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INTERNATIONAL

Cultural Diversity and Heritage

Editorial

I n the introduction to a book which was published by UNESCO[1] in 1975, Paul Ricoeur reminded us that "before asking ourselves what we can *do* with the discovery of the diversity of cultures, it is important to understand what it *signifies…*" Borrowing the terms from the discussion which was initiated twenty-five years ago concerning cultures, time and diversity, we have chosen to examine their significance for heritage. In this issue of *Museum International,* the notion of the cultural diversity of heritage is therefore envisaged starting with the relation to time.

If we seek to understand how cultural heritage, and the scientific institutions that organize it within society, account for diversity, we should remember, first of all, that the ways of conceptualizing time play a founding role in the tangible expressions of cultures as well as in the systems of intelligibility that allow us to understand and share them. Thus, the diversity of heritage can be seen as the expression of the diversity of time. The importance of international actors, which are cross-cultural by nature, in actions for the preservation of heritage, also justifies studying the way that the diversity of time is taken into account at the international level.

Two observations concerning the contents of this preservation project have led us to further explore the terms of the reflection concerning the diversity of heritage. The first concerns the importance of typological and normative questions, and restoration practices in the debate on international heritage, to the detriment of an historical approach. Heritage belongs, however, to the historical debate in a wider sense, because it creates ties between management of the past and an understanding of the future. Heritage is both a support for social practices around memory and an integral part of the project for the future that the international community has established by adopting, with the notion of world heritage, the principle of collective responsibility for its protection and transmission to future generations. It therefore seemed necessary to distance ourselves from the habitual terms of the discussion for the preservation of heritage project in order to address questions of a more historical nature.

The second observation concerns the paradox inherent to the project for the defence of cultural diversity, starting with an approach to heritage that "internationalizes" local contexts. The notion of universality, accepted as criteria that allows identifying evidence within each culture whose specific qualities merit universal recognition, provided a solution to this paradox. Today, the question addressed to international actors

no longer concerns knowing how to recognize what makes up the universal. Instead, it is a matter of determining the complementary relations established between cultural expressions which are recognized as universal, in order to ensure their continuity. Once again, referring to work which took place during the earlier reflection on cultures, time and diversity, the relation to time was proposed as one of the parameters of perception for the diversity of heritage expressions. Regarding the perception of the term "universal" and its use as criteria for the evaluation of cultural and natural property, the work of the World Heritage Committee in 1978 emphasized, that the dimension of time should be taken into consideration in the appreciation of values.[2] We are adopting this suggestion in order to apply it to the search for the functional complementarity of heritage expressions, by suggesting a close correlation between the recognition of the diversity of time and the possibility for the "universalization" of heritage.

Approaches to time starting with the cultural testimonies assembled in the first chapter have been written by specialists who are representative of their respective cultures. The historian, Romilla Thapar, raises the possibility, of conceiving time on different levels in Indian culture. She highlights, within the great mythological cycles, intersections with linear time that are supposed to allow perception of the past. François Hartog, a French historian, further introduces the idea of the co-existence of several regimes of history and memory. He suggests the possibility of a new regime of historicity that is focused on the present, as is indicated by the current heritage craze. The archaeologist, Enrique Nalda, using the Mexican archaeological experience, brings us back to research and conservation practices as the support of a historical conscience and the contemporary uses that this conscience motivates.

Indeed, if the Teotihuacan temples in Mexico, hold meaning for an American, a European, an African, an Asian or an Oceanian, it is certainly because each one finds, in relation to her/his own history and memory, a glimpse of human history that the notion of international heritage hopes to transmit. International actors mobilize this symbolic dimension of heritage to create a common time, that of the action for preservation, which does not, however, exclude differentiated times specific to each culture: for example, that of the Indian ancestry of Mexican cultures or that of the solar spirituality of New Age tribes that assemble in Teotihuacan for the summer solstice.

In the West, sciences, the history of art and archaeology – and an institution – the museum, emerged from a particular understanding of time. The museum's mission is to study, preserve and present tangible culture and organize it within a heritage system. The duplication of this model on a global scale reached its political and intellectual limits during the last decades of the twentieth century. Moreover, it was considerably modified with the introduction of objects bearing a relation to time that

was very different from the western conception. The reflection on the notion of authenticity, which the Temple of Ise (Japan) has come to exemplify, was an indicator of this turning point at the international level. More recently, the notion of intangible heritage that favours social time over historic time has paved the way to the possibility of confronting notions of time with policies for the preservation of heritage.

The second and third chapters, whose editorial direction was ensured respectively by Bernice Murphy and Amar Galla, address these two issues: the way museums have treated the relation to time and the confrontation of notions of authenticity and diversity with the practice of conservation.

For the museum, the relation to time is closely linked to intellectual paradigms for the construction of knowledge and to the museum's power to officially recognize and validate part of its institutional missions. The articles presented here teach us that within museums, the contemporary reflection on the dimensions of time, and their translation into systems of museographic exhibition, were sparked by a series of major historic events such as de-colonization, the end of apartheid, and the political recognition of native populations supported by the United Nations. Today, the translation of these events into methods of action in cultural and heritage institutions is in process. However, in both the first and second chapters, most of the authors agree in recognizing that the deconstruction of discourses of knowledge having been accomplished, the questions no longer concern the intellectual possibilities of capturing the diversity of histories: henceforth, they concern making the forms of representation of time coherent with their political and social expressions, and, more particularly, with the human rights that result.

Obviously, the articles presented in this issue do not exhaust all aspects of the reflection on heritage concerning the relation to time. Nor do they suggest that this is the only contemporary possibility for understanding the diversity of heritage. They do, however, allow the assumption that the diversity of heritage is not only a diversity of forms, intentions and uses, but is also composed of the intersection of time from each culture.

Isabelle Vinson

| NOTES

1. *Les cultures et le temps* [Cultures and Time], P. Ricoeur, C. Larre, R. Panikkar, A. Kagame, G.E.R. Lloyd, A. Neher, G. Páttaro, L.Gardet, A.Y. Gourevitch, Payot/Unesco, 1975.

2. Final Report, first session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage, 27 June–1 July 1977, Point 28.

Museum

Cultural diversity and heritage

|Time and Heritage

by François Hartog

François Hartog, historian, is professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Science Sociale in Paris. His research is based on ancient and modern historiography. Among his publications are Régimes d'Historicité: présentisme et experience du temps *(2003),* Le XIXe siècle et l'histoire: Le cas Fustel de Coulanges *(2001),* Vies Parrallèles *and* Histoires, Altérité, Temporalité *(2000).*

As a historian studying what can be considered a form of intellectual history, I have slowly come to adopt Michel de Certeau's observation made at the end of the 1980s that 'objectifying the past, for the last three centuries, has undoubtedly left unconsidered time within a discipline that has continued to use it as a taxonomic instrument'.[1] To a certain degree, time has become commonplace for the historian who has preserved or instrumentalized it. It is not considered because it is inconceivable, but because we do not think of it or, more simply, we do not think about it. As a historian attempting to pay attention to the time I'm living in, I have thus, like many others, noticed the swift development of the category of the present until it has become obvious that the present is omnipresent. This is what I refer to here as 'presentism'.

How can this phenomenon be better understood? What effects does it have? What does it signify? For example, within the framework of the history profession in France, starting in the 1980s, a history calling itself 'the history of the present' emerged, accompanying this movement. In response to the many demands of modern or very recent history, the profession was asked, occasionally compelled, to respond. Existing on different fronts, this history found itself

particularly in the limelight of legal news, during trials for crimes against humanity which dealt mainly with the new temporality of imprescriptibility.

The concept of the regime of historicity is pertinent for conducting this investigation. I evoked it for the first time in 1983, to account for what I considered to be the most interesting aspect of propositions made by the American anthropologist, Marshall Sahlins. However, at the time, this concept drew little attention: mine only slightly more than others.[2] Its time had not yet arrived! Drawing on the theories of Claude Lévi-Strauss concerning 'hot' and 'cold' societies, Sahlins sought to determine the shape of history which had been specific to the Pacific Islands. Having more or less abandoned the expression, without developing it further, I rediscovered it, no longer concerning indigenous peoples from the past, but in the present, the here and now; to be more exact, after 1989, it affirmed itself as a way of investigating circumstances, where the question of time had become an important issue or a problem: occasionally, something haunting.

In the meantime, I had become familiar with the metahistorical categories of 'experience' and 'expectancy', as they had been developed by the German historian, Reinhart Koselleck, with the idea of creating semantics for historical times. Questioning the temporal experiences of history, he sought 'in each present, how the temporal dimensions of the past and future were related'.[3] This is what is interesting to study, taking into account the tensions that exist between the experience and expectations, while paying attention to the modes of articulation of the present, past and future. The concept of the regime of historicity could thus benefit from a dialogue (even though I was the intermediary) between Shalins and Koselleck: between anthropology and history.

A conference, conceived by the Hellenist, Marcel Detienne, a specialist in comparative approaches, provided the opportunity to resume the concept once again and develop it further, along with another anthropologist, Gérard Lenclud. This was a way to pursue, by slightly shifting the intermittent but recurrent dialogue, which had occasionally faded but never been completely abandoned, between anthropology and history that Claude Lévi-Strauss had initiated in 1949. The 'regime of historicity', we then wrote, could be understood in two ways. In a restricted sense, as the way in which a society considers its past and deals with it. In a broader sense, the regime of historicity designates 'the method of self-awareness in a human community'. How, in the words of Lévi-Strauss, it 'reacts' to a 'degree of historicity' which is identical for all societies. More precisely, the concept provides an instrument for comparing different types of history, but also and even primarily, I would now add, highlights methods of relating to time: forms of experiencing time, here and elsewhere, today and yesterday. Ways of being in time. If, from the philosophical aspect, historicity, whose trajectory Paul Ricœur has retraced from Hegel to Heidegger, designates 'the condition of being, historically,'[4] or yet 'humankind present to itself as history',[5] we will pay particular attention here to the diversity of regimes of historicity.

Finally, this concept accompanied me during a stay in Berlin, at the Wissenschaftskolleg in 1994, when the traces of the Wall had not yet disappeared. The city centre was nothing but an area of construction sites, with buildings either already in process or still to come, the debate whether or not to rebuild the Royal Palace was underway, and the large dilapidated façades of the buildings in the east, full of bullet holes, revealed a time that had elapsed differently. It would obviously be untrue to say that time had stopped. With its vast empty spaces, its wastelands and its 'shadows', Berlin gave me the impression of being a city for historians, where unthought-of time was manifest more than elsewhere (not only forgetting, repression and denial).

Throughout the 1990s, Berlin, more than any other city in Europe, or perhaps in the world, provided work for thousands of people, from immigrant workers to famous international architects. A godsend for town-planners and journalists, it has become a mandatory place to visit, fashionable even, a 'good study', a laboratory, a place for 'reflection'. It has sparked innumerable commentaries and many controversies; it has led to the production of a huge quantity of images, words and texts, probably several important books as well.[6] The sufferings and disillusions created by these upheavals should not be overlooked. Here, even more than elsewhere, time was a problem, visible, tangible, and unavoidable. What connections should be maintained with the past, 'pasts' of course, but also, and significantly, with the future? Without ignoring the present or conversely by not risking to envisage only the present: how, literally, to live in the present? What to destroy, to preserve, to reconstruct, to build and

how? These are many decisions and actions that involve an explicit relation to time. We struggle to ignore the obvious.

From both sides of the Wall, that slowly became a wall of time, efforts were initially made to erase the past. Hans Scharoun's statement: 'One can not hope at the same time to build a new society and rebuild old buildings', could in fact apply to both sides.[7] As a famous architect, Scharoun, who had presided the town-planning and architecture commission immediately following the war, had notably built the Philharmonic auditorium. At the dawn of the twenty-first century Berlin had become an emblematic city, a memorial site of for a Europe that was essentially caught between amnesia and the duty of memory. The eyes of the *flâneur*-historian could still make out the remnants, traces, and signs of order from different times, as one evokes different orders in architecture.

The concept of the regime of historicity, which had originally been formed on the shores of the Great Pacific islands, finished in Berlin, at the heart of modern European history. We will examine here our contemporary time, using these two key words: 'memory' and 'heritage'. Much in demand, largely commented upon and used in many ways, these key words will be used here as signs, and also as symptoms of our relation to time – as different ways of translating, refracting, following, thwarting the order of time: as shown by the uncertainties or 'crises' in the present order of time. We shall bear in mind the question: 'Is a new regime of historicity, focused on the present, in the process of being formulated?'

What has the extended use and universalization of heritage that we have witnessed for the past quarter of a century meant from the perspective of time and its order? What regime of historicity has the rapid growth of heritagization in the 1990s, been a sign of? Does this predilection for the past demonstrate a kind of nostalgia for a former regime of historicity, which has none the less been long obsolete? Conversely, how can it still become adapted to a modern regime which, for the last two centuries, has placed its 'fervour of hope' in the future?

During this period, heritage affirmed itself as the dominant category, including if not overwhelming cultural life and public policies. An inventory was made of 'new heritages' and 'new uses' of heritage were established. In France, since 1983, the *journées du patrimoine* (heritage days) have attracted increasing numbers of visitors to places considered to be heritage sites: more than 11 million visitors in September 2002. These results, determined and proclaimed in due form each year by the media, resemble a record to be beaten by the following year. The *journées du patrimoine* have spread throughout the world, and today we speak of – notably through UNESCO initiatives and conventions – the universalization of heritage while, each year, the list of sites of the universal heritage of humanity continues to grow.[8] A National School of Heritage, responsible for training future curators, has operated in Paris since 1991. A Heritage Foundation has also existed since 1996. Drawing inspiration, at least in its expectations, from the British National Trust, it has actually remained quite discreet. Finally, Heritage Interviews have been organized by the Heritage Division of the Ministry of Culture since 1984. Everything related to heritage is discussed, including, most recently, its 'abuses'.[9]

The Places of Memory by the historian Pierre Nora led to the diagnosis of a 'heritagization' of the history of France, if not of France itself, to the extent that the shift from one regime of memory to another led us from 'history-memory' to 'history-heritage'. In this respect, the definition attributed by the law of 1993 concerning monumental heritage is remarkable: 'Our heritage is the memory of our history and the symbol of our national identity.' Proceeding from memory, heritage becomes the memory of history, and as such, a symbol of identity. Memory, heritage, history, identity, and nation are united in the polished style of the legislator.

In this new configuration, heritage is linked to territory and memory which both operate as vectors of identity: the key word of the 1980s. However, it is less a question of an obvious, assertive identity, more a question of an uneasy identity that risks disappearing or is already largely forgotten, obliterated, or repressed: an identity in search of itself, to be exhumed, assembled, or even invented. In this way, heritage comes to define less that which one possesses, what one *has*, than circumscribing what one *is*, without having known, or even been capable of knowing. Heritage thus becomes an invitation for collective anamnesis. The 'ardent obligation' of heritage, with its requirements for conservation, renovation, and commemoration is added to the 'duty' of memory, with its recent public translation of repentance.

Outside the Christian world, the example of Japan has often drawn attention. The fact that soon after the Meiji Restoration (1868), the country was endowed with legislation for the protection of ancient architectural and artistic works, facilitated understanding, more easily than elsewhere, the similarities and differences in relation to the European concept of heritage.[10] An initial Inventory Guideline from 1871 was followed, in 1897, by a law concerning the preservation of ancient sanctuaries and temples, introducing the concept of national treasure. The word 'treasure' indicates that an object obtains its value from its intangible background (its divine origin for example).[11] Religious heritage (Shintoist) became of prime interest. Then, in 1919, the Law concerning the preservation of historical, picturesque sites and natural monuments was added. Finally, the Law of 1950 concerning the protection of cultural goods acknowledged, for the first time, 'intangible cultural heritage'. We shall examine here only two features of this legislative framework and the heritage practices that it codifies.

Firstly, provision is made for the periodic reconstruction of certain religious buildings. The fact that they are built of wood is not fully explanatory because the reconstruction is exactly the same and planned in advance. This is particularly the case for the important sanctuary of Ise. The temple of the goddess Amaterasu, mythical ancestor of the Imperial house, is in fact rebuilt in exactly the same way, from Japanese cypress wood, every twenty years. The ritual, begun in the seventh century, has continued up until today (of course with a few interruptions). The next reconstruction is planned for 2013. The

1. The Berlin Wall after its destruction, 'a wall of time'.

permanence of the form is most important. The Western dilemma of whether to 'preserve or restore' is not an issue.[12] On the other hand, a Japanese person visiting Paris would be (or, more exactly, would once have been) struck by efforts undertaken to preserve objects and historical monuments from the ravages of time.[13] Japanese cultural policy's primary concern was neither the visual aspect of objects nor the maintenance of this appearance. It depended on a different reasoning that was rather one of actualization.

This helps us to understand the *appellation* of 'living national treasure', as specified in the Law of 1950. This *appellation* is granted to an artist or artisan, not as a person, but only as a 'keeper of important intangible cultural heritage'. The title, which can reward an individual or a group, requires the winner to hand on her/his knowledge. In order to do this, the winner benefits from a grant. It is clear from this original provision that the object or its

conservation counts less than the actualization of know-how which is handed on precisely through being actualized. Like the temple made of wood, traditional art exists as long as it belongs to or is part of the present. As a result, concepts such as 'original', 'copy', 'authenticity', which are central to the construction of heritage in the West, are not an issue or are not in any case attributed the same value in Japan. Of course, the past is important, but the order of time operates differently than in Europe. A different representation of permanence and a different relation to traces of the past was derived from time that was not primarily linear. This is too brief an outline, a simple sketch from a distance, but it is sufficient to disorient the obviousness of the European concept of heritage.

In recent years, the surge of patrimony, in phase with that of memory, has grown to a scale that reaches the limit of what could be 'everything is heritage'. As memories are increasingly claimed or demanded, everything could be considered heritage or liable to become heritage. The same inflation seems to reign. As 'heritagization' or 'museifization' always approaches closer to the present, it had to be stipulated, for example, 'that no work of a living architect could legally be considered as an historic monument'.[14] This is a clear indication of the present historicizing itself, as mentioned above.

Another example, this time urban, of the effect of the heritage theme and the interactions of time is demonstrated in the rehabilitation, renovation, and revitalization policies of urban centres which seek to 'museify' but in a vivid manner, revitalizing through renovation. Should

we have an unenclosed museum: once again, a museum 'without walls'? A museum strictly of society, if not a social museum. Of course, this project would involve, in going beyond the notion of historic monument, a consciousness that the protection of heritage should be conceived as an urban project in its entirety. This would confirm the evolution from the Athens Charter of 1931, to that of Venice in 1964.[15] This gives rise to another paradox: the most authentically modern today would be the historical past, but according to modern standards. Only the façades are preserved.

When this past failed to appear, contributing to the unrest of the suburbs or dormitory-towns, it was made to surface. Urban heritage sites were produced in order to construct identity, by choosing a history, which becomes the history, that of the city or neighbourhood: a discovered, rediscovered or exhumed history, which is then displayed, and around

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2. Museification of the Berlin Wall.

which is organized, in every sense of the word, 'circulation'.

Patrimonies are multiplying. One example among others is the law relating to the foundation of heritage which, anxious to omit nothing, has inventoried 'protected cultural heritage', 'cultural heritage in proximity' (the 'connective fabric' of national territory), 'natural heritage' (including the 'notion of landscapes'), 'living heritage' (animal and plant species), and 'intangible heritage' (traditional know-how, folk traditions, folklore). Genetic heritage is now regularly featured by the media and ethical heritage has also arrived on the scene. The accelerated rhythm of the constitution, or even the production of heritage, throughout the world, is easily observable. A series of international charters has endorsed, co-ordinated and shaped this movement, though much distance still exists between the principles and respect for them.

The first charter, The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments, focused only on large-scale monuments and ignored the rest. Thirty years later, the Venice Charter considerably enlarged the objectives, taking into consideration 'The Conservation and Restoration of Sites and Monuments'. Article 1 provided a much wider definition of historic monuments: 'the concept of a historic monument embraces not only the simple architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or an historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time'. The preamble places strong emphasis on safeguarding and introduces the

notion of heritage shared by humanity. 'Humanity, which is becoming more conscious of the unity of human values, considers ancient monuments as a common heritage and, regarding future generations, recognizes itself responsible for their safeguarding. Its duty is to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity'. Heritage is made up of testimonies, large or small. As concerns all testimony, our responsibility is to recognize their authenticity, but our responsibility additionally extends to future generations.

In this consciousness-raising, saving the temples of Abu-Simbel in 1959, during the construction of the huge Aswan dam, certainly played a key role. This was an experiment that was given wide media coverage, mobilizing public opinion on a large scale. Amazingly enough, the distant past and modern techniques became allies: the future did not take over the ruins of the past. On the contrary, It gave them the chance to remain visible in the future, as a kind of repeated semaphore. The speech made by André Malraux during this campaign bears ample witness: 'Your appeal does not belong to the history of the mind because you must save the temples of Nubia, but because with it the first world civilization publicly claims world art as its indivisible heritage.'

The more that heritage (at least the concept) gained in stature, the more the historic monument (the category) crumbled. The Law of 1913 substituted 'national interest' as a criterion for the classification of a monument with 'public interest from the perspective of history and art'. This already represented broadening the definition of the concept. However, today, the royal privilege of the definition of national history-memory is

rivalled or contested in the name of partial, sectorial or particular memories (groups, associations, enterprises, communities, etc.), which all wish to be recognized as legitimate, equally legitimate, or even more legitimate. The nation-state no longer needs to impose its values, but to safeguard as quickly as possible that which, at the present moment, immediately, even in an emergency, is considered to be 'heritage' by various social actors.[16] The monument itself tends to be superseded by the 'memorial': as less of a monument and more a place of memory, where we endeavour to make the memory live on, keeping it vivid and handing it on.

From 1980 to 2000, 2,241 associations were registered in France, whose declared objective was heritage or the environment: 'minor heritage'. The large majority of these associations are recent, created after 1980. By occasionally adopting wider definitions of patrimony that do not strictly fit the official categories of the administration, which takes care of 'major heritage', they tend to destabilize the administrative classification machine. For the associations, the value of the objects that they elect is found partially in the fact that they have sought their recognition.[17] Overall it is more a question of local patrimony, joining memory and territory with operations aimed at producing territory and continuity for those who live there today. 'Heritage associations demonstrate the construction of a memory that is not a given, and therefore not lost. They work towards the constitution of a symbolic universe. Heritage should not be studied from the past but rather from the present, as a category of action in the present and concerning the present'.[18] Lastly, heritage, which has become a key branch of

the leisure industry, is the subject of important economic interests. Its 'enhanced value' is therefore directly integrated into the fast rhythms and temporalities of today's market economy, colliding with it, or in any case, aligning itself with it.

The twentieth century is the century that has most invoked the future, the most constructed and massacred in its name, pushing the furthest the production of a written history from the perspective of the future, in conformity with the postulates of the modern regime of historicity. However, it was also the century that, especially over the final thirty years, attributed the largest definition to the category of the present: a massive, overwhelming, omnipresent present, that has no horizon other than itself, daily creating the past and the future that, day after day, it needs. A present already past before ever completely happening. From the end of the 1960s, this present none the less revealed itself to be anxious, in search of roots, and obsessed by memory. Confidence in progress was replaced by the concern to safeguard and preserve. But to preserve what and whom? This world, our world, future generations, ourselves.

The museified gaze is thus directed towards that which surrounds us. We would like to prepare, starting from today, the museum of tomorrow, assembling today's archives as if they were already yesterday's, caught as we are between amnesia and the desire to forget nothing. For whom if not for ourselves, in the first place? The destruction of the Berlin Wall, followed by its instantaneous museification is a good example, with, also just as quickly, its merchandising. Pieces of the wall were immediately available for sale,

duly stamped *Original Berlin Mauer*. If patrimony is henceforth that which defines what we are today, the imperative of the heritagization movement, caught itself in the aura of the duty of memory, will remain a distinctive feature of the moment in which we are living or have just lived: a certain relation with the present and an expression of presentism.

In examining the trajectory of heritage, there is one component that we have not yet fully addressed: the heritagization of the environment. UNESCO provides a good introduction, because it is both a sounding board and a vast world laboratory, where a doctrine is developed and principles are proclaimed. In 1972, the General Conference adopted the Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The text leaves nothing out of its ambit: heritage is global, cultural and natural. Why an international convention? The preamble begins with the observation that universal heritage is increasingly threatened with destruction 'not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction'. These considerations have also led to the introduction of a new concept: protection, whose responsibility belongs to the whole international community.

Today, UNESCO strives to unite awareness of cultural diversity, concern for biodiversity and efforts in view of sustainable development.[19] What brought these three concepts and objectives together is the concern or the necessity for protection or better yet, preservation. Is it a matter of protecting the present or preserving the future? Both, of course. The question is, however, not necessarily pointless. Do we reason in going from the future towards the present or rather from the present towards the future? We shall come back to this.

From the perspective of the relation to time, what has this heritage proliferation been and remained a sign of?

It is clearly a sign of rupture, between a present and a past, the actual experience of acceleration being one way to undergo the shift from one regime of memory to another, which Pierre Nora has made the starting point of his inquiry. The itinerary of the concept has undoubtedly shown that heritage has never thrived on continuity but on the contrary from ruptures and questioning the order of time, with the interplay of absence and presence, visibility and invisibility that has marked and guided the incessant and ever-changing ways of producing semaphores. This goes back to the foundation of the Western tradition that began with Jesus Christ and the new order of time that was set in motion.

Heritage is one way of experiencing ruptures, of recognizing them and reducing them, by locating, selecting, and producing semaphores. Inscribed in the long period of Western history, distinguishing the concept has gone through several stages that were always correlated with important moments of questioning the order of time. Heritage is a recourse in times of crisis. If there are thus heritage moments, it would be illusory to try to establish a single meaning of the word.

After the catastrophes of the twentieth century, the many wounds and the significant accelerations in the actual experience of time, neither the sudden appearance of memory nor that of patrimony in the end come as a surprise. The question could even be: 'Why did it take so long?' Surely because the order of the world and the order of time hardly made them possible. A whole series of conditions was necessary, as was mentioned at the beginning of this voyage through time. On the other hand, the contemporary surge of heritage is distinguished from earlier movements by the rapidity of its expansion, the multiplicity of its expressions and its highly presentist nature, even though the present has taken on a wider meaning. The memorial takes precedence over the monument or the latter turns into a memorial. The past attracts more than history; the presence of the past, the evocation and the emotions win out over keeping a distance and mediation; finally, this heritage is itself influenced by acceleration: it should be done quickly before it is too late, before night falls and today has completely disappeared.

Whether it expresses itself as a request, asserts itself as a duty or claims itself as a right, memory can at the same time be considered as an answer to and a symptom of presentism. The same can be said for heritage. With, however, something additional from the perspective of experience and, lastly, from the order of time. The heritagization of the environment, which signals what is probably the largest and most recent expansion of the concept, undoubtedly paves the way towards the future or towards new interactions between present and future. Are we not then leaving the circle of the present, since the concern for the future is presented as the reason that this phenomenon even exists? Except that this future is no longer a promise or 'principle of hope', but a menace. This is the reversal. A menace that we have initiated and for which we must today acknowledge ourselves responsible.

Questioning heritage and its regimes of temporality has thus led us, unexpectedly, from the past to the future, but a future which no longer remains to be conquered or made to happen, without hesitating, if necessary, to brutalize the present. This future is no longer a bright horizon towards which we advance, but a line of shadow that we have drawn towards ourselves, while we seem to have come to a standstill in the present, pondering on a past that is not passing.

| NOTES

1. Michel De Certeau, *Histoire et psychanalyse entre science et fiction* [History and Psychoanalysis between Science and Fiction], p. 89, Paris, Gallimard, 1987; see Jean Leduc, *Les Historiens et le temps, Conceptions, problématiques, écritures* [Historians and Time, Conceptions, Problematics, Writings], Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1999.

2. François Hartog, 'Marshall Sahlins et l'anthropologie de l'histoire [Marshall Sahlins and the Anthropology of History]', *Annales ESC*, Vol. 6, 1983, pp. 125–63.

3. Reinhart Koselleck, *Le futur passé* [The Past Future] (trans. by J. Hoock and M.-C. Hoock), pp. 307–29. Paris, Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1990,

4. Paul Ricoeur, *La Mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli* [Memory, History, Forgetting]., p. 480–98, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 2000; 'Mémoire: approches historiennes, approche philosophique [Memory': Historic Approaches, Philosophical Approach]', *Le Débat* [The Debate], Vol. 122, 2002, pp.42–4.

5. Jean François Lyotard, 'Les Indiens ne cueillent pas de fleurs [Indians Do Not Pick Flowers]', *Annales*, Vol. 20, 1965, p. 65 (see the article concerning *The Savage Mind* by Claude Lévi-Strauss).

6. For example, Günter Grass, *Toute une histoire* [A Long Story] (trans. by C. Porcell and B. Lortholary), Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1997; Cees Nooteboom, *Le Jour des morts* [The Day of the Dead] (trans. by P. Noble), Arles, Actes Sud, 2001.

7. François Etienne, 'Reconstruction allemande [German reconstruction]', in Jacques Le Goff (ed.), *Patrimoine et passions identitaires* [Heritage and Identity Passions] p. 313, Paris, Fayard, 1998, (see the quotation by Scharoun); Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, 'Les monuments de l'histoire contemporaine à Berlin: ruptures, contradictions et cicatrices [Monuments of Contemporary History in Berlin: Ruptures, Contradictions and Scars]', in Régis Debray (ed.), *L'Abus monumental* [Monumental Abuse], pp. 363–70. Paris, Fayard, 1999.

8. See the website of the World Heritage Centre, which counted 730 hits at the end of 2002.

9. Debray, op. cit., particularly 'Le monument ou la transmission comme tragédie [The Monument or Transmission as Tragedy]', pp. 11–32; see also Tzvetan Todorov, *Les abus de la mémoire* [The Misuses of Memory], Paris, Arléa, 1995.

10. Marc Bourdier, 'Le mythe et l'industrie ou la protection du patrimoine culturel au Japon [Myth and Industry or the Protection of Cultural Heritage in Japan]', *Genèses*, Vol. 11, 1993, pp. 82–110.

11. Nicolas Fiévé, 'Architecture et patrimoine au Japon: les mots du monument historique [Architecture and Heritage in Japan: the Words of the Historic Monument]', in Debray, op. cit, p. 333.

12. This is the exact title of a text by the Italian architect Camillo Boito, published in 1893, where he tries to define an intermediary position between that illustrated by Viollet-le-Duc – ('Restoring a building is not maintaining, repairing or rebuilding it, it is restoring it in a finished state that may have never existed at any specific moment', (*Dictionnaire de l'architecture* [Dictionary of Architecture]) – and that of Ruskin – ('preserve absolutely, to the point of creating ruins if necessary'), see Leniaud, op. cit. p. 186–8.

13. Masahiro Ogino, 'La logique d'actualization. Le patrimoine au Japon [The Logic of Actualization. The Heritage of Japan]', *Ethnologie française* [French Ethnology], Vol. 25, 1995, pp.57–63.

14. Françoise Choay, foreword by Alois Riegl, ibid.. p. 9.

15. The Athens conference was held at the initiative of the International Commission for the Intellectual Co-operation of the Society of Nations and the International Council of Museums, see below.

16. The number of protected buildings rose from 24,000 in 1960 to 44,709 in 1996.

17. Hervé Glevarec and Guy Saez, *Le patrimoine saisi par les associations* [Heritage in the Hands of Associations], La Documentation française, 2002, pp. 129–93.

18. Ibid. p. 263.

19. Koichiro Matsuura, 'Eloge du patrimoine culturel immatériel [Eulogy of Intangible Cultural Heritage]', *Le Monde*, 11 September 2002.
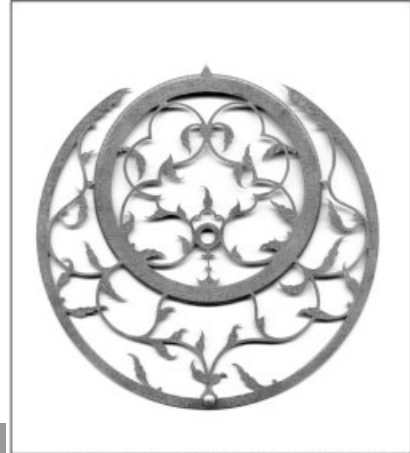
3. Concepts of time can be influenced by the measurement of time. From left to right:
- Oldest hydraulic clock found in Karnak, Egypt (1400 B.C.), exhibited in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo.
- Prague's astronomical clock in the old town area, Czech republic.
- Star finder, part of an astrolabe, an ancient astronomical instrument used to measure time and the position of the sun and stars in the sky, Iran.
- Fourteenth-century hydraulic clock in Fez, Morocco.

Cyclic and Linear Time in Early India[1]

by Romila Thapar

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The received wisdom of the past 200 years describes the traditional Indian concept of time as cyclic, excluding all other forms and incorporating an endless repetition of cycles. This was in contrast to the essentially linear time of European civilization. Implicit in this statement is also an insistence that cyclic time precludes a sense of history. This contributed to the theory that Indian civilization was ahistorical. Historical consciousness it was said required time to be linear, and to move like an arrow linking the beginning to a final eschatological end. Concepts of time and a sense of history were thus interwoven.

Early European scholars working on India searched for histories of India from Sanskrit sources but were unable to discover what they recognized as histories. The exception was said to be Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, a history of Kashmir written in the twelfth century. It is indeed a most impressive pre-modern history of a region, but it is not an isolated example since this genre finds

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expression in other regional chronicles, even if the others were not so impressive. These were ignored, perhaps because they were less known to European scholarship; and perhaps because if Indian civilization were to be characterized by an absence of history it would become all the more necessary that Indian history be 'discovered' through the research of scholars who came to be labelled as Orientalists.

Cyclic time in India endlessly repeating itself and with no strongly demarcated points of beginning or end, was said to prevent a differentiation between myth and history, and to deny the possibility of unique events that are a precondition to a historical view. Repeating cycles would repeat events. This minimized the significance of human activities. The construction of the cycle was said to be a fantasy of figures intended to underline the illusory nature of the universe. Nor was there any attempt to suggest that history was moving towards the goal of 'progress,' an idea of central concern to nineteenth-century Europe. In the supposed discovery of the Indian past the premise of investigation remained the current intellectual preconceptions of Europe.

These preconceptions projected Asia and particularly India, not only as different from Europe but essentially a contrast to Europe. Asia was Europe's Other. If Karl Marx and Max Weber were looking for contrasting paradigms in understanding the structure of the Asian political economy or the function of religion in Asia, lesser thinkers – but influential in some circles – such as Mircea Eliade, spoke of the Indian time concept as the myth of the eternal return of cycles of time, precluding history.

All this apart, time was essential to the creation of cosmology and eschatology as much as a calendar was essential to historical chronology. The existence of a historical chronology and a sense of history, which some of us are now arguing are evident in Indian texts, implies that there were in fact at least two concepts of time – the cyclical, found more often in the construction of cosmology; and the linear, which becomes apparent from the sources which the early Indian tradition claimed were relating the past.

I would like to argue that not only were there distinct concepts of time such as the cyclical and the linear but that these were not parallel and unrelated. I would further argue that there was a sensitivity to the function of each and a mutual enrichment of thought whenever there was an intersection of the two. My attempt will be to illustrate this by describing the use of both cyclical and linear time in early India, often simultaneous but arizing from diverse perceptions and intended for variant purposes. Sometimes these forms intersected in ways that enhance the meaning of both. My perspective as a historian is to view the forms and the intersections through texts associated with perceptions of the past.

Concepts of time can be influenced by the measurement of time through calendars. A terrestrial form of reckoning was culled from the changing seasons and the diversity they brought to the landscape. The heroes of the Kuru clan mentioned in texts of the first millennium B.C., set out on their cattle raids in the dewy season, returning with captured herds just prior to the start of the rains. Time reckoning by seasons also

encouraged what might be called ritual time. Domestic rituals focused on rites of passage but elaborate seasonal rituals often attracted the clan. The sacrificial altar symbolized time and the ritual marked regeneration through time.

Parallel to these forms of time reckoning, a more precise measurement involved turning heavenward and was constructed on observations of the two most visible planets, the sun and the moon, and the constellations. By the middle of the first millennium B.C., such observations provided the scale of the lunar day – the *tithi*, with its multiple sub-divisions – the *muhurtas*; the fortnights of the waxing and waning moon – the *paksha*; and the lunar month – the *masa.* But the longer periods of the two solstices – *uttarayana* and the *dakshinayana* – were based on the course of the sun. The interweaving of lunar and solar calendars is reflected in the calculations that to this day determine the date for most festivals.

Some changes grew out of an interaction with Hellenistic astronomy. This was encouraged by the contiguity of Indian and Hellenistic kingdoms in the north-west of the Indian subcontinent. Close maritime trading connections between the western coast of India and ports along the Red Sea and the eastern Mediterranean, also provided knowledge derived from navigational information. Alexandria was the location of considerable activity in these matters where Indian theories were also known. Hellenistic studies of astronomy and mathematics were translated from Greek into Sanskrit.

The Indian astronomer Varahamihira of the mid-first millennium A.D., remarked that the

Greeks albeit outside the social pale of caste society were never the less to be respected as seers – *rishis* - because of their knowledge of both astronomy and astrology. Interestingly a couple of centuries later Indian scholars resident at the court of Harun-al-Rashid in Baghdad brought Indian mathematics and astronomy to the Arabs, the most widely quoted examples being Indian numerals and the concept of the zero. By this time Indian astronomy was increasingly incorporating planetary motions and solar reckoning.

A measurement of time large enough to reflect these changes was the adaptation of the idea of the *yuga.* This was initially a five-year cycle but gradually extended to immensely larger spans. The word comes from the verb 'to yoke' and refers to planetary bodies in conjunction. The *yuga* was to become the unit of cosmological and cyclic time. Those projecting cyclic time, measured the cycle in enormous figures, perhaps anxious to overawe their audience.

By far the largest of these was the *kalpa*, infinite and immeasurable, the period that covers creation and continues until the ultimate cataclysmic destruction of the world. And how was this calculated? Some represented the *kalpa* spatially and these descriptions are such that they cannot be measured in temporal terms. Interestingly, they often come from sources associated with those who were regarded as heretics by the brahman orthodoxy. In one Buddhist text the description is as follows: 'If there is a mountain in the shape of a cube, measuring approximately three miles on each side, and if every hundred years the mountain is brushed with a silk scarf held, according to some in the beak of

an eagle which flew over the mountain, then the time taken for the mountain to be eroded is a *kalpa*.' The description in a text of the Ajivika sect is equally exaggerated: 'If there is a river which is a hundred and seventeen thousand, six hundred and forty-nine times the size of the Ganges, and if every hundred years one grain of sand is removed from its bed, then the time required for the removal of all the sand would be one measure of time and it takes three thousand of these measures to make one *kalpa*.'

The recurring refrain of 'every hundred years' introduces a temporal dimension of humanly manageable real time, but the image is essentially spatial. It indicates the impossibility of measuring such a length of time almost to the point of negating time. The length of the *kalpa* is a deliberate transgression of time and was thought up by those who were aware of historical time. At a literal level, the silk scarf would have quickly disintegrated. And who could remove the grains of sand from the bed of a flowing river?

Time as an infinity was however not the view of some contemporary astronomers who did suggest a temporal length for the *kalpa*. This was 4,320 million years, a figure that was to occur in more than one context. More closely related to astronomy, mathematics and cosmology was the theory that time should be measured in the great cycles – *mahayuga*s. This was one of the theories of cyclic time familiar from brahmanical texts. There is therefore an interface between cosmology and astronomy in terms of the figures used for the length of the ages and the cycles. It remains unclear whether the astronomers borrowed the figures from the creators of cyclic time or vice

versa. Perhaps cosmology was seeking legitimacy by borrowing the numbers used by astronomers. Differences between the two become apparent in the figures used by later astronomers that differed from these.

Each *mahayuga* or great cycle incorporated four lesser cycles, the *yuga*s, but not of equal length. The pattern in which the great cycle is set out and which holds together the cyclic theory does hint at some controlling agency. One theory did maintain that time regulates the universe. The four ages or *yuga*s were perceived in the following order: the first was the Krita or the Satya consisting of 4,000 divine years sandwiched between two twilight periods of 400 years each; then came the Treta of 3,000 years with two similar preceding and subsequent twilight periods each of 300 years; this was followed by the *Dvapara* of 2,000 years with a twilight at each end of 200 years; and finally the Kali of 1,000 years with similar twilight periods of 100 years each. These add up to 12,000 divine years and have to be multiplied by 360 to arrive at the figure for human years. A great cycle therefore extends over 4,320,000 human years.

The play is on the number 432 and it increases by adding zeros. Did this fantasy on numbers arise from the excitement of having discovered the uses of the zero at around this time? The notion of cycles may have been reinforced by the notion of the recurring rebirth of the soul – *karma* and *samsara*, which was a common belief among many religious sects. The names of the four ages were taken from the throws at dice, thus interjecting an element of chance into time. The present Kali age is the age of the losing throw. The start of the Kaliyuga was calculated to a date

equivalent to 3102 B.C. Since it has a length of 432,000 human years and only 5,000 have been completed, we have an immense future of declining norms before us, until the cataclysmic end. By way of scale, we are also told that the length of a human life is that of a dewdrop on the tip of a blade of grass at sunrise.

The descending arithmetic progression in the length of the four cycles suggests that there was an attempt at an orderly system of numbers. Some numbers were regarded as magical such as seven, twelve, and even 432, which have parallels in other contemporary cultures. The cycles are not identical and therefore allow for new events. Because of the difference in length there could not have been a complete repetition of events. It is thus possible for an event to be unique. The circle does not return to the beginning but moves into the next and smaller one. Such a continuity of circles could be stretched to a spiral, a wave or even perhaps a not very straight line. The question could be asked as to whether these should be seen as cycles or as ages.

The decrease in the length of each age was not just an attempt to follow a mathematical pattern. It is also said that there is a corresponding decline of *dharma* - the social, ethical and sacred ordering of society as formulated by the highest caste, that of the brahmans. The first and largest *yuga* encapsulated the golden age at its start but subsequently there is a gradual decline in each age, culminating in the degeneration of the Kali age. The symbols of decline are easily recognisable: marriage becomes necessary to human procreation and men and women are no longer born as adult couples; the height and form of the human body begins to get smaller; the length of life decreases

dramatically; and labour becomes necessary. There is an abundance of heretics and unrighteous people. These are familiar characteristics of an age of decline in the time concepts of many cultures. The decrease of *dharma* is compared to a bull that stands on four legs in the first age, but drops one leg in each subsequent age. There is a substantial change from one age to the next.

The decline inherent in the Kali age is also underlined by the description of the caste order governing social norms being gradually inverted. The lower castes will take over the status and functions of the upper castes, even to the extent of performing rituals to which they were not previously entitled. This is in part prophecy but is also a fear of current changing conditions challenging the norms. Thus kings, who are not of the *kshatriya* or aristocratic caste but of obscure origin, and frequently low caste *shudras* or those from outside the pale of caste society, can easily adopt the higher status. They are referred to as degenerate *kshatriya*s but this does not erode their authority. An even bigger disaster will be that women will begin to be liberated. This would also tie into the undermining of caste society since the subordination of women was essential to its continuance. It shall indeed be a world turned upside down. Part of the logic of cyclic time is that there are down swings and up swings in the cycle. The return to the golden age requires the termination of the cycle and that too in conditions that are the opposite of utopian.

When the condition of decline is acute, then the faithful will flee to the hills and await the coming of the brahman Kalkin, who is said to be the tenth incarnation of the deity Vishnu, and who

will restore the norms of caste society. Kalkin is a parallel concept to that of the coming of the last Buddha, the Buddha Maitreya, who will save the true doctrine from extinction and re-establish Buddhism. It is interesting that many of these saviour figures either emerge or receive added attention around the early Christian era, when the belief systems to which they belong – Vaishnavism, Buddhism, Zorastrianism and Christianity – are in close contact in the area stretching from India to the eastern Mediterranean.

The Kaliyuga was a concept frequently referred to in a variety of sources, but the details of the cyclic theory come in particular texts. Among these was the long epic poem, the *Mahabharata*, initially composed in the first millennium B.C.; the code of social duty and ritual requirements known as the Manu *Dharmashastra*, written at the turn of the Christian era; and the more accessible and popular religious texts of the early centuries of the Christian era, the *Purana*s. The inclusion of theories of cyclic time in the epic are in the sections generally believed to be later interpolations and thought to have been inserted by brahman redactors when the epic was converted to sacred literature. The authorship of the *Dharmashastra*s was also brahman. Although many of the *Purana*s are said to have been composed by bards, in effect they are again largely edited by brahman authors. There is therefore a common authorship supporting these ideas.

The historiographical link with modern theories is that these were the texts studied and translated by orientalists such as William Jones, Thomas Colebrooke and H. H. Wilson. These studies were encouraged with the intention of enhancing British understanding of pre-colonial laws, religious beliefs and practices and in searching for the Indian past. But because these particular texts were given importance initially, their description of cyclic time came to be seen as the sole form of time reckoning in India. One can understand how James Mill dismissed Indian concepts of time as pretensions to remote antiquity, but it is more difficult to explain why H. H. Wilson did not recognize the linear pattern of time in for example, the *Vishnu Purana*, on which he worked at length and which he translated.

In relating the details of what happened in the Kaliyuga the *Vishnu Purana* provides us with various categories of linear time. The *vamsha-anu-charita* section, consists of genealogies and descent lists of dynasties. The genealogies are of the chiefs of clans, referred to as *kshatriyas* and they cover about 100 generations. They need not be taken as factual records but can be analysed as perceptions of the past. The word used for the descent group is *vamsha*, the name given to the bamboo or a plant of the cane family and an obviously appropriate symbol, since the plant grows segment by segment, each out of a node. The analogy with genealogical descent is most effective. The imagery emphasizes linearity that is expressed in what might be called 'generational time' seen as the flow of generations. This construction of the past dates to the early centuries of the Christian era, and subsequently is known to be used to manipulate the claims and statuses of later rulers through a variety of assumed links.

But the flow is not unbroken. There are time markers separating categories of generational

time. The first time marker is the Great Flood which enveloped the world and which separates the pre-genealogical period from the succession of generations of clan chiefs. Each of the rulers of antediluvian times ruled for many thousands of years. At the time of the Flood, the god Vishnu in his incarnation as a fish, appears to the ruler Manu, and instructs him to build a boat. This is tied to the horn of the god-fish, is towed through the flood waters and lodged safely on Mount Meru. When the Flood subsides Manu emerges from the boat and becomes the progenitor of those who are born as the ruling clans. The Flood is first mentioned in a text of about the eighth century B.C. and is later elaborated upon in the *Purana*s. It has such close parallels with the Mesopotamian legend that it may well have been an adaptation.

Subsequent to the Flood the supposed genealogies of the ancient heroes, or *kshatriya*s, are mapped. The succession of generations is divided into two groups named after the sun and the moon, a symbolism of both dichotomy and eternity, used frequently in myth, in yoga, alchemy and on many other occasions. The solar and the lunar lines mark a different pattern of descent. The solar line or the Suryavamsha emphasizes primogeniture and claims to record the descent of only the eldest sons. The pattern of descent forms vertical parallels. In the *Ramayana* epic, the families of status belong to the solar line. The lunar line or the Chandravamsha is laid out in the form of a segmentary system and the lines of descent fan out since all the presumed sons and their sons are located in the system. The advantage of a segmentary system, or one similar to it, is that it can more easily incorporate a variety of groups into a genealogy by latching them on to existing ones.

These constitute the structure of society in the other epic, the *Mahabharata.*

The solar line slowly peters out. But those belonging to the lunar line are brought together in the second time marker, the famous war said to have been fought on the battlefield at Kurukshetra near Delhi, and described in the *Mahabharata.* Virtually every hero of that period was involved in the great battle. Many are not heard of after the event. The war, we are told, terminated the glory of the ancient heroes and the *kshatriya* aristocracy. In the representation of the past the war demarcates the age of heroes from that which followed. This was the age of dynasties. A major indicator of change is that the narrative switches from the past to the future tense and reads as a prophecy. This invokes astrology, especially popular in court circles.

Genealogies incorporating generational time, I would argue, are within the framework of linear time. The texts included in what is called the historical tradition – the *itihasa purana* – make claims to representing the past 'as it was'. The Flood seems to demarcate the time of myth from the time of history. There is a distinct beginning from after the Flood and an equally distinct termination in the war. The arrow of time moves steadily through the generations and to the battlefield. That the lists may have much that is fabricated – as is the case with all such lists – is not so relevant as is the perception of the form of time which is linear. This is further underlined in the next section recording the dynasties ruling over a major part of northern India.

The narrative in this section of the *Vishnu Purana* is limited largely to the names of rulers

with an occasional but minimum commentary. Regnal years are sometimes included, further highlighting a sense of linear time. The dynasties unlike the *kshatriya* families of the earlier section have no kinship ties and were rarely of the caste to which kings are supposed to belong – the *kshatriya* caste. In practice the profession of ruling seems to have been open to any caste, another example of the reversals of the Kaliyuga. The names of dynasties and rulers are sometimes corroborated in other sources such as inscriptions, which were now being produced in large numbers.

Thus, the section in the *Puranas* describing the succession of those who ruled encapsulates three kinds of time. The antedeluvian rulers, the Manus, are referred to in what could be called cosmological time, beyond even the purview of the great cycles. This is almost a form of reaching back to time before time. It is distant from the two more human time frames: genealogies and dynasties. With these the presence of what is conventionally regarded as history begins to surface. This move in the direction of historical time may have been associated with another form of measuring time more closely linked to history, namely, the creation of eras.

The use of a particular era, the *samvatsara*, related to historical chronology, probably grew out of a consciousness of enhanced political power with a focus on the royal court. The earliest inscriptions, those of the Mauryan emperor Ashoka ruling in the third century B.C., are dated in regnal years counted from the date of his accession. The start of the earliest era was the much used Krita era of 58 B.C., later to be called the Malava era but more popularly known as the Vikrama era. There has been much controversy regarding its origin. The current

consensus associates it with a relatively unimportant king, Azes I. Its impressive continuity up to the present suggests associations other than just the accession of a minor king, for eras are often abandoned when a dynasty declines. There might have been a connection with astronomy, since the city of Ujjain, the meridian for calculating longitude, was located in the territory claimed by the Malavas.

Historical events do however become the rationale for starting eras subsequently, such as the Shaka era of A.D. 78, the Chedi era of 248–49, the Gupta era of 319–20, the Harsha era of 606, and so on – a virtual blossoming of eras. Many of those who started these eras were originally minor rulers who had succeeded in establishing large kingdoms. As a status symbol, the Chalukya-Vikrama era of A.D. 1075 was not only a claim to supremacy by the Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI, but included the legitimizing of Vikramaditya's usurpation of the throne. The creation and abandoning of eras became an act of political choice. The continuity of an era is not just the continuity of a calendar but also of the associations linked to what the era commemorates. The ideology implicit in starting an era calls for historical attention.

Events related to dynastic history were not the only occasion for starting an era. Time reckoning based on the year of the death of the Buddha, the *maha-pari-nirvana*, became current in the Buddhist world. The date generally used was 486 or 483 B.C. Recently, however, some scholars have questioned these dates and would prefer to bring the date forward by anything up to a century. Nevertheless, what is important is that events described in Buddhist texts, such as religious

councils, the establishment of monasteries, the accession of kings and such like, are generally dated from the death of the Buddha, which is calculated on the basis of a definitive date.

Buddhist chronicles demonstrate a concern with time and history in that they record and narrate what they regarded as historically important events, for example: the history of the Buddhist Order or Sangha starting with the historical founder Gautama Buddha; relations between the Buddhist Order and the state; the founding of breakaway sects and the events that led up to these; records of gifts of land, property and investments; and matters of monastic discipline. All these are tied to linear time in various ways. The Buddhist calendar was pegged to what were viewed as events in the life of the Buddha and the history of the Order. The linear basis of Buddhist chronology was nevertheless juxtaposed with ideas of time cycles. These had their own complexities distinct from those of the *Puranas*. This was not specific only to Buddhism. Jaina centres from the first millennium A.D. maintained the same kind of records. This involved histories which in order to be legitimate had to be coherent up to a point. Such histories were not always intended to be taken literally, and certainly cannot be taken so today. They have to be decoded through the prevalent social and cultural idiom.

Historical time is a requirement for what have come to be regarded as the annals of early Indian history. These are inscriptions issued by a variety of rulers, officials and others. They frequently narrate, even if briefly, the chronological and sequential history of a dynasty. Some were legal documents conferring land rights and were

proof of a title deed. Precision in dating gave greater authority and authenticity to a document. The granting of land or property to religious beneficiaries had to be made at an auspicious moment so as to carry the maximum merit for the donor. The auspicious moment was calculated by the astrologer in meticulous detail and was mentioned in the inscription recording the grant. Other categories of grants also carried precise dates. It is this precision that enables us to calculate and compare the dates of the inscriptions to the equivalent date of the Gregorian calendar. Much of early Indian historical chronology is founded on the calculation of these dates carefully studied by Indologists. Yet curiously little effort was made to go beyond the bare bones of chronology and deduce the time concepts reflected in these dating systems.

Inscriptions recorded the official version of the events of a reign and were produced by almost every ruling family. The legitimizing of power, especially in a competitive situation, included a range of activities. Among them was the making of grants of land particularly to religious beneficiaries who would then act as a network of support for the ruling family. This was the occasion for obscure families who had risen to power to claim a status equivalent to that of established ruling families, a claim that the beneficiaries were ready to substantiate. The document accompanying the grant had to be inscribed on imperishable material – copper or stone. Grants had to be impressive and often more generous than those of earlier times or of competing rulers. This carries some echoes of the earlier functions of the potlatch.

From about the seventh century onwards there is an efflorescence of another category of

historical texts that combine these elements of linear time such as genealogies, dynastic histories and eras. These were biographies of kings or an occasional minister – the *charita* literature. The subject of the biography, was a contemporary ruler, and the biography narrated the origins of his family and the history of his ancestors; particularly that which led the family to power. The central event of his reign, as assessed by the biographer and, presumably, the king as well, was composed with appropriate literary elaboration, sometimes quite flamboyant, as is frequent in courtly literature. Often the intention was to defend the usurping of a throne and overturning the rule of primogeniture. Sometimes the intervention of a deity was required to justify the king's action. And if these interventions became too frequent, the reader would understand that their intention was other than what was being related. Whatever the intentions of the biographies, they did describe and present some significant events of a king's reign in linear succession.

Dynastic chronicles or regional histories also drew legitimacy from linear time. These were the *vamshavalis*, literally the path of succession. The most famous among these was the much quoted *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, but similar albeit less impressive narratives come from other regions. At the point when a region changed from being viewed as the territory of a chiefdom and came to be seen as the state claimed by a dynasty, the records of the past were collated, and a chronicle was put together. This was maintained as an up-to-date narrative of what were regarded as significant events. In their earlier sections such chronicles incorporate some of the genealogies of the ancient heroes of the *Puranas* to whom they link the local

rulers. Writing the chronicle of a region became another form of recognizing the region as an entity and legitimizing its succession of rulers.

In these texts time is linear and the assumptions of cyclic time may be implicit but remain distant. Cyclic time is not denied and is present in the larger reckoning. Deities and incarnations tend to be placed in the earlier cycles. But events relating to the human scale are more properly expressed as part of linear time, which was the more functional. This did not preclude a reference on occasion to cyclic time. A seventh-century inscription records an event in the Shaka era of A.D. 78 and includes for good measure a reference to the date of the Kaliyuga. Whereas a reference to something like the Kaliyuga might be added, what seems to have been required was a historical date.

Too great an insistence on the characteristics of the Kaliyuga may not have been complimentary to the subjects of the biographies and the chronicles. This was in any case the time of the losing throw and the ebbing away of *dharma*. The contemporary present could hardly be described as a period of decline and retrogression if the biography was intended as a eulogy. A longer continuity of time is assumed in the inscriptions, one that went beyond even the great cycle, for the formulaic phrase always reads that the grant should last 'as long as the moon and sun endure'. Time was thought of at many levels.

My intention has been to suggest that various forms of time reckoning were used in early India and that concepts of both linear and cyclic time were familiar. The choice was determined by

the function of the particular form of time and those involved in using it. Sometimes the forms intersect and at other times the one encompasses the other. The *Vishnu Purana* in one chapter describes at length the various ages of cyclic time. In another chapter it provides details of the genealogies of the heroes and the rulers of the dynasties in the Kali age.

As ritual specialists, the brahmans often refer to time in the cyclic form of the four ages. However as keepers of the genealogies or composers of inscriptions or authors of royal biographies, the immediate point of reference is linear time. In spite of this intersection and encompassment, the function of each form of time is differentiated. The simultaneous use of more than a single form of time and its layered representation, indicates some awareness that different segments of a society may view their past differently. For the historian to recognize this requires a certain sensitivity in seeing the past as multiple perceptions within the intricacies of the use of time.

The presence of more than one form of time in the same text is perhaps intended to point us towards different statements being made about each.

Within linear time there can also be differentiation. Genealogical time based on a succession of generations is always at the start of the record and precedes what we would call the known and the historical. This is evident from the succession lists in the *Vishnu Purana* as also from the regional chronicles. This format underlines continuity. But it is also a way of differentiating two categories of the past with the deliberate and consistent placing of one before the other.

After the mid-first millennium A.D., the past tended to be introduced where feasible into the construction of ancestry, legitimacy and occasionally even to property rights. This was likely to be more so where claims were being contested. The past involved attitudes to time. For many, the fourth cycle, though part of the great cycle or *mahayuga*, encapsulated nevertheless the linear forms of the perceived history of heroes and kings. Eras became fashionable and necessary; precise dating systems came to be used in the epigraphic annals of the various dynasties; and regional societies were poised to patronize the writing of royal biographies and the chronicled histories of the past. A sense of history was perhaps embedded in some sources but was more visible in others.

The insistence on Indian society having only a cyclical concept of time may not be the general view any longer. But even its rejection has not yet encouraged the recognition of forms of history as evident in some early Indian texts. Such recognition is likely to be strengthened through a demonstration of the presence of linear time. Given that every society has an awareness of its past, it is perhaps futile to construct a society that denies history, only in order to argue that it is unique or different from what is believed to be the norm.

The two time concepts do not exhaust the variations on time. In Indian texts alone time is portrayed in diverse images. Some maintain that time was the creator begetting the sky and the earth, the waters and the sun, the sacrifice and the ritual verses; and drove a horse with seven reins, was thousand-eyed and ageless. Or it was the imperishable deity through whom everything that

has life, eventually dies. For others time was the ultimate cause lying between heaven and earth and weaving the past, present and future across space. An equally evocative image presents time as that which regulates the universe.

Groups within a society visualize time in different ways often depending on how it is to be used. The creators of myths, the chroniclers of kings and the collectors of taxes subscribe to divergent images of time. Distinctions can be made between cosmological time and historical time. The first could be a fantasy albeit a conscious one on time, carefully constructed and therefore reflective of its authors and their concerns. The second is based on the functions of measured time, also carefully constructed but reflecting concerns of a different kind. If time is to be seen as a metaphor of history, as I have been suggesting, then perhaps we need to explore the many more patterns of time and their intersections.

NOTE

1. This text is a lecture on 'Time' given at Cambridge University and published in Katinka Ridderbos (ed.), *Time*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

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4. Jantar Mantar is an astronomical observatory consisting of fourteen major geometric devices for measuring time, predicting eclipses, tracking stars in their orbits, ascertaining the declinations of planets, and determining the celestial altitudes and related ephemeredes, Jaipur, India.

Mexican Archaeology and its Inclusion in the Debate on Diversity and Identity[1]

by Enrique Nalda

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The early works

Before archaeology was fully formalized and became a 'scientific discipline', important studies were conducted in Mexico on its pre-Hispanic past. One study was carried out by José Antonio Alzate, in Xochicalco. Published under the title *Descripción de las Antigüedades de Xochicalco* (*Description of the Antiquities of Xochicalco*) in 1791, the text is remarkable for the author's detailed and precise observations; he noted, for example, the terraces and ditches on the site, which led him to conclude that Xochicalco had been a fortress, an idea that still holds and has been strengthened by findings from recent excavations at the site. All these points, and his desire to understand the society that erected the buildings that he found in ruins, bring José Antonio Alzate closer to our conception of the modern archaeologist.

It must be said, however, that *Description of the Antiquities of Xochicalco* was also used largely to stake claims. Written at a time when a home-grown ideology was needed for the struggle for

Mexican independence, Alzate's text highlighted the monumentality and beauty of Xochicalco and drew attention to the knowledge and social organization inherent in those works in order to disprove those who regarded the indigenous American people as backward and stupid, and needing to be guided and protected by the more developed countries, in short, a people without a history.

Who lived in that ancient land? Cecilio Robelo who, at the beginning of the twentieth century, was director of the National Museum of Ethnography, History and Archaeology in Mexico City, answered that question in an article published in 1888 in a Morelos review entitled *La Semana* (Robelo, in Peñafiel, 1890 p.44): '… *and at the foot of one of the [hills around Xochicalco] lies the humble village of Tetlama, whose inhabitants are perhaps the last degenerate descendants of the powerful race that for centuries reigned sovereign in that district*' They were the people of a 'lost race'. It was not the first time that such an idea had been used to appropriate a glorious past without giving credit to the existing indigenous peoples. Similar claims had been made, for example, regarding the remains of monuments in the south-east of North America at the time of the struggle for independence of the British colonies in North America at the end of the eighteenth century.

Works similar to that of Alzate were published in other parts of Mexico: Antonio de León y Gama published in 1792 an excellent iconographic analysis of two of the most important monoliths in Mexican sculpture. One of them, the Sun Stone, was removed and exhibited (to the satisfaction of those who claimed a grand past,

5. Snake adorned with feathers in the temple of Quetzalcoatl, Teotihuacan.

comparable to that of the European nations) at the bottom of the western tower of Mexico City Cathedral; the other, the Coatlicue, hideous to those for whom European figurative art was the standard of reference, was reburied, perhaps, as Eduardo Matos (1992) has suggested, not so much because its 'ugliness' elicited shame, but rather to prevent the cult of divinities of the past from spreading.

A few years later, on what is now Mexican soil, the first study was conducted with the express aim of establishing the origins, way of life and disappearance of the inhabitants of a pre-Hispanic city. The work was done at Palenque, an archaeological site which in 1785 was under the jurisdiction of the *audiencia* of Guatemala. The exploratory work was entrusted to Antonio Bernascoi, a famous architect who worked on the project to found the new capital of Guatemala. While the research findings fell far short of answering the questions originally raised, the fact that research had been prompted – very much in the enlightened spirit of the epoch – by the desire

to learn about the past and by the value that could be inherent in such knowledge, put those studies, in terms of the objectives sought, on a par with those of the most advanced modern archaeologists.

The concern to establish the pre-Hispanic past as part of the world heritage, that is, to include it in the process of civilization which was considered to be best illustrated by the most economically developed countries, was the driving force behind some of the most ambitious archaeological programmes of the Porfirian period. Much exploratory work was done in that period, most outstandingly, of course, by Leopoldo Batres in Mitla, Monte Albán, Xochicalco and, above all, Teotihuacán, in particular on the Pyramid of the Sun. Work on the latter, driven largely by the desire to learn about the building materials and techniques used in order to compare them with those used to build monuments in other parts of the world, was carried out as part of the celebration of the centenary of the Mexican independence movement. The findings were submitted to the Congress of Americanists, held in Mexico City in 1910.

Yet, throughout the Porfirian period, the idea of a grand pre-Hispanic past was always accompanied by a rejection of the cultures of contemporary indigenous peoples. Not only bureaucrats but also anthropologists at the time considered such cultures – and especially their languages – to be genuine impediments to the country's modernization. Attitudes only began to change when the Mexican Revolution, a social transformation that helped to launch the second stage of Mexican archaeology, occurred.

Manuel Gamio and inclusive analysis

The new stage was marked by the work of Manuel Gamio, an archaeologist trained in the positivist study programme offered by the National Museum in Mexico City at the turn of the twentieth century. His subsequent ties to Columbia University and the Frank Boas group at the International School of American Archaeology and Ethnology broadened the horizons of anthropology as an inter-disciplinary field of study. According to that school of thought, human beings can only be understood by studying their culture, language, physical constitution and past.

Gamio's work in Teotihuacán, published in 1922 under the title of *La Población del Valle de Teotihuacán* (*The People of the Teotihuacán Valley*), is faithful to that intellectual movement. It is also faithful to a principle that brought great hope in to the new social order wrought by the Revolution: the principle of utility, according to which the quest for better understanding of human beings makes sense only if it serves to propose action for their improvement. In Teotihuacán, Gamio not only investigated the pre-Hispanic past, he also studied the region's population, determined its weaknesses and proposed means of community development through crafts production, which he himself organized.

The idea of serving the community had already been present in Porfirian discourse, which viewed the practice of ethnology as a means of resolving major national problems. However, Gamio introduced the idea into the field of archaeology. That idea evolved parallel to a new approach to indigenous issues: pre-Hispanic

indigenous people and contemporary indigenous people were then viewed as one and the same; the image of lost or degenerate indigenous people had been cast aside, to be replaced by that of indigenous people who had fallen behind as victims of four centuries of stagnation. Archaeology thus ceased to be a field that glorified a nation's past and became the discipline that determined the point of stagnation and the inception of a process of inevitable and desired modernization.

Many consider that Gamio stopped being an archaeologist around 1916 when he published his pro-nationalist *Forjando Patria* (*Forging the Nation*), in which he set out his main arguments on the integration of the country's indigenous peoples through the adoption of a common culture and language for all Mexicans. Others think that the change occurred in 1922, when his work at Teotihuacán was published. Both groups consider that those dates marked the emergence of a Gamio focused on indigenous issues to the detriment of Gamio the archaeologist. Such a distinction fails, however, to recognize the scope for archaeological work to be carried out with communities in the areas under study, denies the conduct of archaeology as an integral part of anthropology and precludes perception of that type of archaeology as typically Mexican archaeology: if anything could be called Mexican archaeology – as distinct from what is merely being done by Mexican archaeologists or what is being done in the country – it would be precisely what Gamio did in Teotihuacán, as it can be distinguished clearly from what was and, with notable exceptions, is being done in Europe and the United States.
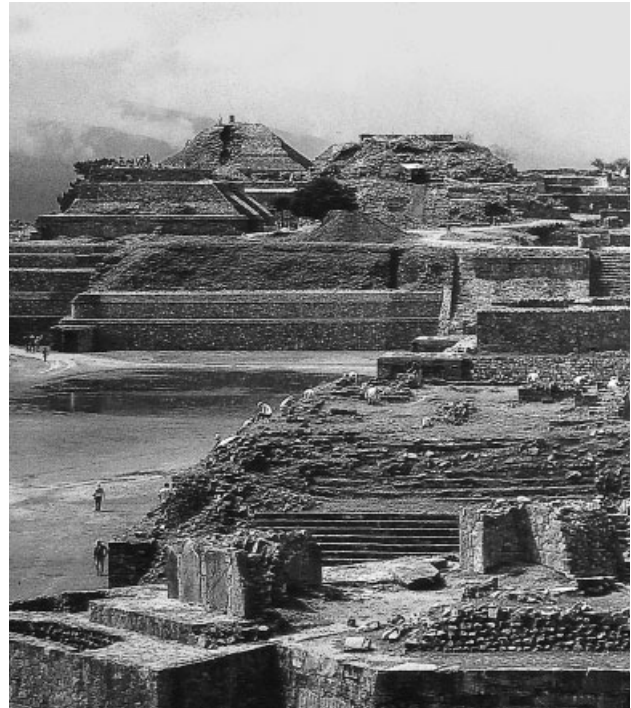
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6. Monte Albán, Oaxaca, 1993.

The invitation, inherent in Gamio's own work, to instil greater awareness of national issues into archaeological activity did not arouse much interest among archaeologists. A later attempt to revive that spirit was made through the Cholula project, directed by Guillermo Bonfil in 1966; however, as it was designed as purely archaeological research, the project was doomed since substantial progress had already been made towards interdisciplinarity and the study of the living conditions of the people of the region. Nor was interest aroused, on the eve of the promulgation of the 1917 constitution, by his call for recognition of the country's heterogeneity, the wretched conditions in which the indigenous peoples lived and, consequently, the need for legislation acknowledging political and religious differences and their lack of material resources.

Alfonso Caso and the institutionalization of anthropology

Alfonso Caso dominated Mexican archaeology in the 1930s and 1940s. Like Gamio, he was a fervent promoter of anthropology: in 1939 he founded the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (National Institute of Anthropology and History), of which he became the first director, and established the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia (National School of Anthropology and History). Guided by his interest in the codices and writing system of the Oaxaco region, Caso carried out research at Monte Albán during eighteen field seasons, beginning in 1930.

That was not the only significant work carried out during those years: José García Payón, the Zacatecan archaeologist whose best known work was done in Tajín, explored and restored Calixtlahuaca and Malinalco, both in the State of Mexico. Jorge Acosta conducted in Tula his first five field seasons, which continued until the 1960s. In Xochicalco, Eduardo Noguera launched in 1934 the first of a total of eleven field seasons, spread over twenty-six years and ending with the restoration of one of the ball courts on the site and of a housing complex known as the Palace, next to the building known as Malinche. In the late 1940s, Albert Ruz began exploratory work in Palenque, which culminated in the discovery of Pakal's tomb in the Temple of the Inscriptions. At the end of that decade, Román Piña Chan began research work in Tlatilco, which aimed primarily to produce cultural histories and their corresponding chronologies and was driven by a strong desire to conserve and display the country's cultural richness.

At the same time, various foreign institutions were conducting archaeological work in Mexico; the most significant work was done in the Maya area. Under the guidance of Sylvanus Morley and by agreement with the Yucatán Government headed by Carrillo Puerto, in 1924 the Carnegie Institution of Washington began archaeological explorations at Chichén Itzá, basically in the buildings known as the Observatory, the Market Place, the Temple of the Warriors and the Nunnery. Work was also carried out at the same time by two Mexicans, Miguel Ángel Fernández, in the main Ball Court and, in particular, in the Temple of the Jaguars, and some years later, José Erosa Peniche in the Castle.

The Carnegie Institution's project at Chichén Itzá has been described as the first systematic investigation of modern Mayan archaeology; yet, questions have been raised about the fundamentally descriptive nature of the project's work and the fact that, according to Michael Coe, most of the project archaeologists wasted their time fitting out buildings for tourists and spent very little time reconstructing a cultural picture of ancient Chichén, anchored in a reliable chronology (Coe, 1992, p. 128).

Rupture and persistence

Alfonso Caso was one of the first to express disagreement with what some regarded as a corrupt practice in archaeology, which entailed placing greater emphasis on fitting out major archaeological sites and on the exploration of tombs than on understanding pre-Hispanic culture through comprehensive study of material remains. In a political climate conducive to materialistic

theories of history, Mexico began to develop a form of archaeology that laid emphasis on productive processes and societal relations with the physical and biological environment. The new research proposals stressed the need to re-create the original environment of the societies under study and to analyse the transformations of the landscape as consequences of societal development. New basically neo-evolutionary and eco-cultural models of interpretation were introduced and the analytical scope was broadened to conduct a comprehensive social analysis of earlier societies, thus making the need for an interdisciplinary approach more obvious.

The weakening of the traditional approach to archaeology encouraged new areas of study: demography, pre-Hispanic agriculture, daily life, trade and defence systems became regular features in many archaeological studies at the time, while ethnographical analogy and the study of sixteenth-century sources emerged as essential resources on which assumptions could be based.

The main proponents of such 'dissenting' views were Pedro Armillas and José Luis Lorenzo. Armillas, promoter of what he called 'landscape archaeology', was interested above all in later and more complex pre-Hispanic societies. Lorenzo focused on the study of population settlement in the Americas and on sedentarization as a result of the development of agriculture. In the early 1960s, true to his ideas, Lorenzo established in Mexico the infrastructure required to enable use of the most advanced state-of-the-art techniques in order to study the palaeo-environment and to interpret in an appropriate manner the different stratigraphic sequences found in archaeological excavations.

Also noteworthy in those years was the work of William Sanders, an archaeologist from the United States, who was trained in Mexico and had been influenced in particular by Pedro Armillas. He was responsible for the first studies on settlement patterns in large areas; as from 1960 and over a span of fifteen years, he worked in the Mexico Basin, making a number of intensive journeys that enabled him to establish initial theories on the development of the major urban centre of Teotihuacán. The theory underlying that type of research was that archaeological sites could only be understood in the light of their relationship to the geographical and cultural area in which they were located and that relations with neighbouring sites, their location with respect to basic resources, their size, internal structure and the functions that could be ascribed to them should be taken as indicators of relations of co-operation and competence among sites and, lastly, of their political organization and the ways in which the region's resources are appropriated and distributed.

Pioneering fieldwork was also carried out by Jaime Litvak in Xochicalco during the same period: although the area covered was relatively small and the excavations limited, his work was significant on account of his innovative geographical approach to the study of Xochicalco and as he was the first to use human geography models and quantification techniques that many archaeologists were reluctant to use at the time. Similar studies over even larger areas than those covered by Sanders were carried out in the late 1970s and early 1980s by the National School of Anthropology and History in the states of Guanajuato and Morelos.

Concurrently with this 'reflective' work, supported by the best state-of-the-art techniques, conservation projects, designed mainly to enhance monuments and archaeological sites as a means of preserving and publicizing Mexico's cultural heritage, were still being implemented. Such projects did not exclude research, but initiated research objectives were few in number and much

coincide with the opening of the new Museum of Anthropology in 1964, and the Roberto García Moll's studies in Yaxchilan which began in the mid-1970s and lasted for just over ten years. However, it was Eduardo Mato who carried out the project that best typifies that approach: the Great Temple project, launched in 1978 after the Coyolxauhuqui Stone was unearthed by chance.

7. Façade from the Pre-Hispanic City of Chichen-Itza, one of the most important examples of the Mayan-Toltec civilization in Yucatán, inscribed on the World Heritage List.

research work was no more than studies of pre-Hispanic architecture and ceramics.

The list of such work is very long. The most noteworthy examples include César Sáenz's work in Xochicalco as from 1960, work conducted under the guidance of Ignacio Bernal in Teotihuacán in the 1960s and completed to

In the 1960s important archaeological research was also done in Mexico by foreigners, for example, the research project managed by Richard S. MacNeish of the Peabody Foundation, in Tehuacán, supported by fieldwork between 1960 and 1963, determined the antiquity of the domestication of the main Mesoamerican crops and the origins of sedentary life in Mexico.

Another example was René Millon's work on urbanization in Teotihuacán: using aerial photography and comprehensive surface surveys as from 1957, Millon, an archaeologist from the University of Rochester, propounded thought-provoking theories on the development and 'collapse' of the Teotihuacán civilization. Noteworthy in the field of Mayan civilization is the work carried out during the same period by Wyllys E. Andrews IV, of Tulane University, in Dzibilchaltun as from 1956 and in the Río Bec region between 1969 and 1971, the year of his death. Between 1966 and 1968, Michael D. Coe, of Yale University, and Richard A. Diehl, of the University of Missouri, worked in San Lorenzo, one of the most important sites of the Olmec civilization. During that same period, Kent V. Flannery carried out interesting work in the Oaxaca valleys to throw light on the earliest phases of pre-Hispanic development in that region. Some years later, between 1972 and 1976, David Grove carried out work in Chalcatzingo.

Those two approaches, one 'conservationist' and the other 'reflective', have coexisted since the middle of the twentieth century. In the last two decades, however, the line separating them has became blurred. Projects originally designed along conservationist lines are increasingly incorporating new theories, methods and techniques. New projects involving action in large structures are being developed under an interdisciplinary approach, and the most advanced techniques are being used in exploration and for the recording and analysis of materials. On the other hand, projects designed from a 'scientific archaeology' perspective are relatively little concerned with understanding daily life, and other

projects, premised on the argument that repetitive features connected to an élite or related to ideology, ritual or ceremony are peripheral to social reality, exclude such matters from their 'scientific' conclusions. Therefore, as things stand, the only distinction that can be drawn today is between well-designed archaeology and shoddy archaeology.

The last few years

The last two decades have been marked by great activity and major achievements by Mexican archaeologists. Much of that progress is the result of ten special archaeology projects implemented in 1993 and 1994 (Chichén Itzá, Monte Albán, Teotihuacán, Xochicalco, Palenque, Dzibanché-Kohunlich, Dzibilchaltun, Calakmul, Cantona and the Rock Art of Baja California); the first five were selected under an agreement for inclusion in the UNESCO World Heritage List and four new site museums were built and established owing to the provision of special state funding. The number of regions and sites studied has risen; Angel García Cook's work in Cantona, one of the key regions for understanding the complex process of readjustment following the 'fall' of Teotihuacán, or the work of María de la Luz Gutiérrez in the Sierra de San Francisco on the extraordinary rock paintings in that region of southern Californian, are cases in point. Moreover, knowledge about some of the major archaeological sites has increased considerably through, for example, the work of Jürgen Brügemann in Tajín, the explorations of Juan Yadeun in Toniná, new discoveries by Norberto Gonzalez in Xochicalco and Rubén Cabrera's surprising finds in La Ventilla, Teotihuacán.

The completion of major archaeology projects of 1993/94 coincided with the first year of the Zapatist movement. Claiming 'enough is enough', the Zapatistas burst on to the scene, demanding, among other things, respect for the culture of the indigenous peoples. Their demands were not meant to undermine the cultural unity of the nation in that with respect to the archaeological sites in the region they only demanded local involvement in their administration, a share in the earnings from tourism generated by such sites and recognition of sacred sites, that is, sites linked directly to the history of present-day indigenous peoples, for example Yaxchilán or, in northern Mexico, Quitovac. Their demands are best expressed by the slogan 'No More Mexico Without Us', which is very far removed from the fragmentation of the heritage that had been seen as the outcome of movement towards those peoples' autonomy. In terms of culture, such a slogan also brings to the fore the question of respect for differences and for creative capacity derived from such respect.

The Zapatist movement led to a re-examination of social actors: grass-roots communities once again played a leading role and indigenous peoples made their presence felt. Those who saw the indigenous Zapatistas enter Mexico City and speak before Congress looked on them with respect and admiration, convinced that their claims were well founded. Nevertheless, while acknowledging their cultural differences, they did not recognize those differences as part of the great diversity of which they themselves were a part. In spite of everything, indigenous peoples have continued, as before, to be foreigners, living in remote areas, dissociated from the much-admired pre-Hispanic works that are regarded as Mexico's contribution to world history, and still viewed as minor contributors to the construction of the culture of the majority.

At the same time, encouraged to some extent by that 'renaissance', some archaeologists approached and began to work with local communities. Some were interested in gaining a better understanding of Mayan texts and rituals and in the formation and displacement of ancient dominions and dynasties; others believed that archaeological sites would be best protected by neighbouring communities; while others became involved in projects entailing both archaeological research and economic improvements for local communities; and others tried to draw attention to the importance of and the opportunities opened up by the archaeological heritage. They were few in number and, apart from some minor work, the majority of the academic community continued to use traditional models and approaches, isolated from the community that Gamio had regarded as pivotal to all archaeological work. They nevertheless pursued their endeavours, under two new conditions: first, using models promoted by the media, they were increasingly influential – especially after the Great Temple project – in defining archaeology and the work of archaeologists, taste and associated expectations and, to a great extent, financial flows for investigation and conservation.

The other condition relates to the process of globalization which may be considered to have 'taken off' when the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed; that agreement, strangely enough, entered into force at the same

8. *La comandante* Esther and the Zapatista delegation for the closing ceremony of the Congreso Nacional Indigena on 4 March 2001 in Nurio Michoacan.

time as the Zapatistas were entering San Cristóbal de las Casas. NAFTA has had many consequences, but, with respect to the enhancement of the archaeological heritage, the agreement had led a general premonition that, in the short term, values and traditions would be lost and that the commercialization – if not popularization – of the material symbols of our pre-Hispanic past would be inevitable, all for the benefit of a culture imposed through the transnational corporations' greater capacity for dissemination. Just over ten years after the signing of NAFTA, it would appear that the worst predictions have come to naught and that the agreement may paradoxically in some ways be having the opposite effect, possibly strengthening the intangible heritage as an expression of identity and resistance.

The agreement has, nevertheless, had negative effects on archaeology, not through a direct impact on the practice of archaeology but, as part of the general process of globalization,

through competition and the search for new commercial products, archaeological research is being largely condemned to a form of archaeology that had lapsed since Alfonso Caso's time in that it now involves merely the recovery of sumptuary objects buried in the tombs of dignitaries and the architectural enhancement of monuments and buildings of outstanding aesthetic value. Much of the funding for the better financed projects is used for the purpose of promoting or opening up archaeological sites as operational or potential centres of economic development. It is not surprising that today most of the funding for archaeology projects is earmarked for Teotihuacán and the Maya area. The trend is even apparent in archaeological practice with regard to exploration techniques and strategies: aware that substructures often contain remains in an extraordinary state of conservation, archaeologists are being led into practising what may be called 'substructural archaeology', digging, more and more frequently, costly tunnels under the major monuments in the hope of finding extraordinary examples of iconography and materials of great aesthetic value. The best examples of that type of practice can be found in Calakmul and Teotihuacán.

The extreme illustration of that approach to the archaeological heritage can be found at Xcaret, on the Quintana Roo coast, where the eponymous site is used as the setting for the re-creation of a culture that has little to do with the customs of the pre-Hispanic society that once lived there. That is all being done at the cost of banalizing the site and breaking its integrity.

At any rate, the great majority of Mexican archaeologists today are engaged in a relatively

traditional form or research and, above all, archaeological conservation operations, involving a great deal of fieldwork. The opportunity has arisen for them to work with local communities, guided by what may be called the Gamio paradigm. Whether they take the opportunity or not is a matter of personal choice, there being no state policy formulated to meet the demands of the most marginalized, not necessarily indigenous, groups. The question perforce is whether Mexican archaeologists have recognized the opportunity and have assumed responsibility for contributing at least to the defence of the cultural differences.

| NOTE

1. This article is a revised and updated version of an article which was published in Archeologia Mexicana, n°30, March-April 1998.

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9. *La Piedra del Sol* also named Aztec Calendar depicts the sun god Tonatiuh, to whom sacrifices were made, as well as solar cults and astronomic knowledge, marking both the solar (365 days) and religious year (260 days). Authorized reproduction by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico. Details of the *Piedra del Sol*.

Museology Interrupted

by Michael M. Ames

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Why are you looking at me like that, with those rational eyes?[1]

Scholars customarily impose their differentiations upon the world and how it is to be studied, then defend them with vigour: between different sets of subject matter (language, art, artefact, history, culture, nature); between disciplines (history, linguistics, anthropology, art); and between different types of institutions (churches, schools, universities, and those quasi-educational businesses called museums).

The examples presented below are untidy ones because they cross one or more of those guarded boundaries. Academic categories, though firmly institutionalized in modern society (in the Western world, at least), are of course arbitrary divisions of a world more complexly interwoven. These categories therefore tend to be rudely interrupted by alternate orders released through rebellion and decolonization. A review of a few of these categories and their interruptions will serve to highlight changes affecting museums.

The structural location of museums

Museums are compromised institutions, caught between their twin desires for both authenticity and the spectacular. Gable and Handler (2000, pp. 242–3) noted in their study of Colonial Williamsburg that a history museum's claim to

authenticity is affected by its location between two other types of institutions against which it must compete for audience, authority, and status – theme parks on the one hand, and universities on the other.

spectacular while simultaneously asserting in a democratic spirit that all their objects are important. The dominance of objects in the work of museums also dominates the theoretical imaginations of those working in museums.

10. Great Hall, Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, Canada.

11. Haida Pole Fragments, Great Hall, Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, Canada.

In opposition to theme parks like Disney World a history museum claims possession of authentic history, the '*real* thing'. In response to claims by university historians that history museums are popularizers and vulgarizers of history not far removed from theme parks, museums claim the advantage of a history that is based on authentic objects, the 'real *things*' and their use in object-learning.

In opposition to popular theme parks and their status rivals in universities, museums find themselves increasingly dependent upon objects they must proclaim as authentic and therefore important, and over which they assert their institutional authority as the leading experts. They also need at least some of these objects to be

The relations between nature and culture, past and present

Early Europeans either included or excluded indigenous peoples when they described the new world landscapes of the Americas, New Zealand, and Australia. They were included as part of nature or separated out from the landscape as primitives who passed through but did not own, cultivate or develop what was described as wilderness. Colonized landscapes therefore were considered free for the taking, and in need of being made productive by taming, fencing, and settling upon (Trigger, 1997, pp. 166–7; Willems-Braun, 1997). Typically the first step in this process of territorial domestication was to map and name the natural

and human features of the landscape in the language of the colonizers. Such attitudes persist to this day, indicated by the continuing attempts of colonized peoples to reclaim, remap and rename their territories as acts of resistance (Battiste and Henderson, 2000, pp. 12–13).

Shelly Errington (1998) describes how early Western representations of landscape continue to be reproduced in museums. Natural history museums include aboriginal peoples as part of the natural world, displaying them close to nature, living off the land. A typical diorama might show a family preparing the day's catch while seated on an earthen floor around an open fire. Art museums, on the other hand, prefer to decontextualize the exotic altogether, presenting objects divorced from their ecological contexts, and frequently from their cultural roots as well. True art is expected to transcend history and culture, thus only that which appears to transcend earns the accolade of true art (Errington, 1998).

Indigenous peoples, by contrast, tend to believe that connections between land and culture, and between animals and people, are integral parts of their social identities. They persistently assert this principle, with varying degrees of success. They resist the 'predatory mentality of Eurocentric thought' – those 'rational eyes' – imposed upon their integrated formations (Battiste and Henderson, 2000, p. 11). 'In our view,' these two Canadian aboriginal authors state (Battiste and Henderson, 2000, p. 30), 'a fundamental adjustment of the Eurocentric assumptions about the natural world and human nature is necessary [requiring] a revision of the Eurocentric view of humans being separated from the natural world.' Time also tends

12. Haida Poles and Haida Houses, Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, Canada.

© Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver/Bill McLennan

to be viewed continuously, affirming a nature–culture continuum. Lessons from the past are valued for their continuing relevance, not confined to a 'foreign country' (Lowenthal, 1985; Ames and Haagen, 1988; Ames, 1994).

The relations between traditional science and traditional knowledge

Paralleling the Western dichotomies of nature–culture and past–present is a third between

rational 'scientific' knowledge and 'local knowledge' or 'traditional' belief. Conflicts between 'scientific expertise' and 'local, folk, or traditional knowledge' (TK, or TEK for traditional ecological knowledge), particularly in the context of economic development, have attracted increasing attention in recent years (Cruikshank, 1998, p. 48). Aboriginal theorists object to the 'cognitive imperialism' and 'artificial reality' of Western knowledge systems in contrast to indigenous knowledge (IK) that reflects adaptation to particular places (Battiste and Henderson, 2000, pp. 29, 40 and 92). For the debate in Canada, see, for example, Abele (1997), Fitznor (1998); Howard and Widdowson (1996) and McGregor (2000).

'Accepting the language of TEK may bring immediate benefits for those who use it successfully,' Cruickshank, (1998, p. 66) notes, but it also risks being 'codified, formalized, and rationalized in the context of state power', consequently becoming a focus of an ideological contest between interested parties and imitative of that which was originally opposed.

TK has seeped into museum exhibits, but so far has had less influence on artefact classification systems. A First Nations speaker at a 1998 repatriation conference at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, told of visiting the storerooms of one museum in the United States to discover how human remains were stored according to body parts rather than holistically and by tribal or regional origin. Her ancestors were dismembered twice over, by death and by the museum. Vancouver's Museum of Anthropology (MOA) also used a deconstructive method when it opened its Visible Storage

Galleries in 1976 (Ames, 1977): there were tools here, containers there, and other things somewhere else. The MOA recently began a series of consultations with local indigenous groups about how to rearrange storage material in more culturally sensitive ways. There are obvious difficulties to consulting in similar fashion peoples further removed from an institution. A more serious obstacle is the scarcity of professional linguists on curatorial teams. Even the University of British Columbia's MOA rarely calls upon the highly skilled linguists in the neighbouring Department of Linguistics to assist in eliciting how local First Nations classify their material world by the ways they talk about it (see Conklin, 1963; Lee, 1950; Sturtevant, 1964).

History versus memory: insider versus outsider interpretations

Gable and Handler (2000, pp. 250–1) noted a striking difference between messages of history presented by the Colonial Williamsburg historic site and the memories their visitors carried away. Williamsburg goes to great pains to present an authentic and generalized history interpreted by professional historians working out of a positivist scholarly paradigm.

The memories of their visits people reported to Gable and Handler, in contrast, were more likely to be associated with cherished souvenirs purchased on earlier visits, with stories their parents told about their visits, or with memories of history learned in school. Disregarding curatorial intentions, visitors appeared to freely reconstruct what they saw and heard in terms of personal narrative interests.

Williamsburg's official history thus appeared to serve less as a source of authentic information and more as a set of triggers for memories of stories originating elsewhere. Indigenous visitors to museums, by contrast, are often reminded of cultural appropriation and loss when they see their heritage held 'in custody' and 'authoritatively' interpreted by 'professionals'.

Comment

The culture–nature distinction parallels the mind–body, idea–object, object–specimen, art–artefact, and words–things dichotomies around which curators and other scholars tend to organize and differentiate their activities. Those whose histories and cultures museums purport to represent often interpret such classifications as signs of disrespect or acts of violence.

Underlying Western and non-Western systems of classification resides a basic epistemological rupture between ways of knowing or truth-making. Museum knowledge systems are derived from Enlightenment beliefs in the power of reason, manifested in positivist and neo-positivist methodologies, a 'Eurocentric monologue' (Battiste and Henderson, 2000, p. 13) in contrast to more diffuse or holistic ways of knowing. Bernstein (1992, pp. 32–3) refers to the 'rage' against the darker side of the Enlightenment concept of reason or rationalism, which evokes sharply contradictory sentiments: freedom, justice, equality, and progress, on the one hand, and images of domination, patriarchy, violence and even terror, on the other. 'There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism' (Walter Benjamin, cited in Bernstein, 1992, p. 52).

Arguments about these ways of knowing – revelatory or empirical, traditional or rational, romantic or instrumental – and over whose social position is deemed to be authoritative – insiders or outsiders, natives or anthropologists, elders or scientists, Indigenous experts or curatorial experts – are as much about competition for status and power as they are claims to authenticity. 'In times of great social change,' Merton (1972, p. 9) observed in his classic paper on insider and outsider views, 'claims to truth become politicized.

Museums have typically preferred the Wizard of Oz technique: exhibits present the anonymous voice of authority, while in reality texts are constructed by one or more curators hiding behind the screens of the institution. As ideas about 'multi-vocality,' 'inter-textuality,' and 'hybridity' become more popular, more wizards may be added, including honorary Indigenous representatives recruited from outside the academy. Nevertheless museums continue in many cases to set the agendas, manage recruiting processes, and control the final editing and presentation of exhibits. It is the nature of bureaucracies to protect their prerogatives.

Museums – often, it seems, the smaller ones – have not been passive in response to pressures for change (see Witcomb, 2003 for a history of responses to public interest). Accommodating the veracity of other ways of knowing, however, requires significant changes in power relations (Halpin and Ames, 1999). Nevertheless, this does not necessarily entail a reduction in the quality of scholarship thereby produced. Nor does it constitute a denial of the importance of the rational–empirical pursuit of information and

critical examination of a situation – both essential components of any knowledge system. Crucial questions are rather: how is scholarship to be applied, for whose benefit, and which different perspectives may be shared and balanced in support of political equality?

A growing number of 'progressive' developments are being reported in the literature (Bouquet, 2001; Clavir, 2002; Dubuc and Turgeon, 2004; Janes and Conaty, 2005; Kreps, 1998, 2003; Peers and Brown, 2003; Shelton, 1997, 2000). Many reflect aspects of participatory action research. (For discussions of PAR, see Ames 1999; Kapoor, 2002; Macaulay, et al., 1998; Ryan and Robinson, 1996; Sillitoe, 2000). The first principle of participatory research is to serve without causing harm to the interests of those studied as much as those who study. Its application nevertheless marks a radical departure from traditional academic research, which in the name of scholarship privileges the career interests of scholars over the interests of subjects.

Sharing power and status, while also holding to empirical research standards and one's own career interests, can be challenging. However no one promised that decolonization would be a stroll in the garden.

NOTES

1. (Blackstock 2005, p. 77.) *Why are you looking at me like that,*
With those rational eyes?

You demonize my world to make sense of yours;
Deflect the blame, avoid the shame.

The reflection of rational eyes filters accountability
From the eye of conscience.

Re-mould, re-shade, re-fit the incoming world
To comfort your ego's desires and fears – those rational eyes.

Just if I could defend my humanness to rational eyes.
A positive spin, I opine, shrug the guilt into life's rivery silt.

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13. Xochicalco archaeological ruins, Cuernavaca, Mexico, which was founded in about A.D. 650 by the Olmeca-Xicallanca and the stele of the two glyphs which probably was a gnomon. A gnomon is used to measure the time by the position of its shadow.

Meeting the Challenges of Diversity in South African Museums

by Rooksana Omar

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'Different times demand and bring different answers'.[1] This statement by Professor Es'kia Mphahlele rings very true for South African museums, since this sector has had to undergo extensive re-engineering.[2] There are two main types of museum existing in South Africa in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, representing different world-views of place, space and a creative engagement with multiple audiences.

One is an anachronistic neocolonial and imperialist archetype, whose historical role has been surpassed but whose institutional remnants are still visible in various places. The perspective of this model, where it survives, celebrates individual triumph over the colonized, whether in technology, science, war, business or culture. It retains a colonialist and apartheid mastery of the so-called 'lesser races of humankind'. And in the exercise of this model, curators were of course unchallenged authorities and experts.

There is another type of museum that resonates with debates about the new museology. The new museological models, though building and extending the idea of museums as cultural

institutions and historical repositories of knowledge, are more experimental. They have to confront many more challenges – especially the desire to transform and become more responsive to audience participation and visitor scrutiny – and be relevant in a dynamic situation of democratization and diversity. By implication, the latter museum has become a platform for debate about evolving issues rather than didactic imposition. In South Africa this new model also has to confront the state's agenda of museums as places for producing and representing a collective memory, and for the creation of a national identity inclusive of all its citizens.

This second type of museum – as a generic grouping of diverse institutions linked by a common spirit – defies easy description or categorization, as I shall explain below. However, my characterization of their common engagement with what a relevant museum should be, to whom it should address itself and in what context, is based on my experiences over the last decade of working in the museum sector, in particular with the Durban Museums – joined in a united identity as the eThekwini Heritage.

South African museums are now in a very privileged position, in fact, because the South African Constitution[3] recognizes diversity as one of the fundamental principles to be protected in our society. The government has provided the platform for a clear set of ideas as to our shared history, unified around a set of symbols such as the national coat of arms. Derived from the Khoisan language of the /Xam people, it carries the inscription *IKE e:/xarra//ke*, meaning 'diverse people unite'.

The anchorage provided by such a statement provides the heritage sector with ample opportunity to exploit this principle, to make museums culturally diverse and more representative of the total social polity. Unlike other countries that have been scarred and traumatized by war and repression, South Africa has a broad agreed narrative about how apartheid functioned: that it suppressed full cultural expression, stunted social development, restricted education, and forcibly relegated people to separate areas; in consequence, the economic prosperity of a minority depended on a migrant labour system that contributed to increased poverty of the majority and divided families' daily lives.

The broad consensus about this process historically has begun to be reflected in our museums. However, the transition in representation could not occur without new attitudes and new methodologies being embraced. Museums have had to engage actively in the task of correcting the historical and cultural record, depicting the struggle for democracy and contributing to the forging of a new national narrative in public life. Museums need (if not already achieved) to put the national collective memory on their agenda and engage creatively in national cultural production.

The old style of 'modern' museum – projecting a socially divided image of modernity based on a closed vision of itself and the world – has had to change. It can no longer maintain an image of introspective musing, or continue a sensationalization of power and dominance of a ruling élite in a world that has been turned upside

down. This older kind of museum is unsustainable in the dynamic contemporary world of South Africa. Not only are earlier paradigms of superiority and dominance challenged, contested and rejected in a post-colonial, diverse, multi-voiced world. It is also the case that the very appeal of such museums to an élite minority alone makes them economically and socially (and ideologically) an unviable project.

In the present context, the earlier model had either to accept its demise or alternatively to reinvent itself for a whole new audience – one less enthralled by its formal, one-sided and authoritarian views of the world. The old modern museum needed not to be forgotten but rather embalmed, its methodologies consigned to cautionary footnotes in a much larger and longer idea of evolving South African history. It had to make way for a new, vibrant period of historical representation, one which allowed for the inquisitive gaze of a wider audience unaccustomed and unconscripted by the rigid narratives of purely formal exhibits.

There have meanwhile been other pressures to address. A post-colonial, post-modern world demanded that the voices of the former victims of oppression and exploitation could now be heard. It was not merely an intellectual or theoretical proposition that democracy be extended to the former voiceless. The former voiceless are now also voters and supporters of popular leaders, social movements and political parties. It is inevitable that their demand for representation be also incorporated in the museum forums of a post-apartheid South Africa.

If museums are storehouses of long-held artefacts and objects, might not those very objects – many of which were formally regarded as 'booty' and spoils of conquest – now be pressed in to service to tell different stories: stories from below; stories of popular culture, and of the daily lives of ordinary people in urban and rural areas. Many institutions that typify the new museology in South Africa – for example, the Kwa Muhle Museum and District Six Museum – now draw in novel ways on the 'booty' of former officials that had upheld the law in the apartheid period.

However, the transformative knowledge process required was not simply the replacement of an old label with a new one for the same object. The very objects that museums had formerly sanctified and gazed upon have offered critical points of challenge, discussion and debate. The collection objects have become invested with new sets of social and political relations that reflected wider issues of inequality, discrimination, privileged access to resources, and the conflicts, tensions and challenges these engendered.

Such a changed situation suggests the kind of open society that museums now confront in South Africa. For example, new exhibits reflect indigenous knowledge systems, indigenous technologies, oral narratives, popular street culture, and the new multimedia industry. They also incorporate – as part of their narrative display – many aspects of creative performance in the form of dance, poetry and music. In concrete terms, eThekweni Heritage has, in the last few years, presented exhibitions on the following subjects: traditional healing; street children; inner-city gangs; the impacts of industry on the urban

14. Njabulo Luthuli showing his Khangas Exhibition poster, depicting HIV/AIDS messages created by university students.

ecosystems; use of trash and waste as resources for creative art; traditional arts and crafts; social identities; contemporary art; family life in eThekwini; and exhibitions dealing with highly politicized issues such as land restitution, political violence, HIV/AIDS, gender initiatives, and continental African migrant experiences in South Africa.

The organization of space within the post-modern, post-colonial museums is no longer dedicated primarily to exhibits but also utilized for many new activities: for example, for the performance of poetry, music, ritual and dance; for

teaching and cultural exchanges; and as a forum for community debates. Museums now provide public spaces for these new and socially invigorating activities to be supported, creating a whole new set of 'presentations' or representational practices that press far beyond the stylized use of cabinets of objects or glass-enclosed dioramas.

This new museology has been underpinned by issues of our common heritage, shared identity and comprehensive nation-building. It has been spurred by an attunement to economic development and social partnerships, by the need to provide access and connections that embrace social plurality and human rights, and to stimulate policies recognizing cultural diversity, audience development and creativity.

A recognition that cultural diversity has different meanings for differing communities has been important. Meanwhile the underlying, connecting definition is that 'cultural diversity encompasses the totality of values, institutions and forms of behaviour within a society, and the diversity of both human communities and biological ones . . . to prevent the development of a uniform world by promoting and supporting all world cultures.'[4] However, South African museums have not yet developed a common policy on cultural diversity. This is evidenced positively by the fact that even though the South African constitution provides a very strong comment on ethnic minorities, gender and language each institution interprets diversity differently.

In the pursuit of diverse voices and multiple interpretations, eThekwini museums have found that this objective also demands support

from a range of modern technologies (not necessarily high technology) to reach new audiences – people who not only wish to share, be challenged, comment and learn, but also want the experience of visiting a museum to be memorable, enjoyable, and worth repeating.

Meanwhile with the advance of globalization and increased development and use of technology, South African museums, too, are facing competition from game arcades, cinema and virtual experiences. The increasing variety of technology available, requiring museum workers to evaluate the techniques they employ to attract and serve multiple audiences, presents new experimental challenges as to how diverse visitors may participate in the very exhibits that the museum puts together. No longer is the experience of a museum a one-sided affair where the recipient remains passive; rather it is one that assumes that the visitor is an active participant in the knowledge/experience-producing process.

Of course, museums still play a role in the transmission of accumulated knowledge. However, the process is now much more complicated, in that it has to present itself in such a way as to welcome openly those who wish to learn by engaging in a dialogue. Meanwhile the museum should also provide the means by which the experience gained may reflect a visitor's own sense of self within the space of the museum exhibit as well as its connection to the world outside. Such engagement is therefore no longer limited to the domain of the museum alone, but also connects to a broader set of issues and circumstances that people find themselves in. It offers audiences a forum for making sense of their environment. The

museum-as-forum is also one open to audiences' stories, alert to the authenticity of their own information about what they have observed and experienced in living memory.

Thus far the view expressed might be said to accommodate local audiences to a museum. However, museums – especially those in cities that aspire to be part of the global flows of trade, travel, information, technology, finance, patronage systems and collections beyond local borders – cannot passively ignore their connections with the global village. Foreign visitors also need to feel that they are part of the engagement with the reality of this environment rather than remaining bystanders, gazing on 'the other' as merely exotic to their experience.

Thus globalization in a local context turns on the way the local and the global interconnect, and where the points of emphasis are placed. Globalization in this context means that each museum or heritage institution must decide which particular artefacts (natural, cultural or artistic) are to be showcased from their region, to attract new audiences from among their own constituencies as well as providing unique experiences and impressions of the region for visitors. In short, they need to act as local specialists, while also considering global appeal to varying audiences from farther afield. The underlying principle here is that local knowledge is appreciated, respected and protected in its authenticity and diversity from the reductive forces of globalization. Part of the challenge for museums has been to increase sustainable human development. At eThekwini Heritage there has been a conscious attempt to develop a heritage atlas to support local cultural

industries, to identify people with the know-how to involve indigenous technologies, and to encourage them to share that knowledge with others in the cause of creating sustainable projects.

Although I have placed emphasis on demystifying formal notions of object and artefact in museum collections, museums still strive to maintain their core business of collecting specimens, objects and artefacts. However, nurturing an institution that appeals to diverse constituencies has meant that the museum has had to explore various techniques of disseminating information to its multiple audiences, acknowledging also differing world-views and experiences. While the élitist notion of a museum being a place of high culture and rare examples of objects has, as suggested above, exceeded its sell-by date, museums have been rapidly required to satisfy new local needs as well as consider foreign visitors within their changing spaces. For a municipality like eThekwini this continues to be an enormous challenge. One form of this twofold response has emerged in the production of festivals that celebrate our city with guests from around the world, while also providing a platform for inclusion of its citizens.

Indeed it has become clear as we proceed with a variety of programmes at the eThekwini museums that these new ventures are effectively becoming a relevant part of citizens' everyday life – programmes such as Redeye exhibition openings or special day celebrations that include ritual, performance, praise singers and dance, or incorporate indigenous technologies, communal initiative and theatre. Such variety of programming indicates that museums are becoming more

© Durban Art Gallery

15. Siwela Sonke Dancers performing for the Durban Art Gallery's Redeye initiative aimed at developing new audiences for museums.

sensitive to the demands of diverse communities. Further examples occur when religious rituals are carried out in the museum and should be carefully respected.

This is not to suggest that religious rituals might become isolated from a community, or be commodified as part of an exhibition or public festival. However, in a globalized environment of change, museums must be prepared to deal with requests from a community to perform public religious rituals in the public space that museums offer. For example, in 2001 the Local History Museums were approached by a local African Independent Church to gain access to a sacred object in the museum for a religious ritual, and this request was respected and granted. The outcome need not be a fictional, stylized performance ritual for public consumption, but one that is negotiated – even amid contest – so that all parties are finally satisfied as to its relevance and authenticity.

I have suggested that a more open approach by museums will generally be of great

benefit, in subscribing to principles of cultural diversity while sustaining and protecting cultural heritage. This is not to say that there are no negative impacts, or difficult consequences that may have to be addressed.

The dangers of exploitation through desires to make the proverbial 'quick buck' or to take advantage of 'being there first' need to be kept in mind. Globalization contributes to a host of processes that are both positive and negative. I believe, however, that globalization is not a one-way process of the highly developed countries imposing or impacting on the local and less developed, but that people are making varied efforts of resistance, accommodation or conversion, to control their own lives in highly varied ways.

Globalization can produce the contradictory processes of acculturation and cultural erosion on the one hand and, on the other, the search for cultural revitalization drawn from the most authentic sources as well as stimulated by external visitors' quests for meaning and truth. Nevertheless, tourism does pose real dangers – most sharply in its inevitable tendencies to commercialize culture.

The problem lies not so much in the exposure of culture to commercial forces, since most aspects of public culture must to a greater or lesser extent become part of market economies. The greatest threat arises when culture is transformed into a sanitized, antiseptic commodity, merely for the consumption of tourists. Both host populations and many tourists themselves reject this process and its products.

This gives rise to a number of questions, principally revolving around the issue of authenticity. However, globalization and cultural tourism increasingly reinforce tendencies based not only on customization but also affirming values of regionalization and the rediscovery of strong and living cultural identities. The challenge for museums is not only to be vehicles of international 'showcasing' of culture, but in fact to ensure that they are vitally engaged in the recovery, rediscovery and maintenance of living traditions.

Although this new type of museum is still at the development stage, the contours that I have

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16. Women from Ladysmith attending the Zindla Zombili, National Dance and Music Festival in Durban, 9 October 2004.

described above are already strongly evident. The modelling implies new kinds of relationships, such as partnerships with community and non-governmental organizations, as well as with other cultural institutions. It requires new research initiatives that incorporate universities and technical institutions, forging new relationships that must be open, democratic, and audience focused.

These new museums, dynamic and outward looking, I see as tapping into and themselves sharpening new styles of social relationship and forms of representation. They are taking up the challenges to be creative in the many ways they engage with their multiple audiences. Through their activities they are transforming history and remaking meaning, engaging diverse constituencies in the varied ways they now serve a new post-liberation South Africa.

| NOTES

1. Es'kia Mphahlele, *ES'KIA*, p.338, Johannesburg, Stainbank & Associates, 2004.

2. A. Galla, 'Transformation in South Africa: A Legacy Challenged'. *Museum International* (Paris, UNESCO), No. 202, (Vol.51, No.2, 1999), pp. 38–43.

3. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, §§ 30 and 31.

4. See International Network on Cultural Policy, South Africa, Cape Town Meeting, 2002; http://www.incp-ripc.org

Museums, Knowledge and Cultural Diversity in Venezuela[1]

by Luis Adrián Galindo Castro

Luis Adrián Galindo Castro is a Venezuelan anthropologist (Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1990) and researcher specializing in the museology of the sciences. Much of his work, in Venezuela and abroad, consists in curating or conceptualizing different exhibitions that present the cultural diversity of the country and the region. From 1991 to 1994 he was museum and exhibitions director at the Fundación de Etnomusicología y Folkore (Foundation for Ethnomusicology and Folklore). Since 1998 he has been working at the Caracas Museo de Ciencias (Science Museum), where he is now in charge of conceptualization and museography.

Exhibition evaluations and the study of publics are fields of research that are only now being explored in Venezuela, but they are a necessity for cultural institutions that aspire to optimize their activities and get their mission across in a way that meets the demands of their visitors. However, studies of publics conducted to date[2] in some of the country's museums have revealed the socio-demographic complexity of visitors and thus led on to the logical conclusion that the public, publics, like any other human population on the planet, are characterized by ethnic and cultural diversity.

Like most other countries in Latin America, what we now call Venezuela is a place criss-crossed by complex ethnicities and temporalities, where modernity and tradition are continually intertwining. A fundamental role is played in this by human groups that were originally wedded to their cultures of origin but that built up new cultural identities in the dynamic of interaction, constructed and deconstructed, like a Lévi-Straussian kaleidoscope, in accordance with the different socio-political contexts of Latin America. The conjunction of these identities with

different stages of modernity then created hybrid cultural components involving profound social inequalities whereupon, in the context of economic inequality, other identities too were constructed, not destroying the earlier ones, but coexisting with them as each context of representation determined. Our museum publics or visitors are characterized by this cultural diversity. What are called the museum public or visitors are not a homogeneous mass that can be identified with a single set of social and cultural characteristics.

This being so, we believe that in performing their cultural work Venezuelan museums and science-and-technology information centres ignore the epistemic diversity of their publics and the tension of their knowledges. Consequently, our main concern is not to evaluate the acquisition of scientific or technological knowledge by our publics, at least not in terms of the 'accumulation of information' characterized and typified as 'banking education' by the Brazilian researcher Paulo Freire more than thirty years ago. What is the place of knowledge? Who is the subject of knowledge, in terms of social and cultural origin and gender? Is this an individual or collective subject? Is their knowledge universal and comprehensive enough to respond to the most significant problems of today's world?

Within the confines of this article, our interest centres on exploring part of our ethnic and cultural diversity through the knowledge structures and the representations thereof found in a particular segment of the audiences who visit our museums and science centres. We wish to deal particularly with the tensions that arise in the field of representations, staging and cultural appreciation between the Eurocentric scientific knowledge that dominates many of our science and technology exhibitions and the other varied ways of constructing and giving meaning to the world that are fundamental to our visitors. We do not regard any of these ways of constructing knowledge in Latin American societies as pure or mummified; we see them as overlapping, and while Eurocentric scientific knowledge certainly has greater hegemonic power than other forms, the latter have proved to be tenacious in our societies over time, and to have a strong hold locally.

For this reason, what we understand by multiculturalism and cultural diversity is not just a plurality of cultural expressions or ways of making culture, but different epistemologies, ways of knowing, interpreting and explaining reality that differ from one another. This determines a construct of the subject of study and of the relationship, in both directions, between the researcher and the subject of study, in which there is the potential for a clash between different epistemologies.

There has been an intense debate among Latin American authors[3] such as Quijano (1992), Mignolo (1995), Moreno (1995), Lander (2000) and Dussel (2000) about the way Eurocentric knowledge has been imposed, with the possessor of this knowledge being visualized as a white male of European origin from a privileged social class, etc. These features prefigure a hegemonic cultural type that is hardly the rule in Latin American societies. The way the colonialism of knowledge has advanced through the imposition of a cultural type and the construction of the identities of

Others is at the heart of the persistence and reproduction of hegemonic Eurocentric knowledge in Latin America.

Now, while one group of Latin American researchers has been identifying the presence and reproduction of Eurocentric knowledge in Latin America, another group has been engaged in the description and appreciation of an episteme as a 'way of seeing the world, of interpreting and acting upon it'. According to Maritza Montero,[4] this paradigm is constructed around the following ideas:

- A conception of community and participation of popular knowledge as ways of constituting, and at the same time as products of, an episteme of relation.
- The idea of liberation through praxis, involving the mobilization of canonical ways of apprehending–constructing–being in the world.
- Redefinition of the role of the social researcher, recognition of the Other as Self, and thus redefinition of the subject/object of research as a social actor and constructor of knowledge.
- The historical, indeterminate, indefinite, incomplete and relative character of knowledge. The multiplicity of voices, of worlds of life, epistemic plurality.
- The perspective of dependence, and then that of resistance. The tension between minorities and majorities and alternative modes of doing/knowing. The revision of methods, the contributions and transformations arising from them.

Among the main pioneers of these new paradigms we should mention Darcy Ribeiro, Paulo Freire and Juan Pablo Sojo, who in the mid-twentieth century began to postulate theoretical models and social praxis on the basis of their cultural experience and their close links with the social realities of their countries. Even then, the very sociocultural complexity of the continent invalidated the homogenizing views of 'Latin Americanness' and 'Third World' encountered to this day in the image that a colonizing and academicist Europe has of Latin America.

We would particularly stress the popular Venezuelan 'world of life' episteme concept formulated by Alejandro Moreno: 'The relationship/experience is inscribed – if one can say and betray it in this way – in that form-of-life which is knowing, and there we comprehend it as a central-dynamic epistemic of the whole popular episteme/matrix, whence the mode of knowing by relating.'[5]

For Moreno, knowing by relating is an episteme grounded in knowing not by individuals but by relationships. The relationship is not a constructed derivative of the individual, but rather the individual is a constructed derivative of the relationship.

Acting and reasoning, if we follow Moreno, are derivatives of relating. Standing in relation comes before action and reason. The man of the people is not a being in the world, but a living relationship. He is not subjectivity or rationality, or individual, but relationship. Subjectivity, rationality and singularity have to be deconstructed and constructed in the relationship.

It is a way of thinking that lies completely outside of modernity.

Thus, in Venezuela we have, on the one hand, the episteme of modernity with Eurocentric scientific knowledge and, on the other, new epistemes on the regional stage: other voices, other paradigms.

Talking with diversity

Drawing on the research work carried out by Alejandro Moreno and his team,[6] we set out to approach a very particular museum public, namely, the people who work each day in the exhibition rooms, in constant contact with museum professionals and audiences, and who might wonder and reflect about what is displayed in those rooms which they have to clean and take care of day by day. These employees are usually lacking in intermediate and higher education and their relationship with scientific knowledge is generally mediated by the culture industry.

Basing ourselves on this particular relationship between individuals and their workplace, we conducted the first in a series of in-depth conversations or interviews with the staff responsible for cleaning and mounting exhibitions in some of the country's museums. This was an in-depth interview with María, aged 53, who works as a cleaner at the Science Museum in Caracas.

'I tell the story of my work through the story of my daughters'

When hegemonic official history is constructed, events are marked by major developments and important characters. In María's way of viewing history, everything starts from her surroundings, her own immediate experiences, the birth and growth of her daughters. Her daughters' time is the temporal thread used to weave any other history.

Now, what is the importance of this in our lives, in your life and your family's? How do you see this as relating to your own life?

Well, the thing is that now there are things . . . there are people who say, no, now there are more important things than seeing an exhibition . . . no . . . It's important to know things as well, I mean I think that for the young people, for the students, let's say, they have to do something for a class. . . . Look, just the other day I was looking; a boy was looking for things for his class, and I said, 'Look,' . . . because he asked, he asked . . . . 'Do you know anybody there in the Children's Museum?' 'No.', 'In the Science Museum, I work there, go there whenever you want, because there's, any question you want, there are exhibitions, it's like . . . . you might not need it now, but later it might come in handy, for a class, at least like me with my grandson, not for right now, but for when they're bigger, in the future, when they grow up and want an answer.' It has got a point, you see, it is important.

I mean, look, a friend of mine's son was told to draw a dinosaur, that was about three months ago; it just so happens that I like keeping things and just then I'd put by one of those leaflets from here . . . aha, and I asked María Eugenia and she was kind enough to get me the magazine, and there we were and it was just what the boy needed, his friends asked him for it at school and

kept asking if they could photocopy it, if I could lend it to them, and the dinosaur class was interesting.

Ah yes. And when your neighbours ask where you work, what do you tell them?

That I work in the Science Museum.

And what do they say?

They say, What's that? And I say, Well, it's culture, lots of people go there, they have really nice exhibitions.

But when they ask what all this museum business is about, what do you tell them?

That they put on exhibitions from other places, like . . . Well, I tell them I work in the Science Museum, but what's that? Well, it's a museum where there are exhibitions, interesting things for the students they send there, for the kids, for people like us, good exhibitions. When Uruma was there I recommended it too, and when the dinosaurs were there, and the extinction, they ask me a lot, and the thing there at the back, the forest. . . .

Ah, the dioramas.

That's right, the dioramas.

For María, the museum is important only if it serves to strengthen ties of solidarity, to activate the social network around her, if the activities of the museum benefit a set of people who are going to live their lives in relation to one another. The museum stores and preserves a range of objects that have a heritage value for current and future generations, but we might say that for María these objects are important in so far as they serve in future to live 'in relation' (Moreno), whether the people concerned are from her own circle or not. For María the objects are important if they serve the fabric of relationships first and individuals afterwards.

Here nature is not something distant, forgotten, barely remembered. Like many other museum-going Venezuelans, María still has a strong link with nature, is able to construct relationships and thus give meaning and significance to exhibitions that deal with the country's biodiversity. At present this is no more than a clue to be followed up, but we believe it is essential for the construction of a museological model that harmonizes with the sociocultural characteristics of our audiences.

With the increasing development of interactive and unguided exhibitions and immersion museography, museums have been evaluating the work of their guides, who have often relied on the technique of recitation. In the light of the findings of cognitive psychology and constructivist education, museum guides have been replaced in some cases by interactive devices, while in others they have been transferred to a co-ordination and orientation role. The interesting thing here is that although the exhibition had been designed to be visited without a guide, orality has a fundamental importance for María; that is, having someone there who can respond to our concerns and, in many cases, with whom we can share opinions. We conducted specific research into the importance of orality in interactive exhibitions in two science museums in Europe, and the results

were similar;[7] their cleaning staff, and an immigrant visitor from Latin America who lived in Paris, argued that although the exhibitions involved the public and provided enough information and guidance, guides, co-ordinators or monitors were essential to prevent people 'getting lost in the exhibition'.

The museology of intersections

All these reflections encourage us to think that it might be possible to find a theoretical basis for a museology of the sciences that is able to work with the nexus of tension between scientific knowledge and other knowledges. Some of the premises[8] of this museology, which we shall now term 'the museology of intersections', are the followings:

Firstly, it bases its cultural action upon the tension between forms of knowledge and their interactions. In constructing meanings and knowledge, the museology of intersections perceives museum publics as something like quintessential *bricoleurs* (Perrin, 1995). There thus commences a process of negotiation of possible representations between the exhibition organizers (the museum) and their public. Both sides (the museum and its audience) draw on their historical structures, their repertoires of symbols and their individual and collective cultural experiences. Thus, when we speak of the intersection of knowledges we are referring to the real possibility of constructing discourses in our exhibition work that are capable of creating dialogue between representations and appreciations belonging to these different forms of knowledge. We do not wish to idealize this situation, for we know that any process of signification gives priority to one

vision over others. In the case of science museums, it is obvious and necessary that they should impart information about the sciences, but this does not preclude consideration of other forms of knowledge also found among their audiences.

Secondly, it centres on border epistemology (Mignolo, 2000) and the diversity of epistemes. To attain plurality in the discourse of our exhibitions we consider it necessary to set out from a review of the fundamental epistemologies that underlie them. The museology of intersections is always asking where it is speaking from and what its paradigm is, and being nourished by alternative, border or peripheral epistemes. 'The point of intersection between local histories and global designs gives rise to border epistemologies as local critical knowledge (in Europe as much as in Latin America or Africa), and it should restore to local agents the space for knowledge production suppressed by the colonial and imperial mechanisms of subalternization' (Mignolo, 1997, p. 16).

Thirdly, the *museology of intersections* experiences and investigates new approaches, incorporates 'new voices', compares visions, stimulates debate about the appropriation of knowledge and citizen involvement in science and technology decisions, enhances collective creativity and encourages contact between scientists and between scientists and other people. It is a 'viewpoint' museology (Davallon, 1999). From our standpoint in the debate between object museology and the museology of ideas, it is a matter of concern to us that many of our museums give priority in their exhibitions to formal appraisals (cataloguing, description and presentation) of objects belonging to different

cultures, based on taxonomies developed by academic disciplines such as archaeology, palaeontology and the history of art or technology. Thus we find exhibitions divided into historical periods, ethnolinguistic groups, geographical locations, archaeological or artistic styles and so on, structuring a profoundly academicist discourse and so creating what Michel Foucault called 'societies of discourse' whose rules are only known to 'initiates', to those who possess a specific knowledge and can enter into this discourse, to the exclusion of the great majority.

This translates into object-centred staging. In the field of museology there has been a long and so far inconclusive debate about 'object theory', the preponderant role that the object, piece or work plays in the informative mission of museums.[9] But we must not forget the continuous resignification and changes of usage to which a single object is subject during its existence, in an early phase, by the different social groups in the culture where this object was created, and by other cultures that through different processes (trade, cultural borrowing, colonization and vandalism, among many others) take possession of the object and assign it new uses and meanings.

In a second phase, when the object is collected and exhibited in a museum, the professionals working there draw on their theoretical framework, research findings and objectives for the exhibition to distinguish among the range of uses and meanings the object had during its existence, settling on one or a number of these uses. This involves museography in the 'arbitrary' game of what is presumed to be a closed system of representations, where objects are

exhibited once and for all as what perhaps they might have been. In a third phase, objects are subjected to new resignifications assigned to them by museum visitors, in accordance with their own previous experience and knowledge.

A process thus begins whereby possible interpretations are negotiated between the exhibition organizers (the museum) and its audiences. But what prospect do museum visitors have of interpreting the uses and functions of a pre-Hispanic anthropomorphic figurine? The meaning or meanings, and their understanding and appreciation, lie not just in the object but also in the social construct that the visitor creates in his/her interaction with the object. So which of all the possible significations is most recurrent among our audiences?

Basing the directionality of the message of an exhibition on the potential of an ethnographic or archaeological object, for example, presented from a scientific standpoint, is a venture with multiple aims that does very little to guarantee success in the mission of spreading knowledge and appreciation of the cultural diversity of the country. Sometimes we have opted to give the object a context of interpretation that enables the public to understand it better, although always with a thoroughly academic approach. In exhibitions seeking to show the sociocultural complexity of the country's indigenous communities, for example, and by contrast with most art exhibitions, ethnographic or archaeological objects are presented in association, either with each other, to evoke their original contexts of use and function (farm implements, fishing instruments, rural clothing, etc.), or with

contexts of representation such as dioramas or scale models, in a sort of hyper-reality. For the public to be able to understand the context of use and function of these objects, however, it needs to possess at least an approximate knowledge of the set of relationships figuratively represented there, a knowledge that is the domain of academia rather than that of the general public. García Blanco (1999, p. 32) has put it well:

The interpretation of contexts requires the possession of a large, well-organized and well-structured body of theoretical knowledge about the workings of the social group to which the objects belong and the functional or symbolic contexts of these, so that by setting out from the formal and observable characteristics of the objects it is possible to infer their functional or symbolic characteristics as well.

By contrast, the museology of ideas or processes, which is very common in museums and science centres, has proved very effective for imparting and appropriating scientific knowledge. A staging that does not centre on the object of heritage value but orchestrates a set of interactive multiple-language devices creates an attractive discourse that is often more readily comprehensible for the public concerned. Setting out from the museology of ideas, we are more attracted by a viewpoint museology. This is a museology that makes clear to the public that what is being offered is a viewpoint from which to approach an object of knowledge, a discourse that displays its own internal structure and is presented for discussion, in which science is not dogma. The idea, the process, the knowledge is presented as a subject that possesses a historical and social

context, has a human subject or group which created and developed it, is identifiable and can therefore be discussed.

The museology of intersections aims at the appreciation of cultural diversity (and its diversity of epistemes), as a basis for constructing possible new models of social, economic and political development. Frequently we wish to show the culture of the Other (even if that Other is ourselves or an integral part of the We) by highlighting differences and excluding similarities, points of contact and divergence, intersections. An *essentialization* of cultures that separates them from the worldwide dynamic of interculturality, shared geographical spaces or governmental policies seeking to use forced identities to bolster national unity. And above all, an *essentialization* that distances the Other's culture from museum audiences' day-to-day sphere, their immediate opportunities for creating links, ties, interests, between themselves and the discourse of the exhibition.

By concentrating on points of contact within cultural diversity (to understand differences and points of divergence as well), the museology of intersections seeks to build bridges between the public and the exhibition discourse. But we do not want to build these bridges out of false similarities between cultures. By this we are referring to exhibitions that, setting out with this very aim of creating contact with their audiences, set out from specious similarities in diet, housing, clothing or other material manifestations of culture. These stagings are usually reductionist and homogenizing, and are always relativized with respect to the hegemonic culture.

Our bridges or points of intersection open out to diversity in structures of thought, in ways of organizing knowledge, in social organization strategies, a body of ideas built up around a common predicament or different ways of overcoming particular socio-economic situations, in overlapping histories, among so many other historically determined specificities that are crucial in the formation of a culture. They are holistic bridges, with a slow dynamic that opens up to give an overview of relationships, to show intersections, crossroads, shared places and non-places. But there is also an approach to the detail, the particular object, local history and the innermost facets of ethnicity. They are playful bridges, half-built, from which visitors can look out and decide how they wish to participate. Thence, visitors can construct their own bridges (their manifold ways of making contact with knowledge) to the exhibition.

Such an exhibition creates opportunities for information, for reflection, and for the construction of new discourses that nourish the exhibition itself. It is constantly changing. Interactivity cannot be conceived either as a merely physical action, or as a mechanistic learning process. After the museology of intersections comes a systematic review of its staging, a review of immersion museography, an evaluation and adaptation of the innumerable interactive devices in science museums, as our visitors and our interests require; conceptual art installations, adaptation of the technical devices and strategies used by the television and theatrical industries to engage and involve the public, not to mention information technology and multimedia. Exhibitions remain a spectacle, a cultural experience, an assembly of languages (if not a new language, as Davallon argues); they should be a contemporary experience, an experience of the meaning we wish to convey.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of an article which has already been published in La Revista Española de museología in Spanish.

2. Some of these studies can be found in the following publications: E. Bolan et al., *Ciudad, públicos y consumo cultural*, Caracas, Fundación Polar, 1999; *Museos Ahora*, No. 3, Caracas, 1995; Leoncio Barrio et al. *Industria cultural*, Caracas, Editores Litterae, 1999.

3. There has also been wide-ranging discussion of Eurocentrism among African, Canadian, Indian and U.S. researchers. We recommend the summary of these debates provided in Edgardo Lander (ed.), *La colonialidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales. Perpectivas latinoamericanas*, Caracas, UNESCO/Faces UCV, 2000.

4. Ibid., p. 37.

5. Alejandro Moreno, *'El aro y la trama; Episteme, medernidad y pueblo'*, *Colección convivium*, p. 492. Caracas, CIP, 1995.

6. Ibid.

7. In October 2003 and March 2004 we carried out in-depth interviews with cleaning and maintenance staff and visitors at the Cité des Sciences et l'Industrie in Paris, France, and the Museo de Ciencias in the Ciudad de las Ciencias y el Arte in Valencia, Spain.

8. As this ongoing research continues, we will be able to expand on these premises of the museology of intersections.

9. We recommend consulting Arjun Appadurai and Carol A Breckenridge (1992), Constance Perin (1982), Michael Baxandall (1991), Susan Vogel (1991) and B.N. Goswamy (1991).

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Memory, History and Museums

by Bernice Murphy

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It was through the control of time, more than the announcement of a Judaeo-Christian god, that the process of missionization of others was begun by the West. Through displacement of multiple temporalities evolved by societies historically, an instrumentally ordering discourse of knowledge and world history[1] was imposed.

For colonized peoples to be brought towards the symbolic realm of religious performance according to a Christian cycle of sacred events, they had first 'to tell the time' of world history by the Gregorian calendar.[2] Meanwhile for industrial modernity to proceed upon the basis of a colonial system of product-gathering for distant metropoles, human labour had to be ordered according to timetables of railways and shipping movements, securing regular supply lines of raw materials to distant markets.

Industrialization in its centres of production required an even more exacting and standardized regimentation of time: one that transformed local history and social relations, intervening in varying calendars and memory systems that previously secured transmission of a socially and culturally diverse heritage:

The clock, not the steam-engine, is the key-machine of the modern industrial age. It 'dissociated time from human events and helped

create the belief in an independent world of mathematically measurable sequences: the special world of science.'[3]

Human labour became disconnected from events and rhythms of localized time, divorced from the social co-operation and reflexivity required for agriculture. Instead, individual labour was atomized into units within an abstracted manufacturing system that measured a person's usefulness as a 'product' not of crops harvested but of hours worked.[4]

Museums as machines of time and memory

Such momentous changes in human societies historically were foundationally reflected in the representation of natural and cultural heritage in museums. Museums even directly participated in formulating historiographical and semiotic systems for their interpretation. Museums have been criticized as institutions relentlessly reproducing taxonomic ensembles, deforming diverse social forms and multiple knowledge systems in a scientistic, reductive account of world history. Such a convergent historiography has also disregarded diverse calendrical systems by which other societies not only measure time but vitally structure their sense of reality.[5] Through imposition of chronological structures overwhelmingly temporalized by the history of the West, museums have come to be seen as teleological time machines.[6]

The ordering of a historical narrative of natural history was fundamental to nineteenth-century science and the shaping of museum collections. Building on the work of Michel Foucault,[7] Tony Bennett has recently examined

the rise of natural history and scientific museums in the nineteenth century. His *Pasts Beyond Memory*[8] explores the way in which these museums – grouped within a linked typology as 'evolutionary museums' – conceptualized time. Animated by a redirection of archaeology from antiquarian interests in the ancient Middle Eastern and Mediterranean (especially Graeco-Roman) worlds in the eighteenth century, to a vastly expanding narrative of the earth's history in the nineteenth-century, evolutionary museums – as detailed in Bennett's study – created a dramatically new sense of 'deep time' of a palaeolithic era: a 'newly produced zone of the past':

> By the end of the [nineteenth] century, an international network of museums had been established which, basing their practices on the post-Darwinian synthesis of the historical sciences, made a new set of interconnecting times publicly perceptible. The telling of each time in the form of a unilinear developmental sequence provided the conditions for their amalgamation in a totalizing narrative, in which the history of the earth supplied the master time which calibrated the histories of life on earth, and those of human civilizations, cultures and technologies.[9]

In particular, Bennett's account of French and British natural history museums in the nineteenth century concentrates on 'the functioning of evolutionary museums as a new kind of memory machine'. Of crucial relevance to the present publication is the way in which human history became incorporated within an exegetical system devised by natural science, one that shifted the

interpretation of non-Western and Western societies as no longer coeval but located *sequentially* according to orchestrated characteristics of purported progress. Archaeology and the emerging science of anthropology interacted with a certain ideological collusion to deform recognition of disparate contemporary peoples' own pasts, depriving them of independent social histories and the multiple psychological realities shaped through varying modalities of time:

> *In historicizing difference…[among] the relations between peoples, anthropology transformed relationships of simultaneous space into linear time by back-projecting colonized peoples into the prehistoric past, a point of origin for the organization of genealogical chains of descent that were made visible in museums through the exhibition of linear sequences of skulls, skeletons, tools and pottery.*[10]

Representing culturally diverse subjects and objects

It is timely to review the situation today as to how museums are meeting the challenge of cultural diversity, after several decades of comprehensive institutional self-critique in the West since the early 1970s. By the 1980s, the profound reappraisal of Western epistemology and its rationalist ambitions in orchestrating a modern *socius* had widened in many directions with the advance of a post-colonial critique of history.[11] Post-colonial analysis moved the framework of revisionism from the 'repressed otherness within' (feminism, popular histories, ethnic diversity and multiple forms of subcultural identity)[12] to the

'repressed otherness from without' (indigenous peoples and colonized populations deprived of their autonomy and independent history) whose forms of life had yielded scientific 'evidence' and fragmented objects of 'culture' in museums.

Such fragmenting of objects, detached and re-composed as 'collections', entailed a radical desocialization of once-lived connections and meaning through the decontextualizing logic of ethnography.[13] Collected objects from diverse societies seemed gripped within the overarching institution of the museum by a visual logic that placed them as either exotic tokens of difference or passive vestiges of collective historical submission. A comprehensive understanding of the total architecture of historical thought that composed collections in this manner meant eventually that Western scientific, social and cultural representation was exposed theoretically, and museums institutionally, as closely complicit in colonialism's historical advance.

During an influential conference in 1988 on museums and cultural diversity, organized through the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, co-convenor Ivan Karp posed three challenges for museums, especially in exhibitions involving culturally diverse subjects:

> *The museum world needs movement in at least three arenas: (1) the strengthening of institutions that gives populations a chance to exert control over the way they are presented in museums; (2) the expansion of the expertise of established museums in the presentation of non-Western cultures and minority cultures . . .; (3) experiments with*

exhibition design that will allow museums to offer multiple perspectives.[14]

The call for changed museological assumptions and new ways of working has thus been part of a continuous process over several decades. However the grounds of theoretical and cultural critique of museums have been shifting, and reverberate with internal tensions and contradictions.

While post-colonialist critique of the West's orchestration of 'universal time'[15] and a univocal 'world history' remains a continuing challenge for museums to answer, some different debates have gained ground in cultural inquiry. An example is the now elaborate discussion that has been developed in recent years concerning 'memory and history'.[16] A newly expanded consciousness of the complexity of memory (in comparison with historical study of mnemonic systems earlier) reveals further shifts in consciousness affecting representation in the world of museums.

Exhibitions have adopted more exploratory and contingent devices to address issues of temporality, diversity, and intergenerational transmission of heritage. Museums have moved into more consultative modes (at times even 'partnerships') with groups and communities, and sought the input of multi-disciplinary expertise from outside permanent staff, in efforts to engage a more complex co-creation of knowledge.

A discourse of *memory* has been advancing since the 1980s, as a specific body of thought relating to the contested role of *history* in providing the pre-eminent narrative of human society. What

is significant about the recent interest in memory (by museums as much as cultural theorists) is that it has no longer been regarded merely as a vague survival of weak communal recollection, or relegated to a kind of 'pre-history'. Rather, communal memory has come to be figured in some analyses as a dynamic, potent and alternative process of social memorizing, often hostile to formal history (especially to the degree that history involves a use of authoritative 'voice', assertion of interpretative viewpoint and ideological power).

Representing one trajectory of thought, for example, Pierre Nora has provided an idea of memory as oppositional to (and threatened by) history – his work carried forward through the monumental, seven-volume project, *Les lieux de mémoire* (Sites of Memory) that he has framed and edited over some years. Nora's analysis (beginning in the 1980s, but consciously recuperating Maurice Halbwachs' crucial work on the social and communal nature of memory in the 1920s)[17] positions history and memory as not collaborative entities, but in opposition: for Nora, a disastrous 'rupture of equilibrium' to customary societies on a global scale has occurred through a 'conquest and eradication of memory by history'. ('We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left.')[18]

The rationalistic mentality of history thus asserts 'the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer', whereas memory 'remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering'. History's impetus to provide a selective narrative of what it considers already past, Nora contends, has swept older societies' dynamic environmental and temporal

functioning into the collapsed condition of a history of 'traces' – 'which is how our hopelessly forgetful modern societies, propelled by change, organize the past':

> *We have seen the end of societies that had long assured the transmission and conservation of collectively remembered values. . . . The remnants of experience still lived in the warmth of tradition, in the silence of custom, in the repetition of the ancestral, have been displaced under the pressure of a fundamentally historical sensibility.*[19]

A contest over contradictory conceptualizations of time and narrative underpins Nora's account (and he has applied his analysis to societies ruptured by 'colonial violation'[20] as much as to European peasant societies): an evolving, reforming and continuous temporality of social memory is set in opposition to an amortizing, fragmenting *history* that separates people from their own past.

In contrast to such a dichotomizing analysis as Nora's, other writers have seen the currents of history and memory as maintaining more intimately connected, overlapping relationships. Strategically perceived connections between history and memory are necessary in torn social conditions – for the urgency of alternative and multiple memories to be recovered and counter-histories constructed.

How have such discussions, profoundly important for a changing historiography of the world and society, impacted in the sphere of museums? The rise of memory (and its subjective patterning of temporal events) as a potent topic has been connected to the multiplicity of contending voices and histories that have burst into public consciousness through the broad process of decolonization as an ongoing project. There has been a conscious discourse of 'liberation' of a host of new gendered, ethnic and sub-cultural identities with the rise of identity-discourses since the 1970s (the latter especially associated with the work of Erik Erikson[21] in the 1960s).

Direct reflections of the now huge body of interpretative work over three decades on identity, subjectivity and cultural diversity have appeared in new devices of multiple 'voicing' (in catalogues, in labels) and attention to subjectivity and 'agency' in the exhibition technologies and narrative forms now employed by museums.

Performative testimony

Museums have also become more multi-sited in their own awareness of not only physical (architectural and spatial) but also discursive location. In the agitated conditions of our historical present, new means have been evolved to address situations that seem to exceed earlier repertoires of representation, whether in museums or other forms and sites of public commemoration. New modes of personal narrative and bearing of witness (even confession) have emerged to supplement or radically change orthodox genres of historical interpretation. Such developments have shifted the terms by which social and political accountability may be thought, and historical reparation – through interpretative record and commemoration – may be enacted.

Forms of witnessing, embodied 'presencing', and first-person testimony have challenged earlier narratological genres. Such developments have been registered powerfully in contemporary art, and were even a prime subject of the strong preparatory 'Platforms' of debate organized through the 2002 Documenta project in Kassel, Germany (directed by Nigerian-born Okwui Enwezor). As one of the Documenta platforms explored: a striking sociopolitical development with manifold consequences has been the establishment of 'truth commissions' in various countries that have experienced unbridled internal violence. Such commissions, often with the twinned (and difficult) aim of truth *and* reconciliation, have attempted to deal with the 'trauma of loss . . . and its debilitating impact on the collective psyche' by instituting social 'mechanisms that could build a credible bridge between on the one hand the juridical form of justice and on the other the personal need of victims to have their stories be heard and entered into the historical record.'[22]

Such shifts in the public sphere of civil society, echoed profoundly in the representational genres of art and literature, have created new centres of attention in the projects and evolving typologies evident in the more diversifying disposition of museums worldwide. It is noticeable that distinctions are now blurring or overlapping between monuments and sites of public commemoration (of various kinds); memorials commemorating horrific episodes of war (for example at Hiroshima; or the permanent public exhibition site in the former basement of the Gestapo headquarters in Berlin, the *Topografie des*

Terrors); and the changing forms of museums themselves.

The rise of Holocaust museums has been but one of the notable developments within the world of museums in recent times, and these have provided models for other memorials and institutions dedicated to permanent commemoration of episodes of collective trauma. A great deal of dramatically charged work by museum colleagues has become devoted to traumatized memory and insistently diverse voices of 'witness' to contested history – which also links with the focus of migration museums as more populations are uprooted and dispersed, and displaced communities multiply. Such a shift in attention towards personal and collective memory has given birth to one of ICOM's most recent international committees: IC-MEMO. Established by the International Council of Museums in July 2001, IC-MEMO operates under a strongly worded aegis. Its acronym is subtended on the ICOM website with the subtitles (in English and French): the International Committee of Memorial Museums in Remembrance of the Victims of Public Crimes – Comité International pour les Musées à la Mémoire des Victims de Crimes Publics.

Turning this general reflection to specific regions: a remaking of shared history in different dimensions of temporality and social meaning was required after South Africa's triumphant (but also deeply traumatized) emergence from the apartheid era. The article by Rooksana Omar (focused on museums in Durban) deals with the hugely consequential

changes in museology and programme development accomplished in the work of South African museums in recent years. Meanwhile Michael Ames's essay provides an important perspective on the impact first nations' histories have had within museums originally organized around anthropological interests in Canada, the United States, and other countries founded in frameworks of the colonial enterprise. The reflection of Luis Adrián Galindo Castro – on the role of audiences in dynamically elaborating meaning in the work of museums in Latin America – provides a further vantage-point on the way 'knowledge' is now actively nuanced by expanding social participation in museums.

In conclusion, it may be observed that the museum as a singular institutional form and totalized mode of discourse has mutated into a pluralization of museums employing a range of discursive practices. It is noticeable that many concepts formerly idealized or reified when they first appeared with volatile force in theory – identity, culture, nation, memory, time, history, the past – have become more richly textured as unstable, mobile and 'processual' in the way they figure the work of museums and their preoccupations with heritage. Underpinning these changes has been an implacable imperative within the world of museums to meet the difficult dilemmas of ideological investment that have come as cargo with their own heritage.

In answering the challenge of culturally diverse voices reclaiming interpretative rights to their heritage, museums have had to render more permeable the divisions between the world of museums and the world itself.

NOTES

1. Michel De Certeau, *The Writing of History*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1988.

2. In 1931, delegates to the forty-two member-states meeting of the League of Nations received a report on proposed worldwide calendar reform, raising the possibility of gaining international agreement to a thirteen-month calendar. However the proposal lapsed through resistance from certain key states.

3. Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*, pp.14–15, New York, Harcourt, 1934; see also Introduction to exhibition publication – Carlene E. Stephens, *On Time*, Washington, D.C., The Smithsonian Institution, 2002.

4. E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work Discipline and Industrial Capitalism'. *Past and Present*, n°38, 1967.

5. While challenged by the irruptive time of a recent terrorist attack, ritual life in Bali still animates older temporalities. The passage of time is structured through elaborate, interpenetrating cycles in the maintenance of Balinese customary life – as described in detail by Clifford Geertz in the 1970s: 'The two calendars which the Balinese employ are a lunar-solar one and one built around the interaction of independent cycles of day-names [or] permutational [calendar]. The permutational calendar is by far the most important. It consists of ten different cycles of day-names. . . The names in each cycle are also different, and the cycles run concurrently. . . . The conjunctions that each of these four periodicities . . . (*but not the periodicities themselves*) are considered not only to be socially significant but to reflect, in one fashion or another, the very structure of reality.' (Clifford Geertz, 'Person, Time, and Conduct in Bali', *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1st ed., 1973) pp. 392–3, London, Fontana Press/HarperCollins, 1993.

6. See Robert Lumley (ed.). *The Museum Time-machine: Putting Cultures on Display*,

7. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, London, Tavistock),1970; *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, London, Tavistock, 1972; *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings, 1972–1977* (ed. by Colin Gordon), New York, Pantheon, 1980; *Governmentality. The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. (ed. by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller), London, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991.

8. Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* London/New York, Routledge, 2004.

9. Ibid., pp. 38, 24.

10. Ibid., pp. 2, 19.

11. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, New York, Vintage, 1979,(reprinted in Penguin Modern Classics 2003); *Culture and Imperialism*, London, Vintage 1994; Homi Bhaba (ed.), *Nation and Narration*, London, Routledge, 1990; *The Location of Culture* (1st ed., Duke University Press, 1994), New York, Routledge, 1998.

12. Gayatri C. Spivak, *In Other Words: Essays in Cultural Politics*, New York, Methuen, 1987; Clifford, James, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press,1988; *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1997.

13. See Barbara Kirshenblat-Gimblett: 'Fragmentation is vital to the production of the museum both as a space of posited meaning and as a space of abstraction. Posited meaning derives not from the original context of the fragments but from their juxtaposition in a new context.' – Objects of Ethnography (1988), reprinted in Barbara Kirshenblat-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, p. 3. Berkeley/Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1998.

14. Ivan Karp 'Culture and Representation', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Levine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Display*, p. 6, Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, 1991.

15. See Homi Bhaba's commentary on Walter Benjamin in *The Location of Culture*, London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

16. See Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, 'Social Memory Studies: From ''Collective Memory'' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices', *Annual Review of Sociology* (New York, Columbia University), Vol. 24, August 1998, pp. 105–40; Kerwin Lee Klein, 'On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse', *Representations* (Los Angeles, University of California), Vol. 69, Winter 2000. pp.127–50; Alon Confino and Peter Fritzsche, *The Work of Memory: New Directions in the Study of German Society and Culture*, Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois Press, 2002.

17. Maurice Halbwachs' *Social Frameworks of Memory* was first published in 1925. See Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 38. (transl.and ed. by L.A. Coser), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992.

18. Pierre Nora. 'Introduction: Entre mémoire et histoire.', *Les lieux de mémoire*, p. 1, Paris, 1984. The English translation (by Marc Roudebush) of Nora's important essay appeared as 'Between Memory and History: Les

lieux de mémoire' in *Representations*, (special issue: 'Memory and Counter-Memory' (Los Angeles, University of California), Vol. 26, Spring, 1989, pp. 7–25.

19. Ibid., pp. 1–2 (English version in *Representations*, op. cit.).

20. Ibid.

21. Erik Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle* New York, Norton, 1959.

22. Okwui Enwezor, Carlos Basualdo, Ute Meta Bauer, Susanne Ghez, Sarat Maharaj, Mark Nash and Octavio Zaya (eds.), 'Introduction [co-signed]', in Documenta 11_Platform 2: *'Experiments with Truth'*, op.cit., p.13.

17. Stonehenge sanctuaries consist of circles of menhirs arranged in a pattern whose astronomical significance is still being explored, prehistoric times, UK.

On Authenticity and Artificiality in Heritage Policies in the Netherlands

by Fred F. J. Schoorl

Fred Schoorl studied historical geography and physical planning at the University of Amsterdam and the Free University. He is currently director of the Netherlands Institute for Physical Planning and Housing (NIROV). For several years he was responsible for Netherlands' policy on World Heritage and as such assisting meetings of UNESCO's World Heritage Committee as the official representative of the Netherlands. During his term as head of the Immovable Heritage Section (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science) Fred Schoorl was the initiator and architect of the national Belvedere Memorandum (1999) a policy document on the dynamic relation between heritage and spatial development.

Owing to the extremely dynamic man-made character of the Netherlands, authenticity is a less important issue in the country's heritage policies. The search is for new and more integrated, dynamic and socioculturally sustainable approaches and it is evidentially complex. The increasing importance of multiculturalism calls for new research and new methods.

'God created the world and the Dutch created the Netherlands', is one of the most well known and probably less accurate citations on Dutch history. Indeed it is true that this tiny country on bordering on the North Sea is shaped and constantly reshaped by human hands. Polders, dykes and the flat landscape are 'made in the Netherlands'. Heritage, especially cultural landscapes, but also historic cities are obviously continuously changed, destroyed and reinterpreted by developments that have taken place during the life-cycle of Dutch economic history. Nowadays,

18. Schokland Island, Netherlands, inscribed on the World Heritage List.

highly valued cultural landscapes were once the product of landscape destruction and environmental disasters in former ages: for example, the typical Dutch waterscapes. It is not continuity, but change that is the constant factor of heritage and its appreciation. So inauthenticity is the key word in Dutch heritage and is rather a well chosen and created artificiality.

At the end of the twentieth century, the Dutch again created new nature, new landscapes and, evidently new identities. The Netherlands is probably another example of a country vulnerable to 'fabricating' heritage, as David Lowenthal states in a more general sense. Actually, this influences deeply the new approach and policy towards heritage. Development and change, meaning and sense are becoming much more important in heritage policy making and affecting national and

regional planning. Heritage is no longer an 'untouchable' pigeon hole, but intensively linked with other realms in a complex process of co-creating. This shift in the appreciation and character of heritage affected not only heritage policies, but also the investigation in the heritage and planning fields of the Netherlands. With its more social and dynamic base it is actually subtly linked with the complexity of an evolving multicultural society.

A short history of traditional heritage policies

The main characteristics in the development of Dutch heritage policies are comparable to many other European countries. Among others it was probably the German philosopher Nietzsche who in his brilliant essay 'The Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life' gave in a certain way a starting

19. Series of windmills in the Kinderdijk-Elshout area, Netherlands, inscribed on the World Heritage List.

point for heritage policies on a more fundamental level, such as the classical, traditional, antiquarian, and even the élitist one. Nineteenth-century Europe was full of evolving nation-states in search of their past and their identity, sometimes facing a certain abundance of history, like Nietzsche feared for Germany. The central question to be addressed is why we need to preserve identity in a very thorough way. The starting point for Dutch heritage policies originated not only from this need to define a national identity. There was a vigorous reason: deep concern for the destruction and lack of respect for monumental heritage at the end of the nineteenth century. A key person in Dutch heritage policies at that time was Victor de Stuers. He observed complete neglect and decay of heritage and accused the country's politicians in a pamphlet published on this issue. More or less, it

was the starting point for the development of a national policy on monuments, less on sites and landscapes. The whole movement of heritage was intimately linked to the world of the first nature preservationists and even city planners and architects (e.g. Verhagen, Hudig, etc.). A search for sacrosanct originals, for emblematic icons of Dutch architecture and history to be preserved, began.

The major development for a national co-ordinated heritage policy followed the years after the Second World War. It was in this period of 'National Rebuilding' that heritage policies and reconstructed monuments became part of a nation-building process. Its consequences were sometimes as devastating as the those of the war itself. Historic city centres like Amsterdam, were affected by a stream of historicizing restorations

during those years (Denslagen, 1994). Fabricating history was almost a routine for a nation in search of history, of common roots. The extolled seventeenth-century Golden Age and even the eighteenth century were rewarding points of reference. Outside the historic fabric of the old centres the cultural landscapes were almost completely transformed for economic reasons. Agriculture, infrastructure, and housing changed the landscape dramatically in a few decades. It was not until the late 1970s and 1980s that the loss of heritage again became the starting point for a new phase in heritage policies. This was not only a renaissance for conservationist movements, but also for the integration of heritage policies in a new theoretical and political framework – the Belvedere Policy Memorandum.

On the eve of the publication of this policy document, the Netherlands – after years of neglect – actively started a World Heritage policy. In 1997, a tentative list of ten monuments and sites, including cultural landscapes, was presented. Although an interesting and thoroughly disputed thematic list was proposed – with three leading themes of the Dutch contribution to the World Heritage: the Dutch Golden Age (seventeenth century), the struggle against inundation and the Modernist movement in architecture – it was essentially the result of a professional top-down selection process from the heritage sector. A public debate on this canonical heritage was absent. Moreover, not all public organizations were aware of the existence of the World Heritage Convention, the national list and its consequences. The tentative list contained some interesting cultural landscapes, like the mills of Kinderdijk-Elshout and the De Beemster polder, along with some surprisingly

unknown ones like the twentieth-century Noordoostpolder. Until now, there has been no thorough listing for either the number of sites in the Netherlands or the criteria used in the final selection of a site. Is this really World Heritage? Symbolic and more or less diplomatic discussions in meetings of the World Heritage Committee did not clarify this problem or the problems of long-term management. Due to arising conflicts of interest in one site, the process caused a small debate in the Netherlands Parliament and did not pass unnoticed. Nevertheless, although its contents are interesting, the whole process of the World Heritage listing was rather exclusive, élitist and almost completely dominated by a very small group of highly motivated and traditional heritage professionals. A review of the contents of this list has already been announced by the Minister of Culture. Whatever the consequences may be, it is quite clear that the inclusion of World Heritage in the Belvedere Policy framework gave the tentative list somehow a clearer position in relation to the complete heritage field. Furthermore, it prepared the integration of the sites into a national strategic policy on planning, including preservation and development.

Towards a more dynamic and integrated concept of heritage

With the publication in 1999 of the Belvedere policy document on heritage and planning, a more dynamic and integrated concept of heritage became official policy. The classic focus on mere conservation – especially in the world of built monuments – became transformed into a more dynamic concept of 'preservation by development'. The document presented a basic philosophy, an integrated framework for a policy for monuments,

archaeological and cultural landscapes, and included several tools to implement it. It explicitly linked heritage externally with the fields of rural and city planning, nature and landscape, infrastructure, architecture, water management and other disciplines and interests in search for mutual gains. The political support of the Netherlands Parliament was crucial for a substantial budget of almost 100 million euros for the implementation of this policy, especially for concrete projects experimenting with the 'preservation by development' philosophy at both regional and local level. Also, education for students and professionals was an important issue. It was a unique accomplishment of heritage policies that four ministries – Culture, Nature and Landscape, Planning and Environment and Infrastructure – presented this national strategic policy document. The isolated position of the heritage sector could now be transformed by linking it to other levels. The Belvedere document is consistent with the Dutch tradition of producing large national strategic planning policy documents. This tradition came into full growth after the Second World War and reflected the image and tradition of the Netherlands as a completely planned and intended country, almost out of reach of God's hands.

The Belvedere policy document was probably not the starting point, but rather the culmination of several separate initiatives in the heritage, cultural and planning disciplines. Some key players became conscious that the classical way of preserving heritage – either building or landscape sites – was no longer apt. Several conservationists, historical geographers, landscape architects, archaeologists and planners in the 1970s and 1980s stimulated a more dynamic approach to heritage

and landscape (e.g. Sijmons, Bloemers et al. and Borger). For example, the intriguing concept of creating nature in an almost completely planned society gave way to new ways of thinking. A critical example of this paradigm shift in planning is the so-called Plan Ooievaar proposal. In this regional plan a group of architects and scientists presented a vision including space for 'spontaneous' and 'natural' forces in the traditionally controlled riverbeds near the city of Nijmegen. New nature sites were proposed and produced, and planned space was unplanned. Even a national ecological framework focusing on new nature was passed by Parliament in 1995. New initiatives were proposed for a more dynamic approach to heritage, either natural or cultural. In the Belvedere policy document, the focus was on integrated development rather than classical conservation, on opportunities rather than constraints and on process rather than mere content, which made it a product of its time. The spatial framework of the Belvedere document was nevertheless still quite traditional. A map with several Belvedere areas was passed by Parliament, and was given special status in national, regional and local planning policies. Again, the intention was to stimulate an integrated mutual gains approach for heritage and planning. In practice several conservationists and politicians used it as a defensive tool rather than an offensive one. New traditions, nevertheless, are growing. Recent research focuses on new ways of defining heritage in a multifaceted way, exploring 'an attitude in which identity and dynamics are taken together as inseparable notions'. This requires new ways of defining 'heritage' and 'landscape', especially at the interdisciplinary level. Classical reductionism or mechanistic approaches are opposed to more holistic or phenomenological approaches, with the

latter making some progress. In the Belvedere framework a call for 'anticipating cultural history' and 'reflective spatial planning' was done. As Lowenthal has already stated that 'we can use the past fruitfully only when we realize that to inherit is also to transform', and this is certainly a relevant issue in our case. Different approaches and attitudes demand new perspectives on the preservation and planning of specific qualities of landscape and space. Nevertheless, the central position of 'identity' makes it an especially difficult task and in the meantime, heritage is facing new challenges.

A dynamic approach to heritage in a multicultural society

What we have seen the last few decades in the Netherlands is a search for a more dynamic, sustainable and integrated concept and definition of heritage, with an emphasis on the dynamic concept of identity, not as much on the notion of authenticity. This complex process on national heritage and identity took place in the archetypical Dutch tolerant society, egalitarian and in practice working with a consensus-based 'polder-model'. Nobody could foresee that this conflict-avoiding model was to be tested severely by the problems of a rising multicultural society. It was a well-known researcher, Paul Scheffer, who published in 2000 a statement on the so-called 'Multicultural Drama in the Netherlands'. His accusation of a national policy ignoring the increasing gap between some immigrant groups and autochthonous groups was followed by a broad discussion and, more recently, by the murder of the Dutch film director Theo van Gogh. The whole string of events put into frame discussions on heritage and identity and on new challenging, yet unknown directions.

A short experience in the natural heritage showed that there is still a long way to go. The Dutch Association for Nature Preservation, or Natuurmonumenten, a member organization, started to reformulate its policies from a multicultural perspective. Multicultural board talks started discussing the cultural value and nature perception of different groups, the facilitation of how these groups could enjoy nature on a daily basis, and the education and participation of immigrant groups in the Western-style classical nature preservation movement. Through open dialogue, research and field projects generated a few encouraging directions for the future, which are realistic rather than paternalistic. Being quite aware that not only thinking and practices, but also institutions like Natuurmonumenten itself have to change fundamentally for the sake of its own survival, to contribute to a more balanced multicultural society and for nature itself. This may be also true for the institutions working in the cultural heritage field.

Conclusion

In the last few decades, the Netherlands has undergone a tremendous paradigm shift in which it freed itself from the illusion of a fixed past with sacrosanct originals to a more socially based, dynamic and integrated approach. In this shift, authenticity was of a lesser importance than identity, owing to the dynamic character of the Dutch cultural traditions. This dynamic approach opened new windows of opportunity for new practices, such as the Belvedere policy. Nevertheless, new challenges like the multiculturalism of society will make the whole process even more complex.

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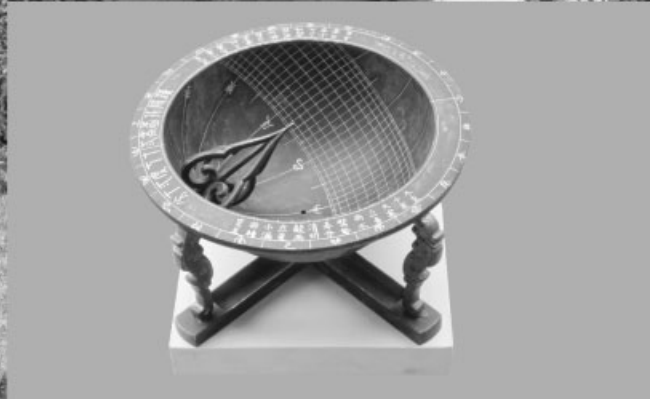
20. Notion of time in Korea: From left to right:
- The Ch'omsongdae astronomical observatory, located at Kyongju, dates from the seventh century (height 9,5 m, national treasure n°31).
- Hydraulic clock invented during the reign of King Sejong the Great (1418–50).
- Ceremony consisting of offerings to the ancestors on the fifteenth day of the eigth lunar month known as Chuseok, one of the greatest festivals of the year in Korea.
- Sundial invented during the reign of King Sejong the Great (1418–50).

Redefining the Lebanese Past

by Lina Gebrail Tahan

Lina Gebrail Tahan holds a Ph.D. in archaeology and museum studies from the University of Cambridge, United Kingdom. She is currently an affiliated scholar at the department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge and a post-doctoral fellow at the Centre d'Histoire Sociale de l'Islam Méditerranéen (CHSIM) of the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. Her research interests relate to: the representation issues within Middle Eastern museums collections, exhibitions and visitors, the definition of heritage and the history of collections and museum development in Lebanon within the political context. She is a member of the International Council of Museums (ICOM).

When I was first approached to write about the topic of 'authenticity and museums', my first question was 'do you mean whether objects are authentically restored and then exhibited?' The answer was negative; the response was that I should go beyond a traditional concept and be innovative with my approach in dealing with such a theme.

The Nara Conference on Authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention drafted a document on 'authenticity' and tried to discuss it on several levels such as conservation or cultural diversity and heritage diversity.[1] Building on the definitions offered by its authors, 'authentic' is to be defined as something that is faithful to reality and without any distortion. When applying such a concept to the museum space in Lebanon, I would identify it as follows: to be faithful to the space as an institution that has travelled through a series of events and in our case the Civil War (1975–90), or if I may interpret it that way '*authenticity should be located in the event*.'[2] The Lebanese Civil War was a marking event on that museum space and affected its meaning and narratives.

This paper wishes to explore the first authentic museum that was created in Lebanon by the French. Through this process, I wanted to show the first idea of 'authenticity' in a Lebanese museum space that was then neglected because the objects would look nicer if they were to be exported to the Louvre Museum. The second part will move to the construction of an authentic museum which was called at first the *Musée d'Art Antique du Levant*[3] and then became the *National Museum of Beirut*. We shall focus on the second museum and discuss the issues of authenticity versus inauthenticity within that space.
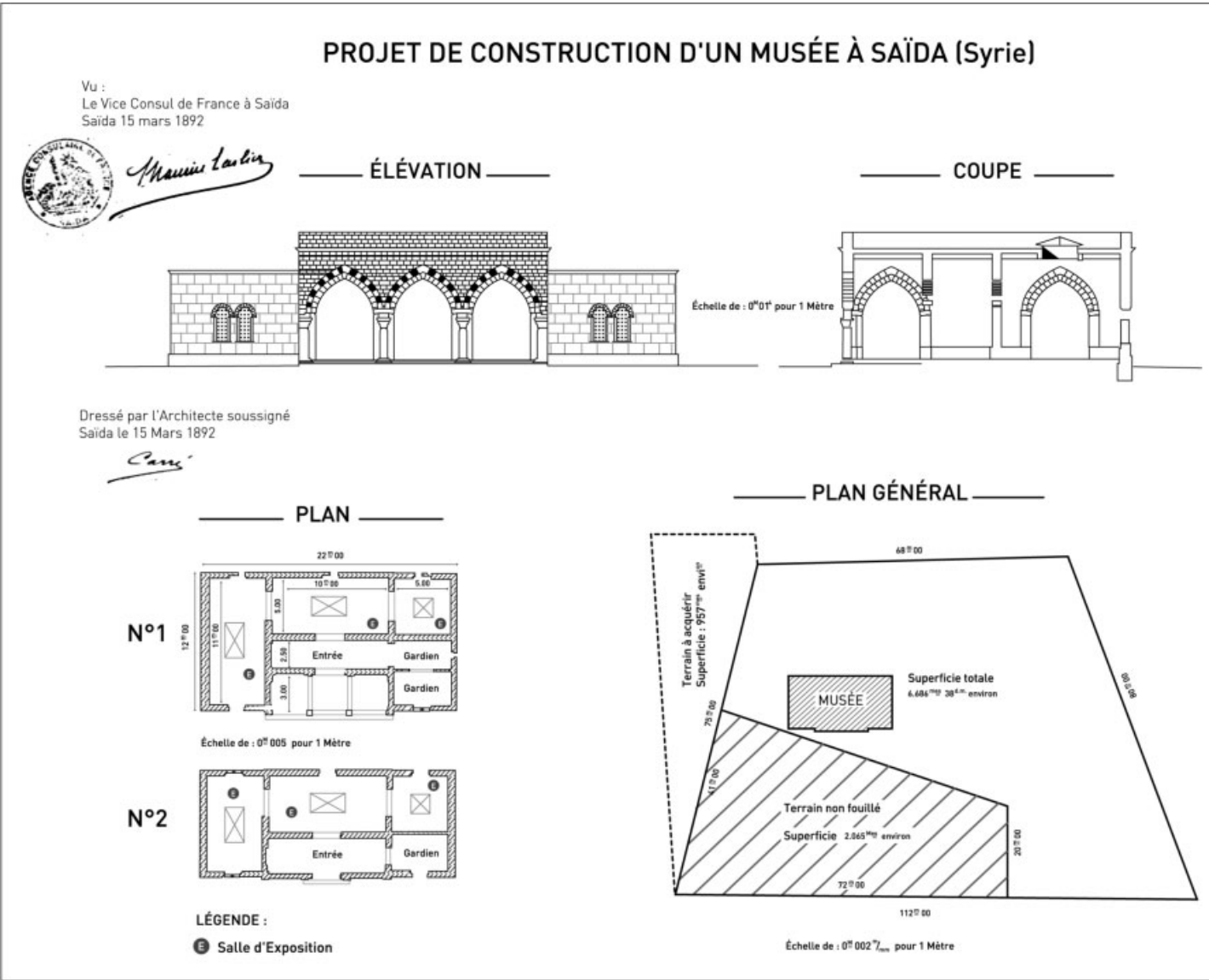
The birth of the idea of a museum in Lebanon

The first idea of having a museum grouping together antiquities found on the Lebanese territory dates back to 1861 when the French philologist, philosopher and archaeologist Ernest Renan wrote for the first time about a museum in Sidon, founded in the French Khan and consisting of three galleries. He described the museum as a '*unique sho*',[4] but hinted in his letter that those beautiful artefacts would look more impressive in the Louvre Museum '*dans une salle plus confortable, jamais ils ne seront si bien à leur place, si merveilleusement éclairés, ni dans un ensemble plus frappant.*'[5] The site of that museum known as the French Khan is most probably what is known in Arabic as '*Khan el-Franj*' which is a kind of caravanserai.

In 1892, the museum was mentioned once again when Maurice Carlier, the vice-consul of France in Sidon, made an estimate of the project for the construction of the museum. The plans were drawn up by the French architect

Carré consisting of two floors with six exhibition rooms.

The design of the building showed Ottoman architecture features with arcades.[6] In 1893, Charles Clermont-Ganneau wrote to Xavier Charmes and asked him to see the plans of the museum project that Carlier had completed. Later on, he wondered whether it was really worth having a museum constructed in Sidon and whether all the costs incurred would be advantageous to the French. However, that letter showed that Renan had left behind artefacts from the excavations that he had conducted in the 'whole of Phoenicia' and antiquities that he had bought, and they were either too heavy or not deemed interesting enough to ship to France, and that these could form the nucleus of the collection. Moreover, Clermont-Ganneau was a partisan who was against building a new museum, but having one gallery in the French Khan, for security reasons. The Khan was dotted with big galleries that could incorporate more antiquities from Sidon. However, if there was no space, a good location would have to be chosen for the construction of a proper museum. '*If events allow this to happen then that means there would be a freedom to conduct more archaeological research and to export antiquities, then the prestigious place for those artefacts would be in Paris, in the Louvre Museum.*' In short, Clermont-Ganneau was reluctant towards the creation of a museum and would rather have seen the antiquities shipped back to France.[7] This shows that the French were not interested during this specific period of time to give the locals 'a say' on a heritage that 'authentically' belonged to them. Such an act would be considered a dilapidation of an authentic version of the Lebanese past!

21. The architectural plan of the Sidon Museum, document preserved at the Centre historique des Archives nationales, Paris reproduced by Marina Taurus.

PROJET DE CONSTRUCTION D'UN MUSÉE À SAÏDA (Syrie)

Vu :
Le Vice Consul de France à Saïda
Saïda 15 mars 1892

ÉLÉVATION

COUPE

Échelle de : 0ᵐ01ᵗ pour 1 Mètre

Dressé par l'Architecte soussigné
Saïda le 15 Mars 1892

PLAN

PLAN GÉNÉRAL

N°1

N°2

Entrée
Gardien
Gardien

Entrée
Gardien

Échelle de : 0ᵗ 005 pour 1 Mètre

MUSÉE

Terrain à acquérir
Superficie : 957ᵐᵗᵗ envⁿ

Superficie totale
6.686ᵐᵗᵗ 38ᵈᵐ environ

Terrain non fouillé
Superficie 2.065ᵐᵗᵗ environ

Échelle de : 0ᵗ 002 ⁷/ₘₘ pour 1 Mètre

LÉGENDE :
E Salle d'Exposition

21   © Zahi Hawass Library/Kenneth Garrett

22. The National Museum of Beirut poster designed in 1997.

At this stage, one does not know whether that museum was actually built or not, as one could not trace any record of it when consulting further archived documents, but at least one could say at this point that Carlier insisted on having an 'authentic' archaeological museum in Sidon that could house the collections. Moreover, one could also ask whether the French wanted to have a museum to compete with the American University of Beirut Archaeological Museum that was under the patronage of American Missionaries in 1868, or did they want to have it for reasons of prestige to compete with the Ottoman Imperial Museum and have a museum established in the region, or did they want to use the museum as a storehouse to accumulate antiquities from where they could ship the 'interesting and authentic' artefacts to France?

All that was known was the fact that during that period of time the Ottomans were imposing many restrictions on archaeological digs and the export of artefacts.

In the nineteenth century, this idea of a museum did not seem suitable for the French archaeologists, because it meant depriving France from owning beautiful archaeological artefacts. However, that idea could not be postponed in the next century and became concrete when the French finally decided to create a national museum of antiquities.

The National Museum of Beirut: the lack of authenticity in the space!

The National Museum of Beirut (NMB) opened its door to the public in 1937 and was officially inaugurated in 1942. It was the main depository of archaeological artefacts excavated in the country. The advent of the ravaging Civil War forced the museum to close its doors for a period of twenty-two years (1975–97). Emir Maurice Chéhab, the Director General of Antiquities at that time, did his best to protect the artefacts. He successfully moved important portable antiquities to places of greater safety such as the Lebanese Central Bank, while the larger lapidary monuments were protected by sandbags and cement castings. The NMB was heavily bombarded and damaged as it was located on the green line that divided Beirut into two conflicting zones: East and West.[8] The main road – known as the 'Damascus Road' – on which it was located was nicknamed 'The Museum Passage' (Mathaf in Arabic). Thus, the NMB became not only a 'witness' but also a 'victim' of the bloody conflict,

while carrying in its midst a number of political ideologies.

As a result of those tragic events, both the Directorate General of Antiquities (DGA) and the government of the time decided to temporarily close down the NMB. The employees of the DGA and NMB had great expectations for a near end of the war that would enable them to reopen their doors to the public. The country however, sank for a period of sixteen years into a cycle of bloodshed, violence, theft, vandalism not to mention the looting of artefacts and pillaging of archaeological sites.

Surviving sixteen years of civil strife constituted a long struggle for an entire population and in that the NMB was not immune. The museum was thus transformed from an institution exhibiting culture to a site of conflict. When the cease-fire was declared on 13 October 1990, the NMB was in a terrible state of destruction; while its outer façade was peppered with shell holes and shots, its inner walls witnessed graffiti everywhere and its floor was flooded with rainwater. Hence, one could say that Lebanon's heritage was suffering from an 'open wound' that became the symbol of an 'injured identity' in which the cultural diversity of Lebanese society became an enemy subject particularly in the museum space. It is worth mentioning at this point that the only time the museum was represented authentically to the public was during an exhibition entitled 'Uprooted Heritage' and it was the only time Lebanese have been exposed to address a critical important period of time, that of the Civil War. The exhibit was opened on 18 November 1993 for ten days only. During that short time, visitors could contemplate

the inside of the damaged museum for the first time in eighteen years: the lapidary archaeological monuments lied in concrete cases and photographs of them were hung on the cases themselves. The scars of the war were visible in that exhibition and the place became so alive and full of meanings featuring an image that was authentic, impressive and communicative. The exhibit narrated the story of the construction of the museum and what has happened during the period of the war. One could see the graffitti on the walls and the bullet holes left by snipers and militiamen who used the museum as a barrack and a 'strategic locale' to shoot on both sides of East and West Beirut. In a word, this was an authentic experience to show what has divided the nation into two blocks 'Christian and Muslim' and in what ways this exhibit could redefine the museum as an instrument for promoting peace and reconciliation of what used to be a scary crossing! Unfortunately, no part of the Civil War experience of the museum was conserved or even documented in photographs and this is where the museum becomes an inauthentic place; it is not conceived as a living entity touched by the historical processes it is supposed to speak of. The conservation of some of the graffiti alone would have proved to be an attractive, albeit controversial, element. Now the word '*mathaf*' has been vigorously and obsessively cleansed of its twenty-year long connotations: it emerges clean, shiny, serene, perpetual and hollow, with no story to tell. The view that '*is necessary that people come to terms with the processes that have affected and continue to affect their place*'[9] does not seem to find an echo within the NMB.

In planning and designing museum exhibits, it is crucial for curators and museologists

to keep in mind that a museum is not only an educational institution, but also a place that triggers thoughts, communicates with human emotions and recalls memory. In a museum space, that memory is stimulated by looking at artefacts and engaging with the space. This power of invoking memory is extremely important and is considered as part of an authentic museum experience.

After a period of civil strife, the Lebanese wanted to forget the war during the early 1990s. This period is qualified as a recovery period. It is only nowadays that we witness some change and that the forgetfulness and the silence that marked the early years of recovery are being broken, but this has not taken place in the museum space.

With all that being kept in mind, the question that one would pose is whether it is encouraging and authentic that the Lebanese should remember that war or not in a museum space. In that sense, the NMB wanted to use a healing narrative in its discourse, but instead Hygia, the goddess of healing, is used very symbolically on the poster of the museum which was designed in 1997, and where she symbolises the 'Renaissance' or the 'Revival' of the Museum from the Civil War and rubble. It is obvious that Hygia carries the museum message of healing or reconciliation. Or one may see this as an emphasis upon the museum as not being a place of contestation, thus aiming at making the NMB as a 'contact zone' to borrow Clifford's term[10]. It is however very interesting to note that the NMB has used the goddess of healing as its logo rather than the Middle Bronze Age figurine[11] which is used as a logo on some museum leaflets and as a logo for the Ministry of Tourism. There is a play on the words of 'revival' and 'healing' and two explanations here come to mind: one is the need to get rid of the 'wounds of the war,' making the museum appear shiny and devoid of any war scars[12] that is why there is a healing process in progress, in order to put those injured identities (Christian and Muslim identities) together; and two is that 'Revival' always happens after healing; and the museum needed to emerge as a place not of conflict showing the division of Beirut between East and West, but as 'a place of contact'. At this stage, the healing subject is not subtle but shows that what has torn Lebanese society for several decades (i.e. the Phoenician/Arab Rift)[13] is being solved by the idea of 'Revival'. This is still a subtle conflict in Lebanese society and it is still found within the museum space, in terms of representation of what is 'Phoenician' and what is 'Arab'. So, the idea of 'Revival' finds itself out of place in the context of the actual museum as it contradicts the message inside the space of the NMB, that of a museum devoid of a reconciliation process and affecting the understanding of collective memory. This reveals that the NMB lacks authenticity in exhibiting our past and does not show us what our cultural identity is about.

Hence, the NMB has become a physical landmark and the absence of the manifestation of the Civil War in the body of the museum (beside a single glass showcase depicting some melted glass artefacts) is an example of severing time from space and contradicts the function of the museum as a carrier of time. The collective memory of the Civil War has been washed off by the curators,

instead of museums becoming 'sites of memory' as Pierre Nora[14] has termed them, they became places of amnesia and hence Lebanese want to forget and erase that war from the discourse of history. The interpretation of the past is made out of selections of that past and what people want to remember and what they want to forget in the present in order to recreate meanings of both the past and the present. Therefore, memory becomes a key issue in interpreting the past in the museum space. It is true that Nora has distinguished between history and memory, that is *'memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past'*,[15] but to put this in other words, history is the only means to make sense of our past in the present and memory is an emotional expression that should bind us together and is to be linked to a place or *lieu* and in our case the museum.

Conclusion: museums as vehicles of peace

Museums have long served to house a national and diverse heritage, thereby creating a particular national identity that often fulfilled national ambitions. Lebanon resembles any other developing country in assigning national roles to its museums. Its objective is to present its past and create a coherent picture of its heritage. The nature of the Lebanese past has particular qualities since it encompasses the Civil War experience, which is often viewed negatively by the Lebanese. It is true that this war experience has been traumatic to all Lebanese; yet forgetting or repressing the war is not a solution. To use Freudian terms repressed events have a tendency to re-emerge into our consciousness and will need to be expressed at some point.

In short, apart from collecting and preserving the national heritage of a country, Lebanese museums should become 'barometers' of urban culture in the new millennium. They should not only be 'containers' of artefacts, but also offer a spatial experience that is shared with others. This is considered more important than the individual stake. The museum should become a resource, a 'lively space' that enlightens the public on certain themes and encourages certain social debates. The choice of objectives and themes depends on the evaluation of the Lebanese public interests (starting point of any educational activity) and the existing educational potential that is found within the museum. Social, cultural, political, economic and religious diversity summarise the characteristics of a post-Civil War Lebanese population torn with all sorts of daily problems. Their common denominator is the absence of a collective memory that helps to the formation of a unified identity. If reconciliation needs to happen in Lebanese society, then we need to be authentic on representing true facts. Thus, a museum should become the ideal vehicle of peace where 'truth' and 'reconciliation' must work hand in hand in order to exhibit authenticity.

| NOTES

1. Knut Einar Larsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the Nara Conference on Authenticity*, Japan, UNESCO World Heritage Centre/Agency for Cultural Affairs/ICCROM/ICOMOS, 1995, 427 pp.

2. Spencer R. Crew; James E. Sims, 'Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue', p. 174. In: Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, pp. 159–75. Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991. 468 pp.

3. For the first time in May 1919, Charles Léonce Brossé mentioned the *Musée d'Art Antique du Levant* (Museum of Antique Art of the Levant); this was the earliest name of the *National Museum of Beirut*. See Archives de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient/Service des Antiquités du Haut-Commissariat (Arch. IFAPO/SAHC): Letter No. 133 from Lieutenant C. L. Brossé, responsible of the Fine Arts Service to the Head Administrator of the Occupied Enemy Territories of the West Zone, dated Beirut, 27 May 1919.

4. Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Ms 7319: Letter from Ernest Renan to Mrs Hortense Cornu, née Lacroix dated Beirut, 29 March 1861. Please note that the manuscript is written in French. I have translated the first sentence. The original in the text was '*un spectacle unique*'.

5. Ibid.

6. Centre d'Accueil et de Recherche des Archives Nationales (CARAN) F[17] 17243: Document and architectural plans of the project of constructing a museum signed by Carré and Carlier, dated Sidon, March 15, 1892.

7. CARAN F[17] 17243: Letter from Charles Clermont-Ganneau to Xavier Charmes, Minister of Education and Fine Arts, dated Paris, 14 February 1893.

8. The division between East and West Beirut created a division between Lebanese Christians and Lebanese Muslims. During the Civil War, the east was inhabited by the Christians and the west by the Muslims.

9. Kevin Walsh. *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World*, p. 149. London, Routledge, 1992, 204 pp.

10. James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, p. 204. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1997, 408 pp.

11. The Middle Bronze Age figurine is used as a nationalist symbol and conveys a very strong message. It is often associated by the general public as a 'Phoenician figurine'. The 'Phoenician' period is actually what is known as the Iron Age period of Lebanon.

12. Some of the archaeologists within academia insisted that the curators of the NMB leave a bomb shell blast on the wall. The curators totally disagreed with that idea.

13. For further discussions on the 'Phoenician/Arab Rift' see Tahan, Lina Gebrail. *Archaeological Museums in Lebanon: A Stage for Colonial and Post-Colonial Allegories* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), University of Cambridge, 2004, 352 pp.

14. Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire.' *Representations*, Vol. 26, Spring, 1989, pp. 7–25.

15. Ibid., p. 8

23. Celebrations for the New Year according to different calendars. From left to right:
- Tamagawa Gakuen School: upper secondary school girls painting banners for the New Year celebrations, Japan.
- Preparation for the Iranian New Year, *Nourouz*.
- Nativity celebration in front of the saint Saviour Cathedral, Moscow, Russia.

Jewish and Muslim Heritage in Europe: The role of archaeology in defending cultural diversity[1]

by Neil Silberman

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We live in an ever-unifying Europe, in which cultural heritage has always been an important tool in fostering a sense of European identity. In that task, archaeology's role has been central. From the pioneering excavations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to today's new techniques and ongoing research, we now possess a rich and complex record of material life in Europe, extending from the Palaeolithic, through the long succession of cultures and conquests, all the way to the battlefields and industrial sites of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. And in enhancing public consciousness of the scope and variety of European material heritage, archaeologists have not only discovered and scientifically documented technology, architecture, and artistic expression; they have helped to physically integrate the archaeological sites and monuments of the past into the European landscape of today.

Unfortunately, we also live in a society of strangers. The multi-ethnic landscapes of twenty-first-century European cities are a growing source of

social tension, occasional violence, and the main targets for demagogues of nationalistic nostalgia who hark back to images and slogans of ancient cultural 'purity'. Many of those images and monuments of nationalistic significance have been unearthed or illustrated by archaeological excavations and have been preserved as cultural heritage sites. Yet, as we all know, archaeology produces much more than national icons. At construction sites in busy cities, in wide-ranging surveys of settlement patterns, and in new analyses of ancient foodways and trading connections, the European past has proved to be anything but static or pure. Waves of immigration, trading connections, and shifting networks of military alliances and commerce through the millennia have left a complex and multifaceted record of human interaction – and new understandings of what 'European identity' might have meant in each historical period.

When we refer to European material heritage, however, where should the boundaries be drawn? The nation-state has until recently been the main point of reference; antiquities services and preservation agencies have been largely focused on presenting to their various audiences a national patrimony. Now with the increasing influence of the European Union, efforts have been made to incorporate formerly distinct national heritage traditions into a shared European cultural and historical legacy. But is European material heritage just the sum of its various national parts? What is the responsibility of archaeologists and cultural heritage managers in Europe for studying and presenting the material culture of groups that have always been depicted as outsiders? I would like to discuss here the public presentation of Muslim and Jewish heritage in Europe, though there are of

course other heritages from Africa and Asia that would represent the same phenomenon. Yet it could be argued that no two other groups of 'outsiders,' if we may call them that, have left such a deep material record and have been so deeply involved in the formation of European civilization and identity.

Muslim material heritage in Europe is divided into two main geographical areas and is confined to two main periods of time. The earlier is of course the period of Muslim rule over al-Andalus (Andalucia) in Spain. From the time of its conquest by the Umayyad general Tariq in A.D. 711 to the final expulsion of the Nasrids from the city of Granada in 1492, this area was the home to a unique and creative civilization, known not only for its literary and scientific achievements, advanced agricultural technology and urbanism, but also for the splendour of its architecture and decorative arts. The other area of significant Muslim material heritage in Europe lies at the other end of the Mediterranean and encompasses the islands of Cyprus and Crete and most of the Balkan peninsula. It was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire beginning in the late fifteenth century; a significant Muslim population remains there today. Its monuments consist of a wide range of mosques, market places, and other public structures. Archaeological excavations and surveys have been conducted throughout the Balkans, but their presentation to the public and even more so their preservation as cultural heritage sites remains entirely dependent on issues of modern warfare and ethnic tension, sadly far beyond the power either of archaeologists or cultural heritage managers to control.

The material heritage of the Jews presents an entirely different picture. The presence of historical

Jewish communities is recorded in every European country, with the earliest evidence at the beginning in the Roman period and continuing to the present, punctuated by tragic interludes of expulsion and massacre. Jewish museums throughout Europe preserve significant collections of ritual objects, artworks, and artefacts of daily life. Of Jewish monuments in Europe, the best known are synagogues and cemeteries. In some places, the former ghetto or Jewish quarter of a city is identified and protected. Since the 1990s, detailed architectural surveys have been undertaken throughout Central and Eastern Europe to document and systematically describe the remains that were damaged or neglected during the Holocaust and in the years of Communist rule. And in at least three notable cases, in France, Germany, and Austria, archaeological excavations have been conducted in medieval Jewish quarters whose remains were exposed in the course of modern urban development.

How is this heritage presented to the public? For the most part, it remains somewhat outside the mainstream both historically and administratively. In Spain, extensive efforts have been made by both national and regional administrations to incorporate both Muslim and Jewish contributions into a shared cultural tradition. But elsewhere, Jewish and Muslim heritage is all too often seen as something grafted on to the main flow of national historical traditions, useful to mention but still something of an exotic, ethnic curiosity. The impetus for public presentation of sites and monuments is steadily growing, but it is largely unofficial, sponsored by international bodies or local communities. Cultural heritage routes have been established to link important Muslim sites in Spain and in the Balkans and the Council of Europe's annual European Day of Jewish

Culture, which now offers the public open admission to hundreds of Jewish sites and monuments in twenty-three countries attracted almost 100,000 visitors in 2004. Elsewhere, unfortunately, heritage is a matter of dispute. Many of the important sites of Muslim heritage in Bosnia, Serbia, and Kosovo were destroyed or badly damaged in the recent years of ethnic fighting but the restoration of the Mostar Bridge between the Christian and Muslim quarters of Sarajevo offers a note of hope.

What role does archaeology have to play in contributing to an understanding of Europe's historical diversity and appreciating the value of cultural diversity today? I have already mentioned archaeological work in the former areas of the Ottoman Empire and in medieval Jewish Quarters and I would suggest that archaeology has great potential for addressing some important historical questions about Jewish and Muslim roles in the shaping of European civilization; and its public presentation can, I believe, constructively expand the definition of European heritage itself.

The archaeological work already undertaken has provided new insights into the nature of Muslim and Jewish communities in medieval and early modern Europe. The excavations beneath the Palace of Justice in Rouen, for example, have revealed the existence of a large and impressive twelfth-century Romanesque building in the heart of the medieval Jewish quarter. The architectural form is similar to chancellery chambers in contemporary Norman castles. Latin and Hebrew graffiti have been discovered scratched on the walls of the main hall. And its tentative identification as a Talmudic Academy has provided the first material evidence

of the emergence of a Jewish communal institution that was deeply affected by the surrounding culture and, in turn, deeply influenced the institutions of

In the coming years, archaeology's contributions can be even more substantial. The traditional understanding of Jewish settlement

24. Preserved Jewish heritage: a memorial wall of desecrated Jewish tombstones, Krakow, Poland.

world Jewry. Excavations in the medieval Jewish quarter of Frankfurt have revealed a wide range of material culture connections that offer additional insight on the role of the Jews in commerce and trade. And the elaborate virtual reconstruction of the Jewish quarter of Vienna in the late thirteenth century, based on the recent excavations, has offered a new perspective on medieval urban life and culture, in which the Jews are seen as neither marginal nor entirely alien, but as an integral part of life in medieval Vienna. Through their incorporation into a new branch of the city's Jewish Museum, the archaeological remains and a multimedia presentation offer an enlightening perspective and an effective public education tool.

history in Europe has always been straightforward: These communities are the descendents of Roman Jewish populations from around the Mediterranean, themselves with a direct connection to Jerusalem. Following the Roman troops northward, they gradually established communities in the major cities of Gaul. The archaeological evidence is rare but suggestive, such as the oil lamps ornamented with the distinctive seven-branched candelabra or 'menorah' found in the excavations of Roman Trier. But after the demise of the Empire, even that faint material trail suddenly disappears. Traditional historiography and scattered references in early medieval texts suggest that Jewish communities existed in France,

the Low Countries and in the Rhine and Danube valleys – only to push eastward to Eastern Europe in the wake of the Crusades. But even this basic scheme is now under question. Only in the eleventh century does there appear a significant corpus of Hebrew inscriptions and dated tombstones, particularly in the Rhine valley. What happened to the Jews of Western Europe from the fourth to the eleventh centuries? And why did they appear in the archaeological record so suddenly?

Archaeology has proved its value in uncovering material traces of ancient cultures that were unknown or only incompletely known from the written record. In this respect, it is possible that archaeology can play a role in solving the great mystery of the 'missing centuries' of European Jewish history. Finds such as the single, isolated Hebrew gravestone discovered by chance in the nineteenth century at Tienen in Belgium on the main trade route to Brussels and Bruges from Cologne and the Rhine valley, may hint at the existence of still unknown early medieval Jewish communities. More intensive surveys and continued archaeological study of Jewish material culture are essential tools to a possibility of filling in the historical gap. Does the apparent absence of Hebrew inscriptions and other obvious indicators before the eleventh century suggest that a massive population explosion took place in that period, or were more subtle processes of ethnic self-definition occurring at that time? These are essential questions for understanding the role of Jews within European society.

Islamic archaeology has also shown great potential. It has already supplemented the traditional art historical approach with new insights on technology and agricultural systems introduced into

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25. Preserved Muslim heritage: *Los Baños Arabes*, Jaen, Spain.

Europe from the Muslim world. Excavations and surveys of irrigation systems in Andalusia and Ottoman plantation farming and sugar refining in Crete and Cyprus provide evidence of far-reaching social and economic changes that were to affect Europe for centuries to come. Beyond the carefully preserved confines of the Alhambra Palace and the mosques and elaborate public fountains and caravanserais of the Balkans is the still-to-be explored archaeological evidence of communities deeply involved in the process of change. The continuing impact of Islamic urban forms and the pattern of distribution of such simple artefacts as decorated clay tobacco pipes throughout the Ottoman territories offer fascinating insights not only into the interaction

of Muslims with Europeans, but also about their shared interaction with the discovery of the New World. In sum, it is already apparent that the archaeological heritage of Muslims and Jews in Europe is not merely a passive reflection of entirely external cultural influences, but represents dynamic networks of social, economic, and artistic connections that contributed both to the development of a distinctively European culture and to the emergence of specific Jewish and Muslim cultural expressions as well.

The cultural identity of Europe is not and never has been static; today it is changing with unparalleled speed. New immigrants, new social landscapes, new economic and political tensions, and the continuing ideal of European unification force all of us to discard restrictive definitions of separate national legacies and to redefine what kind of a society a multinational, multicultural Europe of the twenty-first century will be. For archaeologists across Europe, it is now evident that old, essentialist definitions of 'Romans,' 'Barbarians,' 'Franks,' 'Celts,' 'Teutons,' and all the others do not represent distinctive and unchanging groupings but a creative mixture of pre-existing cultures and developing social forms. Such is also true of minority groups long seen to be on the periphery of European history. Indeed the periphery is no longer so easy to distinguish. The incorporation of many voices and perspectives in our emerging scientific picture of the past provides a stark contradiction to the modern voices of discord and separation. Archaeology can continue to show us that Europe's national and regional cultural traditions have always been enriched by the continent's turbulent, ever-changing mix of peoples, connections, and ideas.

Two objectives must be sought to place minority heritage in the mainstream of European heritage: The first is for Jewish, Muslim, and other ethnic minority sites to be recognized by antiquities services throughout Europe as an essential part of the historical and cultural landscape, as potentially significant for official preservation as monuments and periods of more traditional 'national' interest. The other is for archaeological research agendas and heritage policies to recognize that the definition of Europe's common heritage is a dynamic field for reflection and reconsideration in which the story is far from being completely told. The public presentation of archaeology, in this respect, is not a matter of merely conveying scientific knowledge to the general public. It is a two-way process, in which the involvement of minority communities – both of the past and of the present – in the study and preservation of material remains can potentially widen and deepen modern discussions of history and identity. If given adequate support and scholarly attention, the archaeology of 'outsiders' has a great potential for encouraging a constructive public appreciation of the complexity and diversity of Europe's material and archaeological record. Sites and artefacts long overlooked and still to be discovered can demonstrate that the vibrant interaction of ideas, cultures, and peoples is a fundamental part of Europe's cultural legacy.

| NOTE

1. This text was delivered at a symposium of the European Archaeological Council, Palais de l'Europe, Strasbourg on 26 March 2004)

Cultural Diversity in Ecomuseum Development in Viet Nam

by Amareswar Galla

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Contemporary governance paradigms in heritage management are intersections of power and authority, which have become constructs that inform the validation of heritage values. In this context authenticity has become a tool for interrogating the layers of significance informing the objects, places, stakeholder communities and the integrity of heritage resources in a dynamic continuum. In the management and interpretation of heritage values, there is a constant tension between the global and local and the lens through which this translation takes place requires focusing from multiple perspectives.

Advocates and critiques of the Stockholm Action Plan on Cultural Policies (1998), the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) and the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg (2002) point to the need to broaden the development paradigm in ways that embrace the fullness of the human and cultural dimensions of development. It was during the World Decade for Culture and Development that the United Nations Development Programme

adopted the concept of 'human development', a process of enlarging people's choices that measures development in a broad array of capacities, ranging

for holistically addressing its own needs. In many circumstances re-establishment of cultural pride and sense of place is seen as the key to addressing

26. Hoi An youth employment project.

from political, economic and social participation to individual opportunities to be healthy, educated, productive and creative and to enjoy sense of place and identity. These broader frameworks set the stage for the inclusion of heritage as a central dimension of development. However, the location of cultural diversity, governance and heritage conservation in development is yet to be adequately understood and interpreted.

The outcomes of locating heritage in development for its primary stakeholders could be more sustainable and vibrant communities, more cohesive community networks, greater community confidence and direction founded in a sense of self and place, and an increased community capacity

social wellbeing. It requires an inclusive framework that recognizes the cultural and heritage aspirations of different sections of the community, including groups that may otherwise be marginalized culturally, socially and economically.

This article is a summary reflection with case-studies from substantive work that analyses the transformative patterns emerging in different world heritage areas through the practice of ecomuseology. The resulting framework is one that brings people and their environment together into a holistic conservation ethic in the local situation with the argument that the world heritage values beyond the tangible hierarchical authentication of power

relations needs to be grounded in the intangible heritage of the primary stakeholder community.

Ha Long Bay

Ha Long Bay is part of the Province of Quang Ninh and is located in the north-eastern corner of Viet Nam. The Bay contains a large archipelago of spectacular 'karst' landscape that has been invaded by the sea at the end of the last ice age, leaving 1,969 tall pillars of rock and rugged islands with many caves and unusual features. It is an area of superlative natural beauty, but also a treasure-house of unusual, and often unique, geomorphic features, ecosystems and biodiversity. There are many sites of historical significance and archaeological remains in and around the bay and, in addition, it is strongly represented in the myths and legends of the Vietnamese people. The natural features and the enormously complicated interaction between them and the climatic, hydrological and human influences upon them are, as yet, little researched and therefore largely unexplained.

The Vietnamese government, recognizing its importance to Viet Nam as a whole, made Ha Long Bay a National Protection Area in 1962. In 1994, it was inscribed on the World Heritage List for its outstanding natural beauty, thus making Viet Nam formally responsible for its care and preservation on behalf of the people of the world. In 2000 it was further inscribed for its unique geological and geomorphic characteristics. However, its significance as one of the few places in the world with substantive archaeological evidence illustrating the transition from the last ice age to the current warm period is yet to be appreciated.

Ha Long Bay, Ha Long City and the part of Quang Ninh Province which surrounds it is an area of rapid economic and urban growth. Quang Ninh, which has a population of just over a million, together with Hai Phong and Ha Noi form a large triangular area of dense population and economic activity which is developing rapidly. The main coal-mining area of Viet Nam with reserves exceeding 8 billion tons lies immediately beside the bay and large amounts of limestone, kaolin, clay and sand are extracted to supply an important construction material industry. Large merchant ships cross the bay en route to the two large ports of Hai Phong and Cai Lan. These, and five smaller ports, cater for an export trade, which is projected to more than quadruple in the next decade. The bay itself supports a valuable fishing and seafood industry and attracts large numbers of tourists. The umber of visitors from 1994 to 2004 has grown from 120,000 to nearly 1.5 million. If this rate of growth is sustained, Ha Long Bay will attract in excess of 3 million domestic and foreign tourists per annum by the year 2020.

The continuing reconstruction of the Vietnamese economy in line with the *doi moi* reform process launched in 1986 and designed to lead the country towards a more market orientated economy is already proving to be successful in improving the well-being of the people of Viet Nam. Many new factories, industrial zones and export processing zones have begun operating in recent years. As participation by private industry is expanding further and markets are becoming more open, expanding commercial activity in the Ha Long area is placing further pressure on the bay's fragile environment and ecosystems.

Increasing commercial activity and restructuring, urbanization and greater levels of disposable income for a growing number of people have led to a rise in social problems and placed pressure on the culture and values of the population of Ha Long City and its surrounding area. Wider exposure to international markets has brought about fluctuations and changes in local employment and widened the gap between those who have benefited and those unable to take advantage of the new opportunities.

Mindful of the danger of unrestrained and un-co-ordinated development, the Management Department of Ha Long Bay and the Quang Ninh People's Committee have jointly developed a 'Master Plan for the Development of Ha Long Bay to the Year 2020'. It provides a co-ordinated planning framework to control development that could affect the Bay. Nevertheless, at the present time and for the foreseeable future, many of the foregoing activities conflict with efforts to manage the sustainable development of the marine resources and WHA values of Ha Long Bay. Clearly identifiable examples of direct conflicts are the increasing numbers of tourists and the corresponding demand for wider access to caves and grottoes, expansion of commercial shipping and tourist vessels, fishing by using explosives and other illegal methods and coal mining. Such activities, as they are currently managed, are incompatible with the conservation of the bay's environment, biodiversity and landscape values.

A framework of legislation has been put in place by the Vietnamese Government and the Quang Ninh Provincial People's Committee to regulate activities on the bay. It lays down environmental conditions for the operation of industrial activities within Ha Long Bay and sets safety and hygiene standards for tourist and transport activities. Working closely with Ha Long City and other nearby local authorities, the local management is actively pursuing measures to control and reduce the environmental threat of water and atmospheric pollution of the bay from solid, liquid and gaseous waste products.

The most important intervention made by the local community stakeholder groups is the reclamation of the control of their heritage values through the Ha Long Ecomuseum project. While the external heritage model brings in a dichotomy between the natural and cultural, validating the natural for the recognition of World Heritage values, the local self-empowerment process through the Ecomuseum has been able to mainstream a post-colonial and local holistic approach to the total environment, challenging the imposition of an externality on local values. The Ecomuseum concept views the entire bay as a living museum and employs an 'interpretive' approach to its management.[1]

Interpretive management sees the components and processes of the bay and its hinterland of Quang Ninh Province as continuously interacting with each other in a constantly changing equilibrium. By intensive research and monitoring, local heritage workers seek to 'interpret' what is happening to that equilibrium and to make carefully planned interventions to change the balance of the components when necessary. An important feature of this approach is that it views human activity,

27. Traditional silk spinning in Hoi An.

past and present, as fundamental components of the total environmental resource. The culture, history, traditions and activities of the human population on and around the Bay are as much a part of the heritage as the caves and plants on the islands and are in continuous interaction with it. The Ecomuseum project assumes that all human and natural eco-systems are living, developing organisms that cannot be 'preserved' in a particular isolated state and that human and natural eco-systems are interdependent. The ultimate goal of conservation is the sustainable development of Ha Long Bay.

Hoi An

The Ancient town of Hoi An at the mouth of the Thu Bon River, 30 kilometres south of Danang city, is in the centre of Hoi An district (the Ancient Fiafo and Amaravati) and town in Quang Nam province of central Vietnam. The ancient town has more than 1,000 historic structures representing ten architectural forms. These are dwelling houses, places of worship for family ancestors, village communal houses, pagodas, temples, tombs, bridges wells, markets and assembly halls. The present architectural remains are mainly from the nineteenth century. They provide evidence of the economic and cultural exchanges between Viet Nam and the world, between Hoi An and other countries mainly China, Japan, India and several European countries. Hoi An is a living heritage town, where its residents, generation after generation, live and work in the same houses. In the ancient town, a great number of antiquities are kept, traditional crafts are maintained, folk dishes, habits, customs and festivities are fostered. It was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1999 as a special example of a traditional trading port in South East Asia, which has been fully

preserved. It is classified as a 'group of buildings' under the World Heritage Convention.

Dating back to the second century B.C., Hoi An was an important port until the end of the nineteenth century and, as such, a significant centre of mercantile and cultural exchange throughout much of Vietnamese history. Its economic stagnation following the development of larger ports in the twentieth century accounts for its remarkable preservation. Today, Hoi An's proximity to Danang, Viet Nam's booming modern port, has stimulated a spin-off of economic development in the town through the arrival of tourists, attracted because of the well-preserved houses of merchants from the different periods and port facilities, and because of the mixture of various cultures it embraces. There are also nearby villages of traditional boat-builders, wood-carvers, and other trades associated with Hoi An's historic role. Many annual festivals, traditional ways of life and occupations, as well as religious beliefs and customs have been maintained. Furthermore, the ancient town is surrounded by a significant marine environment.

The street plan of the ancient town developed organically in response to economic and social influences, and contains a diverse range of shops, houses, communal houses, religious monuments and buildings and an open market. Most date from the nineteenth century, though many have older features date back to the seventeenth century, and are constructed entirely of wood. The ancient town has a population of about 8,000, many of whom are families who have lived there for many generations. On both sides of the town there is a growing area of urban development, the population of which is about 40,000. This urban growth is fuelling a rapid rise in property values.

The principal threats to the ancient town come from its susceptibility to flooding, encroaching urbanization, inappropriate tourism development and the possibility of residents' seeking to capitalize on the increased value of their houses by selling them to tourist service organizations wishing to gain a foothold in Hoi An. It was already a notable tourist attraction, but the number of visitors is increasing rapidly following its inscription on the World Heritage List.

Some of the challenges faced by the Hoi An authorities are conserving the original culture and heritage, both tangible and intangible; meeting the needs of the present-day residents who actually own and live in the heritage buildings; interpreting the heritage values of tangible and intangible properties and improving the income and the standard of living of the people while at the same time protecting and enriching the local culture in sustainable development.

Recently the Hoi An authorities promulgated a policy for developing Hoi An as a pilot cultural town. They also asked all the concerned agencies and service providers to foster a clean and healthy environment as well as appropriate behaviour towards visitors. There is a commitment to establishing teams for investigations, implementing regulations and ensuring security in the town. These also include managing services by intermediaries, street vendors, karaoke bars, massage parlours, hairdressers, etc., and to maintain a strict policy for

keeping businesses in an ordered and clean environment. The transformative cultural action of the stakeholders including the local women's union, youth union and home-owners' association has been to bring the ancient town and the local people together into a participatory Hoi An Ecomuseum framework for sustainable development.

The ancient town is the core resource for all development both local and outside the Hoi An District. It is well protected by the regulations of preservation, business management, construction, management and advertising management. There is a policy of limiting the number of hotels and the construction of inns. At present there is concentrated budget from many investment resources to reconstruct the infrastructure and to plan new residences to the North of the ancient town in order to alleviate the pressures from resident population density in the ancient town.

A situational analysis reveals that the external recognition of World Heritage Values centred on the built environment need to be balanced with a recognition of the organic historical linkages and relationships between Hoi An ancient town and the surrounding stakeholder communities and villages. For example, Thanh Ha Ceramic Village, Kim Bong Wood Craft Village, Vong Nhi Fishing Village and Tra Que Horticultural Village have provided historical services for at least two centuries to what is now designated as the ancient town. The location of heritage values in the framework of integrated local area planning is critical to take a holistic approach to both local and world heritage values.

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28. Thanh Ha ceramic village, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law at work.

Archaeological research on the Cham cultural remains at Hoi An is also a priority. Historians, archaeologists and ethnographers from many countries have studied the culture of the Cham people in Viet Nam. European scholars in particular have focused on the history of the Cham people from A.D. 700 to 1471 since the beginning of this century. However, the history of the Cham culture from about A.D. 200 to 700 has not been adequately researched. There are still many questions about the Cham and their history that need understanding.

Intangible cultural values provide for a fuller illustration of Hoi An's cultural heritage. It is evident through cultural activities, products, and production tools, techniques, performance skills that are preserved at present. Collections, exhibitions and interpretations are necessary, especially at this stage when Hoi An ancient town has been inscribed on the World Cultural Heritage list. The rapid pace of development and growth of tourism could easily erode the authenticity of elements in Hoi An if they are not adequately documented. Intangible culture has also become a preservation object in Viet Nam's National Cultural Heritage Law. One of the local heritage action projects resulted in the conversion of a historic house into an intangible heritage museum. A ceramic museum interprets the nearby Thanh Ha village and the history of the craft for the whole Hoi An District.

Conclusion

Ha Long Bay and Hoi An are microcosms of Viet Nam. This is certainly so inasmuch as they clearly show the conflict between conserving a rich, but fragile, heritage while simultaneously promoting the industrial, economic and tourist development that is essential to alleviate the severe poverty and impoverishment of large sections of the community. Traditionally, this has been treated as an either/or issue and therefore frequently results in an impasse.

The greatest challenge has been to bring together the World Heritage Area management and all the stakeholder groups into a participation framework that is facilitated by the Ecomuseum method development. The partnership aims at identifying the objectives, interests and values that inform interpretations of community, local history and holistic environmental values, including the intangible heritage values. The Ecomuseum offers a way forward. Through the establishment of a far broader stakeholder base, involving communities, groups and organizations, in the management of the heritage, it seeks to establish a mutuality of interest and a sense of common ownership. Through interpretation it raises awareness and understanding, not only of the significance of the natural and cultural heritage, but also of the contribution of industrial and commercial development to the betterment of a poor country striving to recover from almost a century of war and famine. Better understanding of the critical importance of both conservation and development softens the polarization of the debate and enables the two issues to be viewed holistically.

The role of Ecomuseum can be summarized as follows:

- supporting communities in securing their basic living needs (this may require advocacy with other agencies)
- facilitating the community-planning process within communities, including the identification of local resources
- supporting the protection of local resources, including cultural maintenance
- developing skills and providing other business support infrastructure, including funding and communications infrastructure
- launching businesses through contracting and outsourcing, and provision of space for community markets

- growing enterprises and employment through developing a prospectus for any business opportunity with good prospects of viability
- supporting communities in making wise investments, and increasing their economic resources
- facilitating demonstration projects such as the pilot projects that will be catalytic.

The Ha Long Bay and Hoi An dilemma is far from unique to Viet Nam. However, the application of 'new museology' has been recognized as a valuable tool for mitigating development conflicts in an Asian context. Projects such as the Ha Long Ecomuseum could become models for promoting heritage economics without compromising conservation values; models in which the economic dimension of conservation will be revealed in a World Heritage Area through community museological discourse. The Ha Long Ecomuseum development is being viewed as an example for similar developments elsewhere and will be an important factor in the creation of a national policy for sustainable heritage tourism in Viet Nam.

| NOTE

1. Amareswar Galla, 'Culture and Heritage in Development, Ha Long Ecomuseum, A Case Study from Vietnam, *Humanities Research*, Vol. 9. No.1, 2002, pp.63–76; Amareswar Galla, 2003, 'Heritage and Tourism in Sustainable Development: Ha Long Bay Case study', in Tomke Laske (ed.), *Cultural Heritage and Tourism, Asia-Europe Seminar*, pp. 135–46, Liège, Asia-Europe Foundation,

DIGITAL HERITAGE NEWS
Towards Twenty-first Century Literacy

by Jean-Marc Blais

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The dazzling impact of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and the democratization of the Internet since the 1990s have led to unprecedented soul-searching about the *raison d'être* of memory institutions. Here are a few facts to consider: a) most museum visitors and users are in cyberspace, b) more than half the users of the Virtual Museum of Canada (VMC) come from outside the country, c) the Internet and search engines have become the main source of information for all forms of research. These phenomena are indicative of profound changes for museums, archives, and libraries. These memory institutions have been responding to these new realities, but they should be reacting more quickly.

While cultural vitality may be a characteristic of the twenty-first century, knowledge is the cornerstone of a society where citizens can develop in an active and informed manner. Indeed, these two factors lie at the core of the policies of many countries, including Canada, with a view to making it possible for every member of society to fully benefit from the opportunities generated by information and communication technologies. The transformation of the world economy and treating knowledge as a commodity has led us to study the conditions necessary for memory institutions to become knowledge institutions, and to question their capacity as spaces for social interaction, creativity, innovation, and empowerment. To speed up the transition of heritage institutions towards organizations that play a significant role in knowledge societies, contributing to the growth of our societies, museums, archives and libraries will increasingly need to structure their thinking and actions around the areas of knowledge, cultural representation and capacity building.

Memory institutions make their collections available to people in environments designed to increase knowledge. In the information age, this means creating *virtual social spaces* in which users and content providers can interact, or third-party services can allow them to maximize their use of collections, to appropriate them, and discuss them among themselves, with the guidance of specialists.[1] Knowledge results from social interaction. This is the context in which the Canadian Heritage Information Network will launch a new virtual space in March 2006 where museum professionals, educators, teachers and learners will be able to enter into dialogue. This space, which will complement the VMC, will encourage increased social

interaction while at the same time highlighting heritage collections by means of learning objects designed by museums.

The fact that new technologies allow people to learn about differences and similarities with others, beyond their territorial boundaries, provides new opportunities for heritage institutions. VMC visitors come from over 130 countries. The needs of these visitors (both virtual and real) have changed with the growing availability of online museum services.[2] People's concerns and the subjects of interest to them do not always involve history writ large; on the contrary, their main interests lie in history at the local level.[3] By using the concept of empowerment, new alliances can be established with other institutions of knowledge–such as universities or public broadcasters–making it possible to answer citizens' request for content. Customizing services, taking the concerns of users as a point of departure, judiciously incorporating ICT potential in the provision of traditional services and innovative collection policies, are what will lead heritage institutions not only to faithfully depict new cultural realities, but also to provide a unique presence *vis-à-vis* citizens.

The harmonization of approaches to research using learning tools and environments is the last component in the transformation of museums. The Internet is affecting all our ways of learning – university researchers conducting doctoral studies and ordinary people looking into their genealogy require different responses to their needs. New technologies require greater harmonization between the traditional collection, dissemination and service functions and the discovery of new tools such as online workshops, tutorials, and the development of super metadata.

One last point: museums, archives and libraries have enormous capital with which to develop the knowledge society. They must work together to establish innovative partnerships with public information providers, universities, and Internet service providers. They will then be able to effectively play their role in leading the way to the digital literacy of the twenty-first century and broaden the scope of what they do as never before.

| NOTES

1. See the results of a seminar organized by CHIN entitled 'Beyond Productivity: Culture and Heritage Resources in the Digital Age' (www.rcip.gc.ca).

2. This became clear in a Statistics Canada and CHIN study conducted in 2004: 2004 Survey on Visitors to Museums and Museums' Web Spaces.

3. The Community Memories Program is an example of how local communities can be empowered to develop knowledge: www.virtualmuseum.ca.