal urbanism, which takes shape from informal settlements to informal economies and has been an integral part, economically, socially, environmentally and aesthetically, of cities in the global south<sup>11</sup> such as Semarang. This urban informality includes informal practices such as informal market, informal trading, parking, begging, advertising and other types of the economy that operate outside the authority's control, but usually, the practice involves informal politics, such as informal fees, bribes and rent.<sup>12</sup> Even though informality is usually confused with poverty, it enables a micro-flow of goods and materials that produce income and becomes a way of managing poverty.<sup>13</sup> These informal practices usually infiltrate abandoned and leftover spaces in the city.<sup>14</sup>

The nature of informality, which physically infiltrates abandoned and leftover spaces in the city, resonates with the idea of porosity. In Naples, Benjamin and Lacis mentioned that "porosity results not only from the indolence of the Southern artisan but also, above all, from the passion of improvisation".<sup>15</sup> This shows that porosity is a socio-spatial phenomenon constructed from the people's socio-cultural practice and the city's spatial practice. Based on Benjamin and Lacis, Dovey further stipulated that porosity is "a form of productive resilience",<sup>16</sup> which he utilises as part of the framework to see urban informality, involving social and material practice. Therefore, this study attempts to use porosity to read formal/informal practice and inhabitation by mapping the material, social and spatial porosity.

## **READING SEMARANG OLD TOWN AS A REVITALISED URBAN HERITAGE SITE**

### **The three porosities**

The different states of the buildings in Semarang Old Town give exciting opportunities to see formal/informal practices around the area. In particular, this study will do porosity mapping on three building façade examples. This study views the facade as part of the urban surface, which is a social space, a stage on which urban stories unfold and through its physical and material existence, it expresses what is going on with the building and the context, so it goes beyond its material existence<sup>17</sup>. Building façade creates social relations just like urban walls<sup>18</sup> and could also be a site of urban biodiversity<sup>19</sup>. This study views the building façade as a porous space with a physical, socio-spatial and environmental presence, on which porosity mapping will be conducted.

Porosity mapping in this study consists of the three porosities that will be translated into colour gradations indicating different degrees of porosity, as explained in Table 1 below.



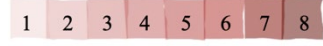
Definition	Colour Gradations	
<p><i>Material porosity.</i> It refers to the literal porosity of the facade material, indicating its condition. A clean, white painted surface will be considered the least porous. When the surface stains and cracks that is when it gets more porous. The surface will be even more porous when other organism such as moss and plants inhabit the surface. The darker the shade of grey means the more porous the facade material. It also indicates the more decaying state the facade is.</p>	<p><b>Material Porosity</b></p> 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 clean/relatively clean surface</li> <li>2 dirty/stained surface</li> <li>3 peeled/cracked surface</li> <li>4 moss/small plant covered surface</li> <li>5 roots/tree covered surface</li> </ol>
<p><i>Social porosity.</i> It refers to the discussion of public/private, formal/informal, of who inhabit and who can access or use the space, and of ownership. It relates also to the typological function and utilisation of the space. The lighter shade of purple indicates a private and non-accessible facade, then gradually gets darker when it becomes accessible for more people and public. The darkest shade of purple indicates the informal inhabitation that is not intended which signify the most socially porous facade is.</p>	<p><b>Social Porosity</b></p> 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 formal/private/no public access</li> <li>2 formal/private business</li> <li>3 formal/small business</li> <li>4 public space</li> <li>5 informal</li> </ol>
<p><i>Spatial porosity.</i> It refers to how the facade allows spatial connection between inside and outside and able to allow inhabitation to take place on and around the facade. It indicates the condition of doors and windows and whether or not they allows visual or bodily access to the inside. It also indicates any objects or structures as traces of inhabitation on and around the facade. The light shades of red indicates the absence of connection or access to the inside. It gradually gets darker when functioning windows and door allow entrance and objects appear around the facade. The darkest shade of red indicates additional structures to the facade to support or extend other kind of inhabitation, signifying the most spatially porous the facade is.</p>	<p><b>Spatial Porosity</b></p> 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 protective object</li> <li>2 no access</li> <li>3 ventilation/air access</li> <li>4 visual access</li> <li>5 inviting object</li> <li>6 bodily access</li> <li>7 other temporary object</li> <li>8 other semi-permanent/permanent object</li> </ol>

Table 1. The definitions and degrees three porosities

### Porosity mapping: The three facades

The porosity mapping is conducted on three building façade examples. All of them are listed as heritage buildings by the municipal government, and each is in different state with different stories. Building A is a building that has no particular name, but the address is Kepodang Street No. 24. This building is unrevitalised. Building B is a building called Soesman Kantoor and currently, most part of it has been revitalised, but there is a small part that is unrevitalised. Building C is what nowadays is called Semarang Creative Hub; it is fully revitalised.



Figure 2. The three facade examples

### Building A – Kepodang St no. 24

This building dates back to the early 1900s and previously functioned as a broker and insurance company office used at least until the 1950s. At the moment, the owner is unknown, abandoned and unrevitalised. This building used to have two storeys, but the second floor is completely gone due to the abandonment. The façade material condition is pretty much porous, as in the state of decay where moss and small plants are growing on the surface. There is no access to the building, except for the door on the right, which on Monday to Friday, from around 7 am to 2 pm; this door is open to a warung, which is a small food seller open to buy for take away or it has small space for eating in.

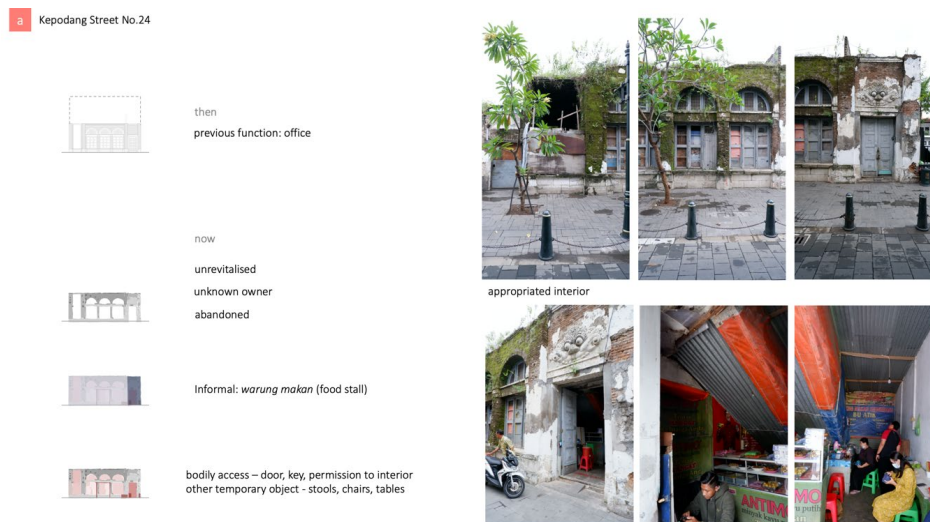


Figure 3. Porosity mapping of Building A, its façade and its interior

The seller is a lady selling food outside of this building since 2006. In 2018, when the revitalisation project took place, such practices were removed or demolished because they were considered informal. She was lucky enough to know one of the Management Board members, a local philanthropist, who allowed her to use this building. He even gives the building free electricity so she can sell food rent-free. Inside the door is a small hallway with stairs to the second floor, which has no roof now. Therefore, she had to appropriate the space by adding those material covers the best she could to overcome the rain and to cover the decaying surfaces.

## Building B – Soesman Kantoor

The second example is Soesman Kantoor. This building dates back to the mid-1800s and previously functioned as the office of export and import company. At the moment, the building is owned by three owners. The condition of the building depends on the owner's will and financial situation for revitalisation. The owner of the first part has no immediate plan to revitalise their property, and at the moment, they allow former street sellers to stay in their property. This decision is also supported by the local philanthropist mentioned earlier, who also gives the building electricity. So at the moment, this part of the building is inhabited by what we call *angkringan*, a kind of snacks and drinks seller; they usually function more as a gathering space, maybe like an informal café. The second part is revitalised but currently is not in use at all. The third part, the biggest part of the building is revitalised. Until this March, part of it was a bubble tea café, but it was now permanently closed, and the other part is a rented venue for events such as exhibitions, fairs, small music performances, etc. So at the moment, all the space is a rented venue.



Figure 4. Porosity mapping of Building B, its façade and its interior

Based on this building, the different ownership results in different types of inhabitation. The *angkringan* part utilised the terrace as the main space and used the inside as the kitchen. They set up the terrace with stools or mattresses while open. Moreover, they used tent-like additions inside and outside when it was raining as the roof leaks. In contrast, the rented venue part is thoroughly

revitalised, keeping the original features and has white painted walls. The space is open and ready to be inhabited based on the event that occurs.

### Building C – Semarang Creative Hub

The third example is Semarang Creative Hub. These buildings, dated back to the early 1900s, used to be warehouses of a Dutch trading company, now owned by a state-owned enterprise. Up until before the revitalisation project, these buildings were not used. Semarang municipal tries to approach the owner and offer them a collaboration to activate and manage the buildings. This building is now a space for some small and medium enterprises, creative economy enterprises, and municipal events.

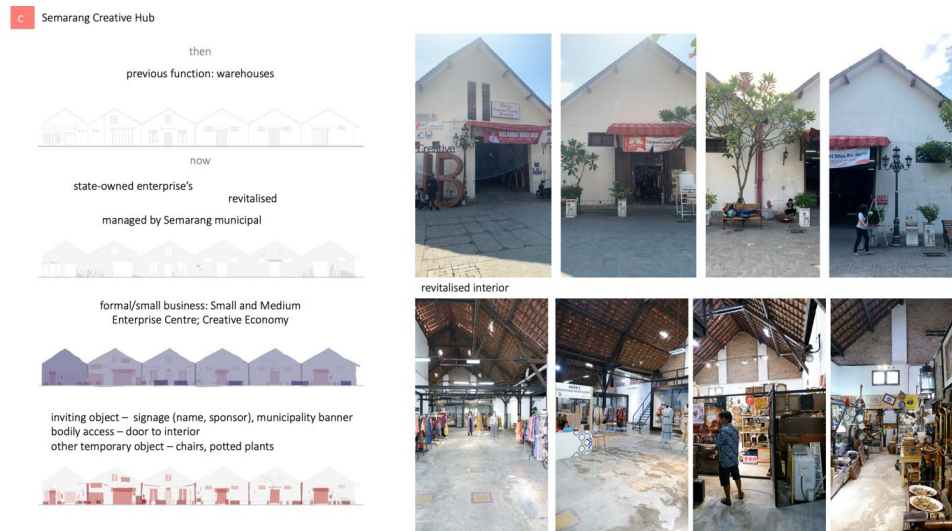


Figure 5. Porosity mapping of Building C, its façade and its interior

They revitalised the inside space, creating an open yet segmented space for different tenants. There is a fashion section, an antique section, and the food section. The fashion tenants are primarily small local designers and businesses. The antique tenants are actually relocated antique informal sellers who previously were selling on the street; due to the revitalisation project, all of them are relocated to the revitalised indoor space managed by the municipal.

### READING POROSITY, INFORMALITY, COUNTERPRESERVATION AND THIRDSPEACE.

The porosity mapping visually indicates the possible relationship between the revitalisation status of the building and the material, then social and spatial porosity. When the building is revitalised, it will have less material porosity, which is shown by the clean paint situation. In comparison, unrevitalised building has more material porosity as it contains traces of time and weather, moss and maybe plants. Then, the revitalised one will have a formal function and ownership, but the unrevitalised one might have or invite a more informal inhabitation. The revitalised one will tend to have access to the inside, which shows that it is more spatially porous than some unrevitalised ones. However, the unrevitalised one can also be more spatially porous, allowing appropriation or additional structure for informal inhabitation.

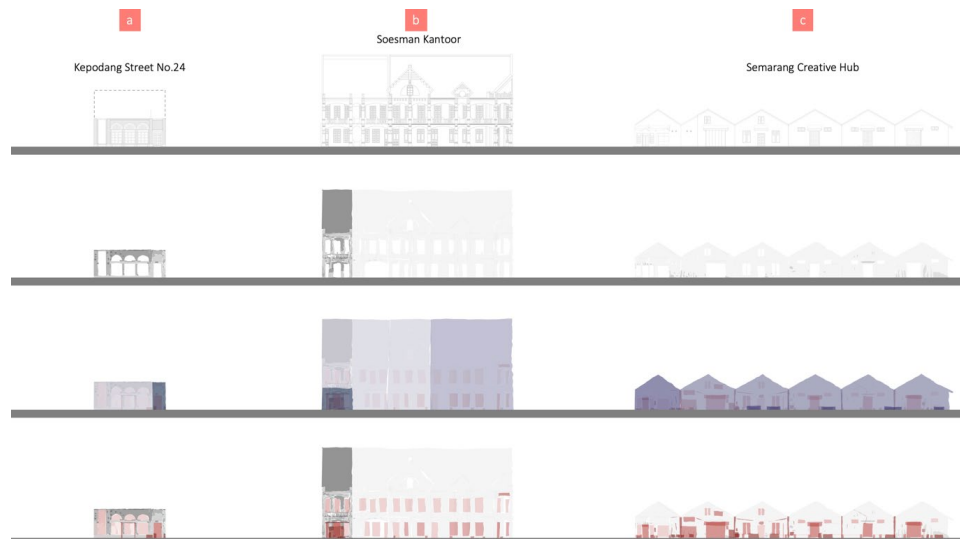


Figure 8. Porosity mapping matrix: material porosity, social porosity, spatial porosity

Furthermore, there might be a relation between the state of the material and the informality that occurs. While the formally revitalised buildings have a somewhat formal type of inhabitation, abandoned and decaying buildings give space for informality and allow spatial appropriation. This resonates the idea of counterpreservation by Sandler.<sup>20</sup> She mentioned that counterpreservation is a form of defence to socioeconomic changes like gentrification. And she mentioned that decay is a choice. This counterpreservation, which research was conducted in Berlin, has a sense of power to use decay as a form of activism and resistance and by a rather established community. However, in the case of Semarang, even though some decay resists the revitalisation, decay still is a contingency of abandonment. But at least from the examples, we can see decaying buildings as a form of refuge and survival space for some of the preexisting informal practices and inhabitation that were to be removed by revitalisation. Here, they remain informal, however 'permitted' but still informal. They practice informally, coping with the decay. It is different from the relocated one, as in the antique seller. They were relocated and formalised by and under the municipal government management. The existence of informal practices such as warung and angkringan is uncertain as it will depend on the owner or the status of the building. Once they are revitalised, they will most likely be removed to make space for formal inhabitation.

An abandoned, decaying, unrevitalised building, with its porosities and role as a refuge space to informality, exists as a thirdspace in Semarang Old Town. The idea of thirdspace which relates to Lefebvre's lived space, is a space where materialised and imagined spaces is simultaneously lived, produced and reproduced and it contains the idea of 'counterspace' or space of resistance.<sup>21</sup> This abandoned, decaying, unrevitalised building is not necessarily countering the revitalisation and gentrification as a form of activism like counterpreservation, but it exists as counterspace or 'the other' among spaces that are revitalised because even though it is abandoned and decaying, it is still 'alive' with the informal practice and inhabitation with socio-spatial and socio-economical role for the area.



## NOTES

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- <sup>2</sup> Daniela Sandler, *Counterpreservation: Architectural Decay in Berlin since 1989*, Signale: Modern German Letters, Cultures, and Thought (Ithaca: A Signale Book, Cornell University Press and Cornell University Library, 2016).
- <sup>3</sup> Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1996).
- <sup>4</sup> Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (Milton Park, Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2013).
- <sup>5</sup> Dewi Yuliaty, Endang Susilowati, and Titek Suliyati, *Riwayat Kota Lama Semarang Dan Keunggulannya Sebagai Warisan Dunia*, Cetakan kedua (Tembalang, Semarang: Sinar Hidoep, 2020).
- <sup>6</sup> Freek Colombijn, 'Colonial Heritage as Bricolage: Interpreting the Colonial Built Environment in Surabaya, Indonesia', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 53, no. 4 (December 2022): 617–40, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463422000807>.
- <sup>7</sup> Anisa Nurul Kartikasari and Bambang Hari Wibisono, 'Interconnections and Continuity among Planning Documents of Kota Lama Semarang Development within the Context of Urban Heritage Conservation', *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, 7 September 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JCHMSD-10-2021-0181>.
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- <sup>10</sup> Mark Louie Tabunan, 'Heritage on the Ground: A Thirdspace Reading of Calle Crisologo, Vigan City, Philippines', *Heritage & Society*, 12 October 2022, 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159032X.2022.2126233>.
- <sup>11</sup> Kim Dovey, 'Informal Urbanism and Complex Adaptive Assemblage', *International Development Planning Review* 34, no. 4 (January 2012): 349–68, <https://doi.org/10.3828/idpr.2012.23>.
- <sup>12</sup> Dovey.
- <sup>13</sup> Kim Dovey, 'Informal Settlement and Assemblage Theory', in *The SAGE Handbook of New Urban Studies*, ed. John A. Hannigan and Richards Greg (1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473982604>.
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- <sup>15</sup> Benjamin and Lacin, 'Naples', 170.
- <sup>16</sup> Dovey, 'Informal Urbanism and Complex Adaptive Assemblage', 356.
- <sup>17</sup> Sabina Andron, 'To Occupy, to Inscribe, to Thicken: Spatial Politics and the Right to the Surface', in *Surface & Material*, ed. Andreas Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos and Andrea Mubi Brighenti, Lo Squaderno: Exploration in Space and Society 48, 2018, <http://www.losquaderno.net/?p=1835>.
- <sup>18</sup> Andrea Mubi Brighenti and Mattias Kärrholm, *Urban Walls: Political and Cultural Meanings of Vertical Structures and Surfaces*, ed. Andrea Mubi Brighenti and Mattias Kärrholm, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203730225>.
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# **CRITICAL THINKING ON THE WORLD'S DIGITAL HERITAGE. REVAMPING CONCEPTUALISATION IN ORDER TO PLAN GLOBAL AND LOCAL PUBLIC POLICIES THAT COMMIT TO QUALITY E-CULTURE FOR ALL**

Author:

**DELMA RODRIGUEZ MORALES**

Affiliation:

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF LA RIOJA, SPAIN; CULTURAL RING AND ITS GLOBAL NETWORKS, URUGUAY

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The proposal presents a critical analysis of the World's Digital Cultural Heritage, in terms of which conceptual and practical aspects inherent to the digital and Internet nature of e-culture permeate the heritage and are excluded or have no direct chance of being considered for listing by UNESCO. Until now, the digital cultural heritage, which is constantly and rapidly growing, has been associated with tangible or intangible objects or social traditions, or to digitally replicate them. However, the digital nature itself, and in particular the development of the Internet infrastructure and its usability, has made possible artistic and cultural creations, initiatives and projects that exist only in cyberspace and do not necessarily represent one or more communities linked to countries or regions, but are distributed as the network itself is designed and enabled. The article considers Performing Arts Networking, ISEA Archives, among others, as case studies that provide the meaning of digital heritage today from a networking perspective. It raises the discussion regarding the preservation and architecture of information in this context, appealing to concepts and ideas of Internet pioneers, such as "digital vellum" and "hypertext", etc.

Therefore, not only is contextualisation central to planning laws, but it is necessary to rethink concepts that allow further in the World's Digital Cultural Heritage approach to stimulate debate, as well as to express and represent the interconnectedness of cultural citizens in order to promote and safeguard a quality (global and local) e-culture for all.

## **Critical Thinking as Framework**

Firstly, the approach and context of the concept of "Critical Thinking" is presented, based on the OECD Skills for 2030 report<sup>1</sup>. In its meaning as a cognitive and meta-cognitive skill, where creativity and critical thinking are necessary to find solutions to complex problems. "Critical thinking includes inductive and deductive reasoning, making correct analyses, inferences and evaluations".<sup>2</sup>

This paper aims to address the issue of digital cultural heritage from critical thinking framework in order to analyse the situational state, its key concepts and propositional aspects that allow us to provide questions for those in charge of public policies in the area and to point out its slowing down in a digitally globalised world.

## WORLD DIGITAL CULTURAL HERITAGE

To initiate the queries about what UNESCO currently legitimises as heritage and as digital heritage. Consequently, the aspects to be taken into account: 1) the World Heritage List,<sup>3</sup> 2) the Criteria for Selection to be included on the World Heritage List,<sup>4</sup> and 3) the Declaration of Principles for Promoting International Solidarity and Cooperation for the Preservation of World Heritage.<sup>5</sup> In this declaration there's any reference to digital or related to that. The closest concept found would be "respect for cultural diversity".<sup>6</sup>

On the World Heritage website<sup>7</sup> there is a section called "Digital Heritage"<sup>8</sup> with a list and other resources and also digitally reproduces the list of sites already declared heritage sites, etc. From a critical thinking perspective, it is important to take a broader view, which does not only include digitising the physical sites recognised by UNESCO.

Since the online presentation of this paper<sup>9</sup> and the final submission of it, in the meantime the World Heritage website<sup>10</sup> was redesigned and the description of the previous paragraph is currently in the historic website.<sup>11</sup>

The UNESCO's definition refers to "heritage is something that is, or should be, passed on from generation to generation because it is valued".<sup>12</sup>

There are two broad types of UNESCO heritage to connect with digital sectors and culture, for instance: i) Digital Heritage Charter, and ii) Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Regarding the postulates found in the "Digital Heritage Charter"<sup>13</sup> (published in 2009), recognizing the digital creation, raising awareness of the access to this kind of heritage and the needs of its preservation for being considered at risk. The document proclaims digital heritage as a common heritage, the relevance of its preservation and the shared responsibilities and UNESCO's role on it.

The charter is a based-document considering the year that was produced. For instance, in 2011 Wikipedia launched a campaign for UNESCO to recognise and protect it as the first digital world heritage of humanity<sup>14</sup> and yet several dilemmas arise in this regard, such as whether it constitutes a "masterpiece of human creative genius", as well as whether it should be submitted by at least one country where the most likely ones do not subscribe to the 2003 safeguarding charter, and whether UNESCO should use its resources to safeguard more immediate challenges. It was also argued by someone in UNESCO that "but is this website even comparable to sites such as Chartres Cathedral, the Great Wall of China, and the Pyramids? Well, Anyone can apply!".<sup>15</sup>

This last aspect can be considered the most interesting, as it ignores a fundamental feature that Wikipedia<sup>16</sup> like other examples is not a simile of a physical heritage object, but has a digital nature of its own. In this facet, not least, the "Charter" is insufficient for today.

Certainly, it can be seen as a fossilised view of the digital heritage world that ponders the replication of physical objects or spaces validated by UNESCO.

Therefore, broader considerations are needed, linking the concepts of intangible cultural heritage within the characteristics of the digital world. Even to question what happens to the cultural heritage that is built, grows and is promoted only in the digital world and that has not a corresponding physical replica.

Then how does UNESCO understand "Intangible Cultural Heritage", in that "includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices relating to nature and the universe, and knowledge and skills linked to traditional craftsmanship".<sup>17</sup>

From a critical thinking approach, there aren't cases related to the digital world. However there are cases from the digital world that contain features of "Intangible Cultural Heritage", but simply happen on the Internet.

## **DIGITAL AND INTERNET NATURE**

It is worth mentioning the main features of digital nature and particularly the Internet in its technological and human linkages, entailing the question of what e-culture is.

The digital world is an electronic, binary universe made up of zeros and ones. The Internet is an information packet switching, coined openness approach, interoperable and global, currently facing the issues of fragmentation and infrastructure coverage.<sup>18</sup> Even the UN<sup>19</sup> declared the Internet as a human right, and its ecosystem itself makes the Internet ownerless. Thus the digital universe is not only technological infrastructure but also entails its multi-stakeholder governance.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, e-culture has two main meanings. Firstly, it is understood as preservation of cultural heritage, with some opposition to commercial or business aspects.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, from the interdisciplinary studies of creators, e-culture implies that both artists and scientists, among others, create digital manifestations on networks and their related devices. Such as, digital objects simulating the reality, for instance e-museums, e-libraries, etc.; and digital objects, in themselves as video games, applications, etc.<sup>22</sup>

## **CASE STUDIES**

A series of cases are presented with the aim of thinking about absences, potentials and opportunities for involvement in local and global improvements in e-culture and the expansion of the world's digital cultural heritage.

### **Case A. Digital Archives**

The case of ISEA Archives,<sup>23</sup> within the "Connecting Archives Project, which brings together archives such as ADA,<sup>24</sup> CAS,<sup>25</sup> among others". Some features of these archives are that "more than 5.000 artists reviewed,<sup>26</sup> and the impressive world map of media artists (SIGGRAPH),<sup>27</sup> "more than thirty years of media artistic creation".<sup>28</sup>

Focusing at the 3rd Summit ISEA Archives,<sup>29</sup> ideas were presented that apply to UNESCO for the Connecting Archives Project as a World Digital Cultural Heritage of Humanity.<sup>30</sup> The undersigned submitted the proposal to contribute to the lack of recognition of such an impressive legacy of global digital creation. It is certain that these are not the only pioneering examples that have not had this type of recognition, such as the Digital Art Museum.<sup>31</sup> Also, in preservation's line of digital heritage there's "The Wayback Machine" case.<sup>32</sup>

On reflection, there are absences in the characteristics that UNESCO considers to be legitimate. The digital object or artefact has been excluded, even the networks of research stakeholders. The neglect of this legacy has led to a certain ignominy of digital creation worldwide for many years.

### **Case B. The Networking Performing Arts Production**

The pioneering institution, Internet 2<sup>33</sup> in the United States of America together with GÉANT<sup>34</sup> in Europe - both national research and education networks,<sup>35</sup> founded the Networking Performing Arts Production,<sup>36</sup> dedicated to creative and collaborative work using the advanced Internet as a vehicle for distributed and remote performing arts. The network brings together artists, researchers, technical teams, etc., developing technological tools for these contexts. For instance, concerts, performances, exquisite proposals of artistic creation where the emphasis on the network as a vehicle for professional artistic creation combined with specialised tools that challenge network latency.

These groups of artistic collaboration in networks have been active for more than twenty years, with the level of production and quality there are no other networks that have this trajectory and continuous production. They are a source of resources (human and technological) that deserve to be considered as the world digital cultural heritage of humanity.

Likely, it will facilitate by the recent re-entry of the US<sup>37</sup> into UNESCO, so global public policy has a fundamental role to play in whether or not some issues of digital heritage stagnate.<sup>38</sup>

### **Case C. MuRe, museography networking**

This case is a good example<sup>39</sup> to focus on the role of the networked experience as a fundamental characteristic of cultural practices that only exist on the Internet converging with the definition of intangible heritage and digital heritage.

Defining MuRe: "It is an exhibition circuit on the Internet, with narratives around heritage objects, generating interactions in real time through the Internet. The museums, cultural centres and people that participate do not coexist geographically, but they do inhabit the same virtual space and time. MuRe builds stories and narratives between objects and people locally and globally."<sup>40</sup>

To question, what would happen if this type of experience is perpetuated over time? Becoming cultural traditions on the network. Similar to how groups of people get together to celebrate a tradition that is an intangible cultural heritage of humanity, but is only developed on the Internet. Whether the Internet is a human right, therefore the cultural manifestations carried out on it could be considered as possible heritage, akin to other intangible cultural productions are considered as heritage of humanity.

### **Case D. Losses and heritage at risk**

Mentioned formerly, UNESCO's Charter of Principles states that digital heritage is at risk and needs preservation. The digital explosion has generated a high quality cultural content. For instance, pioneering experiences such as the 2012 WEYA World Event Young Artists<sup>41</sup> its contents' website are inaccessible.<sup>42</sup> It is valuable to preserve pioneering cases on good practices of global cultural collaboration to inspire future generations.<sup>43</sup> WEYA is not the only recent case of memory loss on the Internet, and this is what is alarming. There should be some kind of public policy to prevent such losses. Likely, a common space in cyberspace should be created to host and conserve this kind of endeavour, which is part of the world's memory and a legacy to be passed on.

Finally, to point out what Vinton Cerf said about that "if we don't move now, we risk losing all the data we've created in the 21st century".<sup>44</sup>

## **PIONEERING IDEAS FOR THE FUTURE OF WCDHH<sup>45</sup> WORLD DIGITAL CULTURAL HERITAGE OF HUMANKIND**

A strategy to re-think the slowing down of validations and concepts of the WDCHH could be reviewing the pioneer's ideas to generate new ones. Digital nature has a pre-existing legacy and revisiting the beginnings of the digital environment is a key question.

The "Internet's Father", Cerf launched another pioneer idea to preserve the digital archives, named "digital vellum". Capturing the digital environment of "the files we created are interpreted as music or images or text or video games or anything else that can be reproduced in the distant future".<sup>46</sup> In the technical presentation,<sup>47</sup> Cerf details "digital vellum" contributions for archives and how to work with them from a technical approach and the human challenges for research and collaborative networking.

The evolution of Cerf's idea has not been straightforward and its status is considered to be more of a working in progress<sup>48</sup> than a definitive proposal. From WDCHH perspective, this article rescues the Cerf's keys raised regarding research and collaborative work involving the future development, he offered specific roadmap to follow along the way. The will to make this journey is not possible by the hand of one person alone, but a cluster of national and international institutional overlaps provide a propitious scenario to imagine more than fifty years of innovation on digital heritage ahead.

From the Theodor H. Nelson's legacy brings the ideas of hypertext, transclusion and the Xanadu project.<sup>49</sup> The latter was dormant for many years until it was implemented in practical terms in 2014.<sup>50</sup>

Focusing on hypertext, electronic text is understood in its multiple interconnections with other texts or digital objects of any kind, which allow different displays and connections of communicated servers.<sup>51</sup> Through transclusion,<sup>52</sup> this allows hypertext to include one electronic document in another, where the end-user can see the assembly of parts that constitute the information shape.<sup>53</sup> This model is known as "single source of truth", whether in data, code or content, where a resource is stored once and distributed for reuse in multiple documents and updates or corrections where its multiple provenances or original sources can be easily viewed.

The original seventeen rules of the Xanadu project conceived as a "digital repository scheme for world-wide electronic publishing"<sup>54</sup> permeate all areas of the digital world and coincide with many UNESCO Charter Principles. The importance of Nelson's vision<sup>55</sup> is very substantiated along with his legacy<sup>56</sup> and should be absorbed in further WDCHH actions for the design of global public policy.<sup>57</sup>

### **A POWERFUL TOOL IN EXPANSION**

Culture diplomacy is considered an under-exploited area for countries. There are several cases where states use heritage diplomacy to exercise an active role in the so-called "soft power" of their foreign policy.<sup>58</sup> There are seven ways of practising heritage diplomacy, summarised as follows: cooperative and collaborative actions between countries through international organisations, or as part of domestic policy objectives in national governance, or the geo-cultural approach as a correlation of forces in countries' internal and external policies. In other words, cultural rights should be addressed in a decolonising way, based on shared values and historical links. The seventh form of heritage diplomacy focuses on forging intercultural contact and dialogue between communities of diverse groups.<sup>59</sup> From these perspectives, heritage diplomacy is a promising avenue if states intensify their actions. Shifting from such diplomacy to digital heritage diplomacy can facilitate cooperation by balancing asymmetries between countries.

In this sense, e-culture emerges as the common space of all, and digital governance bodies such as the Internet, UN<sup>60</sup> of the IGF<sup>61</sup> and its decision-making groups such as MAG,<sup>62</sup> as well as other specific global organisations such as DiploFoundation<sup>63</sup>, could begin to play a valuable role in enriching, openness, equality and accelerating digital heritage and its diplomacy.

Therefore, heritage diplomacy needs strong high-level exchanges including digital governance ecosystem, i.e. the WDCHH needs more multi-stakeholders. It is also relevant to address the specific requirements of digital diplomacy heritage and the digital heritage governance.

In this tangle of the digital world where it seems that anyone can apply to be declared digital heritage, the consequences of doing nothing have prevailed up to now. In establishing a tree map-like order, in legitimising, firstly has to define the based-digital heritage. Radical approach, it could be to declare the Internet and its principles<sup>64</sup> as WDCHH. It won't be simple, but essential to preserve the Internet from the current fragmentation. From then on or simultaneously, ways and means will be found to legitimise as WDCHH cases such as those mentioned above.

### **CONCLUSION**

In building a common global and local space in the WDCHH, convergence on key features is imminent. In relation to digital heritage, UNESCO's postulates are in convergence with the ideas of digital pioneers. Key points for thinking about interlocking policies: data, code, cross-system interoperability, digital technology servers specifically dedicated to the WDCHH.

To avoid the slowdown of many years around the digital heritage, it is necessary to activate high-level dialogue and decision-making mechanisms that bring together various global, regional and local organisations, such as Internet governance, the e-culture networks, among others; along with UNESCO's protocols and procedures to find possible and sustainable ways to progress towards to

WDCHH. Collaboration, cooperation and co-creation can be the main instruments to take a step forward, aided by digital heritage diplomacy and digital heritage governance. Expanding these spaces to more multi-stakeholders who act on realities in radical and necessary legitimisations for pioneering contributions (Internet, hypertext, transclusion and Xanadu concepts, Connecting Archives Project, NPAP, etc) to the digital heritage world.

The greatest tribute to humanity lies in the co-creation of the present and future of WDCHH as a citizen network in local and global networks, reflecting on the value of the immateriality of the interconnectedness. Herein lies the importance of preserving the digital world heritage in its imprint of collective creativity, which extends through its networks as a symbolic vehicle of redemption for all.

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Gratitude for fruitful exchanges with Ted Nelson and Alejandro Pisanty while the article was being written.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> OECD (2019), OECD Future of Education and Skills 2030: OECD Learning Compass 2030 - A Series of Concept Notes, OECD, Paris, France, accessed August 24, 2023, [https://www.oecd.org/education/2030-project/teaching-and-learning/learning/learning-compass-2030/OECD\\_Learning\\_Compass\\_2030\\_concept\\_note.pdf](https://www.oecd.org/education/2030-project/teaching-and-learning/learning/learning-compass-2030/OECD_Learning_Compass_2030_concept_note.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Peter A. Facione et al, “The disposition toward critical thinking”, JGE: The Journal of General Education, Vol. 44 (1995), pp. 1-25, in OECD Future of Education and Skills 2030: Conceptual Learning framework. Concept note: Skills for 2030, OECD, Paris, France, [https://www.oecd.org/education/2030-project/teaching-and-learning/learning/skills/Skills\\_for\\_2030.pdf](https://www.oecd.org/education/2030-project/teaching-and-learning/learning/skills/Skills_for_2030.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> UNESCO, World Heritage List, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/>

<sup>4</sup> UNESCO World Heritage Centre website, “The Criteria for Selection”, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria>

<sup>5</sup> UNESCO, “Declaration of principles to promote international solidarity and cooperation to preserve World Heritage” for consideration by the General Assembly of States Parties. The Draft text of the Declaration, presented in Document WHC/21/23.GA/INF.10, was endorsed by the General Assembly at its 23rd session in November 2021. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/declaration-of-principles/>

<sup>6</sup> UNESCO, “Declaration of principles to promote international solidarity and cooperation to preserve World Heritage”, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> UNESCO World Heritage Centre website, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/>

<sup>8</sup> UNESCO historic website, accessed August 24, 2023,

<http://www.unesco-hist.org/index.php?r=en/article/index&cid=146&year=2023>

<sup>9</sup> at the Prague event in the framework of AMPS research Prague, “Heritages: Past and Present - Built and Social”, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://amps-research.com/conference/heritages-prague/>

<sup>10</sup> UNESCO World Heritage Centre website, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://whc.unesco.org/>

<sup>11</sup> The presentation of this paper was published as a public video four weeks prior to 30 June on the AMPS Research YouTube channel.

Delma Rodriguez Morales, “Critical Thinking on World's Digital Cultural Heritage. Revamping Conceptualisation in Order to Plan Global and Local Public Policies that Commit to Quality e-Culture for All”, Presentation at the AMPS Research Prague Conference “Heritages: Past and Present - Built and Social”, Czech Technical University, Prague, Czechoslovakia, June 28-30, 2023. Available at, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ajPMING5iNk>

Coinciding with the date of the congress, the news of the proposal “50 Minds for the Next 50. Dialogue Series” (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/events/1645/>) including the theme “Imagining Heritage in Digital Dimension” (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/50-minds/digital/>) was published on the World Heritage website. In short, in the run-up to UNESCO's 50th anniversary celebrations. Therefore World Heritage is mobilising the particular theme of World Digital Heritage as a way of imagining the next 50 years of UNESCO, as it is mentioned in its website.

<sup>12</sup> UNESCO, Concept of Digital Heritage, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://en.unesco.org/themes/information-preservation/digital-heritage/concept-digital-heritage>

<sup>13</sup> UNESCO, “Charter on the Preservation of the Digital Heritage”, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000179529.page=2>

<sup>14</sup> RTVE, “La Wikipedia quiere ser el primer patrimonio digital de la humanidad”, May 24, 2011, <https://www.rtve.es/noticias/20110524/wikipedia-quiere-ser-primer-patrimonio-humanidad-digital/434409.shtml>

<sup>15</sup> Caroline Camp, “Wikipedia as Cultural Heritage?”, Center for Art Law, May 25, 2011, <https://itsartlaw.org/2011/05/25/wikipedia-as-cultural-heritage/>

<sup>16</sup> To date, Wikipedia is not listed as a UNESCO-declared digital heritage of humanity.

<sup>17</sup> UNESCO, “What is intangible Cultural Heritage?”, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>

<sup>18</sup> Internet Society, “Brief History of Internet”, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.internetsociety.org/es/internet/history-internet/brief-history-internet/>

<sup>19</sup> United Nations

<sup>20</sup> ICANN, “The Logical Layer of Digital Governance”, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://es.slideshare.net/icannpresentations/the-logical-layer-of-digital-governance-spanish>

<sup>21</sup> Alfredo M. Ronchi, *eCulture. Cultural Content in the Digital Age*, (Germany: Springer, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> Ludmila Baeva, “Values of media sphere and e-culture”, *Przeglad Wschodnioeuropejski*, VIII(1) (2017), 173–184. [http://uwm.edu.pl/cbew/2017\\_8\\_1/Baeva.pdf](http://uwm.edu.pl/cbew/2017_8_1/Baeva.pdf)

<sup>23</sup> The 3rd edition of the ISEA Archives Summit, it was held on the same days as ISEA coinciding with the same venue in Paris.

ISEA International Symposium on Electronic Art Archives, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.isea-archives.org/>

ISEA Archives is linked to the legendary and world's leading event of digital creation known by the acronym ISEA International Symposium on Electronic Art, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.isea-international.org/>

<sup>24</sup> ADA Archive of Digital Art, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.digitalartarchive.at>

<sup>25</sup> CAS Computer Art Society Archive, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.computer-arts-archive.com/>

<sup>26</sup> ADA Archive of Digital Art, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.digitalartarchive.at>

<sup>27</sup> SIGGRAPH world map, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://digitalartarchive.siggraph.org/map-view/>

<sup>28</sup> Bonnie Mitchell and Wim van der Plas, “The Convergence of Past, Present and Future: ISEA Archive Innovations”, (paper presented at the Annual Summit in the ISEA Archives, 2019), accessed August 24, 2023, [https://isea-archives.siggraph.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/ISEA2019\\_paper\\_1045.pdf](https://isea-archives.siggraph.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/ISEA2019_paper_1045.pdf)

<sup>29</sup> on the New Media Art Archiving at ISEA 2023 held in Paris, May 19-21, 2023.

<sup>30</sup> The justification for the idea of submitting Connecting ISEA Archives to UNESCO as a World Digital Heritage can be found in the ISEA Archives Proceedings 2023. Delma Rodriguez Morales, “Leaving our comfort zone. A proposal to co-create appropriation in Media Art Archives for their sustainable future” (paper presented at the Third Summit on New Media Art Archiving, Paris, May 19-21, 2023), accessed August 24, 2023, [https://isea-archives.org/docs/2023/3rd\\_SNMAA\\_Provisional\\_Proceedings.pdf](https://isea-archives.org/docs/2023/3rd_SNMAA_Provisional_Proceedings.pdf)

<sup>31</sup> DAM Digital Art Museum, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://dam.org/>

<sup>32</sup> Wayback Machine platform, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://web.archive.org/>

It's conserving changes in web pages across the world which although it stopped working in 2020 is currently in operation.

<sup>33</sup> Internet 2, United States National Research and Education Networks, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://internet2.edu/>

<sup>34</sup> GÉANT, European Research and Education Networks, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://geant.org/>

<sup>35</sup> National Research and Education Networks, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://about.geant.org/nrens/>

<sup>36</sup> Networking Performing Arts Production Workshops website, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://npapws.org/>

<sup>37</sup> United States of the America

<sup>38</sup> Especially Case 2. has as much importance that the Internet is the medium of creation as well as the importance of networked artistic experiences. And the demonstration of small breakthroughs in this kind of legitimization can be linked to the news of 30 June 2023, with the meeting for an Extraordinary Session of the General Conference on UNESCO, voted by a very large majority to approve the proposal submitted by the United States to rejoin the Organization, as it is one of the main countries promoting this network and also the place where the Internet was born.

UNESCO Press Release, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/united-states-america-returns-unesco-very-large-majority-member-states-vote-favour>

<sup>39</sup> The sense of presenting this case is to point out the characteristics of networked experience. However, it is not presented as an example to be considered as a digital heritage of humanity.

<sup>40</sup> MuRe, museography networking website, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://anillaculturaluruguay.net/proyecto-mure/>

<sup>41</sup> in the framework of the London Olympics and the Cultural Olympiads 2012.

<sup>42</sup> WEYA World Event Young Artists website, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://worldeventyoungartists.org>

<sup>43</sup> This case is mentioned to focus on this type of loss in relation to the value of global and local memory, but it is not presented as a case for consideration as a digital heritage of humanity.

<sup>44</sup> Dave Smith, “Father of the internet: 'If we don't move now, we risk losing all the data we've created in the 21st century””, Business Insider, February 20, 2015, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.businessinsider.com/vintcerf-father-of-the-internet-warns-of-a-digital-dark-age-2015-2>

<sup>45</sup> The acronym WDCHH (World Digital Cultural Heritage of Humanity) will be used from now on.

<sup>46</sup> Vinton Cerf, “Digital Vellum and Archives” Presentation, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://nitr.gov/nitrgroups/images/4/48/DigitalVellumAndArchives.pdf>

<sup>47</sup> Vinton Cerf, “Digital Vellum”, channel of The Networking and Information Technology Research and Development (NITRD) Program of the United States of America Government, 2016, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0labXOLdbAQ>

<sup>48</sup> Marc Koscieljew, “Digital Vellum and other cures for bit rot”, Information Management, May/June (2015): pp.20-25. <https://tefkos.comminfo.rutgers.edu/Courses/e553/Articles/Articles%20Fall15/Koscieljew%20Digital%20%20rot%20-%20preservation%20Inf%20Mgmt%20J%202015.pdf>

- <sup>49</sup> Xanadu Project, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.xanadu.net/>
- <sup>50</sup> Xanadu Project. Demonstration to download, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://xanadu.com/xuDemoPage.html>
- <sup>51</sup> Hypertext concept, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hypertext>
- <sup>52</sup> Transclusion concept, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transclusion>
- <sup>53</sup> Ted Nelson himself has tirelessly taken it upon himself throughout his life to disseminate and explain how this works in a simple and open way. This video gives an account of it: Ted Nelson YouTube Channel, Xanadu Basics 1a - Visible Connection, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hMKy52Intac>
- <sup>54</sup> Xanadu Project, FAQ, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://xanadu.com.au/general/faq.html#2>
- <sup>55</sup> Belinda Barnet, "The Importance of Ted's Vision", in *"Intertwined. The Work and Influence of Ted Nelson"*, Douglas R. Dechow and Daniele C. Struppa, edited by Douglas R. Dechow and Daniele C. Struppa, 59-66. London: Springer, 2015. DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-16925-5\_1
- <sup>56</sup> Douglas R. Dechow and Daniele C. Struppa, *Intertwined. The Work and Influence of Ted Nelson*, (London: Springer, 2015). DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-16925-5\_1
- <sup>57</sup> To conclude this section, it should be noted that other pioneering ideas that were presented in the video of the AMPS-Research Prague's event are not included in this article. For reasons of word length, the author selected for this article the two ideas that support the final conclusions. The rationale for other pioneering ideas that bring possibilities to the WDCHH will be published elsewhere. To review this fragment on the lecture's video, check the 17:00 minutes: AMPS Research YouTube Channel, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ajPMING5iNk>
- Delma, Rodriguez Morales, "Critical Thinking on World's Digital Cultural Heritage. Revamping Conceptualisation in Order to Plan Global and Local Public Policies that Commit to Quality e-Culture for All" (paper presented at the AMPS Research Prague Conference "Heritages: Past and Present - Built and Social", Czech Technical University, Prague, Czechoslovakia, June 28-30, 2023).
- <sup>58</sup> Miloš, Todorović, "Heritage in and as diplomacy: a practice based study", *Journal International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Volume 28, Issue 7 (2022), pp. 849-864, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2022.2091637>
- <sup>59</sup> Tuuli Lähdesmäki and Viktorija L. A. Čeginskas, "Conceptualisation of heritage diplomacy in scholarship", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 28:5 (2022), pp. 635-650, doi: 10.1080/13527258.2022.2054846
- <sup>60</sup> United Nations
- <sup>61</sup> Internet Governance Forum, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.intgovforum.org/en/>
- <sup>62</sup> MAG. Internet Governance Forum, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://www.intgovforum.org/en/content/about-mag>
- <sup>63</sup> Diplo Foundation. Digital Watch Observatory, accessed August 24, 2023, <https://dig.watch/actor/diplofoundation>
- <sup>64</sup> relating to the knowledge society, the openness network, the collaboration, etc.

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## FROM MESSAGE TO READING: TRANSPOSITION MOVEMENTS IN HOUSE-MUSEUMS

Author:

HATICE SULE OZER, ARIF RAHMAN WAHID, JONATHAN HALE, LAURA HANKS

Affiliation:

UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM, UK

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### INTRODUCTION

Embedded stories of the place are a journey between past and present. House-museums and their narratives can take visitors on time travel;<sup>1</sup> however, the vehicle this time is the house with its objects, the way of displays, the owner's story, and architectural heritage. These unique places challenge the encounter between past and present as well as the experience shifting from private to public visit. The transformation of house museums does not occur only through physical change; it also happens in the context and experience of the place. House-museums bring two aspects into one space; on the one hand, the house serves as a personal space, reflecting privacy and daily lives. They are memory-filled heavens and intimate settings. Whereas museums are public spaces that welcome everyone, they are collection shelters where objects are transported to be displayed. Museums are not only heritage treasures but also a space to recall and/or open a new direction of perspectives through the way objects are displayed. In simple terms, museums are public places that showcase cultural or personal objects, giving us a glimpse into our heritage.

“In a house museum, the document (object/cultural asset) is the actual space/setting (the building), as well as the collection and the person who owned (or lived in) the house.”<sup>2</sup> The object is a house that—most of the time—formerly belonged to its residents, carrying their own stories and personal significance within the environment. Looking only at the encounter of those two words, ‘house’ and ‘museum,’ a discussion has emerged: Is it *a museum of house* or *house of a museum*, *museum as a house* or *house as a museum*, *house of object* or *house as an object*, and combination of all of them; *museum as a house of object* or *house as a museum of an object*. What message do they want to communicate, and which one can pinpoint the meaning of a house-museum? It seems all of them work in a way, but none can clearly cover all categories. With the many possibilities in ways to think about what they are, house-museum deserves more thorough attention and further exploration.

### Reading the House-Museum

A well-known researcher, Linda Young, categorised about 600 examples of house-museums from English-speaking countries under six main titles: Country, Artwork, Historic Process, Heroes’ Houses, Collector Houses, and Sentimental (of no great historical interest).<sup>3</sup> Even though Young gives the title and categorises to houses, she still sees that if a house has a particular opening time, it is a museum indeed. Ozer gathered more than 150 properties from the UK in her ongoing PhD research; this survey on accessible historical houses shows no single explanation for house-museums as they are individually unique.<sup>4</sup>

The question that arises is how or when to experience this dynamic between ‘house’ and ‘museum’ within a house-museum setting. What kind of things might juggle and affect a visitor’s experience from visiting a museum and being a guest of someone’s house? Because house-museums convey stories of their occupants, things, and the space itself, we must also understand how they are being told. "Storytelling can be viewed as the concept that combines the articulation of understandings that defines museum communication and the engaging narrative that forms the story."<sup>5</sup> In the case of house-museums, it may be said that the storytelling lies in how the museum portrays the former and current life of the house. This study then explores the transposition movements in house-museums, particularly investigating how museum messages can be read, fostering visitor engagement and interpretation of narratives within the house-museum.

### **WITH OR WITHOUT TEXT**

Case studies were conducted to investigate the storytelling mode of several house-museums. However, because of word limitations in this paper, we picked Hill House from Helensburgh, Scotland and Kettle’s Yard from Cambridge, England, to demonstrate the topic. They are chosen among other visited houses for their distinguishable way of communicating museum content. Some parts of the Hill House use a direct, literal text to deliver its narrative, whereas Kettle’s Yard is known for its non-label approach. We visited both locations, collected photos and videos, and did desk research to gain the data. In the following paragraphs, we explain how the difference in storytelling mode creates different transposition movements in the museums.

### **The Hill House: Where You Can Read the Room**

Hill House is a house that was initially designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh for Walter Blackie, located in Helensburgh, Scotland. It is a significant design in Mackintosh’s career as it shows a meticulous design of the exterior and interior, as well as the usage of innovative material—Portland cement render—even though it later became a problem because its implementation led to excessive moisture absorption.<sup>6</sup> To facilitate the preservation and restoration of the house, the Scotland National Trust installed a big stainless-steel frame to enclose the house, as seen in Figure 1. This recent development enriches the narratives of the Hill House for its visitors, too. The past meets the present, where the box exists and somewhat becomes part of the original Hill House.



*Figure 1. The Hill House Box*

*(Image courtesy of Carmody Groarke, taken from <https://www.archdaily.com/916147/carmody-groarkes-hill-house-box-celebrates-public-debut-in-scotland>)*



We also want to highlight how the house is not in the actual condition when it was dwelled by the Blackie. As mentioned in its guidebook, the Hill House as of today is a composite of what was there back then through some original furniture and finishes, with what Mackintosh envisioned in his design, interpreted by the Scotland National Trust.<sup>7</sup> Without question, it also includes replicas to reach the intended interpretation or support the house museum function. Indeed, just like how narrative represents a story, a house museum represents what life was, not a reproduction of it.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the Hill House as a house museum today is a space that never existed at any point in time. This is fine, as the perceived authentic experience or spirit of the place lies in its design concept, not the original material.<sup>9</sup>

There are three main transposition movements that we found here. The first is by looking at the Hill House as a museum object. Mackintosh utilised the hilly location to emphasise the verticality of the building when he designed it.<sup>10</sup> The “box” then lets today's visitor experience its verticality, essentially acting as a storytelling machine that exposes the house's materiality. We may see the textures, colours, or cracks that were never accessible to regular visitors before the construction of the box. Reading those qualities expanded the narrative of Mackintosh's original design and what had happened along the way. This placement of the box and access it gave the visitors then transpose the house from being a place of a collection into a piece of the collection. Seen from the outside, the house is literally contained in a display case now.

But once we went inside the house, it moved back to a container of the domestic setting. Visitors are then welcomed by the plain, readable text as another storytelling medium. Figure 2 illustrates how texts are printed on paper, giving additional information for the visitors. These types of texts are prevalent in a museum; however, these three examples serve a unique function on their own as a narrator.

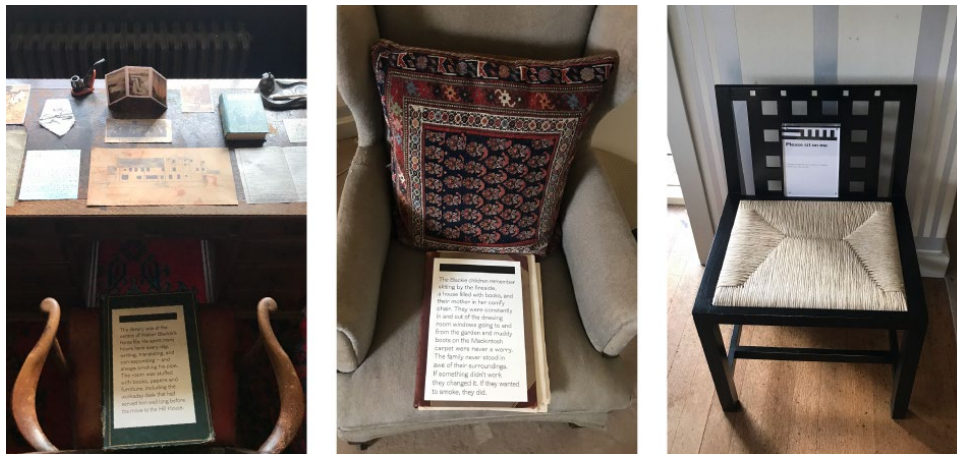


Figure 2. Museum captions as trigger for chair transposition

All the printed texts in Figure 2 are placed on a chair. The first image on the left tells a story about the library room. Together with the props on the desk, it gives an illustration of how the space was used by Walter Blackie and what objects were there. Similarly, the centre image narrates what happened in the room, emphasising the Blackie children's behaviour. In contrast, the text on the right image is placed vertically and does not inform museum-related stories. It read, “I am not original, if you need a rest please feel free to rest on me.” The caption personifies the chair, and as much as it says please sit on it, the text can also be interpreted as “the other chairs/sofas are original, as you can see how printed text is placed on them, please do not sit there.” These three instances inform the second transposition, where the furniture shifts from its function as a sitting piece to a platform that raises captions.

Another fascinating usage of literal text is found as depicted in Figure 3. They are printed directly on the house's fabrics, instantly changing them into storytelling media. In the same language, the texts tell us the story about the surrounding area instead of the object itself (i.e., the kitchen, not the towel). But distinct from those captured in Figure 2, these third transposition movement examples detach their function as curtains, kitchen towels, napkins, or bed sheets while retaining their materiality in the rooms.



Figure 3. Stories printed directly on the house fabrics

### Kettle's Yard: Stately Home of Jim and Helen

*'a living place where works of art would be enjoyed, inherent to the domestic setting, where young people could be at home unhampered by the greater austerity of the museum or public art gallery, and where an informality might infuse an underlying formality.'*

*Jim Ede's vision of the house*<sup>11</sup>

Although the place is called Kettle's Yard (the name comes from the Kettle family), its creator was Jim Ede, who wanted to be an artist, but the war of 1914 changed everything in his life.<sup>12</sup> When he was young, he worked at the National Gallery of British Art (the Tate Gallery after 1932) and became close friends with artists. There are great details of Jim Ede's life and travels, but one of the milestones was when he started searching for a place to live with his wife Helen and their children, Elisabeth and Mary. It was the time they decided to have a permanent home and a place to hang their art collection.

Jim's idea was to live where art could be enjoyed, inherent to the domestic setting, by reflecting an art gallery environment for young people to come and go. However, Jim was unsure how to make the dream a reality, and the solution came as a recommendation from the President of the Cambridge Preservation Society. This suitable home search ended with a transformation project of four derelict cottages of 'Kettle's Yard' in 1957. The nature of Ede's family life and interest in art turned their daily routines into a living around and in the great collection of Jim. In his words, *'Kettle's Yard is in no way meant to be an art gallery or museum, nor is it simply a collection of works of art reflecting my taste or the taste of given periods.'*<sup>13</sup>

Kettle's Yard was the result of Ede's dream and everyday living. Initially, it did not aim to be a museum, but his intention to have 'art in a home' resulted in it. Later, Ede used the house as an 'open house'<sup>14</sup> to university undergraduates on weekday afternoons, followed by artists to visit the house. This move, in itself, blurred the boundary of the house's private and public. In 1966, Kettle's Yard was taken care of by the University of Cambridge, and soon enough, the collection got bigger. It immediately brought the need to extend the house. The first extension and adjoining gallery to the house happened in 1970, the second was in the 1980s, and the third was between 1993 and 1994. The last new space addition was made by Jamie Fobert Architects in 2018.



Figure 4. Kettle's Yard present plan (A) and before museum extension (B)  
(Collage by authors, architectural plans originally from <https://www.architectural-review.com/buildings/museum/private-life-the-line-between-domesticity-and-publicness-at-kettles-yard> and Kettle's Yard House Guide)

There is a small road entry to the site and a few steps right before the house. Today's version of the site shows that the museum and gallery spaces tried to keep together and avoid touching the original setting of the house. The visit starts by entering the extension part, which includes all museum spaces for public needs: a ticket desk, a small museum shop, a café with outside seating, and galleries. Going to the original historical house or gallery exhibitions is optional, with different tickets to purchase. It denotes that the historic house is a museum object. The house acts as a displayed unit under the museum's control. It can also be seen in the architectural plan of the Kettle's Yard; Figure 4 shows how the extension grows the site and museum on one side while the house overlaps the top of the museum. After purchasing the ticket, the visitors are partially guided when they arrive at the original house's door. The door is locked, and one of the visitors needs to ring the bell as in the old days (Figure 5), a threshold that tries to take visitors back into the past.



*Figure 5. Threshold to the Kettle's Yard's original house*

A dwelling where arts live within domesticity, home to owners, kept as it is, filled with incredible artefacts and tasteful pieces of furniture (Figure 6). This is also why the house is called a label-free house. No captions or any literal, readable text to inform or tell the story of the house, owner, art pieces hanging on the wall or the architectural structure.



*Figure 6. Arts in a domestic environment*

In an everyday corner of life that exhibits where the days happened, the seen objects are not only artefacts. From this perspective, the house's bathroom (Figure 7) became a frozen movement displayed and not a functioning place. Therefore, the non-functional areas are transposed into a display unit/object for the visitor's interpretation. The meaning of the rooms is then contested between the private and public realms.



Figure 7. Bathroom as a non-functional place, a displayed object instead

Nevertheless, being a label-free house-museum does not make the place free of museum touches. Figure 8 shows some interior photos of the domestic and private areas of the Ede family under the museum's control. Fire extinguishers, exit signs, and rope barriers shout that you are the house's visitor—not a guest—it is no longer a private place. Here, the existence of those objects transposes the whole area's perception from a house into a museum and the other way around when the visitors do not see them.

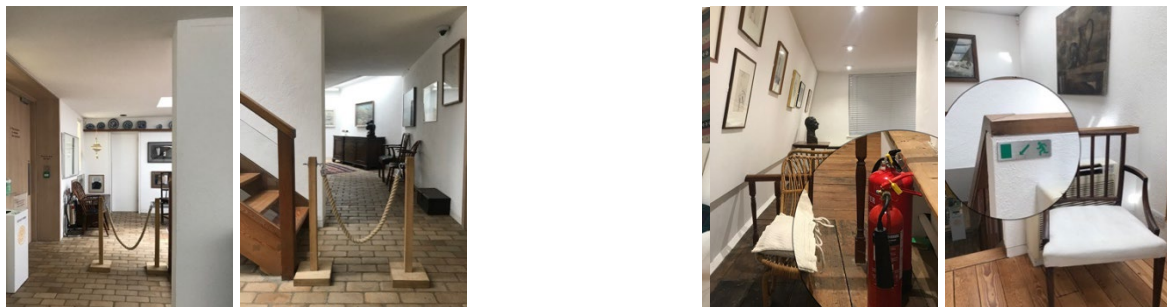


Figure 8. Museum touches in Kettle's Yard

### With and Without Text

The analysis of these two unique houses highlights how the museum—as an institution—influences, right from the initial step, the visitor's experience. The Hill House distinctively encapsulates heritage. It involves entering the big box, proceeding to the museum's entrance/office/shop, and finally immersing oneself in the historic house. This journey encompasses a back-and-forth movement through various layers, encompassing themes like 'house and museum,' 'in and out,' and 'seeing and reading.' In the Hill House, the perception of objects undergoes a transposition. Items like napkins, curtains, bedsheets, and other fabric elements cease to serve their original purpose. Instead, they are transformed into communication tools that convey the museum's intended message. They act as conduits for the museum's narrative.

Kettle's Yard, with its separate entry to the house, offers another example of managing historic houses. However, it similarly transforms the historic house into an object within the museum's collection—an additional exhibit within a larger gallery. Out-of-the-story museum and perfectly-positioned domestic objects transpose the house from a simple dwelling to a prominently displayed item, existing under the museum's overarching theme. Both cases reveal that the museum's influence extends beyond mere physical alterations. It shapes the essence of the visitor's encounter, propelling traditional houses into artistic display and interactive narrative through objects.

## **CONCLUSION**

When a house transforms into a house-museum, significant changes occur in its physical environment. Architectural elements are integrated to enrich the museum experience. This may involve creating a distinct entrance or threshold, adding extensions for offices or archive spaces, and establishing public amenities such as cafes, shops, and restrooms. However, beyond these physical alterations, the moments of transposition truly unlock the essence of this unique transformation. Hill House employs an approach that incorporates literal text into fabrics and the domestic environment.

On the other hand, Kettle's Yard takes a different route by preserving the existing domestic space while still showcasing objects for exhibitions. Despite the contrasting methods, both instances unfold distinct transposition moments of the overall narrative. Through the lens of Hill House and Kettle's Yard, we can discern how these transposition moments are pivotal in shaping the museum experience.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

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## NOTES

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- <sup>2</sup> Magaly Cabral, 'Exhibiting and Communicating History and Society in Historic House Museums', *Museum International* 53, no. 2 (April 2001): 41, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0033.00311>.
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- <sup>6</sup> Johnathan Djabarouti, 'Imitation and Intangibility: Postmodern Perspectives on Restoration and Authenticity at the Hill House Box, Scotland', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 28, no. 1 (2 January 2022): 109–26, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2021.1883716>.
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- <sup>11</sup> Jennifer Powell, ed., *Kettle's Yard House Guide* (Cambridge: Kettle's Yard, 2018).
- <sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Anne Fisher, 'Kettle's Yard: Anti-Museum. H.S. Ede, Modernism and the Experience of Art.' (University of Cambridge, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.42394>.
- <sup>13</sup> Powell, *Kettle's Yard*, 5.
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# BEYOND DECAY: NOSTALGIA AND LOSS IN TURKEY'S ABANDONED TWENTIETH-CENTURY SANATORIA

Author:

**DENİZ AVCI-HOSANLI**

Affiliation:

IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS, TURKEY

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## INTRODUCTION

After the Covid-19 pandemic, a rekindled interest in the twentieth century healthcare architecture put a spotlight on the abandoned tuberculosis sanatoria of the Turkish republican era as the reminders of the Kemalist healthcare revolutions. One reason for neglect is their mountainous/seaside settings which are reutilized with new constructions after the patiently awaited decay of the historic structures. Despite or perhaps due to their neglected conditions, these sites are centers of attraction, often visited, documented, and shared on social media with forlorn and/or rampageous narratives triggering similar responses, while the sites in ruins are admired. This study contextualizes these exemplary cases as symbolic manifestations of the political conflicts of the Kemalist versus contemporary Turkey and discusses the commemorative value of the ruins which trigger nostalgia for a past communal healthcare system in the turmoil of the (post)-pandemic era.<sup>1</sup>

The link between the hygienic design principles of the twentieth-century Modern Movement architecture and the spatial development of tuberculosis treatment has long been recognized by medical and architectural historians.<sup>2</sup> The Modern Movement architecture gave birth to its own local translations of sanatoria constructed in Turkey. However, this research does not delve into a detailed historical, architectural, or spatial evaluation of this healthcare heritage.

Jackson made a fascinating observation: “necessity of ruins: ruins provide the incentive for restoration, and for a return to origins”.<sup>3</sup> Jackson’s argument is supported here with a claim that the ruins—or, more precisely, the “historical architectural heritage abandoned to its ruinous state”—provide the necessary but *wanting* grounds for democratic resistance in contemporary Turkey. It is because the significance of the Modern Movement architectural heritage in Turkey is multi-faceted as symbols of the early republican reforms’ socio-cultural shifts. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the healthcare products of this architectural legacy were only recognized as “heritage at risk” after the Covid-19 pandemic when the abandonment and impending destruction became apparent. The cases are only *now* being closely watched, even though earlier, others were silently destroyed. Examples to lost heritage include the *Koşuyolu* sanatorium (demolished 2018), *Süreyyapaşa* sanatorium (d.2017), and *Çamlıca* sanatorium (d.2007-2010), all of which were examples of the universal Modern Movement block-type sanatoria in Istanbul.

In terms of their location, building typologies, construction dates, and current conditions, the four exemplary cases in this study represent sanatoria architecture in Turkey (Figure 1). Tuberculosis was most common in Istanbul during the early republican period, therefore, despite Ankara becoming the

new capital city, most sanatoria were constructed there. This was because the tuberculosis combat originated in the previous capital city of the Ottoman Empire. Considering, the two selected cases are from Istanbul, the *Validebağ* Grove (Validebağ preventorium and sanatorium) and the *Heybeliada* (Heybeli Island) sanatorium. The *Yamanlar* camp/sanatorium in Izmir is a unique case within Turkey's sanatorium typology because it began as a summer camp and expanded into a larger sanatorium complex with its block-style building built in the 1950s. Izmir was also one of the centers of tuberculosis struggle as the first republican association of the tuberculosis combat was established there in 1923, soon to be followed by the one in Istanbul in 1927.<sup>4</sup> The *Ballıdağ* sanatorium in Kastamonu is a mid-century block-type sanatorium, exemplary of the sanatoria in the rest of Anatolia. Furthermore, the cases also serve as examples of being at various risk stages as will be demonstrated. The cases will be discussed thoroughly in '*Sanatoria heritage at risk*' and '*X-ray of nostalgia*' contextualizing their current legal situations and physical conditions as well as the responses from the public. However before, '*(Fighting) Tuberculosis: A Political Discourse*' will discuss how the tuberculosis combat was propagandistic tool for the new Turkish state's success discourse as evidenced by contemporary newspaper articles.

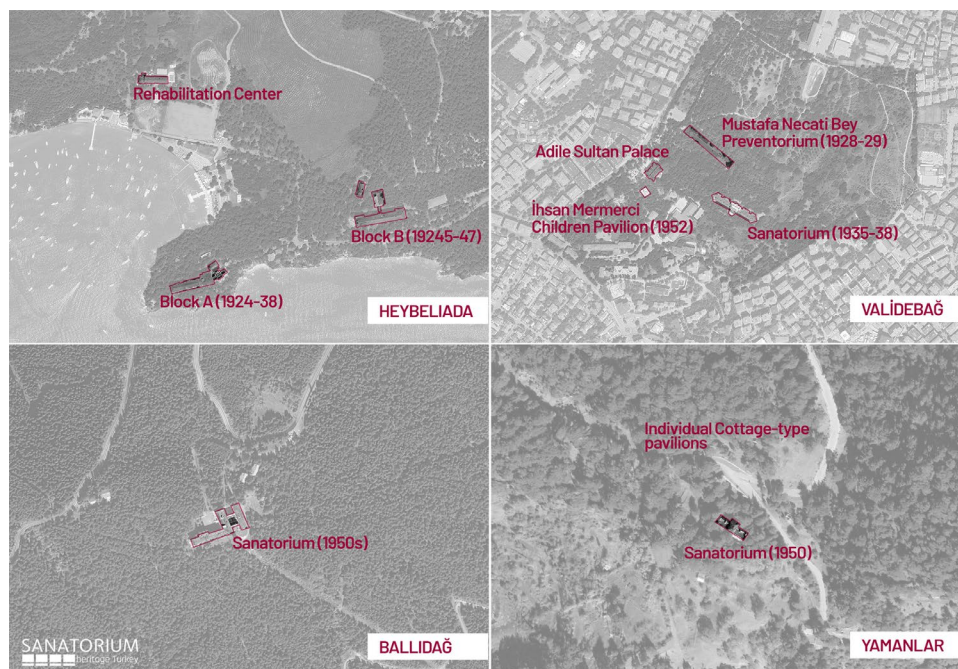


Figure 44. Aerial views of the sanatorium cases with the buildings marked

Source: Google Earth, 2019, 2023. © Sanatorium Heritage Turkey

### (FIGHTING) TUBERCULOSIS: A POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The young Turkish state, warworn but expeditious for progress after the First World War, among many other reforms, prioritized the fight against contagious diseases such as tuberculosis. For the new Turkish government, a healthy nation meant the erasure of the reminiscence of the past with the aim to establish a healthy nation which would progress “within the compassionate and healing hands of the new Republican state”.<sup>5</sup> Tuberculosis combat indeed became a matter of propaganda, regularly supported with the images of the new *state-of-the-art* tuberculosis pavilions. One journalist claimed that “We [as a nation] must intensify our efforts to combat tuberculosis” and the “war against tuberculosis” could be successful by establishing “dispensaries, sanatoriums” and with “propaganda” (Figure 2).<sup>6</sup>

Ensuring the citizens that they were under the protection of the state was a popular theme. One newspaper article praised the new state sanatorium to be set up “on the great outskirts of beautiful Izmir” and the Yamanlar mountain became “a supreme resource to save the lives and to embrace the children of the revolution and the republic” (Figure 3).<sup>7</sup> Saving the tubercular children was also at the fore: “It will be possible to save thousands of Turkish infants from certain death every year” (Figure 4).<sup>8</sup> The newspapers also praised the constructing and transforming power of the new state. The repurposing of dysfunctional imperial venues by the new republican state to serve the people was an important statement. For instance, the *Adile Sultan* Summer Palace in Validebağ was converted as a new preventorium for the students and teachers of the Ministry of Education:

We went to the main building [women’s preventorium] [...]. We climbed the wide, marble stairs. Upon entering the hall, our eyes were dazzled. The manager said:

- Sir, this place was built as a palace and was used as such for a while. You see, these halls, where courtesans used to play, have now become a health home for the children of the country.<sup>9</sup>

Comparing the newly established sanatoria with their Western/European counterparts was another propaganda. “This structure [...] will be as flawless as its European counterparts” one journalist claimed for Validebağ’s new sanatorium building. It was compared to its counterparts in Switzerland and Europe with the mass recessed back per floor to create terraces.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, another journalist visited the Heybeliada sanatorium and observed the x-ray room, the operating room and the lab “in perfect order” and the head doctor of the institution [Dr. Tevfik İsmail Gökçe] ensured that the institution was as good as any in Europe in terms of its treatment venues and equipment, and the beauty of the landscape was even better.<sup>11</sup>

In the inauguration ceremony of the Heybeliada’s new block in 1947, the Minister of Health, Dr. Behçet Uz, consolidated all the abovementioned discussions: “This facility is above many of its counterparts in the world in terms of equipment and comfort” he said and continued “an excellent health monument [built] amid the difficulties during and after the war and it is a successful work of our constructive republican administration.”<sup>12</sup>



Figure 45. The success discourse is often shared with the new state-of-the-art sanatorium buildings  
Upper right: Heybeliada sanatorium, lower left: Cerrahpaşa tuberculosis pavilion  
Headline: “War Against Tuberculosis: Dispensaries, Sanatoriums, Propaganda”  
Source: *Tan*, 1937, by Ferhan Yücer. © Sanatorium Heritage Turkey



Figure 46. The Yamanlar camp

Headline: "The mountain of Yamanlar has soared!"

Source: Cumhuriyet, 1933, by Zeki Doğanoglu. © Sanatorium Heritage Turkey



Figure 47. The Validebağ preventorium and sanatorium

Headline: "An institution that saves the lives of thousands of infants every year."

Source: Haber, 1938. © Sanatorium Heritage Turkey

## SANATORIA HERITAGE AT RISK

Antibiotic treatment of tuberculosis was introduced to the world with Streptomycin in 1944 by Dr. Selman Waksman. This was well-received in the contemporary Turkish media. It was promoted to be “a reliable drug in the treatment of all diseases caused by germs.”<sup>13</sup> However, it took years before its effective dissemination. Hence the construction of the new sanatoria continued in the 1950s and onwards and the hygienic-dietetic-therapeutic treatment with a reliance on architecture’s role persisted up to the 1980s. Between 1980s-2000s, most of the sanatoria were gradually converted into chest diseases hospitals. After the 2000s, due to the policies to privatize the state hospitals and to combine them as larger institutions, most started to be abandoned. Eventually the abandoned ones became targets of profit-oriented construction sector.

One heritage at risk is the Validebağ preventorium and sanatorium complex, contemporarily known as the Validebağ grove (Figure 5). Even though it remained on the outskirts during its construction years, today, it endures a busy location in Üsküdar neighborhood. 2014 witnessed the attempts of the city council of the government in power to construct a new mosque at the site. The inhabitants withstood claiming that the grove is a natural heritage site. The court decided to stop the execution of the construction, nonetheless “Demolition vehicle did not recognize the court decision!”<sup>14</sup> In 2018, the same city council initiated to renovate the Validebağ grove with a new project titled “nation garden”. The public was concerned that this new project would bring about the demolition of the sanatorium buildings as well as expedite new constructions. Once again, this issue was brought to court as a non-profit organization called Validebağ Volunteers filed a lawsuit against the regional conservation board of Istanbul. They demanded that the Validebağ grove should be handed down to the future generations as “natural landscape, green and whole”.<sup>15</sup> In February 2019, the implementation of this project halted as the Istanbul City Council Anatolian Side Parks and Gardens Directorate announced that the project design process and allocation procedures were incomplete.<sup>16</sup>

The zoning permission legislation of 2020 for the natural sites<sup>17</sup> within the cities also caused concern. As one journalist claims 354 acres of green lands were to be suffocated by new constructions.<sup>18</sup> The Validebağ volunteers opposed with a slogan: “The grove does not need to be a park or a garden, let the grove remain as it is”.<sup>19</sup> The events resulted in a book<sup>20</sup> and were published online.<sup>21</sup> In 2023, the remains of these events endure (Figure 5). In 2021, after the city consulate shifted to the opposition, the constructions in the grove halted.<sup>22</sup> The preventorium building today still serves as a retirement home and the sanatorium building is part of the University of Health Sciences. Both are Modern Movement architectural heritage at risk (Figure 5).



Figure 48. The Validebağ preventorium and sanatorium

Right: Remains of the events organized by the Validebağ Volunteers

The signboard reads: “Validebağ grove will stay as a grove. The court decision said that Validebağ grove cannot be a nation garden. We are on guard even though the wait is over.”

Source: Avci-Hosanli, 2023



Figure 49. The abandoned Heybeliada sanatorium complex

Source: Avci-Hosanli, 2013

Another disagreement over a twentieth century healthcare architectural heritage is over the Heybeliada sanatorium (Figure 6). An integral part of the republican discourse as the first state tuberculosis sanatorium,<sup>23</sup> it was established in 1924 with the request of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish state.<sup>24</sup> During the Covid-19 pandemic, when the healthcare architectural

heritage at risk was discerned via these examples, Heybeliada sanatorium was promoted as “Turkey’s first pandemic hospital”.

The buildings at the Heybeliada complex were damaged in the 1999 Istanbul earthquake and the institution, together with its staff and patients, was transferred to the Süreyyapaşa Chest and Cardiovascular Diseases Hospital in Istanbul in 2005, justified as the decreasing number of patients and the difficulty of transportation to the island.<sup>25</sup> Soon after, the sanatorium buildings were damaged in a suspicious fire in 2009. In 2013, a team of architects<sup>26</sup> was commissioned by the Ministry of Health for the measurements and documentation drawings of the buildings at the site (Figure 6). Unfortunately, the follow-up projects were not requested. After years of silence, the public was informed in 2020 that the “Heybeliada Sanatorium has been allocated to the Ministry of Religious Affairs” with the 200 acres of land without the approval of Princes’ Islands Regional City Council.<sup>27</sup> The health organizations and the chamber of architects and engineers<sup>28</sup> unified to demand that the sanatorium remain as a medical institution and a museum with joint press statements.<sup>29</sup> Accordingly, the court (Istanbul 14<sup>th</sup> Administrative Court) annulled the transaction in 2022 due to the architectural heritage being the “second degree cultural assets to be protected” and site being the “first degree natural protected area”.<sup>30</sup> However, currently, the complex remains abandoned.<sup>31</sup>

The following case is no longer heritage at risk, but heritage lost. The Ballıdağ chest diseases sanatorium complex in the Daday region of Kastamonu was closed in 2007 (Figure 7). The ownership of the complex was leased to Hacettepe University in 2008, and back to the Ministry of Forestry within the same year due to complications.<sup>32</sup> After years of abandonment, the “ghost building in Daday, which looks like a miracle of nature [...] with a capacity of 300 beds” was discerned by the public and the media.<sup>33</sup> By then, the buildings were vandalized, valuable medical equipment stolen, and in irreversible decay. This ignited anger among the public as demonstrated by a journalist: “Ministry of Forestry, Untie the chains of Ballıdağ!”<sup>34</sup>

However, the agenda for the site was soon revealed: The new construction projects and visuals of the Daday Ballıdağ Elderly Hotel and Health Center (Geriatrics Center) by *Tez Madencilik* company, one of the affiliates of *Gün Media Group* (GMG), were shared with the public in 2021.<sup>35</sup> The images from this meeting clearly demonstrated the planned demolition of the sanatorium building. However, no attempts were made to stop this. In May 2022, a meeting was convened to promote the new project.<sup>36</sup> The aerial photographs attached to this news prove the demolishment of the historic twentieth-century architectural heritage. The demolishment video was shared in a local account soon afterwards (Figure 7).



Figure 50. The demolition moment of the Ballıdağ sanatorium building captured from a video  
Source: *Kastamonu Açık Söz* newspaper, 6 September 2021



## Yamanlar Sanatoryumu'nu kurtarın



Figure 51. The sanatorium building in Yamanlar camp complex  
Headline: “Save Yamanlar sanatorium”

Source: Ege Telgraf, 3 June 2021, by Ahmet Buğra Tokmakoğlu

Another heritage at risk is the Yamanlar camp in Izmir (Figure 8).<sup>37</sup> In 2017, “30 years of ruins”<sup>38</sup> of the health camp “which was established for the treatment of tuberculosis patients on Mount Yamanlar in the 1920s by Atatürk’s request” was noticed by the public. The abandoned complex at the end of the 1980s was transferred to the Izmir Regional Directorate of Forestry in 2002 and then to the Karşıyaka Regional City Council in 2011.

New proposals were convened by the opposing Izmir City Council in 2021 and a possible adaptive reuse project was discussed with the *Grand Plaza* company as the contractor. This was rejected by the Ministry of Forestry.<sup>39</sup> The reason was the absence of technical specifications that comply with the requirements of the tender announcement. The opposition plead for support: “Do not let it rot, give it to the City Council [Izmir] so that they will build it up!”<sup>40</sup> Even though the tender was finally leased to the company,<sup>41</sup> the process of “Save[-ing] Yamanlar Sanatorium” was excruciating (Figure 8).<sup>42</sup> One striking statement of the journalist brings about and introduces the final discussion of this research: “After sharing the abandoned image of the sanatorium on my social media account, I received many messages from various cities of Turkey”.

### X-RAY OF NOSTALGIA

The reactions of the public to the ruins are twofold. (1) The abandoned sanatoria trigger concern and opposition (as demonstrated in the previous section) and (2) the consequent dismay results in melancholic nostalgia. This is brilliantly demonstrated by Bolton “Ruins can become a symbol of both victory and defeat, depending on who is doing the ruining; they simultaneously signify memory and forgetting; they can herald the creation of a new order or confirm the destruction of an old one [...]”.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps because of the restrained opposition by the people, the sanatoria in ruins elicit a growing influx of nostalgic responses across social media platforms. This section will evaluate these responses, i.e., take a “x-ray of nostalgia”.<sup>44</sup>

It is evident that most products of modernist architecture of the early-twentieth century, especially healthcare buildings which are no longer required due to advances in medicine such as tuberculosis hospitals/sanatoriums have “reached [their] own ruinous stage”.<sup>45</sup> Established literature acknowledges the allure of modernist architecture in ruins (Figure 9) As Presner stated the physical ruins/material remains of the products of modernity are part of larger narratives,<sup>46</sup> because as Huyssen expressed



“romantic ruins seem to guarantee origins”<sup>47</sup> and the ruins draw people who are looking for and long for their roots. Minkjan in “Poetry of Decay” addressed it effectively:<sup>48</sup> “urban and architectural decay provides stimuli for the mind [...]”. The ruins indeed “yield pleasure through their historical associations”, as Yablon stated, “as objects that testify to the glories [...] of democratic enlightenment [...]”.<sup>49</sup> It is clearly established that ruins are stimuli of belonging to and longing for a past long gone, and thus nostalgia.

The early republican healthcare architecture legacy, particularly the tuberculosis sanatoria in Turkey, recently referred to as “pandemic hospitals”, appears to be receiving more attention in contemporary mainstream and social media after the Covid-19 pandemic. These realizations are further backed by arguments that they are abandoned and allowed to rot *because* they served as symbols of republican healthcare reforms.<sup>50</sup>



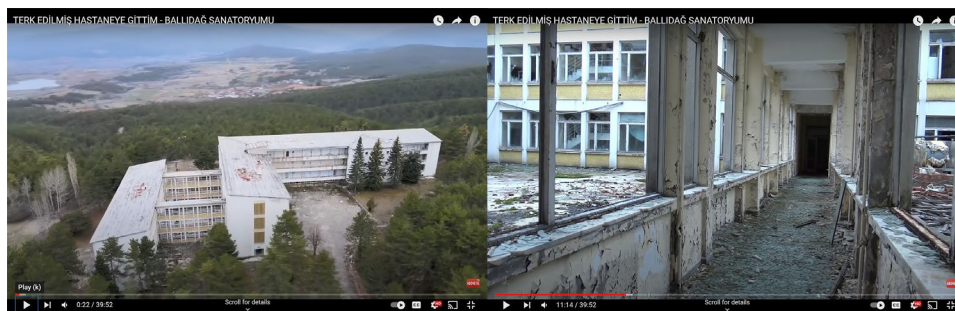
Figure 52. Established literature on the necessity of ruins

During the pandemic, social media responded to the abandoned healthcare heritage. People were fascinated by watching the videos of the abandoned healthcare facilities in ruins, especially sanatoria (Figure 10).<sup>51</sup> Either past patients, their relatives, or even hospital employees, the viewers surprisingly offer the basis for a more comprehensive discursive history research.<sup>52</sup>

Besides, the users offer helpful suggestions for potential adaptive reuse projects: “H.A.<sup>53</sup> This would be a very nice youth camp. It may be a culture and recreation camp for [...] students. Our state should refunction this building for the service of the youth [...]. I hope that luxury-housing-projects are not built here... [...]”. Opposition also prevails as “ironic” responses: “Y.S.: Its decay is anticipated for the construction of a new hotel there” and “O.G.: [...] this 15-year decay is obvious”. In fact, these conversations recall Steinmetz’s classification of response groups to the ruins: “Whereas the first uses ruins to re-live the past, the other uses ruins to deny that the past no longer exists. Ruins appeal to both groups as particularly evocative objects.”<sup>54</sup> As witnessed, one group indeed commemorates these ruins to relive the past.

Above all, the comments reveal nostalgia. These two comments are striking to comprehend how people respond to ruins: “R.B.: Who knows, for the patients who came here to find convalescence, this hospital was the last hope. [...]” and “P.: When I saw the patient logbooks, I felt the spirit of the era. Who was the last patient treated here [Heybeliada]? How did the doctors and nurses leave the hospital? [...]” Above all, this comment reveals the people’s reliance on ruins: “E.Ö.: Abandoned dilapidated buildings [Ballıdağ] affect me deeply, whether they are made of concrete or not, and I feel sad when I think of the people who lived in them. [...]”

The responses demonstrate that the ruins are not meaningless to people as they are trying to hold on to their common heritage. As Yablon states: “ruins were essentially ‘meaningless’ to a nation securely oriented toward ideas of material progress, manifest destiny, and moral perfectibility”.<sup>55</sup> This is a long shot in terms of political turmoil around the globe today and thus our fascination with ruins.<sup>56</sup>



*Figure 53. Screenshots from the Ballıdağ sanatorium video  
Source: Youtube, 10 April 2021, with Hasan Ada’s special permission*

## CONCLUSION

The highlighted cases of four sanatoria, representing various stages of risk and different tuberculosis treatment institution types, underscore the current risks faced by Turkey’s twentieth-century Modern Movement healthcare architectural heritage. The gradually diminishing interest in this threat had become evident during the Covid-19 pandemic as the structures were considered for repurposing or demolition. This study thus aimed to maintain the attention on these cases for potential conservation strategies. Additionally, this research highlighted two primary responses to the ruins in question. The initial threat of demolition has acted as a means for people to express themselves democratically, and the resultant failure led the ruins to evoke nostalgia across various social media platforms. A scan on the established literature revealed that this nostalgia for modern architectural ruins is universal, hinting at the existence of a more significant global social, cultural, and political turmoil in the post-pandemic era.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This research is part of a larger project titled “Architecture of Convalescence: Mapping the Sanatorium Heritage of Turkey”. Deniz Avcı Hosanlı, Cansu Değirmencioğlu, and Orçun Kepez, “Architecture of Convalescence: Mapping the Sanatorium Heritage of Turkey,” *Modern Mimarlık Araştırma Ödülü* [Modern Architecture Research Award] (Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği 1927 [Turkish Architects’ Association 1927], 2022).

<sup>2</sup> Margaret Campbell, “What Tuberculosis Did for Modernism: The Influence of a Curative Environment on Modernist Design and Architecture,” *Medical History* 49, no. 4 (October 2005): 463–88, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025727300009169>; Beatriz Colomina, *X-Ray Architecture* (Zurich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2019); Paul Overy, *Light, Air & Openness: Modern Architecture Between the Wars* (Thames & Hudson, 2007).

<sup>3</sup> John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins and Other Topics* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), 101–2.

<sup>4</sup> Bedrettin Ülgen, “Verem, Sefalet ve Cehalet Hastalığıdır [Tuberculosis Is a Disease of Suffering and Ignorance],” *Vakit*, February 12, 1947.

<sup>5</sup> Fatih Tuğluoğlu, “Cumhuriyetin ilk döneminde verem mücadelesi ve propaganda faaliyetleri [Tuberculosis struggle and propaganda activities in the first period of the republic],” *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*, no. 13–14 (2008): 1–26; Ceren Gülser İlikan Rasimoğlu, “‘Verem iyi olur bir hastalıktır’: Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında verem mücadelesi ve siyaset [‘Tuberculosis is a disease that can be cured’: Struggle against tuberculosis and politics in the first years of the Republic],” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 296 (2018): 86–96.

<sup>6</sup> Ferhan Yücer, “Verem Savaşında: Dispanser, Sanatoryom, Propaganda [War against Tuberculosis: Dispensaries, Sanatoriums, Propaganda],” *Tan*, January 13, 1937.

<sup>7</sup> Zeki Doğanolu, “Yamanlar Dağı Şahlandı! [Yamanlar Mountain Has Soared!],” *Cumhuriyet*, July 29, 1933.

<sup>8</sup> Anon., “Her Sene Binlerce Yavrunun Canını Kurtaran Bir Müessese [An Institution That Saves the Lives of Thousands of Infants Every Year],” *Haber*, October 5, 1938.

<sup>9</sup> A.R., “Prevantoriumu Ziyaret [A Visit to the Preventorium],” *Haber*, August 22, 1934.

<sup>10</sup> Anon., “Maarif Vekâleti Validebağında Bir Sanatoryom Yapıyor [Ministry of Education Is Building a Sanatorium in Validebağ],” *Son Posta*, January 21, 1938.

<sup>11</sup> Niyazi Acun, “Veremin Tedavi Çaresi Tabiate Dönmektir [The Cure for Tuberculosis Is to Return to Nature],” *Son Telgraf*, July 24, 1937.

<sup>12</sup> Anon., “Heybeli Sanatoryomunda 250 Yataklı Yeni Bir Pavyon Açıldı [A New 250-Bed Pavilion Has Been Opened in the Heybeli Sanatorium].”

<sup>13</sup> Anon., “Veremi İyileştirecek İlaç Nihayet Bulundu [Medicine to Cure Tuberculosis Finally Found] *Vakit*, 1945,” *Vakit*, October 7, 1945.

<sup>14</sup> Olgu Kundakçı, “Dozer Yargıyı Tanımadı [Demolition Vehicle Did Not Recognize the Court Decision!],” *Birgün*, October 23, 2014, 1, 20.

<sup>15</sup> Uğur Şahin, “Validebağ Korusu Geleceğe Kalmalı [The Valideba Grove Ought to Endure in the Future],” *Birgün*, October 23, 2018, 1, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Uğur Şahin, “Validebağ’da Proje Durdu [The Project Has Halted in Validebağ],” *Birgün*, February 27, 2019, 1, 3.

<sup>17</sup> T.C. Resmî Gazete, “Kültür ve Turizm Koruma ve Gelişim Bölgelerinde ve Turizm Merkezlerinde İmar Planlarının Hazırlanması ve Onaylanmasına İlişkin Yönetmelikte Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Yönetmelik [Regulation Amending the Regulation on the Preparation and Approval of Zoning Plans in Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Regions and Tourism Centers],” Pub. L. No. 31207, 8 (2020).

<sup>18</sup> Özlem Güvemli, “Çürük Binaya İmar Yok. Yeşil Alana İmar Var [There Is No Zoning for an Old Structure. There Is Zoning for Green Areas],” *Sözcü*, October 21, 2020, 1, 4.

<sup>19</sup> Özlem Devrim Bahar, “Korunun Park ve Bahçe Olmaya İhtiyacı Yok, Bırakın Koru Kalsın [The Grove Does Not Need to Be a Park or a Garden, Let the Grove Remain as It Is],” *Serbestiyet*, June 30, 2021.

<sup>20</sup> Sibel Akyıldız and Nurcan Armağan, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Validebağ Korusu: Tarihsel, Kültürel, Ekolojik Müştereğimiz* [Validebağ Grove from the Ottomans to the Present: Our Historical, Cultural, Ecological Commonwealth] (Nobel Bilimsel Eserler, 2022).

<sup>21</sup> “Validebağ Grove,” Validebağ Gönüllüleri [Validebağ Volunteers], accessed August 4, 2023, <http://www.validebag.org/>.

<sup>22</sup> Anon., “Validebağ Korusu’nda İBB’nin Onayı Olmadan Hiçbir İmalata Girilemez [No One May Initiate Constructions in Validebağ Grove without the Permission of Istanbul City Council (İBB)],” *Diken*, June 27, 2021.

- <sup>23</sup> Tevfik İsmail Gökçe, *Heybeliada Sanatoryumu Kuruluş ve Gelişimi (1924-1955) [Establishment and Development of Heybeliada Sanatorium (1924-1955)]* (İstanbul: İstanbul Tüberküloz Vakfı, 1957)
- <sup>24</sup> Deniz Avcı Hosanlı, “Cumhuriyet’in İlk on Yılında Heybeliada Sanatoryumu: Değişen Mekânsal Kurgular ve Modernleş(Tiril)en İç Mekanlar [Heybeliada Sanatorium during the First Decade of the Republic: Transforming Spatial Organizations and Modern(ized) Interiors],” in *Symposium on Modern Interiors in Turkey II* (Yaşar University, İzmir: docomomo\_tr interior design, 2022).
- <sup>25</sup> Nuran Yıldırım and Mahmut Gürkan, *Türk Göğüs Hastalıkları Tarihi [History of Turkish Chest Diseases]*, ed. Muzaffer Metintaş (İstanbul: Türk Toraks Derneği, Aves Yayıncılık, 2012).
- <sup>26</sup> Heybeliada sanatorium documentation drawings were prepared by Alper Sanlı Hosanlı and Mustafa Demir in 2013-2014. The restitutions drawings were prepared by Deniz Avcı Hosanlı and Cansu Değirmencioğlu in 2022-2023.
- <sup>27</sup> Murat Muratoğlu, “Heybeliada Sanatoryumu Diyanet’e Tahsis Edildi [Heybeliada Sanatorium Has Been Allocated to the Religious Affairs],” *Sözcü*, September 5, 2020, 1, 4.
- <sup>28</sup> İstanbul Tuberculosis Foundation (*İstanbul Tüberküloz Vakfı*), Turkish Medical Association Central Council (*Türk Tabipler Odası*), İstanbul Medical Chamber Board of Directors (*İstanbul Tabip Odası*), Turkish Thoracic Society (*Türk Toraks Derneği*), Turkish Respiratory Research Association (TÜSAD) and Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB).
- <sup>29</sup> Leyla Alp, “Heybeliada Sanatoryumu Sağlık Kurumu Olarak Kalmalı [Heybeliada Sanatorium Should Remain as a Health Institution],” *Gazete Kadıköy*, June 5, 2020; İstanbul Tabip Odası, “Heybeliada Sanatoryumu Bir Sağlık Kurumudur ve Öyle Kalmalıdır [Heybeliada Is a Health Institution and It Should Stay as Such!],” September 11, 2020.
- <sup>30</sup> Anon., “Heybeliada Sanatoryumu’nun Diyanet’e Tahsisi Mahkeme Kararıyla Durduruldu [The Allocation of Heybeliada Sanatorium to Religious Affairs Halted by a Court Decision],” *BIA Haber Merkezi*, July 27, 2022.
- <sup>31</sup> Deniz Avcı Hosanlı and Cansu Değirmencioğlu, “Heybeliada Sanatoryumu [Heybeliada Sanatorium],” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ww30YSSSYJA>.
- <sup>32</sup> Anon., “Ballıdağ’a Yeni Proje Hazırlanıyor [A New Project Is Prepared for Ballıdağ],” *Mynet*, November 19, 2012.
- <sup>33</sup> Selçuk Onur, “Orman Bakanlığı, Ballıdağ’ın Zincirlerini Çöz! [Ministry of Forestry, Untie the Chains of Ballıdağ!],” *Lojport*, May 27, 2013.
- <sup>34</sup> Onur.
- <sup>35</sup> Anon., “Ballıdağ’ın Yeni Projesi Masaya Yatırıldı [Ballıdağ’s New Project Is Discussed],” *Kastamonu İlk Haber*, September 2, 2021.
- <sup>36</sup> Anon., “Daday Ballıdağ Yaşlılar Oteli ve Sağlık Merkezi (Geriatri Merkezi)’nin Tanıtım Toplantısı Yapıldı [Promotion Meeting of Daday Ballıdağ Elderly Hotel and Health Center (Geriatrics Center) Was Held],” *T.C. Kastamonu Valiliği*, May 13, 2022.
- <sup>37</sup> For more information see. Ebru Karabağ Aydeniz and Begüm Erdoğmuş Manav, “İzmir’de Bir Modern Mimarlık Mirası: Yamanlar Sanatoryumu [A Legacy of Modern Architecture in İzmir: Yamanlar Sanatorium],” *Mimarlık*, no. 386 (2015).
- <sup>38</sup> Engin Yavuz, “30 Yıllık Harabe [30 Years of Ruins],” *Dokuzeylül*, November 7, 2017.
- <sup>39</sup> Anon., “İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi’nin Yamanlar Sanatoryumu Teklifi Reddedildi [The Proposal by the İzmir City Council for the Yamanlar Sanatorium Was Rejected],” *Cumhuriyet*, March 2, 2021.
- <sup>40</sup> Anon., “Bakandan ‘Yamanlar’ Tepkisi: Çürütmeyin, Verin Büyükşehir’e Ayağa Kaldırsın! [Yamanlar Reaction from the Deputy: Do Not Let It Rot, Give It to the City Council so That They Will Build It Up!],” *Egeye Bakış*, March 4, 2021.
- <sup>41</sup> Oktay Güçtekin, “Grand Plaza Düğmeye Bastı: Sanatoryum İçin ‘Plan’ Kararı! [Grand Plaza Pressed the Button: ‘plan’ Decision for the Sanatorium!],” *Egedensöz*, August 2, 2022.
- <sup>42</sup> Ahmet Buğra Tokmakoğlu, “Yamanlar Sanatoryumu’nu Kurtarın [Save Yamanlar Sanatorium],” *Ege Telgraf*, June 3, 2021.
- <sup>43</sup> Jonathan Bolton, “The Ruins of a Republic: Czech Modernism after Munich, 1938-1939,” in *Ruins of Modernity*, ed. Julia Hell and Schönle Andreas (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 118.
- <sup>44</sup> A nod to one of the most prevalent works on architecture and tuberculosis. Colomina, *X-Ray Architecture*.
- <sup>45</sup> Beatriz Jaguaribe, “Modernist Ruins: National Narratives and Modernist Forms,” in *Alternative Modernities*, ed. Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001), 327–48.
- <sup>46</sup> Todd Samuel Presner, “Hegel’s Philosophy of World History via Sebald’s Imaginary of Ruins: A Contrapuntal Critique of the ‘New Space’ of Modernity,” in *Ruins of Modernity*, ed. Julia Hell and Schönle Andreas (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 193.

- <sup>47</sup> Andreas Huyssen, “Authentic Ruins: Products of Modernity,” in *Ruins of Modernity*, ed. Julia Hell and Schönle Andreas (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 20.
- <sup>48</sup> Mark Minkjan, “Poetry of Decay,” *Failed Architecture*, April 2013, <https://failedarchitecture.com/the-poetry-of-decay/>.
- <sup>49</sup> Nick Yablon, “Of Light Bulbs and Bathtubs: Excavating the Modern City,” in *Untimely Ruins: An Archaeology of American Urban Modernity, 1819-1919* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 3–4.
- <sup>50</sup> Anon., “Sağlık Bakanlığı’na Devredilen Pandemic Hastaneleri Kaderine Terk Edildi [Pandemic Hospitals Transferred to the Ministry of Health Were Left to Their Fate],” *Günlük Bakış*, April 22, 2020.
- <sup>51</sup> Documentarian Hasan Ada makes tense documentary films about the horrifying state of the deserted decaying structures as he visits abandoned modern heritage sites in ruins. *Terk Edilmiş Hastaneye Gittim - Ballıdağ Sanatoryumu [I Visited the Abandoned Hospital - Ballıdağ Sanatorium]*, Hasan Ada Youtube Channel, 2021, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w\\_fNEAi4-R0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w_fNEAi4-R0); *Heybeliada Sanatoryumu - Terk Edilmiş Hastaneye Girdim [Heybeliada Sanatorium - I Visited the Abandoned Hospital]*, Hasan Ada Youtube Channel, 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e\\_QA7qt\\_zck](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e_QA7qt_zck).
- <sup>52</sup> This research is conducted within the project of Avcı Hosanlı, Değirmencioğlu, and Kepez, “Architecture of Convalescence: Mapping the Sanatorium Heritage of Turkey.”
- <sup>53</sup> Only the initials of the users are shared for privacy.
- <sup>54</sup> George Steinmetz, “Colonial Melancholy and Fordist Nostalgia: The Ruinscapes of Namibia and Detroit,” in *Ruins of Modernity*, ed. Julia Hell and Schönle Andreas (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 316.
- <sup>55</sup> Yablon, “Of Light Bulbs and Bathtubs: Excavating the Modern City,” 5.
- <sup>56</sup> As the demand of the public to the videos of the abandoned sanatoria increased, other influencers in social media wanted to be involved. To deliver for the nostalgia demand, sanatoria in ruins were photographed with the logbooks of the patients in what feels like staged photographs.

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# GOOD PRACTICES FOR COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE REHABILITATION OF HERITAGE IN CHILE

Author:

**CONSUELO GALAZ, NINA HORMAZÁBAL**

Affiliation:

UNIVERSIDAD TÉCNICA FEDERICO SANTA MARÍA, CHILE

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## INTRODUCTION

Citizen Participation was recognized worldwide and for the first time in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Resolution 217 in 1948,<sup>1</sup> in which the importance of participation was declared in Article 21: "Every person has the right to participate in the government of their country, directly or through freely chosen representatives". This declaration explains that since the mid-20th century, public opinion starts to have relevance and suggests that it must be treasured as an asset for the democratic governance of a nation, generating a change in thinking in the public and administrative management of governments around the world. According to Cambridge Dictionary, the definitions of "Community" and "Participation" are:

1. Community: the people living in one particular area or people who are considered as a unit because of their common interests, social group, or nationality. <sup>2</sup>
2. Participation: the fact that you take part or become involved in something. <sup>3</sup>

The combination of the words "Community Participation" can be defined as: Positive intervention in an event, an act, or an activity of the city or its inhabitants, or related to them. It's important to understand that citizen participation, much like democracy, responds to times, territories, cultures, and the ideals that were expected to be achieved for the benefit of society. When engaging in participation, it is crucial to identify its purpose, it can have two purposes: Participation as a means; in which its exercise is short-term, and participation evaporates once the task is completed. This is also a passive form of participation; and participation as an end is a process that unfolds over time with the purpose of developing and strengthening the capacities to intervene, making it an active and dynamic form of participation.<sup>4</sup>

When we talk about community participation, we refer to participation in the development of the city. It is a participation that takes place within the framework of the city and therefore is based on the condition of citizenship.<sup>5</sup> In this sentence, at least three dimensions can be distinguished: democracy, sustainability, and architecture. Community participation identifies with the State and the citizens and gives life to democracy; it is for the development of cities and within the city framework, it involves engaging citizens in the search for solutions to their needs. It is known that environmental problems originate from collective human actions, so it is necessary to take actions for the rehabilitation, protection, and sustainability of the environment. To carry out community participation, it is necessary to develop the following topics. There are 3 stages during this process: Before, meanwhile and after, illustrated in Figure 1.





Figure 1. Community participation process.

### Community participation in the rehabilitation of Chilean architectural heritage

Currently, there has been a trend towards incorporating the community's involvement into the public management of the State, and more recently, into its administration. The evolution of community participation in Chile has spanned at least two centuries, going through strong social movements, political crises, and dictatorships. Even so, it continues to be demanded by citizens. The demand of communities for the right to participate in decisions about the country issues has increased (Figure 2), and this demand for involvement includes the Chilean architectural heritage too.



Figure 2. March for the Heritage of Chile in the city of Santiago

The built environment hasn't always met the needs of people, as habitability has been forcibly simplified, resulting in the creation of functionalist and pragmatic architectures, favoring quantitative development. The knowledge imposed by the political system of the government, in this case the

neoliberal one, has led people to reproduce that system, distorting and suppressing popular creativity, resulting in segregating and functional architecture.<sup>6</sup>

It is imposed to people to acknowledge all aspects of heritage, although in the case of the Chilean heritage, where most of it was built by elitist groups, communities were not participants, they still had to recognize a completely imposed heritage as part of their memory. Then, when communities declare and acknowledge heritage, it becomes a living articulator for cultural and social development.

Space is a political matter and therefore, re-signifying memorial spaces and giving them new uses is also political. Therefore, to rehabilitate and giving meaning to heritage is a civic right.

### **Policies and Codes**

In the year 2011, Law 20.500 was introduced, establishing the right to participate in public governance, creating Community Councils of Civil Society. The law also stipulates that the State and its institutions must establish ways of participation for individuals and organizations.

In the TITLE IV Regarding community participation in public management. Article 69.- The State acknowledges the right of individuals to participate in its policies, plans, programs, and actions.<sup>7</sup>

It is explicitly stated that citizen participation in decision-making is a right, and therefore, the State must safeguard and defend it. Article 70.- Every part of the government must establish the formal and specific ways of participation that individuals and organizations will have within their scope of competence.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to establishing this law, guidelines were established for community participation in the cultural and public realm, such as *Guide for community participation in Culture. Concepts, Instruments, and Tools* (2020). Despite the existence of proposed guidelines and regulations, there are still gaps that prevent the law from protecting what it was intended for – achieving genuine community participation in public policies. Many participatory instances are developed merely as checklists to fulfill institutional requirements, using community participation to achieve small group objectives or interests that do not represent most of a community. Therefore, the most common mechanisms of participation to be used are consultative methods, which allow for one-way dialogues without feedback or multidirectional dialogue among the various key stakeholders concerning a property.

### **METHODOLOGY**

The objectives of the research are to study the current policy of community participation in Chile for a brief evaluation of its implementation in rehabilitated heritage in the four phases of heritage rehabilitation: evaluation, design, construction, habilitation, and, finally, to propose recommendations for the rehabilitation of Chilean heritage.

To achieve the research objectives, a qualitative methodology was used, employing the method of studying specific cases to collect data and analyze public records. Three cases of rehabilitated Chilean heritage were analyzed: significant public projects aimed at citizens, with official heritage protection, and sharing the common characteristic of being built after the enactment of Law 20.500 in the year 2011. Examples include Consolidated School of the Saltpeter Office, María Elena 2016, Community Center and Matta Sur Health Center (CESFAM), Santiago 2014. And Pereira Palace, Santiago 2016.

Additionally, a field study will be presented in collaboration with the initiative "Trenzando," which carries out rehabilitations, specifically focusing on railway stations, where the main author was an active participant in participatory workshops.

### **Case 1. Former Consolidated School of the Saltpeter Office, María Elena. 2016.**

The saltpeter office of María Elena is the last operational office in the world, recognized the complete site as heritage from the industrial era that once marked the Northern territory of Chile. The buildings that are part of the “company town” are protected by law<sup>9</sup> and set María Elena as the capital of saltpeter heritage. Part of the “company town” includes the former grocery store, local market, Metro theater, San Rafael Arcángel Church, Labor Union N°3, former public baths, State Bank, social and sports facility, and school, among other buildings. The last two buildings mentioned have been rehabilitated after 2011. The school dates to 1926 and operated as an educational institution until 1988, when structural damage caused by years of rain made it too dangerous for using the school in such conditions, leading to its eventual rehabilitation. In 1987, the building was donated to the municipality of María Elena. After the earthquake of 2007, the property was further devastated. Finally, regional funds were granted to the municipality for the rehabilitation project, repurposing the building for the community. Today, it serves as a saltpeter museum.

### **Case 2. The Matta South Place: Community Center and Family Health Care Facilities (CESFAM), Santiago. 2021**

Since it was built in 1891, the property has contributed to public education facilities, responding to the educational demands of the time. Initially, it was an elementary school for girls, later becoming the Santiago Metropolitan High School for adults, being always an educational building. After the 2010 earthquake, the high school was subjected to critical structural conditions and could no longer be habitable, leading to abandonment. However, in 2014, the local government of Santiago donated the building, acknowledging its cultural and social value, and seeing it as an opportunity for conversion into a new function for and demanded by the community. It was rehabilitated into a community center and family health care (CESFAM) facilities.<sup>10</sup>

### **Case 3. Pereira Palace, Santiago. 2021**

It belonged to the Pereira family until 1932. It subsequently was the Archbishopric house and later a Girls' High School. In the early 1970s, it became the headquarters of the Revolutionary Student Union. In 1980, it was acquired by a real estate company and declared a National Monument in 1981.<sup>11</sup> Its deterioration increased with the earthquake of 1985 and being left for the following 30 years. It became severely damaged and on the verge of ruin, making its conversation a significant challenge. In 2011, the State purchased the building and launched an international architectural rehabilitation proposal competition. After its rehabilitation, the palace assumed an important political and historical role, serving as the venue for the Constitutional Convention in 2022, responsible for drafting Chile's new Constitution.

### **Trenzando Project. Participant Researcher. 2022**

Trenzando is a project led by women from the ACTO Foundation (a nonprofit, independent, and self-managed organization) that promotes territorial cooperation by reusing the railway system. The project aims to create more development opportunities in non-metropolitan areas, strengthen local identities, and decentralize access to knowledge and technology. It features as a vehicular platform, the "Nave Trenzando," transports by a freight train locomotive and set up in rest areas of train stations.<sup>12</sup> In late 2020, ACTO launched an architecture design competition to contribute to the rehabilitation process of the railway stations of San Rosendo, Yumbel, Rungue, and Ocoa in the Valparaíso region.<sup>13</sup>

What happens with the use of the property after rehabilitation? For successful community-focused rehabilitation, there must be a post-occupation management plan that represents and aligns with the

needs of the community. Three railway stations are about to undergo rehabilitation work, requiring a management plan for property administration. To address this issue a participatory design/mixed-management models' workshop was carried out, in which the author participated (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Picture taken at the participatory design/mixed-management models' workshop

The workshop was conducted over a month of work with weekly meetings. For each railway station, a group of approximately five participants was assigned, including key stakeholders, local government representatives, and local social organizations, to work on the rehabilitation project. Dialogue and listening were essential for the development of an inclusive and territorial management model, considering the needs and objectives for preserving and rehabilitating the railway facility. Before the last session of the workshop (the most important one), each railway station group presented the management proposals to public entities (Figure 4), where the dialogue revealed that social organizations concerned with heritage preservation and building function conversion do not have the resources to finance rehabilitation works on their own—highlighting that it is the State's responsibility to meet the need for providing new and needed spaces for the community. At the same time, local government institutions cannot exclusively control the administration of these places. It is crucial to involve community organizations in the administrative role of the building to ensure that the rehabilitated heritage truly serves and involves the community.



Figure 4. Picture of final presentation of the management plan to local government entities

## RESULTS

In the case of the Saltpeter Office, four main actors were involved: The María Elena municipality, SQM private company, government institutions and Antofagasta University, through anthropological studies the university indirectly represented the community. In parallel to understanding the rehabilitation process of building, movable heritage may be an integral part of the significance of heritage places, prompting memories and reflect family and community histories, therefore relatives

of saltpeter workers transmitted their memories, brought up objects and reminiscences from María Elena's mineral extraction works, donating items to the community's museum as well as providing historical information about people's experiences, ways of life and relationships with the environment to keep their past alive.

SQM's donation of the historic property of María Elena saltpeter office is remarkable. However, heritage conservation is not among the company's objectives, neither heritage protection a priority for the company. For the community, this meant reclaiming a historic property, while for the company, it translates into tax benefits in its yearly income tax declaration.

In the case of the Matta South Place, Community Center and CESFAM, exemplary actors include the Municipality of Santiago, responsible for managing the property, government institutions responsible for funding, and the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, mediating with the community. During the research and analysis stage, in 2014, the local government collaboration with the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile conducted a "2014 Community Survey," to identify people's initial needs. Although it was a survey and not a participatory instance, this study influenced the objective of rehabilitating the site. After its rehabilitation, the school former students who used this space as a meeting place in collaboration with the community built a memorial of their school years.

In the case of the Pereira Palace, its decay and abandonment in the heart of Santiago reflected the country's debt to dozens of heritage buildings. The rehabilitation and restoration process were entirely executed by the government institution in charge of, being responsible for managing, projecting (by designating third parties), and funding the proposal. For this rehabilitation and restoration process community participation was never considered, where the community possesses opinions and perceptions regarding the property's rehabilitation, and it could have been a positive impact on it. Today, it is a public building for the community. It was used as the location for the first attempt of the Chile's new Constitution process hopefully generating a reconnection of people with Chilean society, nonetheless, Chile is currently going through a second attempt to configure a new Constitution and it did not take place in this building.

Integrating communities into the processes is still considered more as a decision or option rather than a human right. Thus, what was the true purpose of rehabilitating a heritage property if it is only used for government offices? The decisions on whether to involve community participation were separated from the rehabilitation process of these heritage buildings.

When contrasting the three heritage rehabilitation study cases across the four stages of rehabilitation – evaluation, design, construction, and habilitation, in Table 1, only Case 2 engages in significant participatory/consultation instances. In Case 2 the first three stages, the issues concerning the rehabilitation project are presented to the community for informative discussions on design and progress, and in the habilitation stage, participants enhance meeting spaces, promoting culture and exchange within the community.

Cases of Study	Former Consolidated School of the Saltpeter Office, María Elena.	Community Center and Matta Sur Family Health Center (CESFAM), Santiago.	Pereira Palace, Santiago.
Before	Abandoned school	Abandoned school	Abandoned school
Evaluation	Unknown	Community consultation	Unknown
Design	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Building	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Occupancy	Inventory of donations	Use of public space	Use of public space
After	Museum	Community Center	Cultural Center
Key actors	1. Municipality of María Elena 2. SQM 3. Chilean Government. 4. Antofagasta University	1. Municipality of Santiago 2. Chilean Government 3. Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile	Chilean government
Social Organization	Families of saltpeter workers	1. Matta Sur social aggrupation 2. High school students	Unknown

*Table 1. Results of study cases*

The Trenzado project fosters multidirectional dialogues and empowers communities by providing them with the tools to co-direct the rehabilitation projects of their own heritage. They act as intermediaries between public, private, and community entities to execute projects, starting from property and surroundings evaluations (where the community's values are recognized) to co-designing the property's management model, ensuring that the property's goals are protected by the represented community.

## CONCLUSION

The neoliberal economic model, along with the gaps in the law regarding citizen participation, such as the lack of mandatory requirements and the limited investment and diversification of participation mechanisms, can influence the participatory culture of citizens. This has led to the construction of a society uninterested in government projects, disappointed by Chilean politics, and limited to expressing opinions only when the government determines it is appropriated. In this context, the law could condition the capacity and motivation of individuals to participate.

There is a relationship in the cases 1 and 2, where the local government has the responsibility to develop the project. Instances were carried out to involve their communities. However, in the case where the State is responsible, there were no instances of community participation. During the development of the project Matta South Place, there was a community protest that demanded to participate and be taken into consideration to ensure that the building's rehabilitation was aligned with the community's needs. In rehabilitation projects, it is crucial to have a community organization for heritage, to gather the opinions and actions of residents and protect heritage from the actions of third parties who seek to impose their vision on social heritage.

The Trenzado project is a role model for deeply involving people into public matters, specifically regarding the rehabilitation of heritage buildings. In Chile, historically people have been dominated by the business class for decades and across generations, which has created a mentality that could be the biggest obstacle faced by new initiatives like Trenzado. However, Trenzado has the potential to reclaim participatory processes and restore the community's trust and motivation in deciding about their own heritage.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> “Universal Declaration of Human Rights.” United Nations. Accessed August 29, 2023. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>.
- <sup>3</sup> Cambridge English Dictionary. “Community,” August 23, 2023. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/community>.
- <sup>3</sup> Cambridge English Dictionary. “Participation,” August 23, 2023. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/participation>.
- <sup>4</sup> Peter Oakley, *Projects with people: the practice of participation in rural development*. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1991.
- <sup>5</sup> Teresa Puig Gallach, “Cultura de la participación.” *Psychosocial Intervention* 13, no. 3 (2004): 361–72.
- <sup>6</sup> Alejandra Parrado Torres. “Manual de Diseño Participativo Del Hábitat.” Ministerio de trabajo y seguridad social. Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje “SENA”, realizado en el Programa de Promoción Profesional Popular Urbano P.P.P.U. de la Regional Bogotá, Colombia, 1991.
- <sup>7</sup> Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional. “Sobre Asociaciones y Participación Ciudadana en la Gestión Pública, Ley no. 20.500.” [www.bcn.cl/leychile](http://www.bcn.cl/leychile). Accessed August 29, 2023. <https://www.bcn.cl/leychile>. Article 69.
- <sup>8</sup> “Sobre Asociaciones y Participación Ciudadana en la Gestión Pública, Ley no. 20.500”, Biblioteca del Congreso. Nacional, Accessed August 29, 2023. <https://www.bcn.cl/leychile>. Article 70.
- <sup>9</sup> “Legisla sobre Monumentos Nacionales; Modifica las leyes 16.617 y 16.719; Deroga el Decreto ley 651 de 17 de octubre de 1925, Ley no. 17.288.” Nacional, Biblioteca del Congreso, accessed August 29, 2023. <https://www.bcn.cl/leychile>.
- <sup>10</sup> “Centro Comunitario de Salud Matta Sur / luis vidal + arquitectos”, ArchDaily in Spanish, March 16, 2021. <https://www.archdaily.cl/cl/958458/centro-comunitario-de-salud-matta-sur-luis-vidal-plus-arquitectos>.
- <sup>11</sup> “Palacio Pereira”, Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales de Chile, accessed August 29, 2023. <https://www.monumentos.gob.cl/monumentos/monumentos-historicos/palacio-pereira>.
- <sup>12</sup> “TRENZANDO / Circuito ferroviario de Arte, Ciencia y Tecnología”, Trenzando, accessed August 29, 2023 <https://www.trenzando.com/acerca>.
- <sup>13</sup> “TRENZANDO / Circuito ferroviario de Arte, Ciencia y Tecnología. CONCURSO ARQ”. Trenzando, accessed August 29, 2023. <https://www.trenzando.com/concursoarq>.

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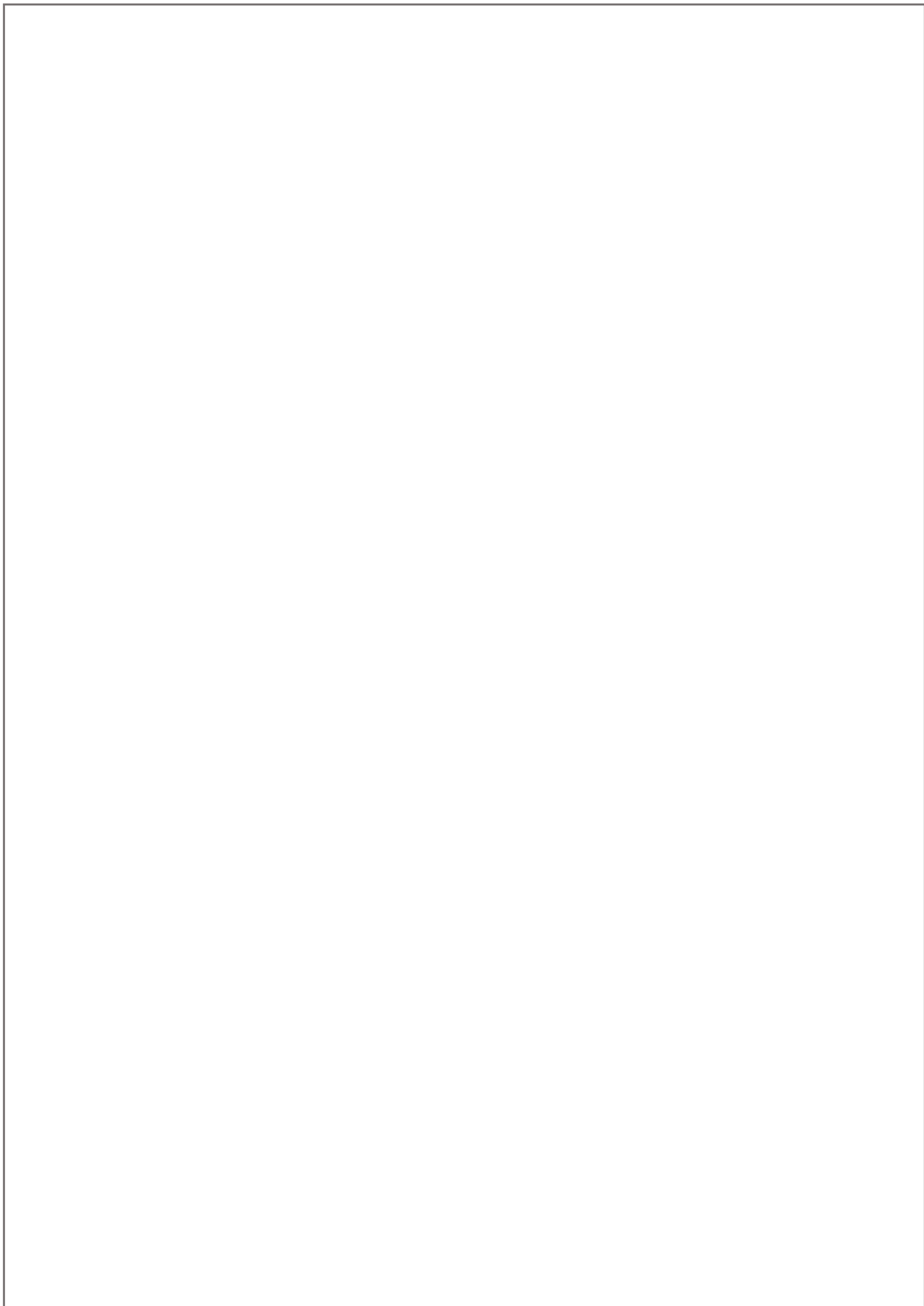
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