Museum International

The site museum

Vol LVI, n°3/223, september 2004

Editorial

Several months after taking up my duties as Director of the Division of Cultural Heritage in the Culture Sector, I am pleased to present this issue of *MUSEUM International* which is dedicated to site museums, a theme which has occupied a substantial part of my professional experience in my native country, Malawi.[1] Readers may be surprised by the contents of this issue in view of its title. In fact, a lot of articles deal more with cultural sites and even transnational cultural spaces, and less with museums. This results from a deliberate intention to consider, rather than the museum itself, the relationship that unites a place of heritage with an instrument of knowledge.

As Françoise Descamps emphasizes, sites, whether archeological[2], urban (the Tony Garnier Museum in Lyon), natural (the marshes in Hong Kong) or mixed (Hadrian's Wall); whether defined by a practice (the Mijikenda Kaya) or by an historic event (Ellis Island, the Peronne Historial); whether they extend over thousands of kilometres (the Qhapaq-Nān: the Inca route) or are limited to several hundred square metres (la place Royale in Quebec), do not exist in isolation: they take on meaning in a web of interpretative and exhibition systems that are primarily developed within museal institutions. We have, therefore, chosen to consider the site as a space and the museum as a place which produces knowledge and which is symbolic of the relationship between societies and their heritage at a given moment. From this point of view, the museum simultaneously anchors this relationship and functions as a mediation zone. That is to say, a museum is not only an instrument which explains the site in a static relationship that is updated according to the rhythm of new museographic developments. The site and the museum each designate a space of heritage whose limits adapt and transform themselves, occasionally overlapping when a heritage space takes on the characteristics of a museum. This is often the case in «museified» urban historic centres- or with the reversal of mechanisms when the museum serves to recreate a site – such as the Ellis Island example.

Therefore, even if this issue of *MUSEUM International* blurs established typologies concerning the notion of site and site museum, it clearly reaffirms the importance and the unique character of the museum in its function of interpretation

museum INTERNATIONAL ISSN 1350-0775, no. 223 (vol. 56, no. 3, 2004)
Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

and mediation of heritage spaces. That is, as we have seen earlier, as an instrument of knowledge. After reading the articles in the first chapter, which reveal the diversity of typologies and museographic responses, it is evident that qualifying a site is henceforth closely linked with the interest which a community manifests for a particular space as well as the relations of knowledge and usage that are implemented between the two. Urban space is indicative of this evolving definition as shown by the six articles that address this subject. Museums in an urban environment that are traditionally responsible for the presentation of the history of the architecture and arts of a city now tackle themes that considerably influence social development, particularly the cultures of economic and linguistic minorities. In certain cases, where no measures have been taken in order to conserve and study typical urban forms of heritage, such as mural paintings, it is the museum which still seems best placed to avoid their disappearance. Site museums also pay particular attention to preserving or reinterpreting memories and history in relation to issues of the present; and, in this way, they contribute to developing cultural equilibriums which are necessary for managing and living in peace. In Latin America, more than anywhere else, the integration of local communities and cultural minorities into the life of the museum was one of the most important factors in changing the missions of the museum and its reorientation toward socio-economic objectives, thereby facilitating the creation of new functions for museographic institutions. It is for this reason that we have decided to dedicate the last chapter of this issue to the Latin American region and the heritage projects underway concerning the great Inca route, the Qhapaq-Nān.

The site museum theme finally brings us to a global conclusion concerning the contemporary missions of the museum: memory and its challenges on one hand, and the cultural conditions of "living together" on the other are two important axes around which the museum re-evaluates its place and role within the global society. Assisting in the construction of mental spaces that can enable each person to find the means for cultural recognition, as the prelude to cultural liberty, it becomes one of the essential actors in human development.[3]

It is in this same spirit of questioning practices and notions that I envisage my mission at the head of the Division of Cultural Heritage at UNESCO. Many things have changed in the past fifteen years that lead us to reconsider our certainties. How should we deal with preventive conservation in a period of intensified and increasing number of conflicts? How can we better understand the links or relationships between tangible and intangible heritage? How can we reinforce the application of legal instruments

concerning heritage in global governance? What effective role could be given to heritage in the construction of knowledge societies?

Each of these questions leads to others, relative to our means, our skills and our commitment to the protection and promotion of cultural heritage. In this domain, UNESCO benefits from an incomparable capital of experience and the capability for innovation that encourages us to face these questions with determination in order to propose heritage policies that will find their appropriate role in the cultural policies aimed toward the preservation of diversity and human development.

Gadi G. Y. Mgomezulu

NOTES

1. Mr. Gadi Mgomezulu was appointed by the Director General of UNESCO to the post of Director of the Division of Cultural Heritage in the Culture Sector in January 2004. Mr. Mgomezulu holds a Ph. D in Anthropology from the University of California at Berkeley (USA) and subsequently joined the Malawi Public Service where he was responsible for research and managing the National Monuments and Site Museum programme and was Head of the Antiquities Department. In the late eighties, while serving as Coordinator and Chief Advisor to the Government for cultural matters, he was in charge of reform of Malawian cultural institutions at the Ministry of Education and Culture. He became Founding Director of the Cultural Division responsible for five Departments (i.e. Museums, Antiquities, National Archives, Arts and Crafts and Censorship Board). As Principal Secretary for Education and Culture in the early nineties, he provided policy and strategic orientation and initiated and participated in the drafting of national legislation on culture, including the Copyright Act, the Museum Act, the Monuments and relics Act and the Arts and Crafts Act. He is a member of a number of professional associations, including the Southern African Association of Archaeologists, the International Council of Museums, the Scientific Association of the Institute of Human Origins and the Permanent Council of the International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences.

2. The theme of the archeological site museum was covered by *MUSEUM International* in issue 198, vol. 50, no. 2 (1998).

3. According to the World Report on Human Development 2004, cultural liberty is an essential but unexplored element of human development. See *Cultural Liberty in a Diversified World [La liberté culturelle dans un monde diversifié]*, World Report on Human Development 2004, PNUD, Economica.

Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

The Presentation and Interpretation of Ritual Sites: the Mijikenda Kaya case

by Kaingu Kalume Tinga

Kaingu Kalume Tinga studied Archaeology and Community Development. He has worked in the National Museums of Kenya[1] since 1986. He is manager of a newly registered community-based organization called Rabai Cultural Resource Centre[2] [RCRC]. When fully operational, the centre will consist of five divisions: the Museum, Eco-tourism, Kaya Conservation, Trade and Marketing and Vocational Training. He is currently the curator of the Museum which is the only division that is functional.

Socio-historical background of the sites

Since the early 1990s the National Museums of Kenya, the country's custodian of both natural and cultural heritage, has gazetted sixty Kayas. Kayas are patches of the remnants of the Mosaic Eastern Arc Mountain biogeographical landscape which extends for 900 km from Inhambane in Mozambique to Somalia. It is within this ancient forest that the Mijikenda established their settlements on hilltops or ridges in the hinterland of Mombasa. Nobody is certain about the date of settlement. Historians, basing their information on oral traditions date the Kayas to the sixteenth century. Archaeologists believe that the Kayas were founded in the ninth century or much earlier. It is believed that the Mijikenda chose the forested areas (or ridges) for security against invaders like Oromo and Masai morans, availability of water and fertile soils, rich fauna and flora. In the Kayas, the Mijikenda developed elaborate political and spiritual leadership systems which included ritual shrines within the settled area, deep in the forest and outside the Kayas as well.

museum INTERNATIONAL ISSN 1350-0775, no. 223 (vol. 56, no. 3, 2004)
Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

Within these patches, the centuries-old, former hilltop settlements were initially nine in number according to the corresponding sub-ethnic groups that form the Mijikenda. The name 'Mijikenda' means 'nine peoples whose settlements are referred to as Makaya' (sing. Kaya) and the groups are A'Giriama, A'Kauma, A'Chonyi, A'Kambe, A'Dzihana, A'Rihe and A'Rahai, A'Duruma and A'Digo [see map]. Kayas provided security against Oromo and Kwavi (Maasai morans). They were also a rich source for water, providing faunal and floral products and containing rich agricultural soils.

As the Mijikenda consolidated their existence in the hinterland of Mombasa, they also established elaborate gerontocratic, clan and gender leadership systems and operations, which the respective communities revered and guarded religiously. There were specific areas reserved for leadership and governance (moroni), worship (fingo, kiza), shrines for initiation ceremonies (pala), magic and development of medicine, burial and entertainment. Being the core function in society, leadership and worship functions were centrally situated within the settlement, which was a rectangular palisade that also comprised clearly defined residential areas according to clans.[3] Other functions were distributed, either within the main residential environs, along the pathways or deep in the forest. The surrounding forest formed a strong buffer zone between the Kaya residence and farmland located on the forest periphery about one kilometre away.

Subsidiary ritual sites were sometimes located outside the forest as in Kaya Giriama (Fungo). As the population increased, security improved and eventually peace prevailed, people gradually abandoned their ancestral habitat and spread eastwards to the coast, southwards to the Tanzania border and northwards to the Lamu district, thereby founding secondary and tertiary Kayas with allegiance and reverence to the primary settlements. The nine primary Kayas were abandoned around the late nineteenth century/ early twentieth century. Currently sixty Kayas have been identified by the National Museums of Kenya.

Despite this development, all Kayas are revered and considered as sacred sites by the Mijikenda Community due to the political, social and magical significance attached to them. They are the socio-political and magical nerve centres of the Mijikenda community. Medicine people, politicians and traditional elders from the Mijikenda community (and beyond) for instance, seek empowerment and blessings from Kayas. Various ritual activities like rain prayers, prayers for peace and political stability, economic prosperity, etc., are held in the Kayas throughout the year. They have relentlessly tried to preserve the Kayas but are currently faced with a myriad of threats.

Threats to Kayas and conservation measures

It is deplorable that over time some of the Kayas have suffered irreparable damage. Threats to the Kayas range from the absence of effective environmental policies, changing religious affiliations, agricultural expansion, hotel development (especially on the south coast where sites like *Kaya Tiwi* border on the sea), to the felling of trees for construction materials, fuel wood and mining. Human rights groups are still contesting the proposed mining for tiomin by a Canadian firm

within *Kaya Mrima* in Kwale but the contract has already been finalized. As a result, some Kayas like *Kidzini* (Giriama) and *Mwarakaya* (Chonyi) have been completely wiped out while others are tottering under the weight of poor or inadequate government policy that has produced an incessant appetite for individual or corporate economic gain from these ritual sites; the Rabai[4] Kayas are not excluded from this mania.

There are five Kayas in Rabai (*Mudzi Mwiru*, *Mudzi Muvya*, *Bomu*, *Fimboni and Mzizima*) with a total area of 756 hectares. To date, 425 plant taxa have been recorded within this complex, eight of which are endemic to Rabai; nine are rare to the Kenya coast while eleven are atypical to Kenya. However, the prevailing human pressure seems oblivious of this irreplaceable resource. According to the 1999 population census, the Rabai region comprising three locations has a combined population of 70,000 adults. The region has a population density of 493 persons per square kilometre within an area of about 10 km^2. As most of the population lives below the poverty line, the Kayas are the only source of building material, fuel wood, etc.

The establishment of the Coastal Forest Conservation Unit (CFCU) by the National Museums of Kenya, which manages the conservation of the Kayas brought immediate transformation: community awareness and legal redress through gazzettement was conducted, local guards were employed and reforestation instituted. In the last decade there has been a marked regeneration of forest cover in sites adversely affected by human encroachment. However, when the donor-funded programme expired in 2002, the guards were laid off, thus creating a renewal of biodiversity destruction.

Challenges to the interpretation and presentation of ritual sites

Environmental policies governing Kayas as significant ritual/heritage sites are either non-existent or grossly inefficient. Fundamentally, the principal legal edict known as the Antiquities and Monuments Act: 1983 [revised], which empowers the National Museums of Kenya to protect Kenya's heritage, is very weak and therefore open to manipulation. Consequently, cases of heritage sites being degazzetted by the government shortly after gazzettement are not uncommon.[5] Kenya requires an effective environmental policy for both its natural and cultural heritage. There is also a need to create an interface between the Antiquities and Monuments Act and the Lands Act which is currently lacking and has created a vacuum in heritage management. Additionally, a Heritage Management Plan should be implemented to ensure that both natural and cultural heritage resources are recognized at both national and international levels. This would facilitate the inventory of such resources by bodies like the World Heritage List.[6] The newly earned status would encourage measures of protection and local and international support. However, this alone could be unsuccessful if not considered along with other factors as indicated below.

It must be noted that in the last ten years an immense mobilization aimed at community participation and capacity building has been conducted. As a result, significant progress has been

made in Kaya conservation. Nonetheless, in most cases community mobilization and participation ends with awareness creation, emphasizing the responsibilities and obligations of stakeholders but leaving them with unfulfilled expectations. Apparently a large void exists between the mobilization effort and the conservation of ritual sites. Vigorous community mobilization campaigns should be conducted, with a view to:

1. Enhancing active involvement and ownership of conservation projects by respective Kaya groups.
2. Rekindling the community's plans for sustainable conservation.
3. Encouraging community groups to write their plans, goals and objectives and link their aspirations for national and international heritage to biodiversity conservation objectives and policies; also encouraging each community group surrounding a Kaya to be registered as a Community Based Organization [CBO].
4. Emphasizing the need for a participatory approach by communities towards project concept development, proposal writing and project implementation.
5. Funding Community Based Organizations to conduct income-generating biodiversity and ecotourism projects.

During the past decade commendable research has been carried out in the Kayas by CFCU staff. Previously, ethnologists, historians and archaeologists had tried to demystify the historiography of the Kayas. A quick perusal of their work shows that the historical data collected within the respective Kayas (which is significant towards understanding and appreciation of the ritual sites) is lacking; instead, there is a strong bias towards botanical study. While Kayas generally share common functional characteristics, each Kaya possesses a unique history, spatial organization and functions, fauna and flora. It is therefore important that detailed ethnographic studies are conducted for each Kaya. This work must be complemented by an inclusive study of the animals, birds, reptiles, insects and trees found in every Kaya, noting their social value. It is also important to document the historiography of each Kaya, identifying the various kinds of ceremonies conducted in the Kayas, their frequency and the taboos associated with the sites.

Constructive research has been inhibited because the traditional custodians are extremely conservative and also because of the researchers' lack of openness about the aims and objectives, rights, obligations and benefits of the research projects to the community. Informants thus withhold invaluable information as security against the scholars; they also tend to be apprehensive of researchers from outside their community. Lastly, following the research, host communities do not receive feedback from the results – the findings are either too scientific for consumption by the host communities or they have no access to the information (more often than not it is for both of these reasons). This prejudice must be overcome in order to encourage meaningful research in the Kayas.

Successful research projects must result in tangible socio-economic projects that are beneficial to the community and sustain conservation projects. The effective biodiversity conservation of

ritual sites must be accompanied by economic gain to the community. Careful identification of non-destructive forms of projects like income-generating activities, sustainable methods of prevention of land degradation, biodiversity conservation and sustainable utilization of land bordering the ritual sites should be prioritized and implemented through a community participatory approach. This approach would be efficient in the following ways, it would (a) create a sense of ownership among the communities, (b) reorient the thinking and operations of the communities, (c) empower communities to determine their roles and obligations positively in enhancing environmental care, (d) change the community's socio-economic status through job creation, and (e) promote the country's status in environmental and heritage conservation.

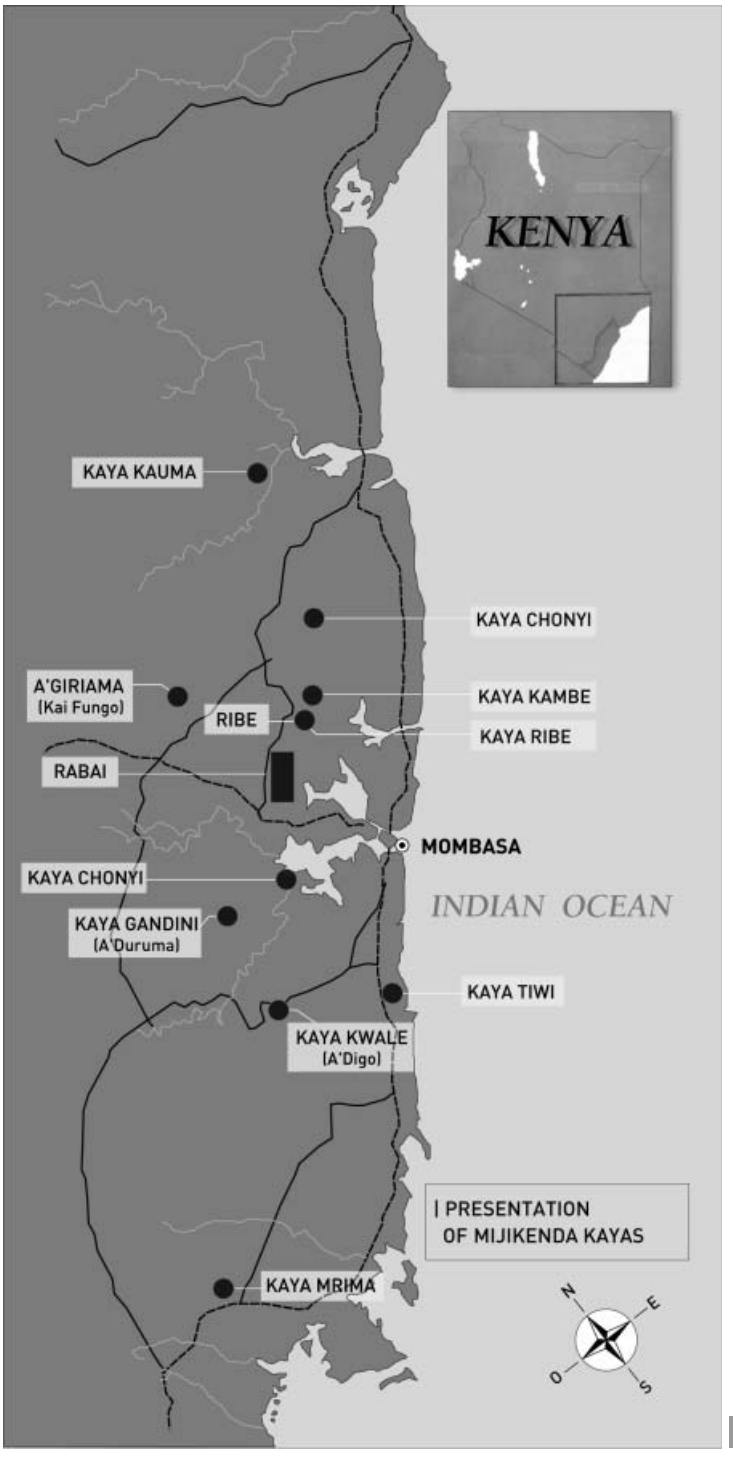
In the last ten years the National Museums of Kenya have endeavoured tirelessly to interpret and present the Kayas to the wider public who seem to be unaware of the immense socio-economic and environmental value of the Kayas. In the early 1990s, I conducted ethnographic research in Kaya Giriama[7] which was followed by a permanent display of Mijikenda ethnography, exhibited at the Fort Jesus Museum, in Mombasa.

The exhibition includes the social organization of a Kaya with special reference to the site studied. It significantly animated the museum display which was previously archaeological. Incidentally, the exhibition whets the visitor's appetite to visit a real Kaya. Whilst this phenomenon would have been considered as a positive development for promotion of the ritual sites, therefore opening the Kayas to ecotourism, two major stumbling blocks were noted: distance and inaccessibility of the sites to the public. First of all, most Kayas are situated over 30 km away from Mombasa and they are served by unreliable, rugged roads. Secondly, it is taboo for non-Mijikendas to enter the Kayas. Therefore, until the road network is improved and proper social and legal structures are put in place, the Kayas will remain closed to the outside world.

The Rabai and the Kaya Kinondo experiences

In 2001, the Krapf Memorial Museum, in Rabai, established a Kaya replica with the help of the traditional elders. There were two major results: some visitors appreciated a glimpse of the mysterious ancient ritual settlement while others felt cheated that an artificial Kaya was created less than 500 metres from the original Kayas! Two years later, the project floundered because of the lack of authenticity. The work of the Rabai museum is not restricted to the establishment of the Kaya replica. The replica was only established as part of an ecotourism iniative because at Rabai visitors are not allowed into the original Kayas. In 1995, three years prior to the founding of the Rabai Museum, a Mijikenda ethnography exhibition was displayed [it is still on display] in the Fort Jesus Museum, Mombasa. This included a graphic presentation of a Kaya to enable the public to understand and appreciate what Kayas are.

Kaya Kinondo is situated on the southern coast of Kenya, about 40 km from Mombasa. A thorough study was conducted here, covering the ethnography, and the faunal and floral distribution of the Kaya, and was followed by a pilot project, with support from the Ford Foundation. Through



2. Presentation of a number of Mijikenda Kayas on the Eastern coast of Kenya.

high-level consultation with the local Digo community, mobilization took place, people's views were compared and the following actions accomplished: (a) Identification of attractive areas in the Kayas, including the spatial organization, fauna and flora and their distribution; and a site plan prepared, (b) identification of restricted areas like burial sites, ceremonial areas and sacred shrines, (c) a Kaya protocol for tourism was defined: with a dress code, specific attire recommended for visitors, and conservation based regulations (e.g. no uprooting of seedlings), behavioural regulations (no kissing, fondling, photography or shouting), (d) a traditional calendar[8] – the Mijikenda have a four-day week; Kayas are out of bounds to visitors on certain days, and finally, (e) a clearly defined structure for revenue sharing was designed, ostensibly, for the equitable distribution of income from visitors.

Through this system, the community and the National Museums of Kenya agreed on specific rates to be paid by each visitor with a certain percentage going to the following beneficiaries: the marketing officer, Kaya elders, performers (dancers), medicine people, schools and refreshment providers (*madafu* – young coconut vendors). This initiative has thus far benefited one primary school within the Kaya Kinondo vicinity, providing it with learning materials.

Conclusion

The pilot study has proved to be an effective tool for opening up Kayas (as ritual sites) to eco-tourism, to the community's satisfaction and without undermining the social fabric or values attached to the sites. It has also proved that cultural heritage conservation is not static and that with proper planning and controls, ritual sites could be exploited in the long term. If local communities are properly empowered as regards biodiversity conservation and management they could become wonderful managers of their environment. This process would also help solve problems resulting from conflicts between humans and nature in areas bordering sites like Kayas.

NOTES

1. The National Museums of Kenya is the custodian of Kenya's heritage and therefore protects the Kayas as part of the country's heritage through an Act of Parliament: the Antiquities and Monuments Act: 1983.

2. The Rabai Cultural Resource Centre is a community-based organization whose objectives include conservation of the Rabai Kayas. It works in collaboration with the National Museums of Kenya in conserving the Rabai Kayas.

3. T. T. Spear, *The Kaya Complex : A History of the Mijikenda peoples of the Kenya Coast to 1900*, p. 46, Kenya Literature Bureau, 1978.

4 Rabai is situated about 480 km south-east of Nairobi and 25 km north-west of Mombasa Island.

5. P. J. Katana & G.H.O. Abungu, *The World Heritage Convention and Kenyan Historical Sites*, p.160, Paris, UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1995.

6. A. Githitho, *The Issue of Authenticity and Integrity as they Relate to the Sacred Mijikenda of the Kenya Coast*, Authenticity in an African Context: Expert Meeting – Great Zimbabwe – 26/29 May 2000; edited by Galia Saouma-Forero, 2000, p. 96.

7. K. K. Tinga, *Spatial Organization of Kaya Giriama: Kenya Past and Present*, a publication of the National Museums of Kenya, No. 29, 1997, p. 25.

8. The Mijikenda have a four-day week, the fourth day is reserved for official, spiritual functions and other important functions and thus visitors are not allowed into the Kayas.

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

Hadrian's Wall and its Associated Museums

by Christopher Young

Christopher Young is an archaeologist who worked for many years in the English Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments. In 1995, he became director for the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site, completing and implementing its Management Plan. Since 1999, he has been English Heritage's first Head of World Heritage and International Policy and he is a member of the United Kingdom delegation to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. He advises on Management Plans and new nominations for World Heritage Sites in England, and on policies for protecting and enhancing those sites. He has also worked in Laos, Mongolia and Saudi Arabia for management and nomination issues.

Hadrian's Wall is one of fifteen World Heritage Sites in England.[1] It is important because it is the most elaborately conceived and one of the best preserved of all the frontiers of the Roman Empire which stretched from the north of Britain to the Euphrates and the Atlas Mountains taking in the whole Mediterranean world and large parts of western Europe on the way. The Tyne–Solway isthmus was selected by the Emperor Hadrian in A.D. 122 as the limit of Roman rule in Britain. This was already protected by a road with forts along it between at least Corbridge in the east and Carlisle in the west. After his death in A.D. 138, the frontier was moved north to the Forth–Clyde line but from the late second century Hadrian's Wall was again the principal control line on the northern frontier and remained so until the end of the Roman presence in the early fifth century.

The wall itself was impressive in its conception, probably standing over five metres in

Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

height, and sited, mostly, to take the maximum advantage of the terrain through which it passed. At every Roman mile there was a small fortlet or milecastle which provided a controlled crossing point as well as holding a patrol garrison. Between each pair of milecastles were two turrets or watch-towers. Running in front of it, except along the precipitous crags of the Whin Sill, was a ditch. Behind the Wall at varying distances a massive ditch flanked on either side by a bank, now known as the Vallum, marked the rear edge of the immediate wall zone. Placed along or near the wall, as finally built, were sixteen forts, surrounded by civilian settlements. Eventually all these elements were linked by a military road. Lying behind the wall on the Stanegate were the Roman towns of Carlisle and Corbridge. The approaches from the north were protected by outpost forts. East of the eastern terminal of the wall at Wallsend there was a supply base at South Shields. West of the western terminal at Bowness-on-Solway, the system of milefortlets and towers was extended at least as far as Maryport with more forts as far south as Ravenglass to provide further protection.

The landscape of the Tyne–Solway isthmus is very varied as is its post-Roman history and use, and this has obviously had a significant effect both on the preservation of the Roman sites and on their modern setting. In the east, on Tyneside, the setting of the wall is predominantly urban. In east Northumberland, the country is mainly arable and open while in the central sector the ground rises to over 300 metres above sea level and the land-use is pastoral. East Cumbria too is pastoral, except for the built-up areas of the City of Carlisle, but lower and more gentle in appearance. West of Carlisle, the landscape changes again as the defences run along the edge of the Solway tidal marshes, and there are further differences along the west Cumbrian coast, part open, part industrial and urban.

Throughout, the Roman remains survive remarkably well. Even in the most developed areas there are substantial remains visible, and much more is known to remain buried. In east Northumberland, the wall itself is largely buried but its associated earthworks are visible for many miles and have had major effects on the post-Roman landscape. Other features, such as the Roman town of Corbridge, are well preserved. In the central sector, the remains of the wall and what went with it are prominent and often dominant in the local landscape. In this area too, other traces of Roman occupation such as the Stanegate road and its forts are well preserved as are more ephemeral features such as marching camps. West of the central sector the archaeology is less obvious but still visible in places as earthworks and more frequently as buried deposits. Investigation has shown that remains survive even beneath urban Carlisle and down the Cumbrian coast at sites such as Maryport.

The management plan

It is British government policy that the requirement for effective management systems should be met by the development of World Heritage Site Management Plans. This has been endorsed by the United Kingdom government in Planning Policy Guidance Note No.15 (PPG15). Work began on the Hadrian's Wall

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

World Heritage Site Management Plan in 1993 with the first plan being published in 1996 and the second in 2002.[2] Because of its size, the variety of different land uses to which it is subject, and the complexity of its ownership and management there was a particular need for a plan for this World Heritage site. Less than 10 per cent of Hadrian's Wall and its associated features is managed primarily for conservation and access. The vast bulk is owned and occupied by private individuals or other bodies who, while generally conscious of, and responsive to the needs of conservation, do not have these as their primary objective in management of their resources. The World Heritage Site is part of a living and worked-in landscape and has to remain so. In addition to a very large number of owners, the size of Hadrian's Wall means that there are also involved over a dozen local authorities with conservation, tourism and economic development remits, together with a large number of central government agencies and departments with varying responsibilities for planning and conservation of the natural and man-made environment (access, agriculture and forestry) and for economic development. As a consequence, there are a lot of pressures and opportunities within the World Heritage site and its setting, mainly related to development and agriculture issues.

The Management Plan does not have statutory backing and therefore works only on the basis of consensus among stakeholders. It was produced by working closely with all stakeholders along the wall including not just local and national government agencies but also landowners, farmers and local residents. Its implementation and periodic revision is overseen by a Management Plan Committee made up of representatives of all these stakeholders and supported by a small Hadrian's Wall Co-ordination Unit. The plan aims to achieve the appropriate balance between various interests and objectives, namely the conservation of the archaeological sites and their characteristic landscape, the maintenance of a prosperous and flourishing agricultural regime sympathetic to the site and its setting, the sustainable access to Hadrian's Wall, and the contribution made by the nomination of the site on the World Heritage List to the regional and national economy. The Management Plan also includes policies relating to the museums of Hadrian's Wall and their role in this context.

Museums on Hadrian's Wall

Hadrian's Wall is seen by many as essentially an open-air site extending over a very large area. It is also seen as basically an archaeological site. While this misses many of its aspects, it is true that the basic methods used to investigate the wall and its associated sites have been archaeological. This has meant the accumulation of vast quantities of archaeological material over many years and the consequent development of museums to house it. The earliest collection by the Senhouse family at Maryport began in the 1570s. This collection of Roman inscriptions is now the basis of one of the newest museums on the site, the Senhouse Museum at Maryport. Further collections began in the nineteenth century and active collection continues to the present.

3

3. Hadrian's Wall is a transboundary World Heritage Site important as part of the frontier of the Roman Empire from the early second to the early fifth centuries.

Altogether there are ten museums along Hadrian's Wall which hold significant collections of Roman material. Over half have been established in the last half-century and two within the last decade. Management responsibility is shared between six different bodies. Some of the museums are essentially site-based in that they display and curate material from one place only. This is true of Arbeia (South Shields), Segedunum (Wallsend), Vindolanda, Corbridge and Housesteads and of the Senhouse Museum at Maryport. The museum at Chesters Fort appears at first to be a site museum but in fact holds the collections of John Clayton, a nineteenth-century landowner of much of the central sector of the wall, from several sites along the wall. This makes it more similar in the nature of its collection to Tullie House Museum, founded by the City of Carlisle in 1893, and the Museum of Antiquities of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, opened in 1960. These are both regional museums, not tied to a specific site on Hadrian's Wall but holding very significant collections of material from it among their other collections. Their collections from the wall originated in the nineteenth century from the work of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological and

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

Antiquarian Society and the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne respectively. Finally, there is the Roman Army Museum at Carvoran which offers displays and presentations on the Roman army and Roman life.

Although some of the most splendid finds, such as the silver Corbridge Lanx and the Vindolanda tablets, are in the British Museum and other national collections and some inscriptions have travelled as far as the Vatican, the bulk of the material found along Hadrian's Wall is in these ten museums. Taken together, the collections of these ten museums are one of the best collections of Roman material in the world both in quantity and range. They are an essential counterpart to the physical remains of the World Heritage Site since they provide invaluable evidence of how the frontier was used and about the lives of the people who lived there. The collections cover all aspects of Roman life. They include large numbers of inscriptions which give invaluable dating evidence as well as the names of many of those who garrisoned the frontier or lived near it. The written material also includes the wooden tablets from Vindolanda which have revolutionized our understanding of how people lived and what preoccupied their thoughts. There are also architectural fragments which shed light on the form of the buildings. The waterlogged deposits at Vindolanda have conserved wooden, leather and other organic objects which provide evidence of aspects of life not normally present. There are also large quantities of metalwork, coins and pottery. Some of the collections are reasonably static. Others continue to grow as the result of fieldwork and excavation, and one new site-based museum (at Wallsend) was opened as recently as 2000.

These ten museums have diverse management arrangements. Of the site-based museums, Housesteads, Chesters and Corbridge are curated by English Heritage as managers of those sites though ownership of the collections rests in each case substantially with other bodies. The Vindolanda Museum and the Roman Army Museum are run by the Vindolanda Trust established in 1970 to care for and investigate the fort site at Vindolanda. Both Arbeia and Segedunum are run by Tyne and Wear Museums which provides museum services for the whole of this conurbation. The Senhouse Museum is managed by a Trust established solely to care for and display the collection built up by the Senhouse family since around 1570. Tullie House Museum in Carlisle is run by the local authority as a municipal museum while the Museum of Antiquities at Newcastle is managed by the University of Newcastle upon Tyne along with its other museums. Some of these bodies have access to core funding to cover their responsibilities while others are dependent on earning all or most of their income from visitors.

The roles of the museums

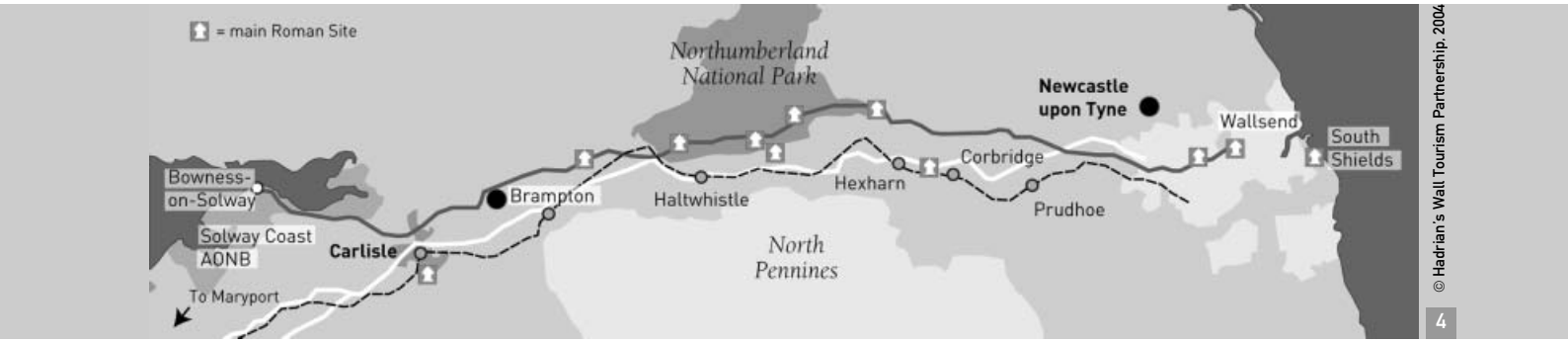
The function of the modern museum can be very wide ranging in meeting the needs to curate and research its collections on the one hand and to improve access to them on the other hand. Basic research and curation are important to all of the museums. Several are still actively involved in fieldwork and excavation as at Vindolanda.

The museum at Segedunum (Wallsend) was opened in 2000 as part of a multi-million pound project funded, among others, by the

European Union and the Heritage Lottery Fund to re-investigate and display the remains of the eastern terminal fort of Hadrian's Wall as a focus for sustainable tourism. Because of its urban location next to a modern shipyard it was possible to create a bold and imaginative building dominated by the viewing tower from which it is possible to see the whole fort laid out for view. At Arbeia, the supply base for the frontier excavation of the fort is carried out by the museum service.

provides material for schools on topics such as the Roman Empire and the Roman Army as well as on Hadrian's Wall itself and on the sites of the partners in the project.

This is just one of a number of innovative projects being developed by museums. Two of the shortlisted finalists for the 2004 Gulbenkian Prize for Museum of the Year (given to the British Museum with the most innovative or inspiring



4. The major sites along Hadrian's wall.

Other museums are less closely linked to such active fieldwork. All take very seriously their role to improve access to their collections both physically and virtually. Most have either been redisplayed in recent years or have ambitious plans to do so in coming years. Museums have also developed educational programmes for school parties since their educational role is very significant. All sites and museums along the wall have joined in the development of the Hadrian's Wall Education Directory. This summarizes the facilities and services at each site together with information on things such as handling collections for study. A smaller group of museums and sites have joined together in Wallnet.[3] This website

idea) were museums on Hadrian's Wall. Segedunum was nominated for a public art project linking the site to its surrounding town with installations and signs in the town. The Museum of Antiquities at Newcastle University have developed their Reticulum project since 2000 to provide a website and teachers' pack linking children with professional work in the area and making use of the museum's online collections. A distinctive feature of the website is the childrens' artwork.

Museums perform a vital role in the Hadrian's Wall World Heritage site.[4] They curate the artefacts from generations of archaeological work along the wall and on its associated sites.

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

They also play a vital role in disseminating information and raising awareness of the World Heritage Site. The examples cited above demonstrate the innovative approaches being used to carry the significance of the collections beyond the confines of the museums into the community at large. They are diverse in their nature and management but are developing means of co-operation and joint working. The development of museums along the wall has been fundamental to circulating our knowledge of it in past generations. Now and in the future they will continue to fulfil this role. They will also be at the forefront of improving access to the Hadrian's Wall site with the ability to develop new and innovative means of intellectual and direct access.

NOTES

1. See the exhaustive website at : http://www.hadrians-wall.org/ and the recent publication by the Getty Conservation Institute http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications/pdf_publications/hadrians_wall.pdf/.

2. *Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site Management Plan July 1996*, English Heritage, London, 1996 and *Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site Management Plan 2002–2007*, English Heritage, Hexham, 2002. Copies of the Management Plan can be obtained from the Hadrian's Wall Co-Ordination Unit, Abbeygate House, Market Street, Hexham, Northumberland, NE46 3LX, or downloaded from http://www.hadrians-wall.org/.

3. See: http://museums.ncl.ac.uk/WALLNET/Index.htm/.

4. All web sites of the Hadrian's Wall associated museums are accessible at http://www.hadrians-wall.org/.

Ellis Island Immigration Museum

by Diana Pardue

Diana Pardue is director of the Museum Services Division at the Statue of Liberty National Monument and Ellis Island, part of the US National Park Service. She was involved with the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island restoration projects in the 1980s which created the Ellis Island Immigration Museum. Her current duties include overseeing the museum programme and cultural resource management of the historic structures, archeology, history and ethnography of the sites. She is also a member of ICOM and chair of the International Committee of Architecture and Museum Techniques (ICAMT).

National Park Service

The National Park Service was created in 1917 to oversee a system of fifteen national parks and twenty-one national monuments, areas designated of national significance that had been set aside by the United States Government to be preserved and interpreted to the public. In 1933 an executive order transferred other national monuments and parks under the War Department (including the Statue of Liberty and many battlefields) to the National Park Service. In 1935 the Historic Sites Act was passed by Congress, directing the National Park Service to 'restore, reconstruct, rehabilitate, preserve, and maintain historic and prehistoric sites, buildings, objects, and properties of national historical and archaeological significance' and to 'establish and maintain museums in connection therewith.' At that time, history museums lagged behind museums of art or natural history in many ways. The National Park Service's inclusion of historical sites in its mission has greatly added to the source of ideas about history museums, particularly as most park museums are represented in the category of site museums.

museum INTERNATIONAL ISSN 1350-0775, no. 223 (vol. 56, no. 3, 2004)
Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

This year the National Park Service is celebrating the centenary of the beginning of site museums on National Park sites. These museums offer greater depth to the visitor experience and help expand the understanding of the people and events that represent the common heritage of the United States. The museum collections in these sites are also extraordinary in that they are preserved where they belong: in the national parks, the authentic places where important events and cultural experiences really happened. This context, this direct relationship to place, is unique as most museums are repositories of objects far removed from the places that make them important. The development of Ellis Island into the Ellis Island Immigration Museum is one example of this direct relationship to place within the National Park Service.

Ellis Island history

Ellis Island, a (11.14 hectare) island in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty, is located off the New Jersey shoreline in Upper New York Harbour. During its turbulent lifespan as an immigration station, between 1892 and 1954, approximately 12 million immigrants were processed through its doors. While a 'Portal of Hope and Freedom' for many immigrants, it was also an 'Island of Tears' for the 2 per cent who were turned away when they failed to meet the requirements of the various United States immigration laws and regulations. Its administrators and staff processed some 5,000 people daily during the peak years of immigration and up to 11,747 on one record day. Approximately three quarters of the immigrants entering the United States during the first half of the twentieth century were processed at Ellis Island, making it the principal immigration station in the United States.

The physical and social history of Ellis Island reflects important transitions in attitudes toward immigration in the country. Immigration peaked in 1907; it declined sharply during the First World War, quickly revived after the war, and then was altered dramatically with the passage of restrictive immigration laws in the mid 1920s. These laws, which placed a ceiling on annual immigration and established quotas for each foreign nation, also provided for the inspection of immigrants by United States consular officials in the immigrant's country of origin. Thereafter, only the immigrants whose papers were not in order or those who required medical treatment at the Public Health Service hospital facility were sent to Ellis Island. The facilities were increasingly used for the assembly and deportation of aliens who had entered the United States illegally, or of immigrants who had violated the terms of their admittance. The facilities were also used for alien detainment purposes during the Second World War. While the early history of Ellis Island reflected the liberal attitudes of the United States towards immigration, the latter half of its life was shaped by a new restrictionist policy which succeeded in narrowing the open door to the United States.

The Statue of Liberty was designated a National Monument in 1924 and became part of the National Park Service in 1933. Ellis Island was added to the Statue of Liberty National Monument in 1965 by Presidential Proclamation with the intent of preserving the original immigration and hospital buildings and creating the Ellis Island Immigration Museum.

5

5. Aerial view of Ellis Island, 1995.

Planning the Immigration Museum

In December 1980 the National Park Service released a plan exploring the range of possible actions for the management and development of the abandoned Ellis Island buildings. Anticipated federal budget constraints forced the conclusion that only a few of the historic structures at Ellis Island could be preserved. The overwhelming public response of serious concern to the preliminary proposals indicated that more support might be available from private fund-raising.

A commission of corporate CEO's spearheaded the private fund-raising effort appointed by President Reagan and the Secretary of the Interior. The Commission's mandate was to supervise the fund-raising to support the renovation and development of Ellis Island. In view of the new fund-raising efforts, the General Management Plan for Ellis Island, stated that co-operation between federal and private groups made possible a much more ambitious plan than envisioned earlier.

The Main Building, where millions of immigrants were processed, was identified as the site for the new Ellis Island Immigration Museum. The basic approach was to rehabilitate the building for use as a major museum, to preserve its historical character and to restore key areas

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

intimately associated with the immigration processing to their historical appearances. Other areas would be adaptively converted into modern facilities, such as the theatres. Structural modifications and the removal of historic fabric were not completely prohibited but such actions required justification on the basis of the functional requirements of the proposed use of the space as well as health and safety concerns. In general, any intervention or compromising of historic building fabric was evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

The Ellis Island Interpretive Prospectus was developed to define the main museum themes and guide development. The primary objective of this museum was to convey the site-specific story of Ellis Island in the broader context of immigration history. This plan outlined a complex blend of media including exhibits, audiovisual programmes, educational services and publications. The challenge was to create the proper balance of creativity and innovation in keeping with the historic character of this special space. The ultimate goal was to make Ellis Island an exciting place to visit, while retaining the ambiance and historic association of the site.

Development and operations

The Main Building was developed as a major site museum, the Ellis Island Immigration Museum, preserving the historic character of the building and capturing the impressions of the profound human drama that unfolded there. In addition to the immigration story, Ellis Island is seen as a symbol of a nation of individuals with diverse ethnic and cultural identities and a nation based on common principles, the most cherished of which is liberty.

The three main themes of the museum are:

1. *Through America's Gate; The Ellis Island Story*, focusing on the immigration processing story that took place on Ellis Island and illustrating key activities through a blend of exhibits, oral histories, historical furnished settings, audiovisual programmes and personal services.
2. *Peak Immigration Years*, exploring the broad story of immigration in the United States as a historical and contemporary phenomenon, from both a local and global perspective and looking at the diverse forces that pushed and pulled immigrants to the United States, through exhibits, oral histories, audiovisual programmes, and personal services.
3. *The Peopling of America*, examining the ambiguity of national identity through elements of ethnic retention and cross-cultural interaction. The common elements of United States culture and the persistence of ethnicity are explored as well as the national transition from a labour-deficient nation in its early years, illustrated by the forced migration of slaves and indentured servants, to a more balanced economy with restrictive immigration policy in the twentieth century.

In contrast to the nationalistic approach used in the American Museum of Immigration, once located in the base of the Statue of Liberty,

which used the melting pot theory of migration, the Ellis Island Immigration Museum takes a broader, global perspective. The exhibits are organized thematically in an attempt to present universal concepts and draw on examples of specific ethnic or cultural groups. Reasons for immigration are presented by illustrating the diverse factors that pushed and pulled immigrants. Famine, political instability, prejudice and industrialization all encouraged migration to some degree. These themes are presented through large photographs, oral histories and videos and draw on the experiences of diverse ethnic groups. In doing so, both the commonality of experiences and unique circumstances of particular ethnic groups are presented. One example is the fibre-optic globe that displays worldwide migration patterns over different periods of time. The flickering lights illustrate the scale and flow of major migrations from the sixteenth to twentieth century, including major intracontinental and intercontinental trends.

In the development of this museum, the National Park Service attempted to take every reasonable step to make the museum fully accessible from an architectural and programmatic perspective. A special task force on accessibility prepared a report making detailed recommendations for Ellis Island and continued advice during development. The goal was to ensure that visitors with physical, sensory and mental disabilities have experiences comparable with other visitors. Signs, exhibits and information desks were designed for use by ambulatory and wheelchair visitors and staff. All video programmes were closed-captioned and scripts of all audiovisual programmes are available for use by hearing impaired visitors. Tactile exhibits that include a scale model of the buildings on Ellis Island and a floor map for sight-impaired visitors are available beside the information desk.

The museum today

The museum actively invites visitors to place their own ordinary family history in the larger context of immigration into the United States through Ellis Island. The museum site staff encourage visitors who know anyone formally processed at Ellis Island or worked there to participate in the Ellis Island Oral History Project by filling out a form available at the information desk or in the library and being interviewed in the onsite recording studio. The American Family Immigration History Center provides computers where visitors can trace their family arrival history through the New York harbour passenger list database. The Wall of Honor, where family names can be engraved, is another invitation for visitors to see themselves as part of the historic site museum.

The *Treasures from Home* exhibit displays cherished objects brought through Ellis Island as precious mementos of the old country. Family photos, personal papers, individual family cases with oral histories are included. Visitors are delighted to see familiar objects they have seen before in their own homes. The *Peak Immigration Years* exhibit focuses on the lives of ordinary immigrants rather than famous individuals and the impact on migration to the families, work and community life is most visible. The section called *The Closing Door* describes forces leading to immigration restriction. Anti-immigration cartoons, posters and placards, listing exclusionary

policies of labour unions and American racism are displayed. The *Peopling of America* exhibit places immigration to the United States in the larger context of 400 years of worldwide population movements. It includes three-dimensional charts and graphs to portray the rising proportion of female to male immigrants, sources of immigration to the United States from Europe, the Americas, Asia and Africa, numbers of people arriving and departing from the United States for specific years, and where groups of different ethnic ancestry have clustered in the United States today.

The museum, through its exhibits and programmes, clearly shows the differences among immigrant groups and reveals the diverse reasons for immigration. It presents the immigrants who came through Ellis Island as decision makers and actors rather than passive victims buffeted by alien forces. It describes immigration into the United States through Ellis Island as part of a worldwide population movement and the long-term process of peopling the North American continent. It explores the mass immigrant experience rather than highlighting successful individuals and counters the pressures of Americanization with the persistence of ethnic cultures. It is through these different ways that the museum actively encourages visitors to see themselves as part of the historical site.

6

6. Ellis Island Immigration Museum. Main entrance.

The continuing work of the museum is to show the ongoing dynamic interaction of immigrant cultures with American culture beyond the Ellis Island story so that the narrative of United States history and the boundaries of national culture are not only amplified but also altered by the continuing challenge of incorporating foreign peoples into the national experience. Issues of cultural authority and public myth-making that have shaped the ways that immigrants have been seen in the larger culture need to be continually explored as well as the ways in which the immigrants themselves interpret their history.

The National Park Service continues its efforts to preserve the entire island by stabilizing and rehabilitating the remaining hospital and immigration buildings on the island. Public planning to determine how to use these buildings for public use continues with the assistance of private foundations and partnerships with other preservation and educational organizations. The museum continues to work with other migration museums and historic sites in North America, Europe, and other parts of the world to tell the story of world migration.

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

Keeping the Wetland Wet: how to integrate natural and cultural Heritage preservation[1]

by Sidney C. H. Cheung

Sidney C. H. Cheung received his anthropological training in Japan and is currently associate professor in the Department of Anthropology at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He has carried out field research in Japan, Hong Kong and South China, and published several articles based on his research on visual anthropology, anthropology of tourism, cultural heritage, food and identity.

In the recently released government advisory booklet entitled *Hong Kong 2030: Planning Vision and Strategy*,[2] there is a section devoted to tourism development over the next three decades which begins as follows:

'Tourism is an important economic sector and a major source of employment opportunities. With the continuous growth of international, interregional and domestic travel demand, and the ongoing measures to attract international visitors and facilitate the entry of mainland tourists into Hong Kong, it is envisaged that the total visitor arrivals could rise to about thirty-seven million by 2011, forty-seven million by 2016 and some seventy million by 2030, of which two thirds could be from the mainland. Due to the many uncertainties associated with these figures, the forecast growth of visitors will need to be monitored and reviewed regularly.'

Therefore, we know that tourism will be an important aspect of Hong Kong's future development; however, in addition to shopping, eating and leisure activities, the government has shown interest in additional kinds of tourism:

Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

'With the growing popularity of eco-tourism and heritage tourism, there are opportunities to make good use of the wealth of natural and cultural heritage of Hong Kong to enrich the experience of visitors. . . . The sustainable development of eco-tourism and cultural tourism calls for sensitivity to the environment and cultural relics, and close co-operation among the Government, the private sector, conservation groups and the community.'

The involvement of different parties should be placed in the following order: firstly, local communities; secondly, local and international conservation groups as well as NGOs; thirdly, the Hong Kong SAR Government; and lastly, the private sector, mainly real-estate and property developers. We want to ensure that local residents recognize and approve of the impacts of development.

Understanding the significance of historic buildings in heritage construction is important in view of the emergence of cultural tourism.[3] Moreover, the same approach applied to heritage assets might appear useful for the preservation of heritage in its globality. I would like here to describe the preliminary findings of my recent research project on the social relations between commercial fishponds and wetland conservation in the north-western part of the New Territories, raising some questions regarding sustainable development in balancing the local economy with natural heritage tourism.

Hong Kong's only world class wetland conservation site, Mai Po, the wetland in the north-western part of the New Territories (located in the northern part of Hong Kong), together with its surrounding commercial fishponds, is facing an immeasurable threat which results from many factors: infrastructural development, ageing of the local community, pollution, and fish market competition from mainland China. The impact may cause the decline of the traditional fishing industry, which might even lead to the loss of one of Hong Kong's traditional occupations in the area. Most importantly, we are not only losing the traditional freshwater/brackish fish farming industry which reflects the post-war social and economic development of contemporary Hong Kong society, but also efforts to maintain the natural heritage of both the wetland conservation and a refuelling station for many migratory birds travelling between the north and south every year.

We can hypothesize that less than half of the existing fishponds will remain in operation ten years from now, while some portions of the land may be taken over by infrastructural and residential development. Even though a large area of marsh will probably be donated for wetland conservation (in exchange for residential development from developers such as Cheung Kong, New World, Henderson, etc.), there is no overall plan for natural heritage conservation or sustainable development in the above wetland area. I therefore wish to examine the meanings of wetland conservation and the socio-economic development of freshwater fishpond cultivation in the Inner Deep Bay. I would also like to extend the investigation to the local community's relationships with the government, developers and environmentalists in a cultural-political context, and hopefully identify their problems and challenges for future wetland conservation in that area.

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

Nature-based tourism in Hong Kong

I hypothesize that the demand for local nature-based tourism will continue to increase in particular after SARS and the launch of the Mainland Individual Visit scheme in 2003. Over the last decade, several nature-based tourism projects have become popular among local residents. One of the high-profile activities was held in mid-November 1999, organized by the Agriculture, Fisheries and Conservation Department (AFCD), as part of the millennium events in Hong Kong. AFCD is a government department which was established in the 1960s to help agricultural and fishery industries when Hong Kong shifted from traditional modes of production to light and machinery-based industry. Nowadays, in addition to the agriculture and fishery business, AFCD is responsible for managing all national parks in Hong Kong, which cover 40 per cent of the area of Hong Kong. Its responsibilities include national park management, hiking-trail maintenance, tourist information services and educational objectives.

Several major activities have taken place, such as 'The Hiking Festival 2000' event which lasted from November 1999 to January 2000, and included trail walks and guided eco-tours. The trail walk activity was part of a highlight programme called 'The Millennium Walks' which consisted of ten selected hiking trails within the national parks, and was held over ten consecutive weeks. It started in November and continued until the new millennium with the purpose of encouraging local citizens to use countryside resources wisely and promoting hiking as an environmental-friendly, healthy, pleasurable yet challenging outdoor activity in Hong Kong. Although the target participants for this activity were mainly local citizens, the Hong Kong Tourism Board (previously called the Hong Kong Tourist Association) used this opportunity to introduce a new attraction in Hong Kong: beautiful scenery and the natural environment. In mid October 1999, there was an introductory trip for a Japanese monitor tour joining 'The Millennium Walks' in December 1999. HKTB realized the extent of the demand from Japanese tourists for scenic spots in natural environments all over the world and therefore co-operated with AFCD to publish promotional videos, pamphlets and books about Hong Kong's natural scenery in Japanese. They also promoted Hong Kong's natural beauty in other countries such as Australia and the United Kingdom; four Australian hiking tours participated in November 1999.

In addition to the Hiking Festival 2000, the government has proposed several locations in Hong Kong for the development of eco-tourism. In a 1999 policy address,[4] the government declared its intention to make use of the beautiful natural landscape of Lantau Island and the south-east New Territories (mainly the Sai Kung district) as centres for recreational and leisure activities compatible with the principle of nature conservation. The development of a new marine park has been proposed with a sustainable eco-tourism centre in the Soko Islands, south of Lantau Island, where the valuable marine habitat would be conserved and limited recreation could be authorized. Moreover, the Sai Kung district has been set aside as another recreational centre, utilizing the already existing Sai Kung Country Parks and nearby outdoor facilities. A new aqua-recreation spot in the High Island Reservoir has also been proposed. The

interests of the Hong Kong Government in joining the universal trend towards nature tourism are therefore clear. Yet, strictly speaking, Hong Kong does not have the capacity to develop eco-tourism; the only potential site would probably be the wetland tour in the Mai Po marshes, which has been carefully managed by different groups working together.

From Mai Po marshes wildlife to Hong Kong Wetland Park

The Mai Po marshes are an internationally renowned wetland area,[5] known for decades as a resting place for migratory birds travelling between Siberia in the north and Australia in the south. The ecological characteristics of Mai Po have received special attention since 1976, when they were designated as a Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI). Its surrounding fishpond areas of the Inner Deep Bay are an integral buffer zone serving as water storage facilities and hence reducing seasonal flooding, and containing species similar to the ecological system in the Mai Po marshes. It encompasses a total area of 64 hectares including indoor and outdoor facilities that would be fully opened to the public in 2005.

Nowadays, the Mai Po marshes are an environmentally significant site, visited by over 68,000 migratory waterfowl during the winter, including twelve globally endangered species. It is also a popular rest and refuelling station for migratory birds during spring and autumn. In 1984, the World Wildlife Fund for Nature-Hong Kong (WWF-HK), took over active management of the reserve land which had been let for short-term leases[6] from the government and started the Mai Po Marshes Wildlife Education Centre and Nature Reserve. In 1995, the 1,500 hectares of Mai Po wetlands, including the neighbouring Inner Deep Bay area, were designated as a Wetland of International Importance under the Ramsar Convention.[7] It is the seventh Ramsar Site in China, possessing the sixth largest remaining stand of mangrove forest along the Chinese coastline, and one of the largest reedbeds in Guangdong Province.

Mai Po Marshes, one part of the Hong Kong Wetland Park

Mai Po, though best known for its birds, is truly a wetland of international importance, supporting a wide range of habitats and wildlife. It is an ideal place for spreading our environmental message to the general public. Each year, over 40,000 school children and members of the general public visit the wetland. Since Mai Po is a restricted area managed by WWF-HK, admission is only granted to those who apply for guided tours in advance, or to individuals with special permits. (Guided tours are available for the general public during weekends and public holidays on payment of a tour fee.) The demand for such visits is great and they are often booked several months in advance. In order to enhance the promotion of education and public awareness of wildlife and the natural environment, some part-time interpreters have been trained and hired as guides for public tours. They are usually graduates or undergraduates from one of the universities of Hong Kong. Furthermore, volunteer groups of WWF-HK members are organized twice a month to work with field staff on particular projects at weekends.

© Sidney Cheung

7

7. External view of the Gei Wai Shrimp Museum.

Several parties in the management of the area are involved. The overall managing body is WWF-HK, one of the non-governmental organizations dedicated to work on conservation and environmental education in Hong Kong. WWF-HK manages the area in close cooperation with the governmental body, the Agriculture, Fisheries and Conservation Department. Its responsibility within the Ramsar site is the overall conservation management and enforcement of regulations, including the issuing and checking of permits. It also assists traditional shrimp farming and fishponds preserved in the area both for research and educational purposes. Significantly, in the brochure regarding its management plan, one of the objectives is 'to realize the full potential of the Ramsar site for education and raising public awareness with respect to wetland values'. By seeking to promote and facilitate community involvement in all aspects of management in order to enhance its effectiveness, local people also participate in the management of the area.

In order to control the number of tourists visiting the Mai Po marshes, the Hong Kong Wetland Park was built to meet the demand of nature-based tourism. '*Located at the northern part of Tin Shui Wai, the site of the Hong Kong Wetland*

Park was originally intended to be an ecological mitigation area (EMA) for the wetlands lost due to Tin Shui Wai New Town development. In 1998, the Agriculture, Fisheries and Conservation Department and the Hong Kong Tourism Board initiated the 'International Wetland park and Visitor Centre Feasibility Study' on expanding the EMA to a wetland eco-tourism attraction. . . . The Hong Kong Wetland Park demonstrates the diversity of Hong Kong's wetland ecosystem and highlights the need to conserve them. It presents an opportunity to provide an educational and recreational venue with a theme on the functions and values of wetlands for use by local residents and overseas visitors. The Park comprises some 64 hectares and its construction is phased in two stages. The Phase 1 venue was opened in December 2000 and the whole project is scheduled for completion in 2005.'[8]

The interest in wetland tourism has grown in recent years for domestic and international visitors alike. In order to preserve the wetlands in the Mai Po Reserve, we should inform the rising number of visitors of the significance of environmental conservation by disseminating conservation ideas through outdoor activities. To meet these expectations, I think the Hong Kong Wetland Park should include the display of some artefacts, a photo exhibition on the process of wetland conservation, interactive models demonstrating the ecological system, and a theatre corner showing films of the area. It is important to provide such a space where more visitors can enjoy sharing knowledge while learning both the history and significance of wetland conservation. More importantly, it can enhance environmental awareness among all visitors and reduce damage caused by the ignorance and carelessness of tourists. I believe the Hong Kong Wetland Park can contribute to solving the problem, but the documentation of social and economic change that has taken place in the local community should not be overlooked.

The importance of freshwater fishpond farming in Hong Kong in relation to wetland conservation

We know that the development of a fishing community reflects significant social change in Hong Kong, but we lack intensive case-studies that illustrate the complexity of the freshwater fishing industry, which is located mostly on the border zone between Hong Kong and Shenzhen.[9] I have therefore studied the sociocultural background of the fishing community in Inner Deep Bay, using wetland conservation as a starting point for understanding the conflicts of interest that have arisen in the area.

Inner Deep Bay has its own traditional freshwater fishing industry that probably began around eighty years ago. Some studies have shown that the development of commercial fishponds began in the 1920s, especially in areas such as Nam Shan Wai, Tai Shan Wai, Wu Shan Wai, Shan Pui, Wang Chau, etc. Since the mid 1940s, Inner Deep Bay has been the main site for cultivating *gei wai* shrimp, grey mullet, snakehead and other freshwater fish; for decades, it has provided the major supply of freshwater fish in Hong Kong. Until the late 1960s, many paddy fields were transformed into fishponds. There are not, however, many details except for scanty information about local development in these areas. As from the 1970s, fishpond land was continuously sold to property developers who were not interested in a sustainable

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

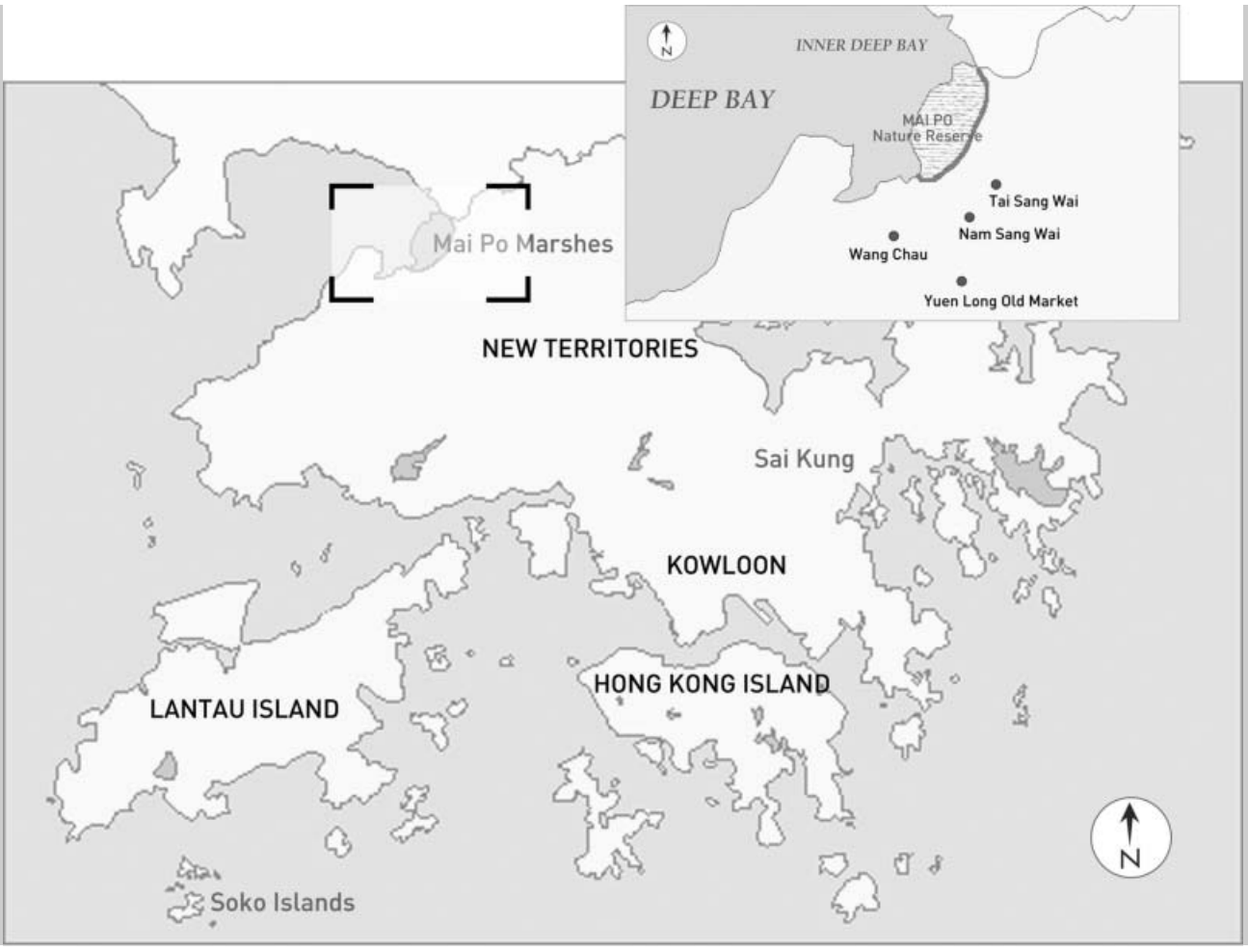
fishing industry but in submitting various kinds of development proposals with high economic returns. Most of those proposals were, however, rejected from the very beginning. Therefore, before any concrete development plans were defined, fishponds were leased to local farmers (in fact, some of them were former owners of those fishponds) who maintained fish farming in the area.

Inland freshwater pond cultivation was actually a major industry in the 1970s since it supplied most of the freshwater fish for the local market. For example, up to the 1980s, grey mullet accounted for roughly 40–50 per cent of the local, inland fish in Hong Kong, and had been widely used for banquets and festive ceremonies. Apart from local market demand, remainders from fish farming were naturally taken care of by migratory birds resting in the marshland. Nowadays, the industry is shrinking because of a lack of manpower and the high cost of operations compared with the mainland. With various kinds of social, economic and physical pressures, we are now facing the tremendous danger of losing those fishponds as well as buffer areas of the wetland in Mai Po. This is even more significant because Inner Deep Bay's fishpond serves not only as a mitigation zone and a source of traditional local food but also as a major food supplier for migratory birds, increasing the overall conservation value of Mai Po marshes and the Inner Deep Bay.

According to the Agriculture, Fisheries and Conservation Department, the situation of fishpond culture can be summarized as follows: *'In 2001, the local inland ponds, covering an area of approximately 1,059 hectares, produced 2,550 tonnes of freshwater fish amounting to $41 million. About 95 per cent of the farms are engaged in polyculture (bighead carp, silver carp, common carp, grass carp in combination with tilapia or grey mullet). The remaining 5 per cent practise monoculture of carnivorous species such as snakehead and sea bass. Marine fish such as seabream and spotted scat are also bred in fishponds near the coastline. The majority of fry and fingerlings are imported from the Mainland and Taiwan, while there is some local breeding of snakehead. Some of the grey mullet fry may also be caught in local coastal waters. Traditionally, fry are stocked in early spring and most fish species reach marketable size in eight to twelve months.*[10] Therefore, the loss of these fishponds means much more than the decline of the fishpond industry in Hong Kong, directly effecting wetland conservation in terms of the decline of water quality, an increase in pollution, and the loss of a refuelling station for many migratory birds, etc.

With intensive rural development and rising property values since the late 1970s in Hong Kong, land administration in the New Territories has become much more complicated than ever before, especially as land usage has shifted from primary production to industrial and new-town development. Society increasingly needs more land for development, but at the same time, the Government has become more aware of the importance of environmental conservation and sustainable development as priorities in future land and social policies. As we can see from recent controversies regarding village zoning and a railway spur line extension, Hong Kong is still at a crossroads of natural heritage conservation. Recently, however, even the buffer zone areas of the Mai Po marshes have been targeted for residential development. In December 1999, a property developer proposed the development of an area of some 80 hectares of fishpond land in the south-

western part, outside the Mai Po Nature Reserve, on condition that a complex of twenty-storey apartments would be built on 5 per cent of the targeted land area, while 95 per cent of the land would be donated for wetland conservation. There has, however, recently been a legal contest between the fishpond farmers and the developer, as the farmers resisted moving away from the grey mullet fishponds in the area for 'regrouping';[11] the lawsuit ended and it was announced that normal fishing activities would continue, with a foundation set up to cover the lost earnings from running the reserve. The blueprint of this proposed property development with an environmental impact assessment report is expected to be completed soon. If it is approved by the Environmental Protection Department, construction will start and we can assume that other proposals will follow in the future.



8

8. Detailed map of the biodiversity management zone of Mai Po, designated a Wetland of International Importance under the Ramsar Convention in 1995.

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

Therefore, within ten years, we can envisage a significant change in the area with a number of questions raised regarding the sustainable development and conservation of the wetland zone. Will it be possible for traditional methods of freshwater pond cultivation to continue and what will happen when all elderly farmers can no longer work? Who will take over the traditional freshwater fishpond cultivation so that migratory birds can still come to rest and can find food in the fishponds?

This case shows that before masterminding future policy on natural heritage conservation in the area, it is necessary to have a holistic understanding of the socio-historic development of the Inner Deep Bay, and the study of the fishing industry is one of the best examples for relevant nature conservation issues in Hong Kong. Finally, I suggest that wetland conservation will only be successful when the inflow of visitors is controlled and a long-term development policy is implemented for the buffer zone areas where most of the commercial fishponds are currently located.

NOTES

1. Paper presented at the Hoi An Workshop on Cultural Tourism, organized by UNESCO and the Hoi An Center for Monuments Management and Preservation, held in Hoi An Ancient Town, Viet Nam, 21 December, 2003.

2. Hong Kong: Hong Kong SAR Government, 2003.

3. I have been studying the social and political development of the Ping Shan Heritage Trail in Hong Kong, and results have been mentioned and discussed in some of my publications: Cheung, Chi-fai, 'Nature Reserve Plan Unveiled for Wetland Site', *South China Morning Post*, 28 October 2002.

Cheung, C. H. Sidney, 'The Meanings of a Heritage Trail in Hong Kong', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 1999, pp. 570–88.

Cheung, C. H. Sidney, 'Martyrs, Mystery and Memory Behind a Communal Hal', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2000, pp. 29–39.

Cheung, C. H. Sidney, 'Tourism, Land Use and Heritage Preservation', *Cultural Heritage, Man and Tourism* (Report of the Asia-Europe Seminar Hanoi (Vietnam, 5–7 November 2001)), Belgium: Laboratory of Anthropology of Communication, University of Liege, 2002, pp. 108–11.

Cheung, C. H. Sidney, 'Remembering through Space: The Politics of Heritage in Hong Kong', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 2003, pp. 7–26.

4. Hong Kong SAR Government, *Hong Kong Chief Executive Policy Address*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong SAR Government Press,1999.

5. See http://www.wwf.org.hk/, the Mai Po site.

6. A short-term licence is granted for one year and is thereafter renewable on an annual basis for a fee of HK$1 (US$0.13).

7. The Convention on Wetlands, signed in Ramsar, Iran, in 1971, is an intergovernmental treaty which provides the framework for national action and international co-operation for the conservation and wise use of wetlands and their resources. There are currently 138 Contracting Parties to the Convention, with 1,369 wetland sites, totalling 119.6 million hectares, designated for inclusion in the Ramsar List of 'Wetlands of International Importance' (from the website at: http://www.ramsar.org).

8. http://www.afcd.gov.hk/others/wetlandpark/html-en/.

9. Chu, Wing Hing, 'Fish ponds in the Ecology of the Inner Deep Bay Wetlands of Hong Kong', *Asian Journal of Environmental Management*, Vol. 3, No, 1, 1995, pp. 13–36.

Richard Irving and Brian Morton, *A Geography of the Mai Po Marshes*, Hong Kong: World Wide Fund For Nature Hong Kong, 1988.

Lawrence Lai and Ken Lam, 'Pond Culture of Snakehead in Hong Kong: A Case-study of an Economic Solution to Common Resources', *Aquaculture International*, Vol. 6, 1998, pp. 67–75.

10. http://afcd.gov.hk/fisheries/text/eng/aquac.htm/.

11. Cheung, Chi-fai, 'Nature Reserve Plan Unveiled for Wetland Site', *South China Morning Post*, 28 October 2002.

The War of the Walls: political murals in Northern Ireland

by Bill Rolston

Bill Rolston is professor of sociology at the University of Ulster's Jordanstown campus, just north of Belfast. For three decades he has been researching and writing on politics, society and culture in Northern Ireland with a particular focus on the causes and consequences of political violence. His publications on wall murals include: Drawing Support: Murals in the North of Ireland*, Belfast, Beyond the Pale Publications, 1992;* Drawing Support: Murals of War and Peace*, Belfast, Beyond the Pale Publications, 1996;* Drawing Support: Murals and Transition in the North of Ireland*, Belfast, Beyond the Pale Publications, 2003.*

Historical background Loyalist murals

In 1690 decisive battles for the English crown were fought on Irish soil. Prince William of Orange had challenged the incumbent king, his father-in-law James II, and their armies, with both kings present, met at the Battle of the Boyne, near Dundalk. William's army won. But the decisive battle which led to James abdicating and fleeing to France was later in the year, at Aughrim, near Limerick. Whatever the changes William's victory brought to English society and politics, they had profound effects on Ireland. The defeated native Irish in the centuries afterwards were subjected to brutal penal laws which blocked their economic and political advance and kept the peasantry in abject poverty. Catholicism was suppressed as the 'Protestant ascendancy' was established and held sway until well into the nineteenth century.

One hundred years after the Battle of the Boyne, an organization was formed to

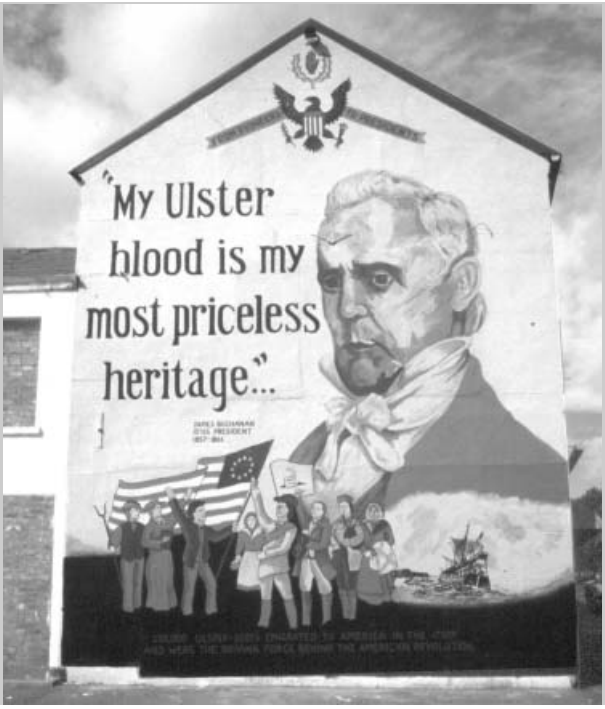
museum INTERNATIONAL ISSN 1350-0775, no. 223 (vol. 56, no. 3, 2004)
Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

celebrate the victory. The Orange Order, as it was known, celebrated on the date of the battle, 12 July,[1] with marches wherein they honoured 'the pious, glorious and immortal memory of King William' who had given to them as Protestants in Ireland their 'freedom, religion and laws'. The order went through a number of peaks and troughs in the years that followed, but by the end of the nineteenth century was well established. Its annual celebration, 'the Twelfth' as it was popularly known, brought together Protestants of all classes who marched with bands and banners. The banners were carefully painted by artisans and showed scenes of British imperial power, biblical stories, etc. But by far the dominant image was that of King Billy, as he was affectionately termed, on his horse crossing the Boyne.

© Bill Rolston

9

9. King Billy's victory at the Battle of the Boyne, 1690. West Street, Ballycarry, County Antrim, 2000.



© Bill Rolston

10

10. Portrait of 15th US President Buchanan whose parents came from County Donegal. Ainsworth Street, Belfast, 1999.

By the start of the twentieth century, this image began to be transferred onto gable walls where it could be viewed all year round rather than on one day only as was the case with banners. Eventually other themes were painted too – such as the Battle of the Somme, or the sinking of the Titanic, built in Belfast. But the image of King Billy was central. Each Protestant area vied with others to have the most ornate depiction of Billy and the Boyne, and these murals were repainted each July, sometimes over five decades. Even before partition in 1921, they

were the focus for the unionist population of the north of Ireland celebrating its solidarity. Once the Northern Ireland state had been born in bloodshed and built on discrimination, the significance of 'the Twelfth' and its murals became even more important for unionism.

But Northern Ireland in the last quarter of the twentieth century was a very different place from what it had been in the first quarter. Civil rights campaigners had been beaten off the streets, the British army had been deployed as the legitimacy of the state collapsed, British administrators were now demanding that local politicians and bureaucrats act fairly and inclusively, loyalist military organizations such as the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) were slaughtering Catholics and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) had in effect declared war on British institutions in Ireland. Unionism splintered, with some seeing the need for liberalization and others holding out for the old ascendancy. In that situation, the solidarity which 'the Twelfth' celebrations had come to symbolize was no longer there and the King Billy murals faded from the walls as a consequence. For a time they were replaced with ornate depictions of flags, crowns, bibles and other inanimate symbols.

By the late 1980s, the political scene had changed again. An agreement between the London and Dublin governments which gave Dublin some minimal say in the affairs of the North, was met by fierce unionist resistance on the streets. And in tandem, the murals were transformed. Now the over-riding image was of UVF or UDA men, usually wearing ski-masks and bristling with weapons. From this point on the murals no longer represented the wider unionist community, but became the calling card of the loyalist paramilitary groups. Whichever group controlled an area festooned the walls with murals of armed men – part self-adulation, part an attempt at reassurance for the local population that the paramilitary group concerned would defend them from the IRA. Sometimes rivalry between the two main loyalist paramilitary groups would lead to feuding and the murals would become victims of the violence which erupted. It was not unusual when the battle was over for the victors to leave the damaged murals of the vanquished as a reminder of who had won and who had lost.

Paradoxically, even after the loyalist groups declared a ceasefire in October 1994, the paramilitary iconography held centre stage. In fact, if anything, the intensity of the message was increased. Central to the loyalist psyche has always been the slogan 'No surrender'; so it was necessary to impress on everyone that a ceasefire was not a surrender. In addition, as the peace process developed falteringly, part of the reason for the unreconstructed message on the walls was a warning to loyalist politicians not to move too far beyond the paramilitary groups from which they emerged and not to give away too much in negotiations.

A decade into the peace process the heavy military imagery seems increasingly incongruous. As a result, loyalists have come under pressure, quite literally, to change their image. That pressure has, not surprisingly, come from outside – from critics who do not share the political aspirations and fears of the loyalist paramilitary groups. But more significant is the fact that the pressure is also from within, from ex-prisoners and sympathetic clergy who want to keep younger people from

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

ending up in prison, and more, to give people a sense of community and pride which does not begin and end with depictions of armed men.

There have been some successes in this regard. Some historical themes have been depicted, including a number of new King Billy murals. Perhaps most interesting is the attempt to encourage loyalists to see themselves not so much as British, but as Ulster-Scots, people whose ancestors emigrated to Ireland from Scotland, and some of whom later emigrated to America. So, there are depictions of American Ulster-Scot figures such as the sixteenth United States President James Buchanan and frontiersman Davy Crockett. Another development has been the emergence of community pride murals which depict more local heroes. In East Belfast, for example, 'famous sons' such as C.S.Lewis and George Best now adorn the walls.

In terms of where loyalist murals may be heading, it is still too early to predict. Certainly the historical and community pride murals are a breath of fresh air in a situation where even locals admit the larger-than-life depictions of gunmen are stifling. At the same time, these are the depictions which are still in the majority. And while loyalist paramilitary groups continue to feud among themselves or view any political development with suspicion there is little chance of a much more relaxed approach to the question of who can paint what on the walls of their areas.

Republican murals

Because of the extent to which the Northern Ireland state was run as a one-party unionist state for 50 years, public space was presumed to be unionist, and that presumption was enforced by a partisan police force. Given that, the opportunities for nationalists to paint murals were slight. That situation changed dramatically with the republican hunger strike of 1981. Politically motivated prisoners had had special category status; they did not wear prison uniforms and were allowed to organize themselves according to the military group to which they belonged. When special category status was removed, they set out on a long and escalating campaign of resistance which led eventually to ten of them starving to death in the summer of 1981. Along with the massive rallies in support of their demands, youths in republican areas began to paint murals – literally 'drawing support' for the hunger strikers. Portraits of the hunger strikers, including the first to die, Bobby Sands, were widespread, as well as some murals which depicted the prisoners as victims of a brutal system. But more common were depictions of the hunger strikers as potentially victorious, breaking the will of the British Government not merely to 'criminalize' them, but also to remain involved in Ireland.

11

11. Portrait of republican prisoner Bobby Sands, who died on hunger strike, 1981. Falls Road, Belfast, 2000.

In that light, it is not surprising that from the beginning these republican muralists also painted murals portraying the armed activity of the IRA. However, at no point in the intervening years did the paramilitary imagery on the republican side come to dominate in the way it did on the loyalist side. Republicans have always found many other themes to explore. For example, during the hunger strike Bobby Sands had stood for election to the British Parliament and had won. This boosted the arguments of those within the republican party, Sinn Féin, who argued that electoral struggle was as important as armed struggle in achieving their goals. So, as Sinn Féin became increasingly involved in elections in the 1980s, election murals became a common sight. Often these allowed rare moments of humour in an otherwise serious genre; one urged republican voters to 'fight back' and showed a ballot box falling on the head of a British soldier. Another reprised Edvard Munch's 'The Scream', and urged voters: 'Give them that screaming feeling – vote Sinn Féin'.

Unlike loyalists, republicans could also draw on a deep well of history and mythology in their murals. Mythical heroes such as Cuchulainn[2] or battles involving brawny Celtic warriors were popular in West Belfast in particular in the 1980s. In 1997, on the 150th anniversary of the worst year of the Famine, a dozen murals were painted on this traumatic period of Irish history. But, as during the hunger strike, alongside the depictions of victimhood were those of resistance: the United Irishmen rebellion of 1798, and the Easter Rising of 1916, for example.

Another way in which the republican murals were noticeably different from those produced by loyalists was in the international themes portrayed. The struggles and plight of various oppressed groups globally struck a deep resonance with Irish republicans. So, there have been murals relating to events in South Africa, East Timor, Nicaragua, and Palestine, as well as depictions of global icons such as Che Guevara, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.

12

12. Depiction of the Easter Rising in Dublin, 1916, with portraits of Padraig Pearse, Countess Marcievicz and James Connolly. Whiterock Road, Belfast, 2003.

13

13. Portrait of Che Guevara, and Irish republican prisoners reading one of his books. Shiels Street, Belfast, 1998.

As the range of themes indicates, republican murals are the product of a wide republican community which includes community groups, pressure groups, political activists and military activists. This has had significant consequences. Unlike on the loyalist side, murals are not simply commissioned by whichever paramilitary groups is dominant in a local area. Some murals are commissioned by other constituencies within the community, and many simply result from the desire of republican mural painters to make a statement. Muralists on the republican side have a political and artistic freedom which those on the loyalist side do not; they are trusted by the community to paint because they are part of the ferment of discussion and development in that community, not merely artisans painting to order. This is why depictions of IRA men and women with ski-masks and guns became only one theme in the overall repertoire. It is also why republican muralists were able to drop that theme after the IRA declared a ceasefire in August 1994.

Over the last decade the only new murals depicting IRA activities have been memorials to dead colleagues. But even there these murals are not to be confused with contemporary loyalist ones. Although they show men (and women) with guns, these are not masked and anonymous ciphers. Rather, they are portraits of actual people from the community who were killed during the violent conflict. Moreover, they are frequently shown not merely posing with guns, but as an integral part of the community; one mural, for example, shows a fully armed IRA unit being fed lunch in a local house by two white-haired women.

During the same period the other themes in the repertoire have continued to be used to great effect. To take merely the example of murals on international themes: there is a wall on the Falls Road, the main thoroughfare through nationalist West Belfast, which has become in effect an international wall. There are murals depicting Israeli Defence Force soldiers confronting a Palestinian woman; Sevgi Erdogan, a member of the Turkish Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front, who died on hunger strike in July 2001; Leonard Peltier, a native American serving two life sentences for the 1975 murders of two FBI agents during a siege at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota; a pro-ETA mural painted by Basque visitors to Belfast; and a mural in support of Catalonian freedom.

Finally, republican muralists have been quick to comment on current and ongoing political events in a way loyalist muralists have been unable to. For example, although the issue of Orange marches attempting to pass through nationalist areas has been at the centre of major political unrest on a number of occasions in recent years, there are no loyalist murals which attempt to communicate to the observer why the Order wants to march where it is not wanted. On the other hand, there are many murals which have explained why nationalist residents do not want such displays of triumphalism in their community.

The situation is such now that the older tradition of mural painting in the north of Ireland, although still clearly strong in terms of the quantity of murals produced, is at a crossroads. Loyalist muralists cannot continue indefinitely to

paint heavy military murals during a peace process without eventually appearing to have lost the political plot. It is too early to say whether the recent trend towards historical murals and community pride murals in loyalist areas will win out and ensure that this century-old tradition restructures and thrives. Republican muralists on the other hand grow out of a community which is confident that time is on their side. Despite being the latecomers in the process of mural production, they have a sense of vision, a belief that change is inevitable; their murals consequently display a confidence and exuberance which is immediately clear to see.

Despite the likelihood that the mural painting tradition will continue, for the most part conservation is not an issue which arises at all in relation to the murals. In fact, most murals are destroyed by muralists, usually the actual muralists who painted the original mural. This is because the political point made in the mural is no longer seen to be relevant, and a more relevant point needs to be made. So, the wall is taken for the new message. In this way, the painters reveal that they are political activists who paint, rather than painters who take on political themes. The only exception to this is a series of murals in Derry painted by a group of three called the Bogside Artists.[3] Some of them are trained, and as such display traits more akin to fine artists than the political muralists of the North; for example, they regard their murals as an outdoor gallery, to be preserved and maintained. Interestingly there have been fierce debates between them and the republican muralists who feel that their murals have made the point and should be replaced by others which make more contemporary points.

The art establishment in Northern Ireland has been loath to engage with the political murals. The local art institutions – the Arts Council, the Arts College, etc. – have no involvement in these murals and for the most part have studiously avoided them. In the past this may have derived from a fear of being accused of being soft on terrorism. But the attitude reveals a deeper understanding of the chasm which exists between 'art' and 'propaganda'. They have not even archived photographs of the murals, leaving that for the most part to a few individuals.[4]

The paradox is that, despite a decade having passed since the ceasefires, political murals continue to be a hot political issue for the art establishment. It is not merely that they have missed out on three decades or more of archiving the murals, but that they are reluctant to start working on this memory. If heritage and conservation issues are nowadays considered as tools for reconciliation, then an opportunity is being missed and salvaging the historical memory of these important artefacts is being left to a number of individuals.

NOTES

1. In fact, the Battle had taken place on 1 July according to the old Julian calendar. England adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1752, requiring the addition of 11 days. Thus, the new date for the Battle of the Boyne became 12 July.

2. In the epic story *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (The Cattle Raid of Cooley), Cuchulainn is the hero who fights single-handedly against the invading army of Queen Mebh after all his fellow warriors have been put under a spell. As such he became an icon for the republican rebels in the Easter Rising who, like him, faced overwhelming odds, in this case the might of the British Empire.

 Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

3. See the work of the Bogside Artists at http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/bogsideartists/menu.htm/.

4. See for example, the painstaking Directory of Murals compiled by Jonathan McCormick since the mid-1990s (http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/mccormick/index.html), as well as my own books, which cover murals from the early 1980s (http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/bibdbs/murals/rolston.htm/, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/bibdbs/murals/rolston1.htm, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/bibdbs/murals/rolston2.htm/.

The Historial de la Grande Guerre in Péronne[1], France: a museum at a former First World War battlefield

by Susanne Brandt

Susanne Brandt is a member of the scientific staff at the Historisches Seminar of the Heinrich-Heine University in Düsseldorf. Her work covers military history, the culture of memory, film and visits to battlefields. Her publications include books and articles, among which, her latest book, Vom Kriegsschauplatz zum Gedächtnisraum: Die Westfront 1914–1940, *Baden-Baden 2000, and recent paper 'Dies: Reklamefahrten zur Hölle oder Pilgerreisen? Schlachfeldtourismus zur Westfront von 1914 bis heute'*, in: Tourismus Journal, *Vol., 7, 2003, pp.107–124.*

What is the meaning behind a historical site? Does it convey to the visitor something which cannot be expressed through words or pictures? Why are museums built where historic events have taken place? This article seeks to answer these questions by taking a close look at the *Historial de la Grande Guerre* Museum in Péronne.

Located in the small town of Péronne in the French *département* of the Somme, this museum of the First World War opened its doors in 1992. In the midst of a small park stand the remains of an old fortification with a modern extension. Just as these new and older buildings are joined together, the museum succeeds in both satisfying the visitor's curiosity while engaging the interest of the public. Conceived by its founders as a museum of the First World War, the *Historial* is situated in a region where, from 1914 to 1918, soldiers from all over the world came to fight alongside and against each other. Many monuments and cemeteries bear testimony to the

museum INTERNATIONAL ISSN 1350-0775, no. 223 (vol. 56, no. 3, 2004)
Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

number of Australian, African, and American soldiers who fought here. The aim of the museum is to present the First World War from an international perspective without neglecting various national viewpoints. The creators of the exhibitions considered it essential to respect differing historical and national interpretations, and believed that visitors' interest in history could best be stimulated by evoking a variety of often contradictory viewpoints. What is particularly new behind this museum concept is a desire to present European history less as a new version of national history than as a many-sided multinational event.[2]

The *Historial* in Péronne: exposing a many-sided event

On the museum's ground floor a huge array of postcards and items of uniforms, together with patriotic and other curious items resembles so many other collections assembled throughout the world since 1914. The 'minds' behind the *Historial*, well aware of the strong competition of other museums, notably that of nearby Verdun, were quick however to realize that so many objects left on their own did not constitute a successful museum. They knew that the exhibitions could not speak for themselves, but needed instead to be presented to the visitor within a historical framework. They were also aware that a modern museum must continually evolve in order to ensure that visitors keep coming back. It soon became clear that the traces of the war which were still visible, such as cemeteries, monuments, battle trenches, shelters, and shell craters had to be incorporated into the planning of the museum. Many vestiges of the war which might have been overlooked by the casual visitor are now clearly indicated by signposts bearing the symbol of the Somme, the poppy. The founders furthermore had the foresight to establish a research centre in the museum which might offer a forum for discussion for specialists from throughout the world while putting a vast collection of material at their disposal. Since its opening, the *Historial* has hosted not only international symposia, but has held workshops and presentations by younger generations of historians, as well as a continuous series of exchange exhibitions.

In the presentation of its objects the Historial has attempted something of the revolutionary. For the most part exhibitions have been taken out of glass cases and placed within visitors' easy reach. The creators of the *Historial* exhibitions have taken the trouble to present soldiers' uniforms together with other equipment, while personal and private effects such as passports, photographs and letters are displayed in compartments set into the floor. These objects have not been placed, as is so often done, on mannequins made as much as possible to look like real soldiers, but are shown to visitors without any sort of glass protection. Many concerns were in fact raised during the planning phase of the museum about possible damage from dust, and about theft, but the creators knew what they were doing. Experience has indeed proved them right: there has not been any increase in cases of museum theft. And the presentation of the uniforms with their grave-like compartments, suggesting that the soldiers might have buried themselves there and died, has been well received by the public. The museum is not overloaded with objects, and great efforts have been made in their presentation. One space, for instance, has been dedicated to etchings

by the German artist, Otto Dix, who, after the war, set about portraying his experiences on the front with merciless candour.

The museum in Péronne has not only encouraged other World War museums in the region to modernize their concepts of exhibitions, and to bear in mind that the younger visitor might not be able to tell the difference between the uniforms of a German, British or French soldier. It has furthermore awakened public interest in the First World War and in the still visible remains of this tumultuous event: overgrown trenches, vaulted cellars, underground galleries, and even a long-buried tank have been unearthed in the last few years, and are now indicated with signs for the passer-by as vestiges of the Great War.

In the small town of Vauquois, near Verdun (France), this newly awakened interest in the First World War has led to the recent discovery of an underground tunnel system built during the war by French and German soldiers in order to mine each others' installations. The tunnel system has gradually been unearthed, and is now accessible to the public, albeit under expert supervision. In May 1916 the Germans detonated 60 tonnes of heavy explosives in Vauquois, leaving behind an enormous crater which spans the entire area of the village. The slightly overgrown site is now open to the public. To watch people walk along the rim on the other side of the crater, one is struck by the sheer size and force that the explosion must have had. And a visit to the underground tunnel will give the visitor an idea of how much the modern soldier of that time was also a labourer. These soldiers were mostly miners, and were often stationed here for more than three years. Very few of them actually died in close combat; most were to perish in mine blasts. In the Somme, the huge Lochnagar mine crater has also been preserved, and this site remains the starting point of memorial celebrations held every year early in the morning of the 1st of July. Nowhere else is the destructive power of modern weaponry so evident as on the edge of this 30 metre-deep, 100 metre-wide crater.

War sites and variety of museographic *agencements*

The archaeology of this long past World War is witnessing a growth in activity not only in the Somme, and not only among professional historians, but also among curious laymen from all over the world. There are a large number of private museums in France and Belgium, such as the Hill 62 Museum (Sanctuary Wood) near Zillebeke in Belgium, the Hooge Crater Museum near Ypres, and the Hill 60 Museum (Zillebeke-Ypres) which are the fruit of the dedicated efforts of local residents. Not all objects on display are 'authentic': the red Fokker Dreidecker at the Hooge Crater Museum is actually a copy made out of styrofoam. And the Musée des Abris in Albert has the reputation, and rightly so, that all of the objects on display in its collection can be purchased. The fine line that distinguishes interest in history from a passion for weapons and military paraphernalia is typical in this particular culture of memory.

Anyone who travels in the Somme in search of First World War remains runs the risk of finding more than he or she may have counted on. The first impression of the 'Tommy-Bar' in Pozière is that of patriotic kitsch: two life-size mannequins

dressed as Tommies, or British soldiers, stand conspicuously at the door of the bar. In the window lie polished, lavishly engraved shell cases. The walls of the bar are filled with photographs and illustrations of the Battle of the Somme, and in the middle of it all the supposedly last remaining football used during the war by German and British soldiers when they secretly played together. In the café garden and next to the children's playground the visitor will find a trench that seems to get larger each year, where scenes from trench battles are portrayed with original props and mannequins. In and around the trenches and between the rusty barbed-wire wander several geese. This naïve re-enactment of history, whose aim is simply to show how it really was, but which runs the serious risk of confusing the diversity of experience, will no doubt inspire visitors with feelings of surprise and disgust. This local attraction, which in fact is not only intended for British tourists, shows how vivid the First World War remains in some people's memories, and is nevertheless worth the visit. German visitors may also come to understand just how varied memories of the war are in other countries. The shell cases on display in the window of the 'Tommy-Bar' were already being made during the war by soldiers and produced for a mass market, and are classic examples of military kitsch. The *Historial* in Péronne has also contributed to recognition and study of such long neglected objects as this 'trench art'[3] as part of the soldier's everyday life.

On the road to La Boiselle, numerous signposts indicate the location of the front line of the Somme Offensive, a six-month-long battle which began on 1 July 1916. They mark something which can no longer be discerned today, but even more importantly show in a visually striking way just how little land was won in all those months of fighting. The cemeteries lining the roads attest to the bloodshed. It is worth parking one's car for a moment and going into one of the cemeteries. The many long rows of black crosses (German cemeteries), or white crosses and tombstones give the visitor some idea of what lies behind the sobering number of lost lives. A glance at the inscriptions reveals just how many young men were laid to rest here. The Menin Gate in Ypres in Belgium has the same effect. The tower, which was built on the street from where British troops marched off to the front, is covered with some 54,900 names carved in stone. These men still remain on the battlefield; their bodies have never been recovered. And until this day the ritual of the 'Ceasefire' takes place every evening beneath this tower. The street is closed off while members of the volunteer fire brigade play the 'Last Post' on the trumpet, music which traditionally honours fallen soldiers. Many take part in this brief ceremony every day, and the many small paper poppy-flowers and wreaths deposited at the foot of the tower show that the memory of the fallen is still alive in the hearts of family members, even of grandchildren who never knew them personally. Similar memorials to those who have no grave include the Thiepval-Memorial, which overlooks the Ancre-Ebene and bears the names of more than 73,000 missing British soldiers, and the British Tyne-Cot cemetery near the Belgian town of Passchendaele.

It is especially the destruction of which there are no longer any traces that deserves the attention of the modern traveller. Many towns

around Verdun were totally destroyed by artillery fire; nothing remains of them apart from a few stones, and no effort was ever made to rebuild them. Monuments have been erected to show that something once stood there, such as what the Conseil Général of the Somme has done in opening to the public the remains of Fay, a town that was totally razed to the ground. In some places a single stone or marker indicates where a house once stood. This was often done in the aftermath of the First World War for pure propaganda purposes, in order to make more visible Germany's responsibility and to legitimize reparation claims. Presentations of this kind give visitors an idea of how difficult it is to show the most frightening effects of war: death and destruction. This is in fact the real challenge for museums, whose task is made a great deal easier by the possibility of examining the traces of war more closely.

Stories versus history

In Ypres, the cloth market dating back to the middle ages, which was totally destroyed during the war and scrupulously rebuilt in the 1920s, has recently hosted another World War museum (In Flanders' Fields 1998). Like the *Historial* in Péronne, this museum tells the story of the war by putting selected museum items into a historical context. The exhibits can no longer speak for themselves, if indeed they ever could. But their story has to be told, and this is a task that all museums and tourist organizations must now set themselves. At the museum in Ypres a conscientious attempt has been made to bring the modern visitor into contact with the past. Upon entering each visitor receives a card which bears the name of a particular soldier or civilian. At various points in the museum it is possible to learn more about the fate of that person. 'My' British soldier did not survive the war; at the end of the exhibition I was to learn that his body lay in the Tyne-Cot cemetery. So I made my way to Tyne-Cot, and with the help of a local visitors' book found out that he had in fact no grave of his own, but that his name was engraved instead on a huge semi-circular memorial wall surrounding the burial site. For the very first time I entered a graveyard, not just to visit, but in the hope of finding an actual person. And without either wishing or believing that it might be possible to come closer to an event in the past, or that I could travel in time and completely enter into the past, I was in fact able to get something of the feeling that a family member might have in searching for a lost one. I found however that his name stood on a gravesite alongside the name of an unknown person, so that my position once again reverted ultimately to that of an outsider. This is for me the ideal of any convincing museum presentation: it brings the visitor into the past while clearly maintaining a temporal distance, in such a way that the present never entirely dissolves into the past.

Near Diksmuide in Belgium, in the small German Vladslo cemetery lies a very well-known memorial. In October 1914 Käthe Kollwitz, the German artist and peace activist, lost her son Peter on the western front. Over a period of twenty years – the memorial was erected in 1932 – she considered the idea of giving a formal expression to her grief and to the memory of her son.[4] In contrast to other memorials of that time which focus on soldiers who fought or died, Kollewitz wished to include herself in the work. This was perhaps because, just like a museum piece, a memorial

functions only as a means of communication and recognition in the eyes of the observer. The sculptress Kollwitz originally set out to represent herself and her husband as parents mourning on their knees before their dead son. But soon enough she realized that her lost son would be more appropriately represented not in stone, but as an empty space between the two parents. The memorial in its final form depicts the grief-stricken parents, while their son remains completely absent from the picture. The task of the observer is then to dwell on the missing figure. The sculpture provides no answer to whether the young man was a brave soldier, or whether he was proud to have died for Germany. The memorial likewise suggests no explanation for the death, but lays emphasis on the grief which separates the parents and appears to isolate them. It is this that makes the sculpture special, particularly when one considers how much Käthe Kollewitz's contemporaries must have searched for a sense behind mass death, while only a few found the courage and strength to deal with losses without any explanation or apparent sense. A museum could hardly hope to make such a strong impression as a visit to this cemetery and to such a deeply moving memorial.

Verdun, the Somme, and Flanders contain countless vestiges of the First World War. Every traveller, whether it be one who stops for a few hours on the way to somewhere else, or one who wishes to delve into history for several days – all can find some piece of history which still has meaning for them today and which can lead to an deeper understanding than that acquired in any book. Museums such as the *Historial* offer no summary interpretations, they wish merely to provide a stimulus. One of the most important differences with the war years lies just in this respect: war museums already established before the end of hostilities (such as the Imperial War Museum in London) along with many other all-but-forgotten museums were also once tools of propaganda. They either legitimized the war, encouraged public sacrifice and endurance, or served to further the cause of pacificism and mutual understanding among peoples. And those traces which still can be seen today were not just preserved by chance: in December 1921, the French Chamber of Deputies adopted a bill concerning the '*vestiges et souvenirs de la guerre*' which stipulated that 236 war remains were to be declared 'historic monuments' and as such were to be protected from any modification or destruction. More specifically this meant that the sites of significant battles, trenches, tunnels, mine craters, as well as destroyed towns were to be preserved. The wounds left behind, the text states, shall forever remain visible on the face of France, in order to educate not only other nations but also

© Béla Kurek

14

14. The memorial on Morthomme hill near Verdun, denoting the place where the French stopped the German advance.

future generations of France's own victims. If the earlier idea that a visit to a battlefield could be used as propaganda can give way to the conviction that the traces of past events can have many interpretations, then it is to the benefit of modern museums such as the Historial de la Grande Guerre in Péronne.

NOTES

1. See website: http://www.historial.org/.

2. H. Hairy, 'Das Historial de la Grande Guerre in Péroninne', in Hans-Martin Hinz (ed.), *Der Krieg und seine Museen*, pp. 156–62, Frankfurt/Main/New York, 1997.

3. N. J. Saunders, *Trench Art. A Brief History and Guide, 1914–1939*; N. J. Saunders, 'Matter and Memory in the Landscapes of Conflict: The Western Front 1914–1999', in Barbara Bender and Margot Winer (eds.), *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile, Place*, pp. 37–53, Oxford/New York, 2001.

4. Reinhart Kosselleck, 'Kriegderdenkmale als Idenditätsstiftungen der Überlebenden', in Odo Marquard and Karlheinz Stierte (eds.), *Identität*, pp. 255–76, Munich, 1979.

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

The Place-Royale Interpretation Centre: a triple challenge

by Claire Simard

Claire Simard works in the field of culture, communication and administration. She has held various positions in the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in Quebec, notably as director of Communication, director of Arts and Cultural Facilities (for the Montreal area) and director of Services for Artists. She was appointed Director-General of the Museum of Civilization in 2001. In addition to being in charge of this national institution, she also directs the Museum of French America, the Place-Royale Interpretation Centre, the Chevalier House and the Museal Reserves of the National Capital of Quebec.

The latest example of a museological complex under the auspices of the Museum of Civilization, the Place-Royale Interpretation Centre,[1] inaugurated in November 1999, is located on the site where Samuel de Champlain founded the first permanent French settlement in America in 1608. Place-Royale is part of the historic perimeter that earned Vieux-Quebec the recognition of UNESCO in 1985. The historic neighbourhood of Quebec City is, in fact, the first urban ensemble north of Mexico to be listed among the cities and towns of the world's cultural and national heritage. The inclusion of the Place-Royale Interpretation Centre within a highly symbolic historical site, at the dawn of the 400th anniversary of the foundation of Quebec (in 2008), was complicated by the fact that a sensitive balance had to be struck between the weight of the past and contemporary reality. It was a veritable challenge that the Museum of Civilization had to take up.

A restored historic site, set in time

A narrow strip of land sandwiched between Cape Diamond and the St Lawrence River, Place-Royale

Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

15

15. View of the historic district of Quebec, founded by the French explorer Champlain in the early seventeenth century, included on the World Heritage List in 1985.

is a well-protected and strategic natural haven which Samuel de Champlain chose for the construction of his Residence when he arrived in the New World on 3 July 1608.

> *'De l'isle d'Orléans jusques a Quebecq y a une lieue, j'y arrivay le 3 juillet, où estant, je cherchay lieu propre pour nostre habitation, mais je n'en peu trouver de plus commode, ny mieux situé que la pointe de Québecq, ainsi appelé des sauvages, la quelle estoit remplie de noyers.'*[2]

It was the beginning of a great adventure, that of the city which is not only the capital of Quebec but also that of French culture, which is still very much alive on the North American continent. This is without a doubt what Quebec's Minister of Cultural Affairs wanted to emphasize when he decided to restore this deteriorating neighbourhood during the 1960s. To this end, he acquired nearly all the houses located within the perimeter and resolved to restore the buildings to their eighteenth-century appearance. By re-creating in a striking manner the urban milieu of the French regime, he brought residents and visitors to the heart of Nouvelle-France. The Minister therefore reinforced the symbolic value of the site which had been chosen by Samuel de

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

Champlain. This affirmation of the French presence corresponded, moreover, to an exuberant collective consciousness in Quebec at the beginning of the 1970s.

However, during the 1978 conference, held in Quebec City, on the future of Place-Royale, the choice of the Minister of Cultural Affairs to restore the neighbourhood to its former appearance was challenged. The main criticism focused on the decision to set the landscape in a specific time of its history, erasing its architectural evolution as well as contributions that were made after the French period.

Contributing to the revitalization of the neighbourhood

It is therefore in a neighbourhood with an eighteenth-century look, and against a background of conflicting opinions that, nearly twenty years later, the plan to create the Place-Royale Interpretation Centre became reality. A neighbourhood renowned for centuries for its port activities nurtured an historic site that has become a major tourist attraction in Quebec City. Approximately 1,150,000 tourists visit Place-Royale annually. The neighbourhood is driven more by the pace of the peak tourist season than by the daily life of its several hundred inhabitants. This reality raises the question of the plurality of urban functions: residential, commercial and institutional. As regards the first two, the social consensus is clear enough: Place-Royale should be a neighbourhood where residents go about their daily business and where tourists can also find their place harmoniously. The historic value of Place-Royale, the beauty of its site, a dynamic cultural and social life and prosperous economic activity are all vital for its equilibrium and authenticity. On an institutional level, it is the historic interpretation of the site that was seen as a priority. This mandate was entrusted to the Museum of Civilization which took over from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in 1990.

The task of the Museum of Civilization is first of all to reveal life as it was in the past but it must also play a part in contemporary life and help to strike a balance between an understanding of the past and a recognition of the issues of the future. The function of interpretation is primordial in this respect. It fits in with both a heritage environment and a fragile urban fabric, seeking the links between past, present and future.

The Museum of Civilization chose to concentrate on the interpretation of the whole urban environment. Instead of being located in four historic houses and a public information centre, as planned by the Ministry following restoration, the museum authorities preferred to concentrate all the activities required for the interpretation of urban space in one spot, the Hazeur and Smith houses.[3] This single site is the strategic instrument whereby the museum can concentrate its programme and welcome the public all year round.

Locating the Interpretation Centre in the Hazeur house provided numerous advantages. Like the historic site itself, the centre is located between the St Lawrence River, closely linked to the development of Place-Royale, and Cape Diamond.

It backs on to the Côte de la Montagne which was developed by Samuel de Champlain in 1623. It opens onto the square Royale, in front of the bronze statue of King Louis XIV, next to the Church of Notre-Dame-des-Victoires and remnants of Champlain's Residence which we hope to open to the public on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of Quebec.

Civilization joined forces in this venture. SODEC's creation of a Place-Royale Commission, made up of representatives from institutions, residents and trades people, was decisive. The Commission, as a forum for exchanging views, enables members to become more aware of the experience of their colleagues, and to reach a consensus on how Place-Royale is to be developed. Without denying the

16

16. Aerial view of the historic district of Quebec.

17

17. The *Place Royale*, restored in the 1970s, represents characteristics of the colonial period, Nouvelle-France.

By streamlining spaces for interpretation, the museum has been able to vacate buildings which now have other uses such as residential housing and businesses. The Museum of Civilization therefore contributes, however modestly, to the revitalization of the neighbourhood and the reinforcement of the urban fabric. Meeting the needs of the area was pursued during the development of the architectural and museographic programme of the Interpretation Centre.

The Société de Développement des Entreprises Culturelles (SODEC), which owns the Place-Royale housing trust, and the Museum of

potential of the area for tourism, everyone recognizes that the combined functions of a lively neighbourhood where housing, businesses and institutions cohabit is an important aspect of its historic vocation. It guarantees the quality of life of its citizens and the authenticity of the heritage experience offered to visitors. The Interpretation Centre is the driving force behind this renovation. Architectural plans provided an opportunity to adopt a consensual approach where, thanks to dialogue between the participants, support for a project developed (although it aroused reticence initially), and even a certain feeling of belonging, by including a community hall for the local residents.

Ultimately, the project was part of an overall approach and can be defined as a symbiosis between the three functions that are essential to the life and authenticity of the historic neighbourhood: housing, business and tourism. Interpretation plays a strategic role in relating the basic history of Place-Royale without detracting from the vital and contemporary aspect, and thereby contributes to strengthening the urban fabric.

An architectural challenge: creating a contemporary building that communicates with the historic site

Following a fire in 1990, the Hazeur house was in ruins. A three-storey stone façade, a vaulted basement and a courtyard divided by low walls were all that remained. The size of the empty space created by the fire in the heart of the square provided the opportunity to integrate a contemporary building which would interact with the historic surroundings.

As a new institutional occupant, the Centre had to write a chapter of the history of the site, leave the mark of its era and to participate in the architectural development of Place-Royale which had been restored during the 1970s. It was quite a challenge! The architects Gauthier, Guité, Daoust and Lestage, who were chosen after a national competition, had to respect the function and concept of interpretation. They also had to show their awareness of the heritage environment while asserting a contemporary approach.

In keeping with the concept of interpretation developed by the Museum of Civilization, the architecture of the Interpretation Centre emphasizes transparency and permeability between the interior and the exterior. The abundant use of glass erases spatial borders and promotes dialogue between the square and the Centre. The architecture therefore participates in the interpretive discourse of the urban scheme. Instead of seeking to retain the visitor within its walls, the Interpretation Centre serves a purpose only in so far as it opens on to the Place-Royale and provides a key to understanding and appreciating the historic site. In various parts of the hall, along the glass wall that separates the Centre from the public staircase that connects the Côte de la Montagne to the square, or better still, on each floor where visual openings are like so many interior belvederes, the Centre is in permanent dialogue with Place-Royale and can therefore create links between interpretation and an object being interpreted. The visitor also has access to two outdoor belvederes offering unique views: one, the vestiges of the Smith courtyard and the other, from the roof, overlooks the whole of the historic site. Thanks to this appreciable and innovative approach, architecture and museography communicate with and complement each other. This spirit of dialogue is also to be found in activities on historical themes that take place during the summer season such as guided tours, educational workshops, theatrical productions, a market from yesteryear, etc. In this way, the museum multiplies points of access to the history of Place-Royale and encourages going back and forth between the historic site and the Interpretation Centre.

A museographic challenge: giving form and life to the past

In certain respects, the Hazeur house is a microcosm of the history of Place-Royale. Its

vestiges accentuate the evocative potential and the capacity to communicate. The Interpretation Centre benefits from the presence of these traces and the sizeable archaeological collection amassed during the excavations carried out on the entire site.

Built on one of the oldest establishments, the Hazeur house testifies to the beginnings of the French presence in America. Its stone façade, although incomplete, shows the evolution of dwellings on the Place-Royale. The first floor most likely dates from 1683–85, the period when François Hazeur had the house built following a fire which had destroyed the Lower Town in 1682. The second floor was rebuilt after a British bombardment in 1759. At the end of the nineteenth century a third floor, in brick, was added. The ground floor, where François Hazeur originally had a shop, saw its façade transformed for the needs of the Interpretation Centre. A vaulted basement and other historic and archaeological vestiges enhance the discourse. That is true of the walls and latrines, but also of prehistoric artefacts which testify to the presence of Amerindian nomads, between 1000 and 400 B.C., unearthed on the site where the multimedia spectacle is currently retracing the major stages in the history of Place-Royale.

The restored Place-Royale brings us to the heart of Nouvelle-France. The Interpretation Centre traces the course of history from prehistoric to contemporary times. A tour of the neighbourhood enables us to discover stone houses, the Church of Notre-Dame des Victoires and the Royal Battery, and a visit to the Centre shows us the men and women who lived behind the façades of the restored houses, throughout the history of Place-Royale. Why not pay the Amerindians a visit, live under Samuel de Champlain's roof, have dinner in the Perthuis house, go for a stroll along the quayside, rent a room at the Neptune Inn, feast at the London Coffee House, purchase imported products from Joseph & Co., conduct business with Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye or William Burns, and listen to residents tell us about Place-Royale today. The Interpretation Centre recounts how people, with their dreams, hopes and ambitions, built homes, earned a living, raised children, conducted business and endured hardship to make Place-Royale what it is. The public will not fail to remember the grandeur of Place-Royale. This tiny strip of land extending into the St Lawrence River, is a meeting point open to the world: a stopping place for the Amerindians, a trading post for furs, an import-export hub under French and English regimes, a point of entry for immigrants and, subsequently, for the first tourists of modern times. Samuel de Champlain himself would be surprised. In constructing the first wooden house, a veritable fortress that served as warehouse, dwelling and trading post, Champlain and the twenty men who accompanied him launched the beginning of a great adventure, that of French America.

Through its various urban, architectural and museographic dimensions, the Interpretation Centre recounts the history of Place-Royale, demonstrating its highly symbolic value. Prioritizing the authenticity of vestiges and collections, giving form and life to the great figures and ordinary people who shaped Place-Royale is an inclusive approach that affords a better understanding of the various meanings of the

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

historic site. The Interpretation Centre is part and parcel of a plural reality and plays a structuring role. It contributes to strengthening the social fabric of the historic neighbourhood, the development of its architecture and the quality of its cultural activities. The Interpretation Centre is therefore at the service of its fellow citizens as well as the tourists who visit the Place-Royale. The Museum of Civilization focuses its endeavours through the perspective of the past, present and future. Faithful to its institutional status, it does the same with the Interpretation Centre, because Place-Royale is also a world that continues to evolve.

NOTES

1. See the site http://www.mcq.org/place_royale/index.html/.

2. S. de Champlain, *Œuvres de Champlain* [Works of Champlain], second edition presented by Georges-Émile Giguère, Vol. 1, p. 148, Montréal, Éditions du Jour, 1973. Translation of the text in English: '*The Island of Orleans is one league from Quebec, I arrived there 3 July, and sought a suitable place for our dwelling but could not find more adequate or better situated than the Point of Quebec, as it is named by the savages, and which is full of walnut trees.*'

3. This choice was even more evident due to a fire which unfortunately destroyed the Hazeur and Smith houses in 1990, leaving the square disfigured with boarded-up façades.

Tipasa, Beacon of Algeria's World Heritage

by Sabah Ferdi

Sabah Ferdi, is archeologist and inspector of heritage in charge of the World Heritage Site of Tipasa since 1982. She is also Curator for heritage exhibitions and founder and active member of several national and international associations for the preservation and study of heritage. She is author of publications on classical antiquity and ancient tardo.

The presentation, conservation and interpretation of a complex site

The idea of heritage evokes something that has been handed down to us by our forebears. More concretely, it is also property that we have come to own either individually or collectively. It is therefore the visible sign of what links us to a place or a period of time: it is an asset which is the substance of our being. Today, heritage, whether cultural or natural, can no longer be surrendered, sold, abandoned or destroyed because its 'discovery' has made of our generation and our culture its inheritors and users, namely those responsible for its preservation and transmission to future generations.

In Tipasa, the human effort to subdue the world, which Ibn Khaldun speaks of in his *Muquaddima,*[1] has combined human enterprise and natural splendour so felicitously. The city of Tipasa, a melting pot and symbol of civilizations, had the ultimate courtesy to conceal its monuments and creations between the sea and the mountains, secluded among pine trees and olive trees and Mediterranean shrubs. In wandering through these vestiges, the visitor unrolls the

museum INTERNATIONAL ISSN 1350-0775, no. 223 (vol. 56, no. 3, 2004)
Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

papyrus of our history and discovers how the inhabitants of our country strove to become integrated into their environment: that which, precisely, as Ibn Khaldun said, makes up 'civilization'.

From places of worship to funerary monuments, our ancestors left unique evidence of their technical know-how and their beliefs on this site. We can measure their capacity to integrate and multiply contributions of civilization during some of the significant stages of our country's history: from the ancient Palaeolithic age to the Punic age, Byzantine Roman times, passing through that of the Mauritanian kingdoms. To visit Tipasa is to encounter our people through its creations and dreams, communicating with our history. But it is also the key that opens the door into a garden of beauty that honours humankind, nature and creation alike.

Environment and typology of the site

The site of Tipasa is made up of three environmental ensembles: the eastern ensemble, where the city of Tipasa is located, includes the western foothills of the Sahel (Astian and Quaternary formations). The coastline features consolidated dunes with creeks and promontories located within the archaeological parks; the hinterland rises gradually into hills dotted with wadis; the central ensemble, made up of the Nador wadi valley, is a depression where recent, light material has accumulated. The western ensemble is formed by the Chenoua mountain range.

The natural setting of the site therefore provides a very suggestive landscape.

Archaeological vestiges stretch along a vast bay where the coast is sectioned into creeks, beaches and promontories with a blend of lush vegetation inland. The foothills of Mount Chenoua, in the west, complete the perspective of the site. some 70 kilometres to the west of Algiers, the site extends over an area of approximately 70 hectares. It comprises two vast archaeological parks of monumental vestiges, partially excavated and visible, extending to the east and west of a long perimeter of ancient ramparts that demarcate a section of the coast between two promontories.

In the central section, the ancient city is still largely buried under a thick layer of alluvial sediment, varying from one metre to four metres in depth, on which stretches, up to the southern wall, a nineteenth-century village with simple dwellings laid out according to a clear and regular spatial framework. A landscape of hills and sea is visible from every part of the city of Tipasa. The museum, situated on the main axis, in the centre of the ancient city, is an 'Antiquarium', fairly typical of ancient sites in Algeria, and houses most of the objects unearthed by the excavations.

The perimeter of archaeological protection has preserved vast, non-excavated areas and also protected abundant Mediterranean flora. Tipasa, a unique ensemble of Phoenician, Roman, Palaeo-Christian and Byzantine vestiges, is considered to be one of the most remarkable and best-preserved Mediterranean sites, and, as such, was registered on the World Heritage List in 1982.

Tipasa: in search of heritage

When the city of Tipasa was promoted to the status of administrative seat of the *wilaya* (province) in 1984, there was a need for new services and facilities, therefore creating significant urban development and density. Consequently, the historic and cultural features of the city were not adequately taken into account and the opening up of new roads and districts led to the marginalization of the historic centre and the fragmentation of its periphery. Most of the new buildings were erected within sight of the designated buffer zone around the site. They detract from the unity and visual integrity of the landscape described by writers and poets.

The modern city of Tipasa has developed in confusion and structural imbalance, without regard for the layout and planning that the city has known since Antiquity. Seeking to preserve the historic city and its environment, the Algerian archaeological services in charge of its protection established, in collaboration with UNESCO, and working together with local authorities, a permanent plan for the protection and development of the site of Tipasa.

This plan for protection, that includes the archaeological parks and the traditional fabric of the nineteenth-century city, is structured along several lines. An initial focus involves collecting all documents required for an in-depth analysis of the site of Tipasa as a whole (the historic, architectural, sociological, geophysical and geomorphological data), as well as an assessment of the state of the traditional site. The second focus aims at updating the topographical and urban service plans (roads, sanitation) of the Tipasa site in order to have a clearer understanding of the overall state of the site. Updating the plans was completed with photographic documentation and graphical surveys of all the buildings. Implementation of the safeguarding and development of the Tipasa site constitutes the final focus. Once these data had been brought together, they facilitated the development of a planning tool. The permanent plan of protection, which is based on historical information and urban space, proposes a framework which sets out regulations governing both the architecture as well as the rights of way for the buildings and ancient sites located in the historic nineteenth-century centre. This valuable tool, given the potential for innovation that it offers in terms of conservation and protection of a heritage site as a whole, was adopted by interministerial decree and was transformed, after municipal deliberations in 1997, into zoning regulations for the historic centre of Tipasa.

The project extends beyond conservation and protection for historical purposes to embrace a global, environmental, urban and architectural policy. This concern, therefore, reflects a significant planning approach. In the field, however, the project has revealed its limits because of the inadequacy of instruments[2] for safeguarding a site of archaeological, historical, cultural and sociological complexity. The Tipasa archaeological authorities have therefore launched a complementary analytical survey using a morphological and architectural method of evaluation (by establishing territorial, urban,

architectural and construction matrices). The diagrams that were developed are tools for the investigation and interpretation of the '*forma urbis*' of Tipasa. The maps of permanent and changing aspects within the land and building development and maps of separate units henceforth constitute an outline for all interventions within the historic centre, from restructuring of the city fabric to restoration of buildings. The aim of this operation was obviously not to acquire knowledge of the history of forms, but it does facilitate understanding the logic of the establishment and transformation of Tipasa, in order to ensure it is adequately safeguarded.

18

18. Roman amphitheatre in Tipasa. Tipasa was an ancient trading-post conquered by Rome.

The Museum of Tipasa

The museum is a small, well-designed building, standing on the square overlooking the port. It was built in 1955 according to plans conceived by the architect in charge of historic monuments. It is composed of two exhibition rooms and a patio

which visitors traverse before entering the main exhibition hall where display cases present a large collection of archaeological objects including Punic, Roman and locally made pottery, glass objects of exceptional beauty, ancient coins, gold jewellery, mosaics, sarcophagi and funerary inscriptions. Most of the collections on display come from local necropolises.

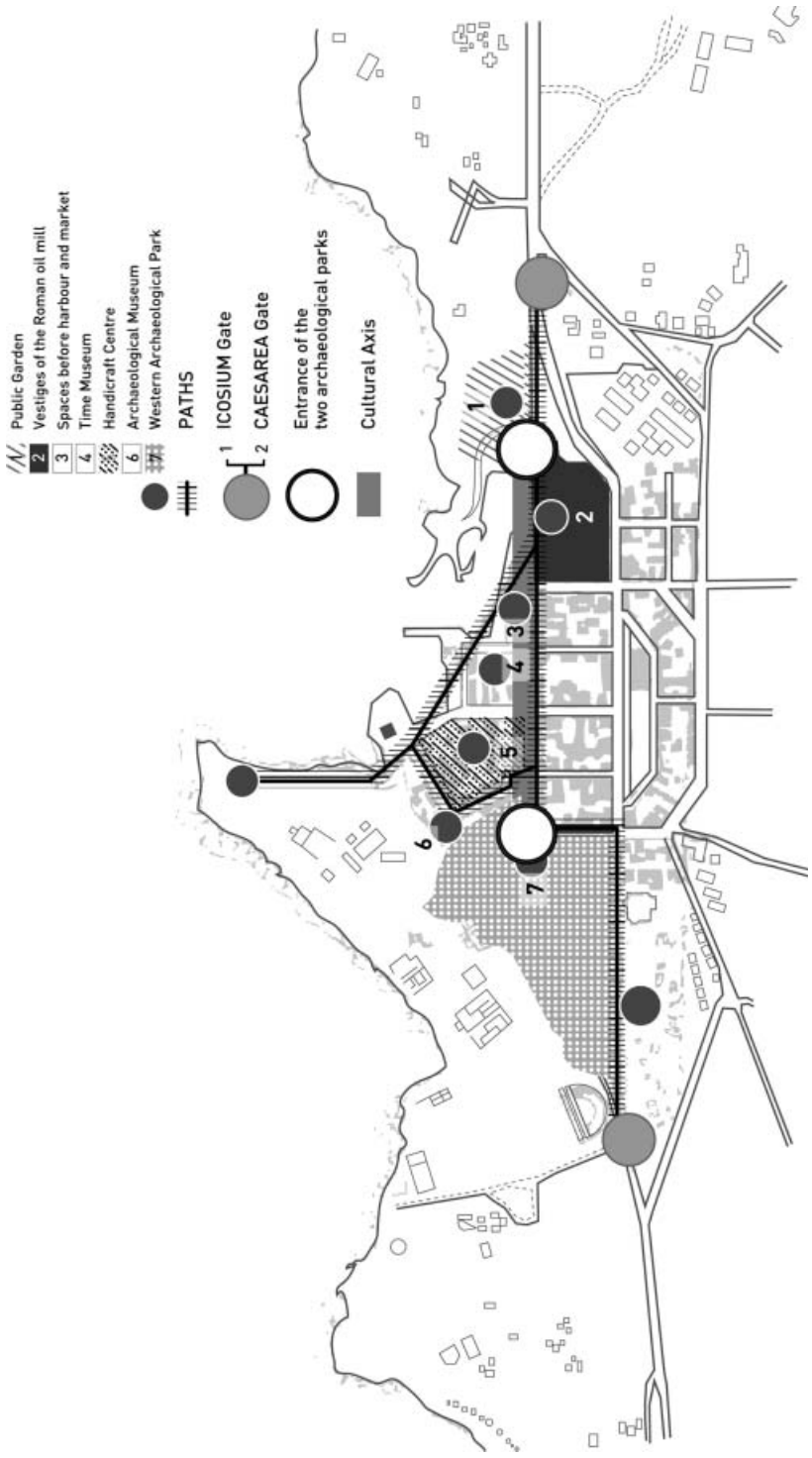
In addition to its conservation and safeguarding mission, the Museum of Tipasa is also a regional centre which disseminates information on the history of the site and the region. As the precursor in the development and application of the permanent plan for protection, it examines the building and development applications and grants the relevant visas in conforming with the plan. It is also the unifying force in the development and co-ordination of cultural events, and the programming, co-ordinating and supporting of all activities aimed at promoting the site according to urban and regional development strategy.

The project of development

The originality of Tipasa, the administrative centre of the *wilaya* region, deserves to be highlighted. It is a place where a modern city and a contemporary lifestyle are integrated within an archaeological site. Consequently, this site requires cultural and tourist development that does not isolate it from the newer city while protecting it from harmful effects. Such development should be articulated around three structuring elements: the Decumanus, the archaeofloral garden and the ancient wall. Many vestiges of the Decuman road which once crossed the ancient site are still visible today. This road which traversed from east to west the two archaeological parks and the city centre of today deserves to be completely restored in order to highlight movement between these spaces. It would offer an overall view of the city and provide a natural border between the ancient city and the modern city, facilitating awareness of cultural and heritage tourism. This axis would be marked out by trees which would be lit at night.

In order to preserve the whole of the site from unplanned urbanization, it was suggested that the various sites should be organized into floral and archaeological parks where the public could walk along tree-lined paths around spaces where excavations need to be protected or would be undertaken in the future. This measure would prevent the unrestricted movement of visitors which is a cause of fires and the defacement of monuments. This solution would draw a clear separation between nature and archaeological vestiges while providing regulated access to the monuments. A system of ambient lighting would enhance the circuit. In addition to the horizontal axis of the Decuman road, that of the surrounding wall of the ancient city, located to the east of the modern city, would be restored by street lighting in order to create a second axis, perpendicular to the first.

It is through regional development that the question of the development of heritage and its integration in economic development can best be addressed. Development and protection are part of environmental policy and the conservation of the historic character of heritage entities is inseparable from social policy on housing. The protection of heritage is not only a job for



19. Map of the site of Tipasa in relation to the city.

experts; the support of public opinion is essential. Citizens should participate in this endeavour ranging from the drawing up of inventories to the preparation of decisions. A genuine dialogue should be established between experts, public authorities, developers and the public. It is through dialogue that the importance and significance of heritage and its environment will be brought to light.

NOTES

1. I. Khaldun, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* [*Al-Muqaddima*, Discourse on Universal History], Beirut/Paris, 1967. Re-issued by UNESCO/Sindbad in 1978, UNESCO Collection of classic works.

2. By safeguard instruments we mean: instruments for the investigation and analysis of urban layout and ancient buildings in order to develop technical recommendations for *non aedificandi* and *non altus tollendi* zones in the vicinity of monuments and vestiges, from the selection of architectural vocabulary, materials and colours for the rehabilitation of ancient sites and the construction of new schemes.

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

20

20. Tipasa comprises a group of Phoenician, Roman, Palaeo-Christian and Byzantine ruins alongside indigenous monuments.

Inventory and Global Management in Archaeology: the example of the Neuchâtel Museum

by Marie-Odile Vaudou

Marie-Odile Vaudou is an archaeologist and art historian with a degree in literature from the University of Lausanne (Switzerland). In charge of implementing the inventory method at Latenium from 1996 to 2003, she has worked on the classification of collections at the Museum of Archaeology and History in Lausanne. She has published several articles concerning heritage management and systems of inventory. Her work at Latenium is the subject of a forthcoming publication, Pour une gestion durable du matériel archéologique: de la fouille au musée, méthode et nomenclature d'un nouveau système d'inventaire informatisé *[For Sustainable Management of Archaeological Material: From Excavations to the Museum, Method and Nomenclature of a New Computerized Inventory System], Service et Musée d'archéologie du canton de Neuchâtel (SMA) Neuchâtel, 2004.*[1]

Stemming from a global reflection, the new method of inventory in archaeology which was developed from 1996 to 2003 at the Museum of Archaeology (SMA) in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, is part of a multidisciplinary approach that aims at managing the entire yield of an excavation. This approach includes all the productions of humankind and its environment. It accompanies, in a single process, the archaeological object from the excavation site to its storage in repositories or its presentation in display cases. This management is part of the cycle of the conservation, study and showcasing of local heritage. The computerized inventory constitutes a crucial stage within this chain of operations, because it facilitates classifying objects, no longer only for themselves, but in relation to the context of discovery. It is therefore possible to treat from the same perspective, objects, plant and animal samples, lithic matter as well as archival

museum INTERNATIONAL ISSN 1350-0775, no. 223 (vol. 56, no. 3, 2004)
Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

documentation and related studies. This approach is influenced by the evolution of archaeology which, from the mid-1960s, integrated new research tools, by having recourse to earth sciences and fundamental sciences, such as chemistry or computer science.

The growth of archaeological and archival documentation produced by systematic excavations, as well as the diversity of jointly conducted studies, has required the management of an increasingly voluminous and varied mass of information. The definitive disappearance of sites, following rescue excavations that precede public works, has led us to pay particular attention to records and methods for recording data. As a corollary to these changes, reflection on the management of material on a much larger scale than previously has become necessary.

Controlling the quantity and diversity of the material

The creation of a new system inventory at Latenium, the archaeological park museum in the commune of Hauterive,[2] facilitated the systematic and uniform management of the quantity and diversity of archaeological material preserved in the museum. Rescue excavations and surveys conducted since 1964 along the highway on the northern shore of the lake and in the rest of the canton, brought extensive material up to date, completing the national and international collections that were created as from the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century.[3] They are spread over a period of 50,000 years, from the Middle Palaeolithic (the oldest vestige is a Neanderthal jaw dating from approximately 45,000 B.C.) up to the modern era. The wealth of movable property, amounting to several tonnes of material, is largely explained by the geography, the history of the spot and the satisfactory conservation of objects in lacustrine sediment.

Whatever their state of conservation, their origin or their dimensions, the objects are classified without any discriminatory criteria. For the inventory, equal importance is given to an amber bead, a menhir, a bone, a pin or a nail! The only possible distinctions, which can arise during the recording, have to do with the complexity of the object, such as the specificity of a form or a decor, or a particular exploitation of property for a study or exhibition.

The inventory must ensure the cataloguing, identification and documentation of this immense collective memory. Its goal is to quantify and qualify the material according to scientific criteria, and to localize and manage the movements of objects. The standardized system facilitates counting and reveals series that are not visible without it; it should facilitate the selection of items according to precise characteristics in order to create corpora for studies or exhibitions. It is a tool for interpretation and synthesis that affords a direct, individual or global vision of objects and avoids long manual sortings. Through the inventory of the mass and the control of the inflation of material as a result of contemporary excavations, rationalized storage is ensured in the repositories as well. Managing the quantity means preserving it in order to enhance its utilization. In the urgency of discoveries linked to rescue excavations, the inventory provides a stable

framework. It ensures fundamental management of the material which can be completed later. The computerized input of movable property takes place on site, simultaneously with the excavation.

Legal framework and Swiss specificity

In view of the absence of centralized power in Switzerland (the federal state grants a certain autonomy to cantons), disparities result between the various cantonal archaeological services, according to the region of the country, the type of find and the importance of deposits. In order to guarantee a certain consistency in the management of Swiss heritage, a federal decree, as from 1961, stipulated that the financing of archaeological excavations undertaken on the path of future motorways is the responsibility of the government.[4] On the other hand, responsibility for the conservation and publication of findings lies with the cantons where the excavations are located. The cantons become the owners of the objects.[5] In agreement with the statutes of ICOM and the conditions for joining the Association of Swiss museums, Helvetian institutions must take into account the following criteria for the management of their collections : '*Collections have a recognized heritage value and are managed according to delineated criteria. An inventory exists (completed or in progress) of collections established according to scientific bases available to researchers. The quality and integrity of collections cannot be reduced by the sale of objects from these collections*'.[6] The mission of the Museum of Archaeology is therefore to exhibit, identify, inventory, document, restore, place in reserve collections and protect the archaeological as well as the archival material.

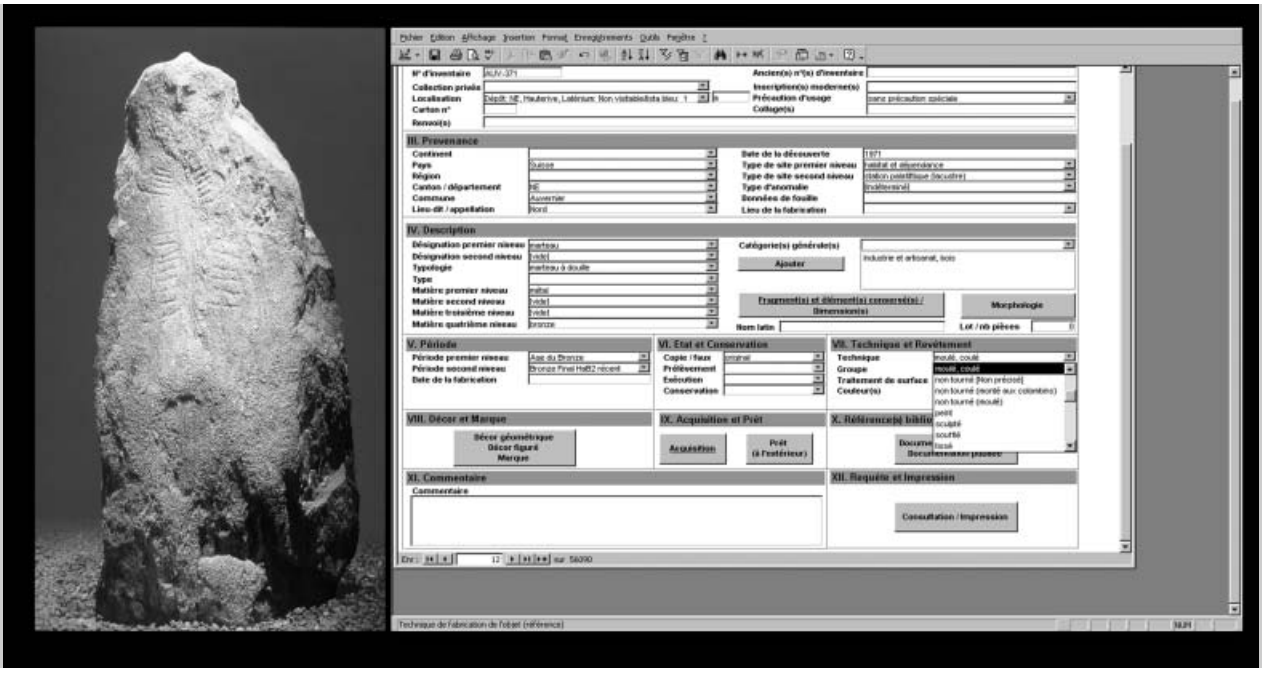
An attempt at shared management of cultural heritage in its entirety was developed in 1996 through the Database of Swiss Cultural Property. It was not, however, applied to the whole country. This system of cataloguing included property from a diversity of disciplines, such as archaeology, fine arts, history, ethnography, etc. This System for Museographic and Archaeological Inventory and Management (SIGMA) which uses Texto software, was developed at the Museum of Archaeology and History in Lausanne, in 1989.

Inventory and global management

In addition to the legal obligation to conduct inventories for museums, the prospect of the opening of Latenium[7] and moving objects into new premises was one of the decisive factors in completing a new inventory system. In fact, it was urgent to prioritize registering all objects and lots intended for exhibition in the future museum. Finally, as from September 2001, the grouping together of the Museum, the Excavations Service and the University Institute of Prehistory, at Latenium, influenced the design and structure of the inventory. At Latenium, the desire to manage collectively the global yield of excavations, the collections of the museum and archives (reports, studies, etc.) triggered an in-depth reflection, led by Béat Arnold, a local archaeologist. The result is an approach jointly characterized by problems arising in the field and in collections. The structure of the inventory used thesauri shared by the department of excavations and the museum to take into account data from the field as well as typological and museographical information specific to objects. This synergy constitutes one of the specificities of Latenium's inventory. Using

descriptive language which is sufficiently precise to describe the degree of finesse of an object and intelligible in a way that is applicable to all the material, the developed system establishes a bridge between the general level and that of the specialist. In order to guarantee maximum efficiency during recordings, which can be concise or detailed, the hierarchical structure does not exceed four degrees of precision within the headings.[8]

data in order to make it available to other researchers prevailed. Experience derived from different databases for excavation sites during this period made it essential to create uniform and standardized systems of management. Thanks to the development of correlation tables, the present inventory was able to recover some of this earlier data. This new general database is therefore designed to control the different bases, from



© Photographie SMA

21

© SMA, MOV

22

21. Anthropomorphic menhir found at Bevaix dating from 5500 B.C. The engraving of the face seems to be more recent.

22. The system of inventory, by means of a common thesaurus, manages objects from excavations and collections under the same topic.

Since the 1970s, different systems of recording data, aimed at developing a concise, shared descriptive language, have been experimented with on the D-Base system for lacustrine excavations. The information was very difficult to use because it was distributed in a fixed manner throughout hundreds of notebooks. Ten years later the desire to structure archaeological

prospection to storage in repositories, including excavation, conservation-restoration, inventory and study activities. Its objective is to optimize conditions of analysis, thanks to an operating system and maximum accessibility of data. It is an evolving documentary tool, developed with Access© software. Meant to be used over the long term, it should benefit from current as well as

future experiments. Its efficiency increases in relation to the quantity of information to be managed. This system of centralized management facilitates the consultation of data and enables the researcher to work on his/her own bases or from those of colleagues. Thanks to the development of a computerized network, each database is accessible, in reader format, for the collaborators of the Service and Museum of Archaeology (SMA) in Neuchâtel.

A common platform

The desire to manage vestiges comprehensively required the development of a thesaurus, shared by different departments, concerning the origins, material, eras, typologies and types of sites. This shared platform facilitated a uniform grouping of information and a pathway for the identification of an artefact during the various stages of the operating chain. It is therefore possible to use the inventory number of the object to consult the different specific bases and find information related to the property. Was it the subject of a specialized study or a specific excavation? We then consult the base for specialists or the base for excavations. Some headings are specific to the inventory of the property and do not appear in the database for excavations, such as the usual precautions to be taken during the handling of items or the names of collectors. On the other hand, data which is specific to excavations, such as stratigraphic relationships, do not feature in the object database.

A complete version of the thesauri exists, intended for the inventory of the museum, and an abridged version, intended for excavation sites. The latter contains terms and headings frequently used in the field. In fact, certain terms, like armour or a crossbow window are not very useful in current excavations! However, the complete version can always be activated, even in the field, if a specialist provides specific information concerning a subject or a typology or during unusual discoveries.

A single general index

The mass and diversity of material facilitated the creation of a single computerized index. Access to information, through requests, is obtained through a single operation, because all the data are unified and centralized. Separate indexes according to period can create a dispersion of data and confusion for pieces existing during several eras or that are difficult to date accurately. Requests facilitate sortings, locating individual pieces or ensembles. The interest, and the advantage, of a single index enables diverse data concerning property to be integrated into one file. In the framework of a computerized network that links different departments, the single file facilitates the consultation and circulation of information. It also makes it easier to detect errors more directly in the recording of items and to complete or correct data in a uniform manner.

Maintaining specificities and a shared perspective for exploitation

In the case of the inventory, vocabulary specific to an individual researcher disappears in favour of a common syntax that everyone understands. Some thesauri, such as the origin, era, typology, material, technique, surface treatment and type of clay for

ceramics, are used by both museum departments and those of excavations. This standard core, which the user can draw on, facilitates consulting the general inventory base of the museum, and benefiting, for the same object, from precise field data by consulting the excavation base. The standard thesauri therefore can be read on two levels, maintaining uniformity in the syntax of fundamental headings. The specificities of departments are maintained (because the inventory of the museum contains specific headings, such as the names of collectors, as does the excavation database with stratigraphic data). The 'restrictive' aspect of standard thesauri is compensated by the accessibility of the system and the constitution of corpora for the purpose of analysis. These two levels of management create a shared perspective for the ensemble of archaeological documentation and, consequently, better scientific exploitation. It is an opportunity to bring several skills into contact with each other. By making data accessible, we stimulate and decompartmentalize different units. However, it is imperative that an object be named in the same way in the different databases, in order to benefit from comprehensive corpora.

Stages of development

Several stages were required for the development of the inventory system. First of all, it was necessary to evaluate the needs of collaborators, before anticipating possible scenarios dictated by the material (the structure, once established, authorizes developments, but not fundamental changes). Headings were created and grouped according to theme, with their respective levels of precision. The final phase consisted of recording, experimentally, a fixed ensemble of property, made up of different decor, shapes, dimensions and descriptions, in order to verify that the system functioned correctly. This stage is essential for ensuring the pertinence and viability of the method. The detailed management of the first recordings of objects subsequently facilitated mastering larger ensembles, such as lots. The system increased in efficiency and introduced exchanges with other institutions and researchers. Computerized connections are intentionally rare at this stage, because conversion into a more efficient software, such as Oracle, can be envisaged later. Protective measures were developed to avoid duplications, notably for the heading of the inventory number which is primordial, as it is the link with other bases.

The input form

In order to facilitate input and increase efficiency, the form for recording objects is intentionally very structured and straightforward. It contains headings in hierarchical order, from the general to the specific, in order to establish different degrees of precision. Some fundamental headings, like the inventory number, the description, origin, material and general era, are mandatory. On the other hand, more specific headings, such as typology, decor, eras and specific materials (from the 'third or fourth level') are only filled in if the information provided by the object, or the degree of knowledge by the person in charge of input, are sufficient. Different types of headings exist:

Scrolling list: Some thesauri, those with descriptions, materials, eras or techniques, scroll automatically in alphabetical order when they are

activated. This system dictates the term to the user, guaranteeing the uniformity of syntax and anticipating input errors or the arbitrary addition of terms. The thesauri can be completed by the person in charge of their management.

Filter: Filters exist between some thesauri, notably those with descriptions, typologies, eras or material, that facilitate automatic sorting at a level of additional precision. For example, the selection of a term from the list of general periods, that is to say 'first level' (such as the Bronze Age) determines the related sub-periods (the 'second level'), such as Ancient Bronze or Final Bronze, etc.

Combination list: This kind of list allows adding or specifying a term already present in the thesaurus. This is notably the case for descriptions of decors.

Automatic heading: Some headings have recurring contents that are listed 'by default', automatically. This is notably the case for the heading Copy/Fake (the 'original' term is listed with each new index). Whether a facsimile or a replica, the user scrolls the list and selects the appropriate term.

Field text: The 'field texts', like the commentary heading, are exclusively reserved for remarks that cannot be included under the normal headings.

Window: Windows open on to headings, notably concerning decors, dimensions, preserved items, acquisitions and loans. The titles, on the buttons, are automatically underlined when the window contains information.

Requests: The ensemble 'Request and Print' is a research module for the consultation and printing of indexes. Requests are multiple and can contain an indefinite number of criteria. All the tags can be selected, for example, for a site or typology that is not from the Iron Age, or, as another example, all clear ceramics with a surface dating from the Roman era.

Single responsibility for management

The optimal ulterior exploitation of data is the result of careful and efficient recording. Each index acquires its real meaning only after it is inscribed quantitatively and in the long term. Such an approach also helps overcome the occasionally tedious nature of data input! The results of a request are only pertinent within the exhaustiveness of the recording, as similarities or differences between artefacts become distinguishable. In case of ambiguity between several terms, during the input, the person in charge makes a choice and decides to record all the items in the same way. However, objects often take on different denominations according to specialists or eras (occasionally there are as many authors as appellations!). When in doubt, it is preferable to choose a neutral term without interpretive nuance that will always be registered in the same way. If one alternatively registers, for example, the term 'torque' or 'necklace' to designate the same object, during requests, an erroneous count results, along with incomplete corpora. We should be aware of such ambiguities and make clear choices. In the case of an artefact whose description is later specified, it is possible globally to replace one term by another. This operation is only possible if a type of object has been recorded in a systematic way.

By using descriptive language that is sufficiently precise to account for the degree of finesse of an object and intelligible in a way that can be applied to all items, a bridge is established between requests and responses. Standardized syntax anticipates the pitfalls of individual language. This is why a system of standard data is much more complex to develop than an individual base. Supervising the management of inventory must be the job of a qualified and competent reference person who is responsible for additions, substitutions, even suppressions of terms in the thesauri while respecting the initial structure. He/she centralizes the data, manages those responsible for the data input, corrects and prints the files; all modifications are thus made by the same person thereby standardizing data and facilitating research (in particular when it is a question of recordings made by several people). If the file presents an anomaly or an ambiguity, returning to the object is necessary.

Cataloguing policy

The efficiency of recording items is intimately linked to the policy of cataloguing, which must be clearly defined in the long term. As one of the important aspects for the preservation of ensembles of vestiges, it is ultimately anticipated to record all items. This does not mean that it will be studied globally! In order to conduct consistent recordings, it is necessary to define in advance what is going to be inventoried, grouping the material by site, content and era. The level of precision of the data input depends on the subsequent exploitation of the material. Precision can increase if the object is going to be published or exhibited (as was the case for the display case material), or reduced if it is to be stored in crates or repositories. In certain cases, treatment by lot allows the unity of ensembles that have not (yet) been analysed to be preserved. It will therefore be possible to recover original items that will ultimately be restored, inventoried in detail and sketched.

In general and without differentiation, the person responsible for data input always fills in the headings with as much precision as possible. The recording is always done starting from the object which is the 'primary archive'. Information that results from records, excavation reports or labels accompanying the objects should also be mentioned. This does not, however, constitute the basic data because it is considered to be from 'secondary archives'. Standardized input can also ensure avoiding significant loss of time during the correction of indexes.

Evaluation and perspectives

As it is also called upon to become an archival document dependent on the evolution of archaeology, the computerized inventory is intended to have its own cycle of conservation, just as any other document. This link between the object and its documentation guarantees controlled evolution of the stages of the operating chain. The grid for analysis, according to the explicit parameters of the inventory, results from a rigorous approach whose structure meets the rigour of models and objectivity specific to physical sciences advocated by the New Archaeology in the English-speaking countries. This grid does preserve a degree of flexibility in the sense that it does not isolate the material in a

restrictive yoke, but provides it with an opportunity for continual interpretation and new history. From this point of view, our approach is similar to the 'Contextual Archaeology' of Ian Hodder,[9] who gives meaning to vestiges, through establishing strict typologies and facilitating, among other things, a precise description of relationships of similarity or dissimilarity between artefacts.

NOTES

1. This work contains an introduction to the objectives and choices that determined the design of the system. This is completed by a practical part which describes each heading of the registration form. Lastly, an illustrated technical part is made up of specific thesauri, such as decors, techniques or shapes of recipients.

2. The former Cantonal Museum of archaeology in Neuchâtel has become the Latenium and was inaugurated on 7 September 2001. It is the result of a synergy between museum, park, cantonal archaeology service, Institute of Pre-history attached to the University, laboratory of conservation-restoration and dendrochronology. The Latenium gets its name from the nearby site of Marin/La Tène, which is known for having given its name to the Second Iron Age. Constructed across from the lake, on the site of two villages built on piles, dating back respectively from 3800 and 1050 to 870 B.C., the museum is surrounded by the archaeological park. The visitor therefore benefits from a continuity between exhibition halls, which mainly display objects of local heritage and, outdoors, completely reconstituted structures (houses on piles, tumulus, Roman garden, etc.). Henceforth, the Latenium belongs to the history of the site; it received the Museum Prize from the Council of Europe in 2003. The repository open to visitors preserves more than 800,000 objects and concentrates on the presentation of typological ensembles of material, grouped according to era or culture. The permanent exhibition comprises 3,000 objects from this ensemble.

3. *Archéologie suisse. L'archéologie neuchâteloise revisitée* [Swiss Archaeology. Neuchâtel's Archaeology revisited], Basle, Société Suisse de Préhistoire et d'Archéologie, 25, 2002, 80 pp.

4. This ruling is equally applied to the financing of archaeological excavations carried out along railway routes.

5. N. Tissot, *Protection juridique des vestiges archéologiques – Problèmes liés au droit des expropriations et de l'aménagement du territoire* [Legal Protection of Archaeological Vestiges – Problems Linked to Expropriation Rights and Regional Development], Neuchâtel, Éditions Ides et Calendes, 1991, 262 pp.

6. J. Bruelisauer, Der Verband der Museen der Schweiz, *Archéologie suisse* [Swiss Archeology], pp. 48–9, Basle, Société Suisse de Préhistoire et d'Archéologie, 21/2, 1998.

7. The people of Neuchâtel, aware of the value of their heritage, voted to allocate funds for the construction of the museum and its museography, see *Architecture suisse* 2002, pp. 145–4. *Architecture suisse* Laténium-Parc et Musée d'archéologie de Neuchâtel 2068 Hauterive (Neuchâtel) [Swiss Architecture], AIX 10, 2002, 145, pp. 1–4.

8. As a comparison, The Museum of National Antiquities in Saint-Germain-en-Laye (France) uses a system that provides a level of extreme precision: the hierarchy within the headings can range to seven degrees and there are multiple fields. On the other hand, the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the Louvre uses a much more concise system. The precision of the tool thus varies considerably from one museum to another.

9. See Ian Hodder, *The Archaeology of Contextual Meaning*, Cambridge University Press, 1987, quoted by Philippe Jockey, *L'archéologie* [Archaeology], Paris, Belin, 1999.

From Tony Garnier to the Urban Museum: the birth of a cultural housing project

by Alain Chenevez

Alain Chenevez is the director of the Tony Garnier Urban Museum in Lyon, France. University-trained and former Temporary Attaché of Education and Research at the University of Franche Comté, he holds a doctorate in sociology. His thesis focused on the ancient royal salt works in Arc-et-Senans (France-Doubs) where he contributed to the In Search of the Ideal City *exhibition which was inaugurated in May 2000.*

Introduction

The Tony Garnier Urban Museum constitutes an unusual, monumental outdoor cultural structure. It is a residential housing estate first of all designated as 'Habitations à Loyer Modéré' (HLM), low-income housing. Located in the working-class neighbourhood known as the 'Etats Unis' in the eighth district of Lyon, it is open to tourist visits[1] because of the presence of twenty-five mural paintings on a surface area of more than 5,500 m^2. Nineteen of these paintings pay tribute to the pioneer of modern urbanism: Tony Garnier. They are complemented by six additional international representations of ideal public housing.

Built by the architect Tony Garnier (1869–1948) between 1920 and 1933, the working-class neighbourhood of the 'Etats Unis' in Lyon is the birthplace of an original experiment in promoting urban culture, initially piloted by local residents. The first stage in the creation of the Urban Museum was the renovation, in 1985, of buildings by Greater Lyon's Public Office of Development

Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

and Construction OPAC). Then, in 1988, on the initiative of the residents, artists from the *Cité de la Création*[2] designed and executed an aesthetic composition on the gabled walls of the neighbourhood. This work of art marked the birth of the Urban Museum even though it took ten years of effort to materialize.

The museum received awards from UNESCO in 1991 for its exemplary cultural action, and from the Tourism Trophies in 2002. It was recognized for its public interest and labelled 'Twentieth-Century Heritage' in 2003 by the French Government and has continued to develop rapidly.[3] This working-class project for a museum site in an urban zone was not achieved without incidents or controversies. It is the fruit of collective citizen action and the struggle for its permanence continues today. What were the stages and stakes and procedures and who were the actors? Let us retrace this history to be passed on to future generations.

The history of a cultural conversion

The foundation of the Tony Garnier housing estate, the site of the Urban Museum, dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century. The city of Lyon, in the Rhône-Alpes region, at the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône rivers, is a city with a commercial tradition that has experienced intense industrial growth since the mid-nineteenth century. Workers' dwellings in the city centre were often slums with problems of hygiene and insalubrity. The mayor of the city, Edouard Herriot, decided to launch massive development projects in order to attract new industries and to house workers on a vast plain south-east of the city. The architect Tony Garnier, a native of Lyon, who is considered today as one of the precursors of modern town planning,[4] was chosen to direct the projects.

Eager to solve the problem of working-class accommodation, Tony Garnier proposed constructing the first public housing in France, 'Habitations Bon Marché' (HBM), in a new neighbourhood and according to an innovative approach: the neighbourhood was not to be isolated. On the contrary, it should welcome numerous social activities in a harmonious and verdant environment. The plan was to cater for 12,000 inhabitants. Construction began in 1920 and ended in 1934. Following the inauguration, many families moved in.

The Tony Garnier buildings were never subsequently repaired and in the 1980s the ensemble was slowly deteriorating. An ironic anecdote illustrates the situation: the film crew working on the adaptation of M. Kundera's novel, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, was looking for an urban site which resembled the Prague Ghetto during the 1930s: the Tony Garnier housing estate displayed the state of decrepitude that was being sought. This episode encouraged the residents, among others, to set up a tenants' committee in order to obtain the renovation of their accommodation from the owners, the OPAC of Greater Lyon: 'Renovation occurred because we asked for it . . . we fought to obtain it. We had to assert ourselves' recalls Lily Eigeldinger, then President of the tenants' committee and 'kingpin' for the mobilization of the neighbourhood. That was in 1983 and the date marked the birth of collective action by the residents who, after twenty years of commitment and struggle, achieved the

total transformation of the image of the neighbourhood. At the same time, and in order to accelerate the renovation that was dragging on, a cultural and heritage project was born in 1987, following a meeting with the mural artists of the Cité de la Création.

The inhabitants and the artists of the Cité de la Création decided to create an outdoor cultural itinerary by proposing mural paintings on the gabled walls of the buildings, on the theme of the 'industrial city': the major work of the architect Tony Garnier. At the origin of the project was the simple and cleverly formulated idea of Eddie Gilles-Di Pierno, the current president of the local committee, '*this project's mission will be to obtain funding for the renovation of the neighbourhood by setting up a cultural and heritage project rather than to setting fire to cars*'. It was an ambitious project which would take ten years, from 1988 to 1997, for completion, as some people deemed that a working-class housing estate would not be suitable for this sort of undertaking.

Conditions for cultural transformation

The goal of renovating a public housing estate may seem, initially, rather ordinary. Ultimately, it was an ambitious project, in many ways exemplary, which was carried out: 1,568 dwellings occupied by more than 4,000 people were renovated on a single site; 30,000 m^2 of public space, including the creation of courtyards and landscaped streets, was developed; a Multimedia Services Information Centre, intended to strengthen the link between inhabitants and public services (the post office, telephone company, public utilities, etc.), was created and, in 1992, a 'Tony Garnier Urban Museum Association' was established and managed by the tenants. The latter's missions, as indicated by Article 1 of its Statutes, include: (a) managing and promoting the Tony Garnier Urban Museum, dedicated to the architect, a native of Lyon and builder of low-cost housing, 'Habitations à Bon Marché' in the 'Etats Unis' district (Lyon 8th); (b) developing studies on Tony Garnier and his work, ensuring the dissemination as well as promotion, and (c) developing research on the renovation and development of remarkable neighbourhoods or architecture, and the procedures for involving the inhabitants in these processes.

This working-class initiative invented, within a neighbourhood, an innovative concept that linked culture and housing, putting forward as a principle that the inhabitants must play an active role in programming and implementing operations for improving their neighbourhood. Taking into account the value of the human factor is as important as redefining the environment. The identity of the Tony Garnier Urban Museum rests on this particularity, which intimately links artefacts of urban art with a cultural project. It is essential for understanding the frame of mind that guides the way it is run and leads it to encourage the active participation of its inhabitants in the development of its activities.

Many incidental and structural reasons can help us understand the success of the project. First of all, the sociological factors. Located far from the centre of Lyon, the Tony Garnier housing estate remained a 'village' for a long time. The inhabitants had known each other for years and shared a common culture, formed in their

working-class origins, political militancy, years of resistance during the war and the isolation of the neighbourhood until 1959. This sociological and geographical situation probably facilitated the phenomenon of mobilization which was structured according to emotional and community relationships.

Political factors also underpinned the cultural conversion of the neighbourhood. Public funds, allocated within the framework of municipal policy and the attribution of supplementary public resources for the benefit of so-called 'sensitive' areas, had a decisive effect. The inscription of the 'Etats Unis' neighbourhood in a social development of neighbourhoods zone, in 1986, secured the necessary funding for the renovation of the neighbourhood from the state, region, department and City of Lyon: 43 million French francs over thirteen years, out of which 2 million French francs for public space and only 1.2 million French francs for the production of mural paintings.

Recognition by UNESCO in 1991 opened the door to the production of six international painted walls and gave the project an international scope, while also establishing its legitimacy at local level. Finally, for a project characterized by not being part of an administrative framework, the action and involvement of exceptional women and

23

23. The Cité Tony Garnier: Lyon, France.

men (inhabitants, artists, journalists, directors, OPAC, civil servants or politicians) were determining factors. Inhabitants and artists knew how to rally all the actors of the project to their views and to make the initiative known by mobilizing strong media support. No negative effects, however, were felt as regards the mobility of populations. The Urban Museum is the result of structured collective action, involving different actors with often diverging interests that were none the less united in developing the project. It was an organized process, structured by political and historical events, but with operations occasionally similar to militant activity such as publicizing, gaining members, obtaining a minimum consensus for funding and mobilizing symbolic and collective recognition, etc. These efforts resulted in the elaboration of a development project, the organization of cultural activities, the dissemination of an 'identity' by the residents, and the implementation and management of a team of professional, salaried workers.

The future of the Urban Museum

This collective achievement of working-class enhancement has succeeded in changing the image of the 'Etats Unis' neighbourhood, not only in the minds of the people who live there, but also in the minds of the inhabitants of the Lyon conurbation as a whole. The neighbourhood has remained working-class and is occupied today by modest families that provide a link with an eventful history and past struggles.

Volunteers, administrators and employees of the association have worked over the past years on a project to ensure a better reception for the 20,000 annual visitors. The museum is equipped with communication tools, the first fruit of a formalized policy of publicity and communication.[5] During the first semester of 2004, this new stage also began work to develop and improve the museum premises. The goal is to make visiting the Tony Garnier Urban Museum a must in the suburbs of Lyon, by concentrating on the following focuses:

1. The enhancement of the whole of Lyon's heritage, through its inscription on UNESCO's World Heritage List and the implementation of a general inventory of the most remarkable elements of architecture; the creation of guided tours and computerized reference information on Tony Garnier.
2. The organization of exhibitions, in connection with the cultural sites of the region.
3. The implementation of a project in common with the sites which are called on to constitute a network of 'associated museum centres'. The Urban Museum would be one of the key components of this network, by addressing the architecture and heritage of the twentieth century and working as a laboratory for urban policies.

However, with the beginning of this new stage, the museum has had difficulty in maintaining its means of existence. City funding has become rare. While intended to be ad hoc, such funding in fact assisted the first phase of the project. In order to continue its cultural and social

24

24. The Cité Idéale de Russie: Lyon, France.

action in the long term, the museum must operate with regular subventions. Like many modest or medium-sized institutions, the Urban Museum suffers from the disengagement of the state and a reduction in public assistance in France, as well as the return of a traditional policy that favours large sites.

This unfavourable conjunction is compounded by the difficulty of the Tony Garnier Urban Museum to develop its own resources through the sale of related services and products, a difficult option to implement on a site which is open in an urban milieu and is of considerable social significance. Visitors can stroll through the neighbourhood, take advantage of the garden courtyards, contemplate the mural paintings and consult the descriptions which are available in the streets without passing through the welcome and exhibition centre. This limits the possibilities of the association to develop its own resources.

Conclusion

As the result of exemplary collective action and support from many government organizations, the Urban Museum is a first-rate example of working-class architectural and urban heritage. It is a cultural housing estate which has been declared of public interest and has received recognition and support from UNESCO. It is an emblematic space of working-class culture, its architecture, housing, commitment, initiative and its resolve to produce added value in cultural and heritage symbolic terms. With its twenty-five monumental paintings, this exceptional itinerary claims art and culture as an essential right. The painted walls represent the memory of the inhabitants and an exemplary endeavour for the democratization of culture and heritage.

NOTES

1. The second largest conurbation in France with 1,300,000 inhabitants.

 Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

2. Founded in 1978, the Cité de la Création enterprise is a group of artists which has one of several goals 'to embellish' urban space. They create murals, frescos, decorations or urban objects within public or private space. These creations are meant to reveal, mark and/or ornament the environment. The Cité de la Création is internationally renowned today; it has signed more than 350 works in several cities in France but also in Barcelona, Mexico City, Leipzig, Lisbon, Vienna, Jerusalem and Quebec City, of which its principal examples are in Lyon, such as the Mur des Canuts, the Fresque des Lyonnais, the Bibliothèque de la Cité, the Théâtre des Charpennes, etc., as well as the twenty-five frescos which make up the Tony Garnier housing estate.

3. Today, the museum also comprises five employees, an exhibition room of more than 300 m^2, a reception centre and shop, an apartment to visit that faithfully re-creates the atmosphere of the 1930s, audio-guides and many cultural projects.

4. In reference to the publication of his book on the industrial city published in 1904.

5. New graphic chart, promotional advertisements and Internet site: http://www.museeurbaintonygarnier.com/.

© Guías del Caminante/Ricardo Espinosa

25

25. The Great Inca Route rises distinctly from valleys to austere heights in the Andes mountain range.

Opening Minds: interpretation and conservation

by Susan Calafate Boyle

Susan Calafate Boyle is a native of Argentina. She received her Ph.D. in American socio-economic history from the University of Missouri-Columbia. She has conducted extensive research on the French in Ste. Genevieve and merchants on the Santa Fe Trail. She currently works for the US National Park Service and is in charge of Colorado's only National Heritage Area, the Cache la Poudre River Corridor. Her work for the National Park Service has centred mostly on non-traditional park units, planning, interpretation, and cultural landscapes.

Interpretation and education play a crucial role in the conservation of natural and cultural resources because they can enable audiences to forge emotional and intellectual connections with the meanings of these resources. Only after people understand the significance of a place or an object can they truly value it and advocate its protection.[1] In Latin America, managers of protected areas have not opened their minds to the potential of interpretation and education in fostering appreciation for the significance of the resources entrusted to their protection.

During the last three decades Latin American countries have made substantial progress in the conservation of natural and cultural resources. New national parks and provincial reserves have been set aside. The number of RAMSAR sites has increased dramatically.[2] Nominations to the UNESCO Cultural and Natural World Heritage List are growing and countries are beginning to co-operate in the nomination procedure.

Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

Awareness of the importance of protecting resources of national significance is spreading throughout the continent. However, relatively little attention is paid to interpretation and education programmes.[3] This shortcoming needs to be addressed because protected areas in Latin America can provide some of the best opportunities to explore the continent's identity and character. Through adequate interpretation, these areas can become important tools to rejuvenate the spirit of the people, to challenge the strength of their beliefs and to provoke contemplation and discussion of the nations' past, present and future.

The weak economy affecting most of the continent is driving governments to search for dramatic solutions to substantial unemployment and increasing poverty. Within this climate it might be useful to reconsider the long-term economic, social and cultural value of the protected areas of Latin America and of the need to highlight the benefits of local community participation in their protection and interpretation. If properly managed and interpreted, the spectacular Latin American national and provincial parks and reserves can play a pivotal role in both attracting visitors and building sustainable projects to help societies improve their standard of living and maintain their culture and self-esteem.[4] This can effectively result in an increasing appreciation of their value and a greater interest in their future preservation. While such strategy is not likely to solve massive social and economic dislocation, it can provide some long-term benefits to the communities located near national parks or provincial reserves.

A quality interpretative programme is essential because the underlying value of exceptional natural and cultural resources goes beyond aesthetics. In many cases such values cannot be properly understood or placed within an appropriate context unless adequate information is made available.[5] A quality interpretive programme continually explores the relationships between the resource's tangible and intangible meanings and searches for new ways of providing opportunities for audiences to make their own intellectual and emotional connections to these resources. Interpretation is the means to help audiences make connections between physical resources and their essential meanings, to comprehend the relationship between the tangible (i.e. the pictograph) and the intangible (i.e. the reason for the pictograph, its relationship to those who painted it, the methods used to paint it, etc.). Interpretation is also a process – dynamic, flexible and goal-driven – that leads to understanding, appreciation, and eventually to stewardship. By providing opportunities to connect to the meanings of resources, interpretation alerts people to the importance of what they see and encourages them to explore associations with other resources that they have experienced. Interpretation helps audiences understand their relationships to, and their impacts upon, these resources. More importantly, it helps them to care.

In Latin America most protected areas offer almost no interpretation infrastructure. When they do, they often focus exclusively on identification and description, and seldom address more complex or advanced topics. This might be due to the fact that the link between current scholarship and interpretation is weak or non-existent. Information available labels the flora and provides

pictures of the fauna, but does not explain how, for example, the presence of birds is reflective of a healthy ecosystem. Knowing the names of the animals is important, but understanding their function within a certain ecological niche is much more valuable information to appreciate and value the resources. For cultural sites the challenges are similar. At least they need to be placed within a temporal and geographical context. They must also be tied to the present. Labels help, but maps depicting the extent of the cultures that inhabited the area and the relation to the current inhabitants of the area are essential to enable visitors to appreciate what they experience.

Extensive information is available on the sites, but it is not shared with the public, and given these limitations, it is extremely difficult for visitors to forge intellectual and emotional connections with the resources to be protected.

Public input and participation

Public input and participation are important contributors to the successful preservation and interpretation of protected areas. Some private non-governmental organizations share in the management of protected areas in Latin America, but most are the responsibility of provincial and national entities. Since these areas are the property of the provinces and the nation, it follows that they belong to the people of the country.[6] Who, consequently, should be consulted in planning for management and interpretation? The people are the owners of the resources and are the ones whose lives have been most intimately linked to the resources being protected. This is a fundamental principle that needs to be incorporated in the management philosophy of Latin American protected areas where often visitors are perceived as an inconvenience that must be tolerated.

Even more important is the need to encourage local communities to participate in the various aspects of planning for management and interpretation. In the past indigenous people were physically removed when a protected area was designated. Questionable from a legal and political perspective, such practices have been for the most part abandoned, but quite often reserves are established in isolation and with no input from local communities. This is a serious mistake because such communities are likely to suffer if their traditional ways of earning a living, i.e. wood gathering, hunting, etc., are banned or substantially limited. By consulting these communities about projects that can potentially affect their livelihood, policies can be adopted that preserve resources, but at the same time offer opportunities for the people to maintain traditional sustainable economic activities. If the people are not consulted and their concerns are not addressed, a lot of effort will probably be required on enforcing regulations, and eventually, this can only lead to antagonism and resentment towards managers and their protected areas.

The contribution that local communities can make to interpretive programmes is substantial. Native groups have usually resided in the area for generations and their knowledge about a wide spectrum of topics is likely to be of great relevance to interpretive programmes. For example, *baquianos* (local expert guides) have a profound knowledge of the location of specific fauna, flora and archaeological sites and their assistance in reaching them has proved essential in conducting

investigations. Members of the local communities can enrich visitor experiences. They can articulate the folklore and beliefs that are essential to their culture today and serve as links to the past. They provide credibility and authenticity and help visitors understand how the site has evolved during their lifetime and sometimes even during that of their parents and grandparents. The story of protected areas cannot be completely articulated without considering the input of the people who have been most closely associated with them.

Planning for interpretation

It is essential to develop a systematic and comprehensive approach that relies on partnerships and co-operation. It should be an open process that opens minds and leads to dialogue between all the interested parties. The process is simple and can be accomplished in phases. It includes three major stages: (a) establishing a long-range vision for the programme, (b) determining the short-range actions necessary to achieve that vision, and (c) assembling a database. The first and third stages are fairly self-explanatory. The first one requires the participation of managers, the general public and local communities as well as partner agencies and scholars. The third one, the most expensive and time-consuming, is usually conducted by subject-matter specialists either working through a university, a public entity or privately. As for the second stage determining the short-range actions necessary to achieve the vision for the programme involves three key steps: (a) develop interpretive themes; (b) identify audiences; and (c) identify the most appropriate media (brochure, video, display, interpretive talk, audio tapes, etc.) to reach various audiences.

Developing interpretive themes is the first and most important step in planning for interpretation. Themes are the foundation of the interpretive programme as they facilitate an increase in visitors' understanding and appreciation of the resources. They provide opportunities for people to explore the meanings of the place, without telling them what the resources should mean to them. Interpretive themes should be developed working together with representatives from academia as well as technical staff and managers, but also with the people whose past, present and future lives are intimately linked to the resources that are being protected.

Audience identification is the second step in developing a comprehensive interpretive planning programme. Interpretive programmes must consider multiple points of view, yet lead audiences to personal discovery. They should not be afraid of complexity and should encourage dialogue, yet they should aim to allow visitors to express and maintain their own perspectives. They should keep in mind that not all audiences share the same motivations in visiting a site. Different audiences have different needs and a quality interpretive programme should try to satisfy them as much as possible. Repeat visitors, those who live in nearby communities, are probably looking for different experiences or programmes than foreign visitors. Schoolchildren often require special guidance and assistance. Tour groups are apt to appreciate different experiences than individual families. Some people seek solitude; others enjoy social interaction. Protected areas should aim to offer audiences a variety of opportunities to interact with the resources in an environment that is conducive both to exploration and reflection.

The third step involves consideration of the various learning styles of visitors, from children to adults. People learn in different ways, some do it mostly by seeing, others by listening; children principally by doing, feeling and touching. Quality interpretation programmes should offer opportunities for all learning modes. The limit here is the imagination, since there is no single way of doing it. There could be printed materials, such as brochures or wayside exhibits, for those who get their information mostly by reading. Interpretive talks or walks can really help people to make important emotional or intellectual connections. This offers opportunity to train local people as guides, to interpret and provide emotional links with the resources. Workshops can be taught about the arts and crafts of the local communities. Gastronomy classes offer the opportunity of cooking and tasting local products. Audio tapes can be used that capture birdsong or the sounds of wildlife. Information from oral interviews can highlight the local folklore. While it is unlikely that all learning modes can be addressed at once, the planning process should allow for setting priorities. Awareness of this issue is a very important first step towards its solution.

Opportunities for connections to the meaning of resources

In Latin America, a country like Argentina where scholarship on protected areas is very well developed, is still not taking full advantage of the opportunities that the adequate interpretation of its internationally recognized resources would offer. Extensive and high-quality information on these sites is available but what is needed is to interpret it for public benefit. Acknowledgement of the value of the task and determination to carry it out are still on the agencies' blackboard.

Cueva de las Manos and San Ignacio Miní help to illustrate the missed opportunity of truly engaging visitors and helping them gain something of value for themselves. Both are World Heritage Sites, extraordinary places that should allow for the development of strong emotional and intellectual connections to resource meanings, yet they offer minimal or almost no interpretation. While it is possible to obtain the services of a guide, the presentations are usually of very limited scope and fail to place the sites within a meaningful geographical or temporal context. Visitors are not offered the opportunity of understanding the significance of the resources before them. Although aesthetics is quite important in both settings, the significance of the sites lies with their meanings and their relevance to both local populations and those visitors who seek something of value for themselves.

The Cueva de las Manos (Cave of the Hands) is located in the province of Santa Cruz, in southern Patagonia almost at the southern tip of the Western Hemisphere. It takes its name from the stencilled outlines of human hands in a series of caves, but there are also depictions of hunting of the guanacos, a member of the camel family, that are still common throughout Patagonia and the Andes. Known to archaeologists for more than a century, it is among the most spectacular and oldest examples of pictographs in the Southern Hemisphere. The site was in use for almost 10,000 years, from around 7000 B.C. to the 1600s. The last occupants appear to have been ancestors of the *Tehuelches*, the nomadic hunter-gatherers

who inhabited Patagonia at the time when Europeans arrived in the nineteenth century. Scholars have identified a series of superimposed stylistic designs associated with the various groups who occupied the area for thousands of years as well as the painting techniques they used.

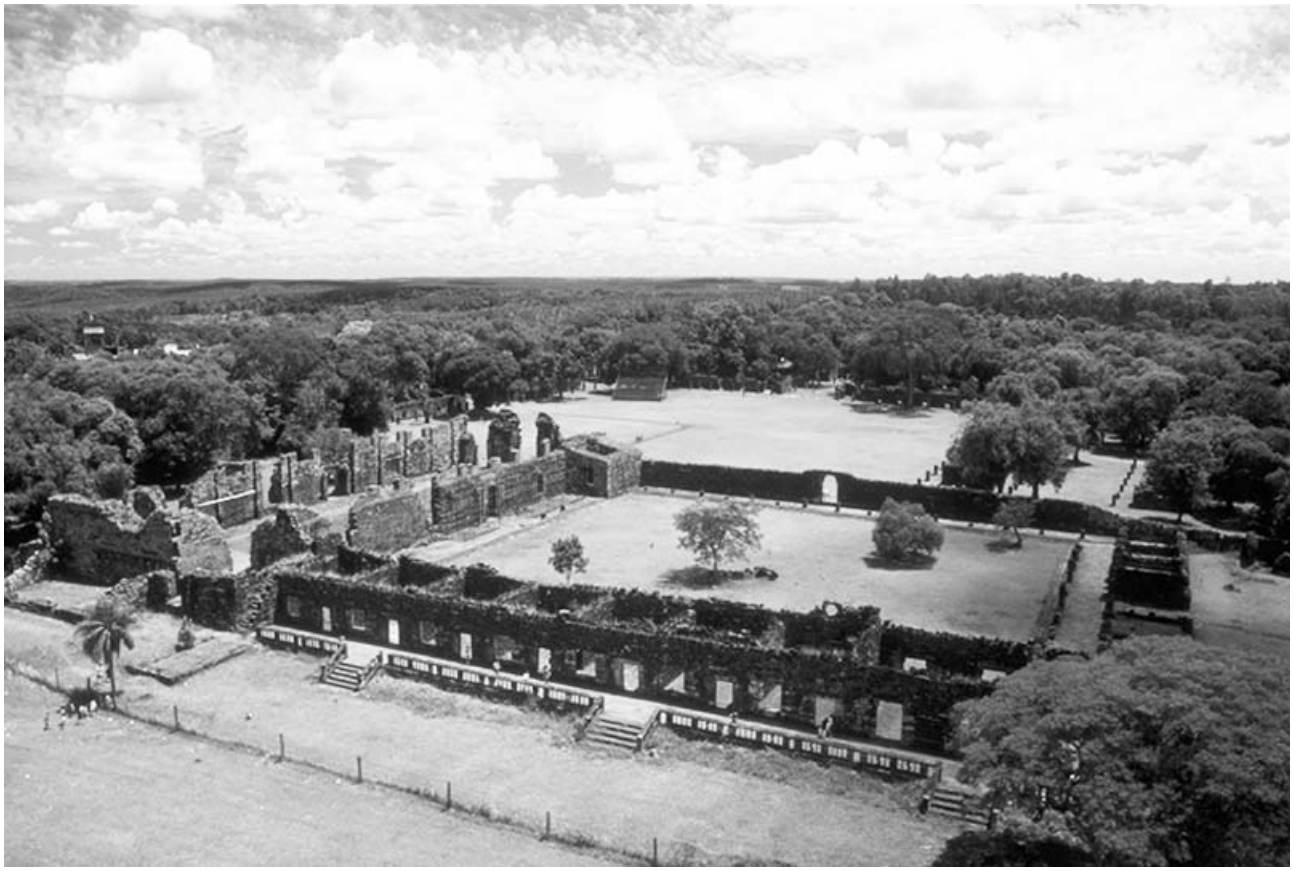
26

26. The Cueva de las Manos in the province of Santa Cruz, Argentina.

San Ignacio Miní is one of the five Jesuit missions in the area included among the World Heritage Sites.[7] Substantial information is available on the spot. Beginning in 1609 the Jesuits established settlements on the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers along the border of present-day Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil. The experiment reached its apogee in the first half of the eighteenth century when it is estimated that between 100,000 to 300,000 Guaraní Indians, one of the most important tribal groups of South America, worked on these establishments.[8] San Ignacio is only one of thirty Jesuit establishments located in the overall area. The qualities of the physical resources which survive and the extent of the Jesuit experiment in religious colonization offer numerous opportunities to interpret a fascinating story. The strong influence of the Guaraní people and culture

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

in this region makes this site ideal to incorporate local communities in planning for their management and interpretation. They constitute an important component of the region's population as it is estimated that at the beginning of the twenty-first century there are 6 million Guaraní speakers. Unfortunately, at the moment no plans exist to develop an adequate interpretation programme for this major site.



27

27. An aerial view of San Ignacio Miní in the province of Misiones, Argentina.

Conclusion

Interpretation is the key to fostering strong conservation ethics. Lack of awareness of its importance reflects perhaps an élitist mentality that has pervaded the conservation movement throughout the world – only the well-to-do and highly educated can truly appreciate the beauty and value of protected areas. However, as the twenty-first century progresses, it is becoming clearer that the long-term success of preservation projects depends on partnerships, collaboration and the active participation of all stakeholder groups. Planning for interpretation should be an open process that open minds – those of the managers as well as those of the many partners – scholars, managers, local people, visitors, planners,

and all those who care. Together they can explore options that are appropriate for the site. If visitors as well as locals are aware of the value of what they see, if they are able to make strong emotional and intellectual ties to these resources, they will become strong advocates for public policies that support and endow protected areas.

NOTES

1. This article highlights programmes on protected areas, such as those presented in visitor centres, kiosks, interpretive talks, interpretive walks, etc., but the main principles are equally pertinent to museums or other settings.

2. The mission of the RAMSAR Convention is the conservation and judicious use of all wetlands through local, regional and national actions and international co-operation, as a contribution towards achieving sustainable development throughout the world. The Convention on Wetlands is an intergovernmental treaty which provides the framework for national action and international co-operation for the conservation and wise use of wetlands and their resources. It was adopted in the Iranian city of Ramsar in 1971 and came into force in 1975, and it is the only global environmental treaty that deals with a particular ecosystem. The Convention's member countries cover all geographical regions of the planet.

3. For the purposes of this publication no substantial difference exists between interpretation and education programmes. Traditionally interpretation addresses the learning needs of the visiting public (it is more like the experience of a museum visitor) while education tends to focus on transmitting information in a classroom environment.

4. Heritage tourism programmes incorporate both natural and cultural resources. They rely exclusively on co-operation and co-ordination within and among communities to offer visitors authentic opportunities to learn about the significance of their areas.

5. The assumption seems that given the obvious great aesthetic value of the resources, it is not necessary to put them in a scientific or social context and explain their relevance or uniqueness.

6. And it can be argued that in the case of World Heritage Sites, they belong to the people of the world.

7. Four other missions in this area are included among the UNESCO sites: São Miguel das Missões in Brazil, and Santa Ana, Nuestra Señora de Loreto and Santa María la Mayor in Argentina.

8. The former home territory of the Guaraní chiefly extended between the Uruguay and lower Paraguay Rivers, in what is now Paraguay and the provinces of Corrientes and Entre Ríos of Argentina. They called themselves simply *Abá*, which means men. They belong to the great Tupí-Guaraní stock, which extends almost continuously from the Paraná to the Amazon, including most of eastern Brazil, with outlying branches as far west as the slopes of the Andes.

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

28

28. Detail of the church of San Ignacio in the province of Misiones, Argentina.

Joya de Cerén, El Salvador: site interpretation in participatory management planning[1]

by Carolina Castellanos and Françoise Descamps

Carolina Castellanos is an archaeological conservator specialized in heritage management. She consults on the international level for diverse institutions and organizations on the development of management and conservation plans for heritage sites. Françoise Descamps is an architect who consulted for international institutions in different heritage projects prior to joining the Getty Conservation Institute as a senior project specialist.

The World Heritage Site of Joya de Cerén[2] is located in the Zapotitán Valley, 36 km from the capital of El Salvador. The rich biodiversity and natural setting of the area have encouraged human settlements for many centuries. The place reflects the catastrophic volcanic activity and its contradictory effects: in the short term, huge eruptions have devastated the area; in the long term, decomposition of volcanic ash have created the most fertile soil to be found in the country.

The archaeological site was inhabited for almost a century, during what is the Classic Period in Mesoamerican chronology,[3] until its abandonment and interment around A.D. 590 as a consequence of the eruption of the Laguna Caldera Volcano. The site was discovered accidentally in 1976 during the bulldozing of the area for infrastructure works and has been the subject of archaeological investigations and conservation projects ever since.[4]

museum INTERNATIONAL ISSN 1350-0775, no. 223 (vol. 56, no. 3, 2004)
Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

29

29. Aerial view of the World Heritage Site of Joya de Céren.

The archaeological site and its setting

Joya de Cerén is located amongst several villages and small settlements that are part of the Municipality of San Juan Opico. Though today it is mainly a rural setting, with no large-scale urban development, land-use and development works – primarily communication roads – have significantly impacted and transformed the surrounding landscape and environment over the years.

The site covers an area of five hectares and is divided into two major sectors: the restricted area or archaeological reserve and the public area or archaeological park. The archaeological park corresponds to the zone previously used for modern infrastructure by the Instituto Regulador de Abastecimiento, with some elements adapted for public services, such as the bases of the silos used as visitor kiosks or the grain storage facility adapted to house the site museum.[5]

Of the eighteen structures identified to date in the archaeological reserve, ten have been completely excavated and are located within four deep excavation pits that vary considerably in dimension and depth given that the site was buried under seven to ten metres of ash.

The particular excavation of the site has led to disruption between the archaeological pits, that have varying topographies, which hinders the reading as a whole of what constituted the pre-Hispanic settlement and its landscape. The spatial relations, architectural functions and use of space can only be appreciated within specific groups. The nature of the simple and fragile earthen architecture, disrupted by the effects of volcanic events, also make comprehension of the site rather difficult. Some walls have completely collapsed while others are held in place by supporting tephra banks; there are split columns and impacts of volcanic bombs. The event also left temperature marks of the event on walls that are now part of the features that define the character of the place and have been ascribed with aesthetic values.

30

30. The place surrounding the Laguna Caldera Volcano illustrates the contradictory effects of volcanism: devastation followed by appearance of fertile areas.

The aerial view is dominated by modern elements of infrastructure, such as the protective shelters over the excavation pits, and a landscape transformed by modern human activities, giving the impression that the archaeological site is not part of the landscape but rather a component of an underlying topography. This yet again impedes appreciating integration of the archaeological site with the contemporary predominant agricultural and rural landscape.

As mentioned above, to date only a small portion of the site has been excavated and conservation issues will preclude further excavations until comprehensive solutions can be undertaken. From the onset of scientific research, conservation has been addressed by means of diverse interventions, ranging from structural stabilization and surface consolidation to the building of massive protective shelters over the four exposed areas and the installation of drainage systems. Several experts have visited the site and provided insight for these interventions and have also produced many recommendations for the place, some of which have been implemented. In spite of the continuous interventions and maintenance, the site's structures continue to deteriorate, both as a consequence of mechanisms inherent to the nature and composition of the

building materials and techniques, as well as the conditions created by the wet tropical climate of the area. Consequently, further exposure of archaeological remains and domestic and ceremonial artefacts will add to concerns not only related to conserving an earthen architecture site in wet tropical climates but also to guaranteeing the required resources to preserve such a significant site sustainably.

Cultural significance and importance of the site

Several different groups have inhabited what is now El Salvador over the centuries. Archaeological investigations in the country, as other projects in the Mesoamerican region, have focused on major ceremonial centres that provide evidence of the cultural, political and religious development of the area. This type of architecture has resisted the passage of time more successfully than domestic architecture, as the latter was constructed using perishable materials. The few conserved remnants, such as platforms, rare utilitarian artefacts or trash heaps, are difficult to interpret in terms of their forms and functions resulting in gaps in knowledge regarding the everyday life of the pre-Hispanic inhabitants. The discovery of Joya de Cerén and subsequent research have begun to fill these gaps by providing unique information regarding the development and cultural history of small settlements at the southern periphery of Mesoamerica during the Classic Period.

The particular conditions of burial, by successive layers of volcanic ash, ensured the preservation of structures, artefacts and other evidence of life that attest to the needs of man *vis-à-vis* his environment. Throughout the settlement, the earthen building materials and construction technologies, architectural forms, organization of space and numerous objects, demonstrate the inhabitants' skill and development suited to particular conditions. The site constitutes a scientific reserve of great significance as several structures have only been partially discovered while others have merely been identified.

The preserved remains, almost as if frozen in time, reveal a tangible relation between the past and the present with many features that characterize contemporary agricultural communities in Central America. Parallels can be made between pre-Hispanic and modern inhabitants, from the manner of cultivating and processing crops, to construction materials and technologies to pottery making. Consequently, Joya de Cerén plays a critical role in the process of strengthening cultural identity; it is indeed a source of pride and a reference for a specific territory and history.

The management planning process

Between 1999 and 2002, a project was implemented for the development of a management plan for Joya de Cerén.[6] The driving philosophy behind the planning process was that of a holistic, participatory, value-driven approach to define the future management of the site by addressing not only the conservation needs of the structures, but also issues related to the natural setting and the social context, considering heritage as a critical component of human development. The practical approach of this philosophy entailed different levels of collaboration and interaction to deal with the complexity of concerns related to the site.

Although Joya de Cerén is significant in many aspects and from diverse points of view, this could not be considered as the sole argument for its preservation. Specific needs and expectations surrounding the site could not be ignored; the adjacent communities and the Municipality of

31

31. The archaeological remains, preserved by the catastrophic events, are located within deep excavation pits.

San Juan Opico held expectations that there would be economic benefits derived from tourism and scientific activities, the tourism sector expected to boost activities in El Salvador through increased visitation to the site, and thus would have liked to see better facilities and more areas open to the public, etc. Therefore, significant efforts were made to reconcile diverse interests with the preservation of the site. A critical step was the recognition by different interest groups that all actions have an impact, either directly or indirectly, on the conservation of the place and its cultural significance. An archaeological site is not isolated, it is inscribed within a physical and human landscape and context, so factors such as pollution, chemical residues derived from industrial production, a rise or fall in water-table levels, changes in the physical setting, urban sprawl, deterioration of natural resources and abandonment of agricultural land also have an impact on the conservation of structures and in how the place is perceived and appreciated.

On the other hand, the potentials of the place were to be balanced too, particularly in regard to the social context, so that the direct and indirect benefits derived from the conservation of the place contributed to an improvement in the quality of life and human development. These potentials were also reconciled, not only with the restrictions imposed by the conservation of the earthen structures, but also with the expectations of each group, so as to reach a consensus on the priorities, but most importantly, on the vision for the future of the place.

Consequently, the planning process at Joya de Cerén could only be undertaken as a participatory one. It entailed a constant decision-making process in an interdisciplinary and

multisectoral environment, leading to creative responses to achieve results, to maintain centred discussions and to promote effective collaboration mechanisms.

Interpretation and presentation of the archaeological site

The interpretation and presentation of Joya de Cerén is a key element for sustainable conservation. Within the context of management planning, both the policies and the vision of the site considered the interpretation of values and significance as a driving component to strengthen cultural identity and the symbolic appropriation of the place. From this perspective, projections contemplated not only the archaeological site but also its potential extension and articulation with contemporary landscape components for appreciation, understanding and assimilation of cultural significance.

To present and interpret the range of values ascribed to Joya de Cerén diverse mechanisms were defined that included archaeological heritage as well as representative aspects of the history of the area, particular features, use, transcendence and continuity in the immediate surroundings. They also contemplated offering conditions to satisfy the needs of different users to promote longer stays and exemplify compatibility between tourism development, heritage and human development. Similarly, adequate interpretation and presentation would contribute to education by advancing heritage awareness and a conservation and protection culture both in the formal and non-formal arenas.

To address these issues comprehensively, a landscape programme was defined to articulate three major components: the site, the immediate surroundings and the natural environment. On the site level, presentation considered the integral operation of the spatial organization and public services to minimize visitor impact through strategic distribution within visitation areas. For new infrastructure needed, projects fostered the use of earthen architecture as valid architectural expressions to enhance the values of this type of architecture, the importance of know-how and continuity and its role as an alternative for the country's housing needs.

The interpretation scheme focused on the description and creation of optimal conditions to expose, understand and appreciate the architectural remains of the landscape of the pre-Hispanic settlement. Proposals encompass a series of activities for the public, tailored to different target groups, to understand the significance of the site clearly and easily. The narrative for interpretation would begin with the site museum and continue telling its stories at strategically chosen locations that would illustrate the different components, such as daily life before the time of the eruption, the results of the catastrophic volcanic events, the accidental discovery, the challenges posed for excavation and conservation and the role the site plays in today's lives and for future generations.

As for the immediate surroundings, projects were defined to promote the relationship of the site with both its contemporary physical context and its historical one. These included the design of alternative visitation routes that made use of the natural landscape, traditional agricultural

practices and local cultural expressions so as to enhance the value of continuity.

The first of these routes links the agricultural village of Cerén with another archaeological site, the ceremonial centre of San Andrés, selected not only because of its physical closeness (5 km) but also because of historical associations to understand cultural processes more clearly. The route will also allow for the integration of the modern community of Joya de Cerén, not only in its human potential to offer services for visitors but also to share the daily lives of inhabitants of the area and promote comprehension of the connection between ways of life. The second route was designed to connect the archaeological site with the Laguna Caldera volcano (800 metres away) whose eruption buried the site. The proposal seeks mainly to promote understanding of the role of the volcanic event. However, because of the existence of a lake and a primary forest within the volcanic cone, it is also associated with the protection and conservation of flora and fauna.

Both proposals responded to the expressed interests of the community, and heritage initiatives from the Municipality of San Juan Opico, to benefit from the site and to support interpretation. In turn, procuring economic alternatives with Joya de Cerén as an axis advances local development.

Conclusion

The conservation of the physical fabric of an archaeological site is critical, but sites do not exist in isolation, so the natural and social contexts need to be integrated in the proposals prescribed for their management. Consequently, as a result of the planning process, the management of Joya de Cerén is proposed as a more thorough articulation between natural and cultural heritage and society. Preserving the site entails conserving and promoting the different values of the place, prioritizing both its historical and scientific significance as well as its social one. It also involves generating conditions that respond to demands in the social, political and economic arenas to contribute to the best possible sustainable conservation of heritage, to the improvement of the quality of life and to sustainable human development.

To achieve this vision for the future, the participatory process provided the means to bring forward and reconcile interests and to create a larger sense of societal responsibility and commitment to heritage endeavours.

NOTES

1. The authors would like to thank their colleagues at the Getty Conservation Institute and the Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y el Arte (Concultura, El Salvador) as well as the individuals who contributed to and supported the development of the Management Planning Project at Joya de Cerén.

2. Joya de Cerén was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1993 under criteria C (ii) and (iv). The site is described as a pre-Hispanic farming community that, like Pompeii and Herculaneum in Italy, was buried under a volcanic eruption around A.D. 600. Because of the exceptional condition of the remains, they provide an insight into the daily lives of the Central American populations who worked the land at the time.

3. Mesoamerica was the most densely populated region in pre-Hispanic times and encompassed what are now central and southern Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador and some parts of Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. *Olmec*, Teotihuacan, Zapotec, Totonac, Toltec, Mixtec,

Aztec and Maya were among the groups located here, which reached a high cultural level, with distinctly stratified societies.

4. The history of the site began in 1976 with an accidental discovery. The Instituto Regulador de Abastecimiento (IRA) undertook works to level the terrain for the construction of 'Butler' silos for grain storage; the base of these silos can still be appreciated today. Upon removing the tephra that covered the terrain, two remains of earthen houses were detected: the north-eastern part of Structure 1 and the platform of Structure 5. Given the excellent state of conservation of the remains, it was assumed that they were modern and were destroyed by further works. The exact number of archaeological vestiges that were levelled is unknown, affecting knowledge in regards to the extension of the site and the spatial distribution and spatial organization of the pre-Hispanic settlement. It was not until 1978 that preliminary investigations were undertaken and samples dated around A.D. 590 which set the basis for archaeological research and subsequent protection.

5. There have been recent investments at the site in infrastructure for visitors. The construction of a new site museum has integrated the grain storage facility to function as a multimedia interpretation centre.

6. The management planning initiative was undertaken as a collaborative endeavour between the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) and the Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y el Arte (Concultura). Further information is available at http://www.getty.edu/under the Maya Initiative project. See also: C. Castellanos, F. Descamps and M. I. Arauz, 'Joya de Cerén. Conservation and Management Planning for an Earthen Archaeological Site', *The Getty Conservation Institute Newsletter*, (Los Angeles), Vol. 16, No. 1, 2001, pp. 22–4.

C. Castellanos, F. Descamps and M. I. Arauz (eds.) 'Joya de Cerén, El Salvador. Plan de Manejo'. Unpublished manuscript, Los Angeles, California, The Getty Conservation Institute/Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y el Arte, 2002, 271 pp.

The Great Inca Route: a living experience

by Ricardo Manuel Espinosa

Ricardo Espinosa has gained the nickname of 'El Caminante' due to his numerous journeys. In 1999 he travelled across the Great Inca route from Quito, Ecuador to La Paz, Bolivia, so raising the interest of the government of Peru, the neighbouring countries and the global community. He currently works as chief consultant for the project of The World Conservation Union (IUCN) to promote an Andean regional initiative of integration based on the revalorisation of cultural and natural/environmental values for the sustainable development of the Route's bordering villages.

From ancient times, the inhabitants of the Andean region were closely allied to their fellow Indians, in distant climes, through an amazing network of roads which promoted trade and cultural exchanges. By the end of the fifteenth century, the Incas had developed the system to perfection. The roads, like the veins of a huge body, now dormant, played an active role in the daily lives of these peoples and epitomized their harmonious domination of the natural environment, which they held to be sacred. The essence of my work is to travel these roads, to proclaim the wonders that criss-cross and link them, and to open them up once again. When, only nine years ago, I first set out on foot to cover almost 4,000 km of Peruvian desert coast, I little imagined that this would induce me to travel a further 6,000 km along Inca roads, much less that a few solitary journeys would spark a world rehabilitation movement. Hence, I discovered the greatness of the Incas during my long tracks in pursuit of their extensive traces.

Most of those who are familiar with the history of Andean America have heard about a

museum INTERNATIONAL ISSN 1350-0775, no. 223 (vol. 56, no. 3, 2004)
Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

large network of roads built by the Incas. It began in Cuzco and news was carried over it, and throughout the vast empire, at great speed by the *chasquis* (specialized couriers). However, most people treated the existence of the great route along the mountains, and the tales told of it, in much the same way as they did the story of Manco Cápac and Mama Ocllo who, in the Inca founding myth, were the children of the Sun, born of the sacred lake Titicaca. The Great Inca Route was just another legend, or in any event, a reality that time had snatched from us forever. Until only a few years ago, I thought likewise. But it sufficed to scratch the surface of ignorance and oblivion into which the Inca road system, and, in particular, this highway, had fallen to discover that this was the biggest mystery uncovered on the continent, and that it had lain hidden for centuries precisely because of its gigantic size. This statement might sound unfair to several authors who, in the past, have produced work on this subject. The theoretical studies of Alberto Regal and León Strube and the fieldwork of Victor von Hagen and John Hyslop are an example. These are valuable studies on which I drew heavily in my own research. However, with the exception of von Hagen's writings, these fine treatises were intended for specialists. The general reader was left out in the cold, was not invited to share in the feast. Today, this is changing in favour of the communities adjoining the Route.

Geography of the research project

My initial research project was ambitious to the point of being quixotic. I had intended to link up the mountains and the Peruvian coast via seven pre-Hispanic routes and then to travel the road along the mountains – The Great Inca Route – or Qhapac Nan in the local Quechua language – from Ecuador to Bolivia. The first stage, which took place in 1997 and 1998, involved walking 2,000 km in a total of 120 days, thus linking pre-Hispanic sites on the coast with Inca sites throughout the Andes mountain range. These seven roads provided a perfect learning experience and the training needed to tackle the Great Inca Route between May and December 1999. This second stage included the section of the Great Inca Route along the mountains between Quito in Ecuador, and La Paz in Bolivia, and passed through the old Inca cities of Cajamarca, Jauja and Cuzco. It took 163 days to walk approximately 4,000 km of stunning landscape, history and living culture.

The results of the research surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the Ecuadorian, Peruvian and Bolivian archaeologists who took part. They demonstrated that the legend had real substance. Paved roads the width of a modern motorway remain almost intact on the high Andean plateau 4,000 m above sea level, mainly in the northern and central mountains of Peru. More than 100 important archaeological sites have been shown to be associated with this monumental route, most of which were unknown to the academic world, not to mention tourists. In Peru alone, this major route crosses forty-five provinces belonging to twelve departments. This gives some idea of the numerous people involved who could contribute decisively to the rehabilitation of the road. They could derive direct benefit from the economic momentum the development of the greatest tourist circuit in the Americas would generate. It should be noted that the Great Inca

32

32. Ingapirca, the old provincial capital, in the central mountain range of Ecuador, shows Inca ruins distant from Cuzco.

Route is, in fact, much longer than the section we trekked. Originally, it stretched from the Pasto junction in Colombia in the north and forked to the south as far as Mendoza in Argentina and Santiago, the capital of Chile. If one were to trace this route over a map of Europe, at an average altitude of 3,000 m above sea level, just one of its two main branches would link Lisbon and Moscow.

We need to be aware of some basic concepts that underpin this amazing and immense road network and the Great Route which, like a backbone, held it together. They are drawn both from historical sources and from actual journeys along the roads. The rapid and vast expansion of the Incas, which was so well organized and efficient in the century preceding the arrival of the Europeans, cannot be properly understood unless it is studied in the light of the communications system that they engineered as their territory and power grew. Although there were roads before the Inca period, in our work we were able to show that those built by the Incas disciplined unprecedented engineering skills. They surpassed utilitarian concepts to transform these structures into a symbol of their domination of the regions the roads traversed and the settlements they linked. In

particular, the Qhapac Nan or Great Inca Route, whose monumental lines are unique in road-building, must, in those times, have instilled even greater awe and respect than that inspired today by its enormous vestiges throughout the Andes. It is the backbone of a vast complex constructed by the Incas at the core of a system whose origins reach back to earlier times and whose boundaries follow countless roads and paths still in use today.

Although older roads had been reused or rebuilt, the Inca roads and, especially the innumerable buildings (*tambos*) that were sited alongside them for use as warehouses and for the distribution of products from the various ecosystems, constituted a living organic system. This was designed to operate over extensive areas, on a large scale and to an unprecedented extent. In fact, the roads were an efficient means of planning and organizing the territory and the natural and human resources dotted about it. In many cases, they made it possible to convert inaccessible or barren lands into large arable or livestock areas. This communications system could at lightning speed bring news of an uprising on the outlying borders of Tahuantinsuyu (the old name of the territory dominated by the Incas) and in no time an army could be dispatched to quash it. This omnipotent power could also be used to displace entire populations, uprooting them from their lands and transporting them to an unknown destination. The geographical space could thus be organized by setting up self-sufficient provincial administrative centres throughout the system. The peoples were then shuffled like a pack of playing cards so as to remedy production shortfalls or check unwanted regional rivalries.

To travel along the Qhapac Nan anywhere in the empire, or to simply see it with its large skilfully engineered and maintained structures, steps and bridges, was like having seen Cuzco. Cuzco was the epitome of everything of value, and this great road was merely an extension of it. But, despite the uniformity of style, the continuity of line, and the sheer magnitude of this Great Route, it was not uniform from beginning to end. Indeed, one of the main findings of our research was the noteworthy superiority of the Peruvian Central Andes section, with a few exceptions, over the rest of the Qhapac Nan. This superiority has to do both with its better state of preservation and with the actual construction of the road. This, in turn, relates to different periods in the Inca expansion process.

The 'resuscitable' archaeological unit

In any case, it should be made clear that the Qhapac Nan is not paved or very wide throughout and, in parts, is unrecognizable. We are talking about manual labour carried out without machinery or maps and using local materials that had to contend with various relief features. In many instances, it also had to compete with other stretches of the same road being worked on by neighbouring ethnic groups. Even the reigning Incas were wont to compete with the road left by their predecessors, either because of a desire for greatness or because peoples built bigger and better roads to match their greater conquests. Hence the Great Inca Route often stops being simply a road and becomes a monument. It is important then, to stress that this road presents diverse characteristics while retaining its uniqueness. These will only be discovered

33

33. Detail of pre-Inca ruins at Tiwanacu, Bolivia, with its carved stone *Portada del Sol* to the South of Lake Titicaca.

through exhaustive study based on premises other than those we used to travel thousands of kilometres on foot, almost without a break. On the other hand, the benefits of walking the Route are indisputable. The Inca roads were designed and built in a world where people walked; to walk them again not only makes it possible to determine their location and current state, metre by metre, but it brings them back into use and gives them new life. Inca roads are a 'resuscitable archaeological unit' so to speak. Unlike normal archaeological sites that can be seriously damaged by tourists, roads decline and die when they are not used. Therefore using them responsibly and sensibly will preserve them for future generations.

Walking brings us closer to the makers of the road. We can see what they saw – sights in the Andes are never banal – and instinctively absorb their way of looking at the world. Although it is not very academic, what can be more real and revealing than the sensation of travelling along the Qhapac Nan over the Andean peaks with an infinite, beautiful and fascinating world at your feet? Aesthetic pleasure was by no means alien to early peoples; on the contrary, they celebrated it through magic thinking.

On the other hand, exchanges between local inhabitants and travellers/researchers go far beyond merely collecting information. The traveller is gradually introduced to the Andean lifestyle, and is treated by the host as he would wish to be should he come to be doing the travelling. 'It's your turn today, mine tomorrow' is what sustains travellers in the Andes as it integrates them and places them under an obligation. Reciprocation, a simple, wise, unspoken precept that our primarily urban civilization is totally unable to put into practice, but that travellers ignore at their peril when visiting these ancient roads.

The Andean countries could derive great benefit from tourism in and around this road system. But first a detailed and precise survey must be drawn up: a high-cost task requiring past errors to be avoided. The first and most urgent matter is to protect the system. In the course of the journey, it was found that the destruction of the road was not only due to neglect or to the ignorance of private entities. In fact, state agencies in charge of reconstruction have failed to conduct any prior study and damaged the pre-Hispanic lines. Although the old Inca roads, for the most part, were abandoned very soon after the Europeans reached South America, it is an established fact that short stretches were still used by small groups until the advent of motor vehicles and roads in the twentieth century. In Peru, moreover, the massive road-building projects only began in the second half of that century because of the predominance of coastal trade. The roads were abandoned, and as time went by, erosion set in. However, the Incas had built for eternity and the damage was limited, especially where local populations who still used them provided basic maintenance. On the other hand, at a time when the importance of these ancient roads had not yet been recognized, modern ones were often built on top of them and on the embankments that this extraordinary wise giant race had constructed against great odds. The layout turned out to be coincidental with modern engineering design. Unfortunately, this state of affairs is not a thing of the past. Unscrupulous builders are well aware of the savings to be made, in terms of work and money, from building on existing routes. They have no qualms about demolishing archaeological vestiges in places where weak state control is ineffectual. It is crucial to make a survey of the Inca roads and to do so now. At the time of writing, somewhere in the Andes heavy machinery is demolishing the heritage of a glorious past.

Strengthening age-old ties

The classification of the Inca roads as national heritage, decreed in Peru by President Valentín Paniagua, and an application to the UNESCO World Heritage List, in conjunction with the other five countries involved (Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador), are initiatives that emerged after we submitted our research findings in 2001.[1] They signal a great stride forward. In addition, the recently established National Commission of Inca Routes, led by the National Institute of Culture, has been given a large budget. Furthermore, in the same year, the World Conservation Union (IUCN) identified the Great Inca Route, the Qhapac Nan, as a powerful axis in promoting the sustainable development of the Andean peoples. If these resources were properly preserved and managed, the tremendous potential of the Great Route could

be developed for eco-tourism, the integration of the Andean people, academic research and the establishment of intercultural spaces. The latter would serve to explore the values and the cosmic vision of diverse ancient and modern societies who through this road system and its management, were connected to their neighbours in the north and south and thus strengthen age-old ties.

had in common but lay dormant: our history and our culture. Restoration work for the benefit of tourism should wait or be put in place gradually along short stretches which could serve as pilot projects to be extended to the rest of the road or road system later. These stretches should be chosen for their monumental nature, the conjunction of outstanding natural and cultural

34

34. The Great Inca Route, crossing six countries: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru.

These studies have made the six countries of the region aware of the potential of this great route as a vehicle for integration and exchange between our peoples. It offers an opportunity to base our common development on what we always

values. In addition, the local population should be willing to get involved in the restoration work. A good example would be the stretch from Huari to Huanuco Pampampa in Peru, a five-day walk. Let us imagine entering into a contract with a

 | Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

reputable travel agency running a single system for all the existing Inca roads in the Andes. There would be a joint system of protected areas, under community management, operating with the local populations who live in and around small sections of road. The active participation of the indigenous peoples cannot be unjustly reduced to that of porters. They would share not only in the maintenance and repair of the road but also in that of the *tambos* (hostelries).

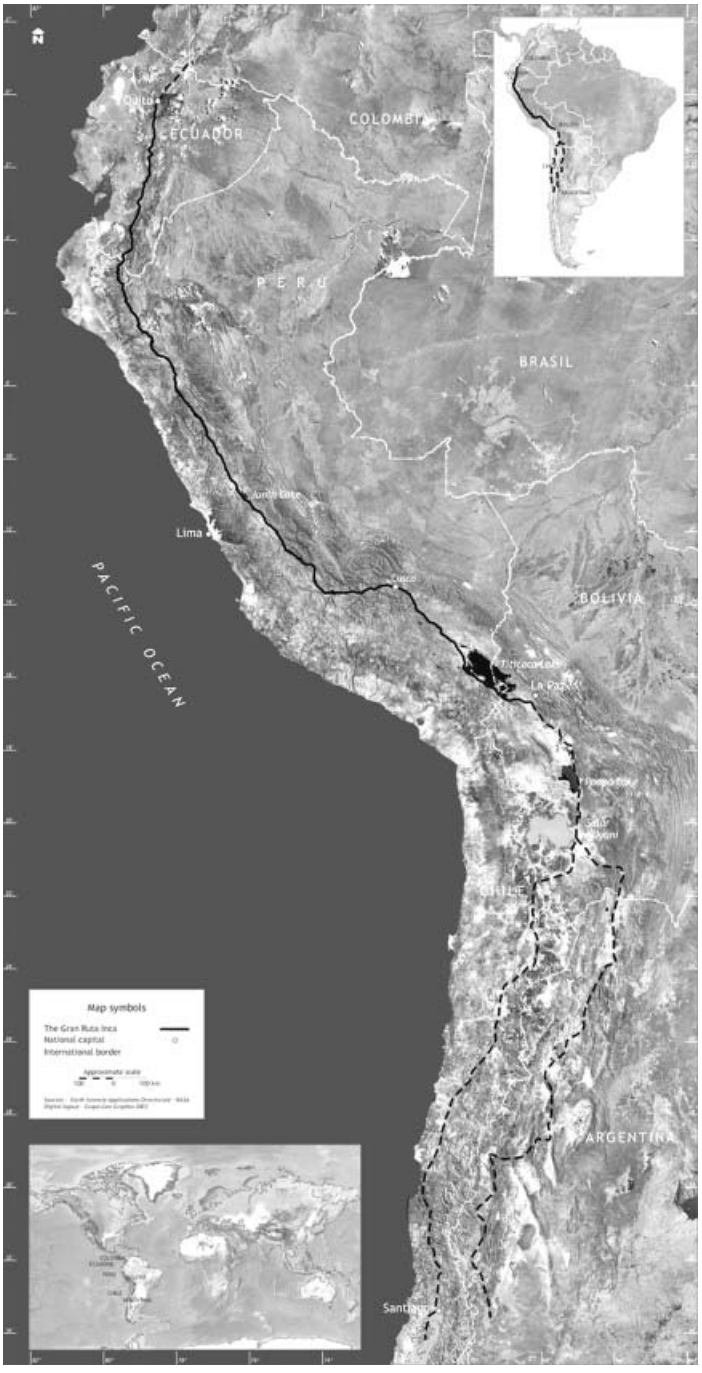
Hence, on the first day one could walk from Huari up to the first reconstructed tambo – not to the original plans, of course, but quite close architecturally speaking, and strategically hidden from view so as not to spoil the landscape. There, accommodation, food and shelter would be provided along with a good fireside chat with the locals about Andean traditions. In other words, it would be very much like the clever system of yore which enjoyed wonderful state backing and which has been replaced by the good use of market forces. The following day a packed lunch would be available – containing local products and specialities – to sustain the trekkers until the following night when they reached the next *tambo*. They would only need to carry some warm clothing and a camera to record the wonderful views along the way.

Compounded with the reconstruction of the famous hemp or ichu cord hanging bridges, a must if one wants to stick to the old route, this system for trekking these roads could become a model to be emulated worldwide. The goods would all be taken to the *tambos* on the backs of graceful llamas, which, unlike shod horses and donkeys, do not destroy the road surface. Instead they bring beauty, identity, and fuel (manure). The *tambos* would then truly become centres for the exchange, dissemination and conservation of the Andean culture, today in imminent danger of extinction. More than any others, we need the rank-and-file people, as it were, steeped in Andean culture with its ancient and wise values such as mutual assistance. Through the management of this road system, they can connect with their neighbours and the wider world, thus rebuilding and strengthening age-old ties.

The way we walk this road will affect our future identity and it should be worthy of the original architects.

NOTE

1. See the insert in *World Heritage Review*, No. 35, 2004; with an article on the Quebrada de Humahuaca, registered on the World Heritage List (National Site). An expert meeting with a view to preparing the application file of the Qhapac Nan was held in La Paz (Bolivia) in April 2004.



35. The map of the Great Inca Route/UICN.

The Qhapac Nan Museums Network

by Luis Guillermo Lumbreras

Luis Guillermo Lumbreras, Peruvian anthropologist and archaeologist, is specialized in pre-Hispanic economy and museography. After completing his Ph.D., he became director of the San Marco National Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, professor at the University of San Marcos and worked as a consultant for UNESCO. Among his various publications, figure De los Pueblos, Cultura y las Artes del Antiguo Peru, Arqueología Peruana and Arqueología de la América Andina.

There is an archaeological monument over 5,000 km long and hundreds wide with many side roads. It crosses five countries and passes through almost all the landscapes planet Earth has to offer. As the crow flies, it covers the equivalent distance of Panama to Washington D.C., Cadiz to Stockholm or Amapá, at the mouth of the Amazon, to Buenos Aires. It extends over the territory that during the fifteenth century was known as Tawantinsuyu (country of the four regions), and was governed by the Cuzco Incas of Peru.

History of the Great Road of the Andes

When the Spanish discovered Peru, in 1532, they entered a country criss-crossed by a complex network of communications, where one could journey from one place to another within the territory along well-laid-out and serviced roads. Moreover, news and goods moved with great speed, efficiency and safety over the network. This meant that sea products were delivered promptly to mountain villages and fine timber and multicoloured feathers from the Amazon rain

Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

forests to the coastal valleys. It also meant that the Incas of Cuzco could administer the labour and production system of territories thousands of kilometres away from that city. The Cañar, natives of the Ecuadorian mountains, and the Chachas of the Amazon, lived in the Cuzco valleys and in the temperate basins of the other Inca provinces, without being cut off from their indigenous property or their relatives. So true was this that, shortly after the Spanish conquest, the people who served the Tawantinsuyu community in many different places throughout the empire, were able to return to their places of origin very quickly.

Three centuries later, after republics had been established in the Andean countries, the twentieth century saw the advent of mechanical means of transport. This product of the Industrial Revolution spread throughout the world in the nineteenth century and led to a policy of land communication based on the use of the motor vehicle. This phenomenon displaced the old network of Andean communications that had been built up over many centuries and had become an integrated overland communications system by the fifteenth century. The vestiges remained and gradually became archaeological features whose magnificence is universally recognized on account both of their integrating role and of their physical quality.

The central axis of this network was the Andes. The then state of the art led to a pedestrian scheme where the road was designed for the passage of people, retinues, and caravans, often accompanied by droves of llamas which led porters along firm and well-laid-out pathways. People travelled along the mountain range using stone steps to negotiate slopes and bridges and cross ravines, ridges and passes at places in the road where massifs required structures such as tunnels or extensive building works. The Qhapac Nan was the main highway from which a series of side roads branched off, linking the long axis with each and every one of the settlements of the summits, slopes or ravines of the mountain range. From all points, it was possible to reach a radial or linear network, according to the topology. In this way, the products of the land could be taken from one end of the country to the other to meet needs and serve projects. Above

36

36. A bridge on the Great Inca Route, Machu Picchu, Peru.

all, people far and wide could take part in the trading of goods and services and this facilitated mutual assistance in all circumstances, as appropriate.

This road system had a well-specified layout and signalling scheme where the edges of the roads were clearly marked. It was supported, moreover, by a generous policy of holding stocks of food preserves and clothing in roadside warehouses known as *qollqas*. Surpluses were stored to cater for contingencies. They were also *tambos* (roadside hostelries) where travellers could rest and recuperate. In this way, travellers could confidently journey along a route more than 5,000 km long without ever having to leave it and be sure that the goods and services they needed to sustain them over a long journey would be available. The road made it possible for the *chasquis*, or Inca couriers, to bring the news from all over the empire in a short time, thus enabling the state to intervene where its interests were at stake. It was the means to convey to Cuzco tax proceeds which were paid in kind, for instance fresh sea fish or itinerant labour. It also served to move Inca armies so as to impose the will of the state on the areas over which Cuzco held sway.

The Spaniards were understandably amazed to discover a fully operational Inca road. Actually, in Europe there had been nothing like it since the times of the Roman Empire, which, in the sixteenth century, was a distant memory, with archaeological remains visible in just a few stretches. The flagged, paved stretches of the Inca Road, often with walls over long distances, to protect retinues, and clearly marked edges, apart from their utilitarian value, were a fine spectacle. A spectacle indeed, and one that conveys a feeling of harmony and safety which is enhanced by the diverse multi-coloured beauties of the natural Andean landscape. The Qhapac Nan runs for some 5,000 km of the more than 7,000 km of South America's western seaboard. Those 5,000 km offer the most outstanding variety of landscapes in the world. They range from the icy environments of the snow-topped mountains, surrounded by barren plateaux and cold steppes, to the rain or dry forest gorges, depending on the latitude, to the temperate or warm plains and neighbouring valleys, and to the sandy grounds and rocky outcrops of every hue in the arid highlands. Verdant forests, yellow steppes, and rocky ground dotted with cacti are all sights travellers walking the Qhapac Nan can see in a single day. They can then rest in a valley or a clearing where a *tambo* has been built or, having reached the town of their destination, they can contemplate the mountains, whose *apus*[1] (gods) will afford them protection.

Naturally, this system was not created overnight, nor was it constructed solely at the behest of the Incas. Perhaps as far back as 1,000 years before the advent of the Inca empire, and certainly 500 years before, during the so-called Wari period, an Andean road network of equal excellence had existed. It originated in Ayacucho and reached the vicinity of Lake Titicaca, in the south, and the vicinity of Chachapoyas and Piura in the north. The Tawantinsuyu extended the system and took the Qhapac Nan up to Pastos, beyond Ibarra and Quito in the north, and almost up to the Guaytara river in southern Colombia. They took it down to the

borders between Pichunches and Mapuches, near the modern city of Concepción in central southern Chile, and as far as the land of the Huarpes in the middle west of Argentina. In this way, several million inhabitants, who had different life-styles and customs and spoke different languages, were connected. The Qhapac Nan headed out of Cuzco in four directions: north through Chinchaysuyu inhabited by Quechuas and Yungas; south through Qollasuyu inhabited by Quechuas, Arus, Atacamas, Diaguitas, Pichuches and Huarpes; west through Contisuyu inhabited by Pukinas and Aymaras; and east through Antisuyu inhabited by Chunchos. In the north there were arable lands, in the south arid lands, in the west desert, and in the east jungle.

In truth, the peoples were and are still linked. They exhibit strong signs of unity while retaining their diversity. However, they have lost the connectedness afforded by an operational road system responsive to the integration they still need. This was an articulate system which extended over almost 40,000 km of which archaeologists have been able to identify more than 23,000 km of roads.

In terms of archaeological heritage, it is undoubtedly the greatest monument in the American hemisphere that is known and shared by five Andean countries. Today farming, pastoral, mining and fishing communities live beside the Road. Some settlements have handicrafts in demand abroad because of their form and content while others are unable to export theirs. It is a collapsed route but one that holds out a fair prospect of a renewed unifying role.

A wide-scale museum project

In this regard, a project to save the Qhapac Nan has been set up, which includes an active role for the museum in supporting research on the monument, conservation work and presentation. This would be an outstanding 'on-site museum', intended to cover an immense area and convey a message that is both one and diverse. A message that is reflected throughout the 5,000 km it runs and, possibly, in its other thousands of segments in the form of side roads. Without a doubt, a museum of that magnitude has itself to be a network with many nodes: namely the plan of the Road where each node, a site, should be at the heart of each of the many ethnic groups or settlements living alongside it. It should be a place where visitors can appreciate the complexity of the Qhapac Nan, as a whole and the uniqueness of its diverse peoples: namely, its peoples ancient and modern; the Tawantinsuyu, its local history and the countries that now occupy the area.

The project involves a network of museums covering the countries united by the road. Its purpose should be to collect evidence from the period when the Qhapac Nan was a going concern and to lead the conservation and rehabilitation work on the remains still present on the Road or in related structures and settlements. In every 'museum-node' there should be a synopsis of Tawantinsuyu, a review of the region in the fifteenth century and the material vestiges of the locality as they relate to ethnic groups or nations active in the area where the museum is located. A regional museum should be sited at the focal point of each *suyu* (large region) and should do justice to the peoples of the region. There should be a

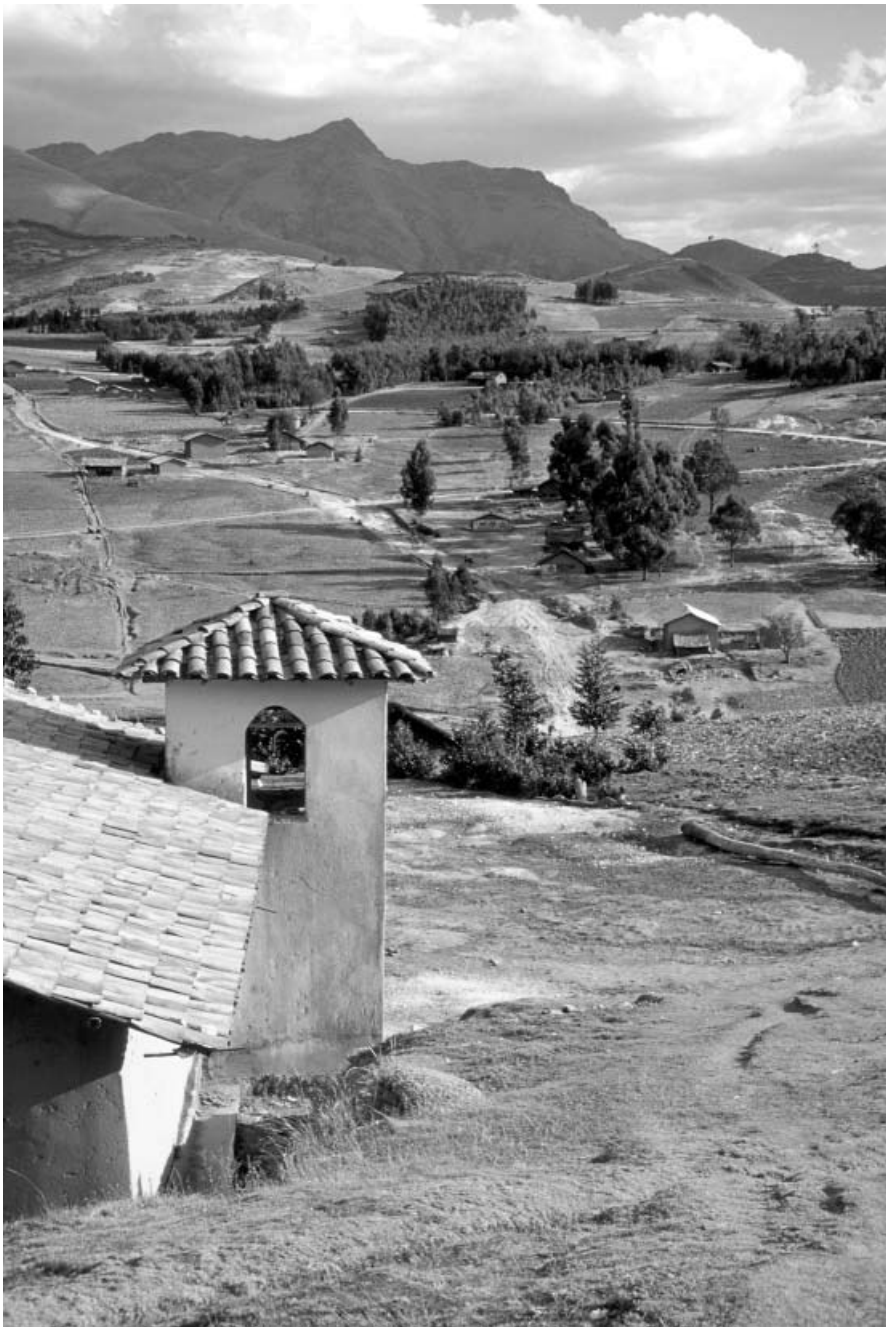
Tawantinsuyu museum in Cuzco. This will, doubtless, be a long-term endeavour. Planning is under way for the Cuzco museum and for one of the museum pilot centres in Vilcashuamán, Peru, which it is hoped will open within three years.

The Vilcashuamán project is sited in the immense region of the Chinchaysuyu and encompasses an area where the Chanca people lived in the fifteenth century. They resisted the Incas, who violently subjugated them. The idea is to have a first department introducing Tawantinsuyu, with a section focusing on the role the region played in forming the Inca empire and determining its occupation of the territory. A second section would provide a description of the Qhapac Nan, with particular emphasis on the stretches typical of the region and the settlements, warehouses and known activities, in addition to associated archaeological remains. A third section would be the local archaeological history with emphasis on the original Chanca formation and its background and, in particular, an introduction to the Wari empire (sixth to eleventh centuries A.D.) which was centred on that place at that time and its role. Then would come the fourth section: the local and regional exhibit on the archaeological complex comprising the Vilcashuamán and Pomacocha settlements (it should also have a specific exhibit on the latter). The museum would have spaces and services conducive to the study and the conservation of the remains restored in the area, together with areas to cater for the well-being of visitors and local people. It is intended that the museum, while providing information for foreign and local visitors on the Qhapac Nan and the wider locality, would also be a centre for research and ongoing conservation work, besides promoting local cultural activities.

If the 'museums network' is a success, our countries will command a cluster of multiple centres of cultural activity promoting cultural development, tourism and integration, where, at every point along the 5,000 km, complete information will be available to all and the direction in which each stretch of the road leads made clear. It would be a great museum for a great monument. It would amount to the functional restoration of the Qhapac Nan to its former significance for our peoples.

NOTE

1. The *apus* are gods or natural forces that protect life and safety.



© Guías del Caminante/Ricardo Espinosa

37

37. The cultural landscape of the Andes.

38

38. *The Red List of Latin American Cultural Objects at Risk* was compiled in order to prevent cultural objects being exported illegally and thus to ensure protection of Latin America's cultural heritage. The *Red List* is available at http://icom.museum/redlist/LatinAmerica/english/intro.html.

Book Reviews

by Isabelle Vinson

***The Conservation of Archaeological Sites in the Mediterranean Region,* de la Torre, Marta, an International Conference Organized by the Getty Conservation Institute and the J. Paul Getty Museum, May 1995. Proceedings published in 1997.**
***Management Planning for Archaeological Sites,* Teutonico, Jeannne Marie and Gaetano Palumbo, an international workshop organized by the Getty Conservation Institute and Loyola Marymount University, Corinth, 19–22 May 2000.**

The publication policy of the *Getty Conservation Institute* distinguishes itself by the coherence of subjects that it addresses and the innovation of approaches developed for cultural heritage conservation. Initiated in 1995, the reflection concerning the conservation and presentation of archeological sites combines in the first publication, *The Conservation of Archaeological Sites in the Mediterranean*, theoretical presentations and empirical analyses in order to reorganize determining criteria for interventions. From this particular approach, which echoes normative initiatives such as the drafting of the Burra Charter, emerges a management method of sites based on their values (values based management) which is one of the most efficient and innovative programming tools of the past ten years for heritage preservation practices.

Starting with an emblematic field for archaeologists, i.e. Greek and Roman antiquity, the 1997 publication has paved the way for the Getty Conservation Institute methodological research. It clearly shows that the search for values is not limited to second-rank or less known archaeological sites, but that the management of conflicting requirements (scholarship, conservation, presentation and tourism) in major archaeological sites also requires a well-thought out approach. While motivated by the increase of threats to sites, the research ultimately goes far beyond this conjuncture and sows the seeds for a new concept of heritage sites. The 1997 publication is not strictly limited to the proceedings of the conference and the editorial work provides essential information and conclusions of the research. Conclusions, seen as the blueprint for future action, are presented at the beginning of each chapter along with a synoptic introduction.

The 2000 publication on *Management Planning for Archaeological Sites* is more focused on presenting the theoretical planning model, i.e. the values-driven planning process, and confronting it with case studies from the Eastern Mediterranean, Northern Europe and Latin America. The background papers presented as a first part are extremely useful in explaining the theoretical underpinnings and the logic of the

museum INTERNATIONAL ISSN 1350-0775, no. 223 (vol. 56, no. 3, 2004)
Published by Blackwell Publishing, 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ (UK) and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 (USA)

thinking that lead to the values based theoretical model for site management planning. The second part is devoted to case studies where site management plans have been developed and implemented or where their use is under discussion. As a result, the book is again more than conference proceedings and constitutes a useful handbook for planners who wish to apply the value based approach. The 2000 publication is completed by an annotated bibliography on site management planning. Although not recent publications, the proceedings of the two conferences organized by the Getty Conservation Institute in 1995 and 2000 are still reference books in heritage practice.

The Full Value of Parks – From Economics to the Intangible, David Harmon and Allen D. Putney ed., Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2003.

This book is a collection of articles which continues the investigation work of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) concerning the notion of value as applied to the analysis of natural heritage. The Task Force for non-tangible values set up by the IUCN had first examined the role of the sacred in the social and physical management of the protection of natural spaces such as sacred groves. This book intends to encompass the ensemble of advantages and values of protected areas (natural parks), from economic values to intangible values, in order to establish a holistic approach for their management. Its point is to first of all establish a clear theoretical framework between natural and cultural values putting forward the idea that a) the concept of biodiversity captures the complexity and variability of living phenomena and b) closely linking the value of protected areas with their perception. The objective of displacing the analysis framework of the importance of sites from their scientific and economic qualities toward the perception of communities is to restore a balance between western and non-western approaches and encourage better management. The second point of the book is to define the meaning of the term «intangible values» starting from a series of examples and case studies that review different approaches and to propose a typology of values encompassed by the term. The first chapter addresses notions and theoretical aspects, the second and third, relations between intangible values and management and the fourth, conflicts of approaches based on these values. The collection concludes with a synthesis co-written by the editors.

This book is particularly interesting for cultural heritage practitioners because it facilitates comparing analytical approaches established for cultural and natural heritage starting from a common notion: the intangible. This comparison reveals that the theoretical tools proposed by specialists for the conservation of the environment have taken into account the cultural dimension of sites and that, consequently, they offer models for analysis concerning the relations between cultural diversity and cultural heritage that are more elaborate and innovative than those in use within the cultural heritage professional community.

Cultural Landscapes: the Challenges of Conservation, World Heritage Papers no. 7, Associated Workshops of the World Heritage 2002: Shared Legacy, Common Responsibility, 11–12 November 2002, Ferrara-Italy.

To mark the 30th anniversary of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, UNESCO with the support of the Government of Italy, organized from 14 to 16 November 2002, an International Congress to reflect on some of the main issues, achievements and challenges of the World Heritage mission. In addition, some 400 experts gathered immediately prior to the Congress at nine associated workshops in different Italian cities to reflect on the major themes of the Congress. *Cultural Landscapes: the Challenges of Conservation* was one of the themes. Cultural Landscapes has become one of the hot topics during the past few years of World Heritage work. They represent the combined works of man and nature. Moreover, they are the places of peoples' livelihoods, identities and belief systems all over the world. The publication brings together the papers and discussions of the workshop on key cultural landscape issues likely to direct overall strategies for the next ten years, including the everyday management challenges of these complex sites.

Curating Archaeological Collections – From the Field to Repository, Lyne P. Sullivan & S. Terry Childs, "Archaeologist's Toolkit", Volume 6, Altamira Press, 2003.

The sixth volume of the series «Archaeologist's Toolkit» provides novice archaeologists and students with basic and key information on a crucial, but often ignored aspect of archaeological research, the curating of collections. Focused on the North-American space, the book covers strategies for effective short- and long-term collections management, clearly showing that curation is *a process that begins in the field* and continues in the repository. It underlines the need for coordination and shared goals among all players to assure adequate care and to overcome "the curation crisis". Brief historical overviews and definitions of terms and practices make the volume a useful reference book for non-North American archaeologists.

The Archaeologist's Toolkit (seven volumes) focuses on practical approaches to solving real problems in cultural resources management and public archaeology, a major issue in North American archaeology. The books contain numerous case studies from all parts of the continent, illustrating the range and diversity of applications. Other titles cover *Archaeology by Design* (vol. 1), *Archaeological Survey* (vol. 2), *Excavation* (vol. 3), *Artifacts* (vol. 4), *Archaeobiology* (vol. 5) and *Presenting the Past* (vol. 7).