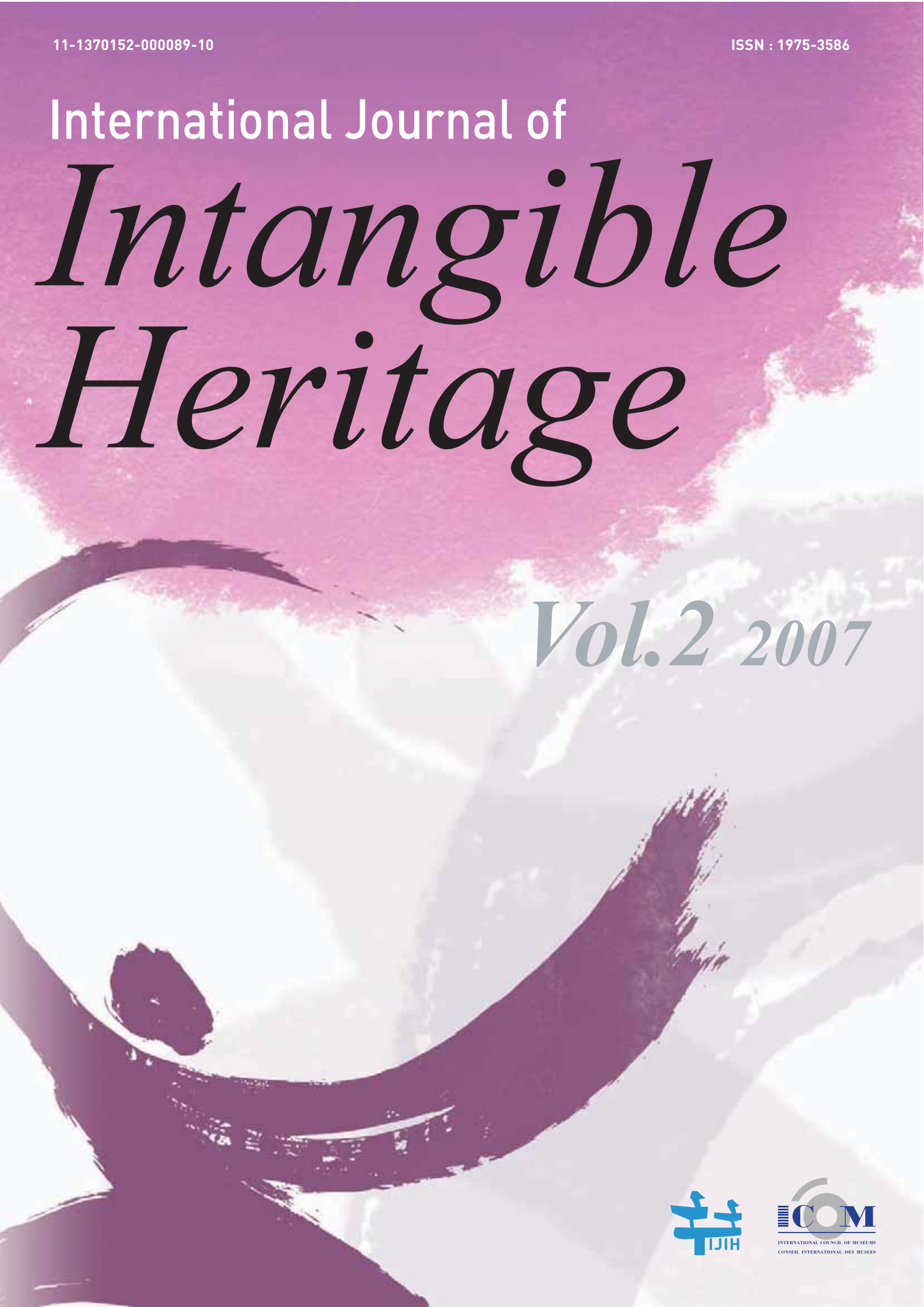
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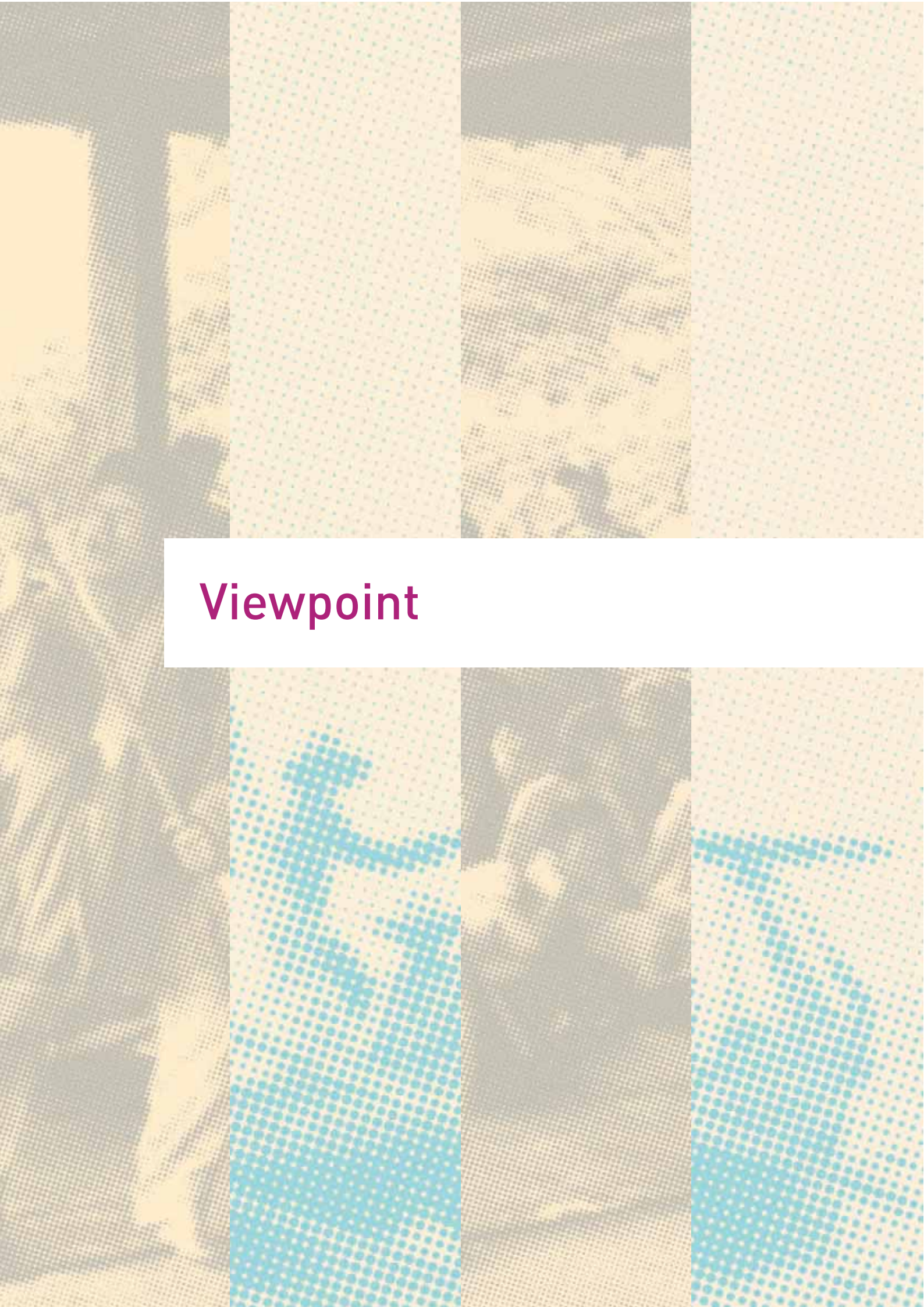
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Viewpoint

Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in Implementing the 2003 Convention

Richard Kurin



Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in Implementing the 2003 Convention*

Richard Kurin
Director, Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, USA

Introduction

In 2003, at the biennial General Conference of UNESCO its Member States voted overwhelmingly for the adoption of a new international treaty : the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.* The Convention aims to ensure the survival and vitality of the world's living local, national, and regional cultural heritage in the face of increasing globalisation and its perceived homogenising effects on culture (Matsuura 2004). Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) - a loose English translation of the Japanese *mukei bunkazi*, is broadly defined in terms of oral traditions, expressive culture, the social practices, ephemeral aesthetic manifestations, and forms of knowledge carried and transmitted within cultural communities. It includes everything from stories and tales to music and celebration, folk medicine, craftsmanship, the culinary arts and vernacular architecture. National governments adopting it would be legally bound by the Convention to designate and empower organisations to document intangible cultural heritage and create inventories thereof, and also to encourage the presentation, preservation, protection, and transmission of intangible cultural heritage by working closely and cooperatively with the relevant communities.

Importantly, the Convention recognises as ICH only those forms of cultural expression consistent with human rights. At the international level, a new International Committee elected from the States Parties to the new Convention will develop two lists - one of representative traditions proposed by member states, and the other of endangered traditions in urgent need of safeguarding and eligible for financial support from a newly established international fund. The text of the treaty has been widely distributed and is available on the UNESCO website (1). The Convention came into effect in April 2006. By the end of May 2007 seventy-eight nations had ratified it - among them China, India, Japan, Nigeria, Egypt, France, Spain, Turkey, Mexico and Brazil, and I expect it will be ratified by more than 100 within the next year or so. Neither the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada nor Australia has yet ratified the Convention, though the U.S. is re-considering its position. The Convention is likely to become the standard-setting instrument for the safeguarding of living cultural heritage in years to come

* Inaugural Public Lecture, Smithsonian Institution and the University of Queensland MoU Ceremony, 23 November 2006. Dr Kurin is Honorary Professor in Museum Studies at the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia.

as it becomes a routine part of state and institutional practice.

UNESCO and the drafters of the Convention believe, correctly in my view, that intangible cultural heritage is truly endangered (Bedjaoui 2004). One can quote the precipitous decline in the number of languages actively spoken in the world today, as compared to the last century, as a symbol of the danger. The world has lost literally thousands of linguistic communities, and with them much of the oral literature, the stories and tales and ways in which humans have seen and imagined the world - and how they might have done so in the future. Music, dance, performances and rituals, culinary and occupational traditions, craftsmanship and a large variety of knowledge systems have been lost or are in decline. To be sure, new ones do arise in their stead, but these tend to be less localized and less nuanced than those they replace. Increasingly, experts agree, there is a loss of diversity in cultural practices around the planet (see, for example, de Cuéllar 1997, Serageldin 1998, Graves 2005). If the Intangible Heritage Convention has been devised to correct that, the big question is, of course, will the new treaty accomplish its goal? Will cultural traditions and the cultural communities which practice, nourish and transmit them actually be safeguarded? In this commentary, I consider the question of what is to be safeguarded, how and by whom, and to what end.

I write not as a disinterested analyst, but as one who has been involved in the development of the Convention and its related programmes. In my capacity as the Director of the Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, in 1999 I co-convened a joint conference with UNESCO, *A Global Assessment of the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore: Local Empowerment and International Cooperation* (2). For that conference, members of the Smithsonian's staff analysed the approach to safeguarding traditional cultural heritage embodied in UNESCO's 1989 *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore.*

I carried out a study of the responses by over 100 nations to a UNESCO survey about the efficacy of the Recommendation, and found it largely ignored and ineffective (Kurin 2001). The Conference as a whole called for a reconstituted definition of traditional culture or folklore, the foregrounding of cooperative work with communities, and the likely need for an international Convention (Seitel 2001c).

Subsequently, Smithsonian staff participated in a variety of experts' meetings organized by UNESCO (Seitel 2001a, 2001b). Appointed by Director-General Koichiro Matsuura, I served as a founding member of the International Jury for UNESCO's *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity*. I then participated in discussions, attended intergovernmental drafting meetings, and wrote the brief for the U.S. Department of State on the 2003 Convention. Following U.S. re-entry to the organisation, I was appointed to the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO by Secretary of State, Colin Powell, and re-appointed by his successor, Secretary Condoleezza Rice. Despite such official participation, opinions, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this article are solely mine, and not those of UNESCO, the Smithsonian Institution, the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, or the U.S. Government.

What is to be safeguarded?

According to Article 2.1 of the Convention (UNESCO 2003b), intangible cultural heritage means:

> *the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.*

The term 'intangible cultural heritage' replaced less technical-sounding and less culturally charged, but historically familiar, terms such as 'folklore,' 'traditional culture,' 'oral heritage,' and 'popular culture.' With the Convention, there was also an important shift of emphasis. Intangible cultural heritage was, foremost, living heritage as itself practiced and expressed by members of cultural communities through such forms as oral traditions, song, performance, rituals, craftsmanship and artistry and systems of knowledge. ICH was not the mere products, objectified remains or documentation of such living cultural forms (Seitel 2001a). It was not the songs as recorded on sound tapes or in digital form, or their transcriptions. ICH is the actual singing of the songs.

But it is not the songs sung in any recreated or imitative form - no matter how well meaning or how literally correct - by scholars, or performers, or members of some other community. It is the singing of the songs by the members of the very community who regard those songs as theirs, and indicative of their identity as a cultural group. It is the singing by the people who nurtured the traditions and who will, in all probability, transmit those songs to the next generation (Kurin 2004a).

The definition assumes the agency of a group of people who recognise a particular form of cultural expression as a symbol of their communal identity, who place it conceptually in a self-reflexive category of 'heritage,' legitimised by historical practice and specifically noted as valuable (Early and Seitel 2002). This means that ICH cannot retain its designation as such if it is appropriated by others who are not members of that community - whether they be government officials, scholars, artists, businessmen or anyone else.

The definition also assumes that ICH is articulated with social processes and other aspects of life. It is not something that can easily be isolated from a larger constellation of lifestyles, nor de-articulated from a broader world of ecological, economic, political and geographic interactions.

'Safeguarding' ICH, according to Article 2.3 of the Convention (UNESCO 2003b), means:

> *measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage.*

In order to safeguard ICH, then, it must be viable - and this then assumes its continued practice within and by the relevant cultural community. That is, living cultural heritage has to be vital, dynamic and sustainable in order to be considered safeguarded.

Safeguarded ICH, defined as a living process, a socially articulated and consciously manipulated heritage, is in this Convention quite different from previously promulgated ideas of folklore and cultural tradition (Aikawa 2004). Prior to the Convention, folklore and cultural tradition were viewed in UNESCO parlance as somewhat alienable expressions of an unreflective populace, 'naturally' practiced customs that could be abstracted from other aspects of life, and perhaps best preserved in the documentary records of scholars or in the collections of museums.

Unlike the idea of traditional culture or folklore in the 1989 Recommendation, or as found in much institutional practice around the world, the 2003 Convention shifts both the measure and onus of safeguarding work to the cultural community itself. ICH is not preserved in states' archives or national museums. It is preserved in communities whose members practice and manifest its forms. If the tradition is still alive, vital and sustainable in the community, it is safeguarded. If it exists just as a documentary record of a song, a videotape of a celebration, a multi-volume monographic treatment of folk knowledge, or as ritual artifacts in the finest museums in the country, it is not safeguarded.

Furthermore, ICH is not something fixed in form that remains constant forever, safeguarded when only found in its pure, essential form. While various types and

expressions of ICH may be articulated at certain points in history by their practitioner communities as the 'pure,' 'real,' or 'authentic' form, such judgements need to be regarded as historically-based assessments, subject to change - even within the community - and to alternative formulations by various segments of the contemporary community. If a form of ICH is living it will, by definition, change over time. An art form that might have originated from a peasant's utilitarian response to a particular need might have grown, over time, into an elite art practiced in a royal court, or have acquired a sacred meaning, only to later become a common skill for making market crafts and trade items, and even later to be transformed into the means of making decorative tourist goods. Cultural practices at one time part of life's daily routine, might, over time, become the province of elitist practice, and even later become confined to special occasions or holidays. What then is 'authentic' or 'pure,' and what is to be safeguarded?

From the standpoint of the Convention, it is the dynamic social processes of creativity, of identity-making, of taking and respecting the historically received and remaking it as one's own that is to be safeguarded. And the arbiters of value - those who might be mindful of variants and yet decide on their relative significance and correctness - are not governments or scholars or collectors or aficionados, but rather members of the concerned communities themselves.

What types of agencies should implement the treaty?

Responsibility for ensuring the safeguarding of ICH rests with the States Parties to the Convention - that is, the nation states ratifying the treaty. According to Article 13 (b), each nation is to *designate or establish one or more competent bodies for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory* (UNESCO 2003b). Such a body or organisation would presumably oversee the creation of national inventories of ICH, submit reports to national agencies and UNESCO, and devise a variety of educational, scientific, artistic, promotional, economic and legal interventions that might encourage ICH within the country.

The Convention offers no specific guidance on the question of what kind of agency or organisation might best do such work. Should it be government ministries; universities; museums, cultural centres or some type of hybrid organisation? I suspect that the international committee constituted under the Convention might provide some guidance on this question in the months and years to come. At the same time, a number of nations have already made their choices.

Most will probably designate a department or division of their government, probably from the Ministry of Culture, as the unit charged with safeguarding ICH. While this is a reasonable choice from a bureaucratic and official perspective, it could become problematic. A government department may have the authority to conduct the surveying or inventory work required by the Convention. It may have the standing to help 'legitimise' ICH - and give it the respect envisaged in the Convention as an example and means of demonstrating tolerance for cultural diversity. A government department may indeed be able to draw the needed fiscal and human resources, and utilise the linkages to other sectors of governmental and societal activity to do what the Convention encourages. That is, a government department may be able to coordinate planning and implementation efforts in the economic, educational, and legal sectors to safeguard ICH.

The biggest problem with government control over ICH safeguarding efforts is one of freedom and human rights. In many countries around the world, minority cultural communities do not see government as representing their interests - particularly when it comes to their living cultural traditions and their vitality as living, dynamic communities. Historically, government efforts have often been aimed at eliminating cultural practices - a native religion, a minority language, particular rites, certain instruments, and so on.

Important parts of the ICH - such as songs of protest, epics of struggle, knowledge of traditional territorial occupation - may be seen as opposing government positions and practices. Human rights charters, particularly the *International Declaration of Human Rights*, seek to protect individual and communal forms of expression from onerous government control and regulation. Government inventories of cultural practice may seem too much like cultural registries - officialising and de-officialising cultural practice, and allowing for all sorts of misuses of information. Having the government in charge of ICH activities could create uneven relationships of power between cultural regulators and cultural practitioners, where the latter might feel there was undue intrusion into the life of their community.

Government control also raises questions about the qualifications of those charged with doing the work of the ICH Convention. ICH is a matter of cultural particularity and nuance. Properly researching, documenting, understanding and presenting localised cultural traditions requires adequate linguistic skills, superior levels of background training in cultural fields such as ethnology, linguistics, ethno-musicology, folklore and the ethno-sciences. It often requires knowledge of various scientific and technical disciplines. That is, good work with ICH requires a substantial level of education and training - it is not something one can qualify for with a simple civil service test. It is also an arena of inquiry and interpretation that resists standardisation and runs counter to the formulaic work that is the usual province of the civil service and bureaucracy. It would therefore be a challenge to find the requisite number of civil servants equal to the task of doing the work envisaged by the ICH Convention, and of doing it in a manner appropriate to the content and character of the traditions concerned.

In some countries, university departments might carry out the task of implementing the Convention. Whether private or public, they may operate on behalf of the States Party. While behaving 'officially,' universities are typically at some level of remove from the bureaucracy and politics of government, and have their own set of values - scientific methods, scholarly standards and ethics, that guide their actions. Universities are well suited to carry out a number of the Convention's functions -particularly those of research, inventorying, devising educational programmes and studying the nature of cultural transmission and sustainability. They have a ready source of qualified faculty and students-in-training who can be mobilised to work with ICH.

However, unlike government departments, university departments and programmes are notoriously lacking when it comes to providing long-term, large-scale sustained efforts in applied programmes of social action. They typically lack the depth of personnel, the ability to direct the interests and work of faculty, and have an institutional need to pioneer new knowledge, not administer routine programmes. While many universities have succeeded in such programmes as agricultural extension and health care (eg. university hospitals), it is difficult to imagine universities finding compelling social motivation, or securing the necessary financial rewards, to take on the cultural mission embodied in the Convention.

Perhaps the most appropriate type of organisation to take the lead role in the realisation of the Convention is the museum, or a museum-like cultural organisation (Kurin 2004b). Content-wise, they often cover the areas included in the Convention - they are cultural preservation institutions by their very definition. Like universities, they are 'official' without being overly governmental. Like universities, they usually have staff expertise in varied areas of cultural heritage research and documentation. They may also have access to students, interns and highly-motivated volunteers who can perform tasks related to research and documentation.

Museums are masterful in providing public and even official recognition and respect for traditions and cultural practitioners, and also, generally, adept in matters of public presentation and educational programmes. However, unlike universities, most do not have the depth nor range of disciplines required for the full measure of ICH work envisioned and encouraged in the Convention. Unlike governments, they do not usually command the resources needed to mount large-scale national efforts in the cultural arena. Museums are also generally oriented toward the collection of objects, not the documentation of living traditions. They usually deal with things inanimate or dead, and while many museums - at national, regional and local levels - have increasingly become quite skilled in relating to and partnering their constituent cultural communities, it is something fairly new in their orientation and practice. More than anything else though, museums are mainly concerned with the survival and preservation of their collections - items of culture taken away and alienated from the community settings and social matrix within which they were created and used. That is to say, as I have written elsewhere, museums tend to like their culture dead and stuffed (Kurin 2004b). They are not very experienced in ensuring that culture is safeguarded as a living, dynamic, sustainable process *in situ.*

Most likely, I expect it will take a combination of organisational types to implement the Convention successfully within the signatory States. Governments can provide the funding, the authority, forms of official legitimisation and the connection to other sectors - the education system, economic development planning, tourism, arts and culture, the media - useful for the realisation of the Convention's aims. Universities can

provide training, expertise in a range of relevant disciplines and a variety of research functions - from documentation of particular traditions in inventories to the assessment of 'what works' in terms of action plans devised to actually safeguard ICH. Museums can be used as the loci of activities - storehouses of archives and related collections, venues for the public presentation of ICH and public education - as well as for their expertise, frameworks for dealing with cultural heritage, and, in the best of cases, vehicles for community interaction. Other organizations - including NGOs, cultural advocacy groups, and local level project groups - would also rightly be brought into the mix to do the work of the Convention.

What role should cultural communities play?

More than any previous international cultural treaty, the ICH Convention places a great deal of attention and responsibility on the communities whose cultural traditions are being safeguarded. It is an extraordinarily 'bottom-up,' grass roots, participatory provision. According to Article 11(b), each States Party shall:

> *identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations (UNESCO 2003b).*

Article 15, titled *Participation of communities, groups and individuals* states:

> *Within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavor to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management.*

Taken at its word, this implies that members of the communities whose heritage is being safeguarded are to be full partners with any and all such efforts. Governments, or university departments or museums, cannot just assume they have permission to define ICH and undertake its documentation, presentation, protection or preservation. Community participation is meant to be significant and meaningful - involving the consent of community leaders, consultation with lead cultural practitioners, shared decision-making on strategies and tactics of safeguarding and so on. Article 15 strongly empowers the community in the operation and realisation of the Convention.

As Hafstein (forthcoming) correctly notes, one of the ICH Convention's major accomplishments is to envisage 'community' as a rising, alternative holder and centre of power to the state, particularly in a post-modern era of decreasing nationalism and increasing trans-national ties and relationships. The attention to community in the Convention developed from several sources. One was the idea of agency - that the holders of cultural traditions, of ICH, needed to be treated as somehow privileged because they created, nurtured and sustained the relevant traditions. This was a corrective to elitist, colonialist, Orientalist and even anthropological approaches which tended to make the 'bearers' of tradition passive, anonymous vehicles for, or even primary interpreters of, an expressive culture not really their own. The critiques supplied by subaltern studies, post-modernism, and the rise of cultural advocacy/native rights groups played an important role in enabling those who drafted the Convention to recognise the importance of vesting agency within the community.

Another current that contributed to the strong position of community in the Convention was overall attention to cultural diversity. The preamble to the Convention recognises the importance of ICH in both defining the cultural diversity of the world's people, and in its preservation. The point of the whole treaty is, one might argue, the preservation of grassroots cultural diversity around the world, and particularly, within the contemporary nation-state. Cultural diversity in the ICH Convention means the diversity of cultural communities - hence their foregrounding as both the subject and object of safeguarding efforts. It is quite noteworthy that this is not the case in the *2005 International Convention on the Diversity of Cultural Contents and Artistic Expressions*. Nations are the important unit of cultural diversity in the 2005 Convention, not communities (UNESCO 2005).

While according to the Convention, communities are to be equal partners with the official government agencies in documenting, researching, presenting, promulgating, promoting and protecting their traditions, this will create tensions. Statements by government

representatives during the drafting of the Convention, and subsequent discussions during the first meeting of the International Committee charged with the Convention's implementation, reveal some unhappiness with the power accorded to cultural communities. Some governments assume that their own constitutional status enables them to speak for any community of their citizens or inhabitants. They see this as a matter of national sovereignty. They resent having to cede any authority to communities - especially those regarded as marginal or lower in status than the ruling government. Others have so completely absorbed 'community' identification, leadership, and governance within their own governmental structures as to render the concept sociologically meaningless. Simply, the government is the community, with any vestiges of freedom, autonomy, or distinctive group boundary absorbed within a larger social reality.

Whatever the sociological situation within the States Parties, the intention of the Convention is clear. The folks - the people who actually practice the traditions, who have learned from and identify with those who have practiced them in the past, who take them as emblematic of their identity - constitute the community and need to be fully involved in any and all decisions regarding the safeguarding of their ICH. To the extent that there is any psychological sense of 'ownership' of the tradition, their ICH 'belongs' to them -not to the state or the government or the Ministry of Culture.

Hence, members of the relevant communities can and should be encouraged to do participatory self-research and documentation, work with civil scholars in devising and carrying out inventory activities, work with museums, performing arts centres, publishing houses, universities and the like on the presentation of their ICH, work with journalists, television and radio reporters on the promotion of their ICH, work with teachers, education officials and curriculum planners on how their ICH is taught within the school system, and work with government planners, officials and bureaucrats in formulating plans that introduce ICH into social and economic development programmes.

What are the strategies for safeguarding?

The only definitive action required of signatories by the Convention is spelled out in Article 12:

> *To ensure identification with a view to safeguarding, each State Party shall draw up, in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory. These inventories shall be regularly updated* (UNESCO 2003b)

The making of inventories was a topic which occupied much of the debate in drafting the Convention. Many saw it is a management tool - how could a country know what it was safeguarding and what progress it was making without such an inventory? Others saw it as a first step toward detailing ICH so that eventually a nation might make a claim of intellectual property rights over the tradition. Others, more anthropologically orientated, saw inventories as an effort that would waste valuable time and money in compiling lists that would not contribute to actually safeguarding culture in any direct way (Kurin 2004b, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004).

In addition to the national inventories, there are to be two other lists at an international level (UNESCO 2003b). One, established by Article 16 is a *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity*. The second, established by Article 17 is a *List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding*. These lists follow upon and incorporate the UNESCO *Masterpieces* programme, and are based upon the success of the World Heritage List (UNESCO 1972). That list of important cultural monuments, archeological sites and natural areas has brought international prestige and attention to tangible cultural heritage.

The use of both national recognition and international prestige to help safeguard ICH has become a fairly widespread practice. Various programmes - from Japan's rather elaborate designation of cultural properties to Korea's living treasures, from UNESCO's *Masterpieces* to the U.S. *National Endowment for the Arts National Heritage Fellowships* - have honoured master artists and their traditions with government praise and even with financial support from the highest levels (Nas 2002). The prestige brings with it attention - from the media, officials, the general public, as well as from the more localised cultural and geographic communities of the honoured artists and traditions. The prestige, honour, recognition and attention may indeed make cultural exemplars and practitioners proud of what they do, and energise their own efforts to continue, transmit, and even extend their traditions. This has certainly been the case with my own

work at the Smithsonian *Folklife Festival,* where annually, every summer since 1967, hundreds of such cultural exemplars demonstrate their traditions on the National Mall of the United States in Washington, D.C. in a researched-based, educational, cultural festival. Annually drawing about one million visitors and a good deal of attention from national and international media, major political leaders including heads of state, policy makers and the general public, the festival provides a powerful platform for people to demonstrate the knowledge, skill and artistry of their cultural heritage, and engage in an educational, cultural conversation with their fellow citizens and human beings. The festival helps legitimise cultural practitioners to broader audiences through their association with the Smithsonian name and reputation.

The symbolic value of the festival setting for the demonstration of ICH - between the U.S. Capitol and the Washington Monument, amidst the Smithsonian's National Museums, and during the July 4th U.S. Independence Day holiday - helps convey the prestige and respect accorded to traditions and their practitioners. As numerous surveys show, those practitioners do believe they are honoured, that their cultural heritage is valued, and that the Festival experience plays a role 'back home' in their attempts to preserve their traditions (Kurin 1998). Studies of other such prestige and recognition programmes confirm this conclusion (UNESCO 2003a).

But ICH will not be, safeguarded *solely* by such programmes. The danger, as evidenced in the first meeting of the International Committee, is that the implementation of the ICH Convention will concentrate too much on the international lists and on the allocation and dispensation of prestige. As can happen in such programmes - and the UNESCO *Masterpieces* programme is an example - those receiving the prestige are the nations and their governmental representatives, not the practitioners of the actual traditions. If the folks do not get and experience the attention, honour, prestige and respect, it is difficult to make the argument that they benefit from it, as much of its efficacy lies in the realm of encouraging self-esteem and resultant action.

In addition to the strategies of foregrounding community participation and creating forms of international and national prestige, the ICH Convention does envision other types of safeguarding efforts - though, in the language of the treaty, these are *encouraged* rather than *required*. Article 13 encourages the promotion of ICH in society and the integration of safeguarding efforts with other types of planning - presumably for social and economic development. Article 13 envisages *legal, technical, administrative and financial measures* that will support safeguarding work, while Article 14 encourages the development of educational programmes within cultural communities so they may successfully transmit ICH, as well as within the larger society so that it may develop a greater appreciation for it (UNESCO 2003b).

A strategy of legal protection for ICH was considered in the debates over the Convention, but was largely dropped, given various problems with the assertion of intellectual property rights for traditional culture, the assumption of those rights by national governments and the importance of legal protections for cultural goods and services in the subsequent 2005 Convention.

There is also not much in the Convention about how cultural presentations, promotional activities, and education might enhance, or build upon, safeguarding activities. While this is probably best left to the realm of 'best practice' that will be examined following the implementation of the treaty, there is little guidance on how to actually achieve results through such activities. Likewise, how the ICH Convention might be articulated with the processes of economic and social development is unclear. There is not much about fiscal incentives or creating systems of fiscal reward or benefit that might actually encourage safeguarding activities. That is too bad, especially given the role that the economy plays in the sustainability of cultural traditions. Commerce has been, and can be, a strong driving force in sustaining and extending ICH, keeping it vital and dynamic.

I have seen that in my work at the Smithsonian. Through the Smithsonian *Folklife Festival,* thousands of craftspeople have walked away with millions of dollars in sales of their textile weavings and basketry, their pottery and paintings, their woodcarvings, metalsmithing and jewellery. By earning money through the practice of their traditions, many of these artists and craftspeople have supported their families and developed new products and markets for their skills. Perhaps more than anything else, that kind of success will encourage the next generation to continue to practice and carry their heritage forward.

This has also been the case with musicians. One of the research-based, educational products we produce are documentary recordings in the form of CDs for *Smithsonian Folkways Recordings,* and as digitally

streaming and downloadable files for our *Smithsonian Global Sound* website. These recordings feature thousands of traditional artists from the U.S. and across the planet. The Smithsonian annually sells several millions of dollars' worth of recordings to consumers around the world and pays musicians and composers more than half-a-million dollars in royalties and licensing fees every year. Generally, we have found that musicians enjoy the fact that their music is appreciated by their fellow humans; they like the idea that their artistry merits both respect and financial payment. Many musicians will continue to play their instruments and sing their songs even if they are not paid. But for many, the monetary rewards help sustain their work - particularly as, in contemporary society, forms of patronage and support have shifted. There are no longer courts and kings, local rulers and venues, and given migrations and diasporas, access to and benefit from the marketplace can provide a means of sustaining a tradition-based, if transformed, cultural heritage (Seeger 2004, Kurin 2006).

Conclusion

The large, unanswerable question for now is - is the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention up to the task it has set for itself? Can it really hope, or presume, to actually safeguard ICH around the world? Frankly, I do not think it can. The connections of ICH to the larger matrix of ecological, social, technological, economic and political relationships is too complex, too multi-faceted and nuanced to be reduced to the simple formula proposed by the 2003 treaty. The problem is, we do not have anything better.

We could let 'nature' take its course and have no such cultural intervention. But there is nothing 'natural' about the issues that beset ICH in the world today. They are the result of particular social and economic activities that characterise contemporary societies and world systems. And those activities and systems are not so tightly bound or determinative that various forms of ICH, if invested with attention, resources and a good bit of creativity, could not survive and flourish. That is, there is plenty of scope for social action and intervention to produce valuable results - at least in the opinions of those communities, people and advocates concerned with the preservation of particular forms of cultural heritage.

As has long been pointed out in the anthropological literature, results can be deceptive. Unwanted results, unintended consequences and undeserved repercussions can flow from the most well-meaning of interventions. The ICH Convention, as discussed here, could be misused as a means of government control and regulation of community-based culture in the guise of actually supporting it (Hafstein forthcoming, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). That might happen anyway, with or without the Convention. But with the Convention, as with the International *Declaration of Human Rights* and other such multilateral treaties and declarations, a standard is set - at least aspirationally - that provides a reasonable, universal expectation of what can be called normative action. That action is endowed with a certain legitimacy, founded on the authority of nations to be sure - but a lot of them, from all parts of the world, and representing a great religious, ethnic, and linguistic diversity. In this case, the action advised is one of respect and tolerance for the diverse traditions of the many many communities found within and among nations. That is not a bad thing to support.

One would hope that as the ICH Convention becomes operational, explicit action plans about how organisations and departments working with communities actually safeguard ICH are devised, shared and evaluated by the International Committee and the world's cultural workers. I have argued strongly that our empirical research, analyses and theoretical work has been quite insufficient to actually figure out how to best safeguard ICH (Kurin 2003). What specific interventions actually work to save a language and an oral tradition? What has been tried with regard to keeping a traditional knowledge system alive, dynamic and viable in the contemporary world? My expectation is that the treaty will evolve, as will the various safeguarding practices it defines and encourages, so that in the decades hence we will have a much better, clearer, more empirically-based idea of how to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage of the world's peoples.

NOTES

1. For the complete English text of the Convention, see UNESCO. 2003. *International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Paris, October 17, 2003) http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf (retrieved November 27, 2006)
2. The UNESCO conference co-convener was Mounir Bouchenaki, UNESCO Assistant Director-General for Cultural Affairs. The Conference was supported by the Smithsonian Institution, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the U.S. Department of State, the Rockefeller Foundation and the National Endowment for the Arts. Conference papers, proceedings and reports were subsequently published as Seitel (2001c)

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Main Papers

Gomek Gomanan:
Ritual and Power Among the Tagabawa Bagobos of Davao, Mindanao, The Philippines

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Gomek Gomanan: Ritual and Power Among the Tagabawa Bagobos of Davao, Mindanao, The Philippines

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Introduction

In the course of my dealings with the Tagabawa Bagobos in the Davao district of the island of Mindanao in the Philippines, I noted their reference to the word *tolus.* Oftentimes, it is used to mean *power*, but occasionally, it referred to *a spirit that guides the artisan in his work*. The word *tolus* was briefly mentioned by Fay-Cooper Cole (*Wild Tribes of Davao District*) in his 1913 ethnographic work on the Tagabawa Bagobos. In his account of traditional Bagobo metal working, he indicated that the blacksmiths are under the care of the *Tolus ka gomanan,* a powerful spirit for whom the *Gomek-gomanan* ritual is conducted, indicating the beginning of the agricultural cycle. This paper therefore aims to uncover indigenous concepts of power reflected both in Bagobo blacksmithing and in the ritual of the *Gomek Gomanan* ritual.

Among the *barangays* in Davao where the Bagobos are still the majority, only two continue to practice traditional blacksmithing: Sibulan and Tudaya. Since accessibility to both places is known to be difficult, there is less contact between their inhabitants and the lowland Christians. Because it was easier to reach, Sibulan was chosen as the locale for my study. Fieldwork was carried out in Lower Egpit, as it is known to be the major stronghold of traditional Bagobo belief and practices.

The Bagobo

The Bagobos are the earliest settlers of Davao. They are composed of three distinct dialectical groups:

1. Guiangan (Guanga, Gulanga, and Jangan)
2. Obo (Ubu' and Ubbu')
3. Tagabawa (Tahavawa')

All used to wear similarly beaded costumes, highly incised and decorative brass ornaments such as armlets and leglets, and to carry identical baskets and woven *abaca* knapsacks, which were similarly covered with beads, bells, shell sequins, and cotton pompoms. Nowadays, however, only the Tagabawa Bagobos of Sibulan and Tudaya appear to retain these tangible markers of their ethnic identity.

The community

Sibulan is one of the Tagabawa Bagobo settlements in the foothills of Mt. Apo. Stationed here is the mother

church of the Lanahan sect, a Bagobo millenarian movement, which is highly instrumental in preserving many of the age - old traditions. The cult was originally formed to restore the *status quo ante*, in which the normal incidence of illness and death was acceptable. It blames the current problems - health problems and inexplicable meteorological upsets - on the fact that the Bagobos are being swayed from the old ways (1). Thus, the maintenance of traditional ways of doings things is something of which these Tagabawa Bagobos are very conscious. For instance, to instil its sense of importance among the Lanahan members, every member of the group is required to own a set of traditional clothes that should be worn at least once a month during their regular Lanahan rites and ceremonies.

Bagobo blacksmithing

Although every Bagobo community in the past had their own *gomanan* or forge, only Sibulan and Tudaya have managed to retain theirs.

Parts of the *Gomanan*

The bellows of the Bagobo forge (*gomanan*) are two upright cylinders (*piopa*), about a metre high, hollowed out of small tree trunks, with pistons (*ploppok*) ringed with chicken feathers set so as to collapse on the return stroke. They are alternately raised and lowered by the blacksmith's apprentice to produce a steady draught. Both cylinders have a bamboo outlet (*tayhop*) near the bottom that leads to a common stone receptacle (*pliyop*) which concentrates their draught into a charcoal fire (*tam-mob-bok/subhanan*). The anvil (*landasa*) is a piece of iron set in a heavy wooden block, and the smith's tools are a hammer used for flattening metal (*maso*), a hammer used for shaping metal (*buntok*), a pair of tongs (*hopet/kumpit*), and an assortment of ordinary bolos for cutting the red-hot metal (*hos-song, silsil*).

The Tarauman and his Tolus

Apo Agbak was the oldest Bagobo in Lower Egpit when I interviewed him in 1994. He died four years later at the age of 119. He also happened to be the community's master *tarauman* or blacksmith. It appears that only one person at a time could then be acknowledged as such in a Bagobo community. In the case of Lower Egpit, two other Bagobos (Eric Agos, his son and Datu Delapeña Erano) who would alternate as assistants to the *tarauman*, were capable of working in the forge, but did not do so since Apo Agbak, despite the fact that he had by then ceased to work for two years due to his weak physical state, was still alive. This custom is explained in their belief that the power of the *tolus ka gomanan* is bestowed only to, and through, the master *tarauman*.

The *tolus ka gomanan*, or the spirit of the Bagobo forge, is said to be the source of the creative power of the blacksmith. Before the forging process is carried out, the blacksmith always invokes him. This explains why the word *tolus* in Tagabawa Bagobo also means 'power', as it is the reason for the prestige the *tarauman* has in the Bagobo community.

The prestige of the blacksmith is also a natural consequence of his having to work with iron. Iron, being a primary component of soil, is considered as one of the four essential elements believed to have made up the universe. And it appears that blacksmithing is the only profession wherein these four elements - earth, air, water, and fire - are all present in the production process. Air is blown through the bellows of the forge

thus producing the fire necessary for smelting iron, and water is used to cool and temper the metal. All these explain the Bagobo perception of iron as a sacred object.

Blacksmiths and secular power

Bagobo ironwork, however, is also important in daily life. For the Bagobo *datu*, the iron sword, is a must both in time of peace and time of war. In the fieldwork I conducted in Sibulan, Davao, in 1995, I documented the fact that his sword is considered the most important part of a man's apparel; the sword of the Bagobo *datu* is both a weapon for defence and a symbol of power (2). There is also a secular basis for the Bagobo blacksmith's prestige. In the first place, traditional iron artisans in the Philippines were few and scattered, consequently they were considered specialists (Hutterer 1977; Dizon 1983; King 1993: 117; Junker 2000). And according to William Henry Scott, smithing was considered the noblest profession in the sixteenth century Philippines because only the wealthiest *datu* had the means to import the raw materials.

Blacksmiths were the suppliers of all metal tools, including *swidden*, farmers' bolos, so they exercised control over the means of agricultural production. To quote Father Alcina (1668a, 3:105), *it is certain that no profession was more profitable than the blacksmith's; and as the greatest chief were the best iron-workers, he was most honored and esteemed* (3). William Dampier echoes this in his account of his visit to Mindanao in 1686, stating that there were but few tradesmen in Mindanao, but the most prestigious were the blacksmiths, alongside goldsmiths and carpenters. He also observes that there were *several blacksmiths who work very well, considering the tools that they worked with* (4).

Scott infers that the blacksmith's prestige was further enhanced by his socio-political power, due mainly to his access to the trade network. Secondly, as the guardian of pyrotechnic knowledge, he monopolised the manufacture of iron implements (5) and naturally, assumed a position of importance in a community engaged in agriculture and warfare. Moreover, in time of war, he provides the elite with the swords which would give them a distinct military advantage.

There are thus two reasons why blacksmiths are held in such high regard - one sacred, the other, secular. The sacred lies in the people's reverence for iron; the secular lies in the blacksmith's control over the means of production of implements pertaining to agriculture and defence.

Gomek Gomanan ritual

Both the sacred and secular regard for power among the Tagabawa Bagobos are echoed likewise in the Gomek Gomanan. This ritual takes place every January in Sibulan, marking the start of the agricultural cycle for the Tagabawa Bagobo.

Early accounts of the ritual

The earliest documentation of the pre-planting festival of the Tagabawa Bagobos was made by the Jesuit, Mateo Gisbert, in 1886. In his account, he writes that a feast accompanied by the sacrifice of a human victim was carried out by the Bagobos before the beginning of the agricultural cycle. (Gisbert 1886: p.234) Since Fay-Cooper Cole did not witness the practice of human sacrifice in the study he conducted among the Tagabawa Bagobos between 1912 and 1913, his manuscript reflects his doubt as to whether such a sacrifice actually accompanied the rice-planting ceremonies. However, he refers to the pre-planting festival as the *Ginem, the greatest of all Bagobo ceremonies*. He indicates too that the ceremony was carried out *to gratify the spirits that they will be pleased to increase the wealth of all the people* in the community. Laura Benedict explains the question regarding human sacrifice in her 1916 study; she refers to the pre-planting festival as *Ginum*. She clarifies that, although human sacrifice is part of the *Ginum*, it was not an essential part.

Although this sacrificial rite is often a constituent element of *Ginum*, and of funeral services and so forth, yet, from another point of view it may be regarded as a ceremonial unit in itself, and is characterised by the types of chanting, the form of the altar, the ritual recitations, and other elements common to many ceremonies. Furthermore, the special crises that may necessitate such a sacrifice do not necessarily coincide with the date of a festival, so that *paghuaga* (human sacrifice) may become an isolated ceremony (6).

Instead, what appears to be central to the pre-planting ritual is the blessing of the forge and all the products manufactured through it by the local *panday*. Cole refers to this as the *Gomek Gomanan* ritual. Of even greater importance are the smiths, who are also under the care of a powerful spirit for whom the *Gomek-Gomanan* ceremony is celebrated each year, just prior to the planting time. H.U. Hall elaborates on this in his 1916 report for the Museum of the University of Philadelphia.

During his stay in Sibulan he was able to confirm that, although the practice of offering human blood was no longer practiced by the Tagabawas, the *Gomek Gomanan* remained an important and necessary part of their agricultural cycle. In fact, unless it is carried out, work in the fields cannot resume. When, in December, Orion appears in the sky, this is the signal for the celebration of the great yearly sacrifice and for making all things ready for rice-planting. Offerings of rice cooked in bamboo tubes are made at the smith's forge to which the men bring their working knives and other tools used in connection with the cultivation or clearing of the fields. The smith calls on his patron spirit to come and eat of the food and accept the tools here dedicated to him. These tools will be used in field-work, although they now belong to the spirit, and compensation must be made to him if a knife be sold or otherwise disposed of. For the next three days no man must do any work. At the end of that time the workers go to the fields and set up in the middle of each a receptacle containing an offering of areca nuts intended for Manama, the Creator. In return for this, Manama is expected to keep mischievous spirits out of the field and to grant health, large crops and riches to the owner.

Documentation of the ritual in 1995

I first observed the *Gomek Gomanan* ritual during my visit to Sibulan in 1995. Since the most important occupation for the Bagobo is the production of rice, preparations begin annually with the consecration of the tools to be used in clearing the forest to make way for sowing the rice. All who are to make new clearings or assist others in such work gather at the *gomanan* or forge, located behind the house of the *tarauman* or *panday*, to take part in the ceremonies honouring the *Tolus ka Gomanan*, the spirit of the forge. Traditionally, new knives and other metal implements are made during the ceremony, and these are blessed together with the old tools.

Before the ceremony started, the forge was prepared. All the blacksmithing tools were brought out, the fire was set, and water for tempering was placed in the bamboo container. I noted that bottles filled with sacred oil had been placed beside the cylinders of the forge.

The ritual process was basically as follows:

a. *Maghalad*. The ceremony began with the offering of any amount of coins; these, they referred to as *rasyon* or offering to the *Tolus ka Gomanan*. These coins were individually placed in a depression on the *halaran* or cemented slab near the forge. Eventually, these coins would be removed from the *halaran* and carried to the summit of Mt. Apo sometime in May or December, their so-called pilgrimage months. There, these coins are left in a secret place where, over time, they 'melt' and become part of the mountain.

b. *Maghikay sa pagkain*. Everyone who takes part in the ritual contributes food to be offered to the *Tolus ka Gomanan*. Among the foods offered are roast pork, venison, coconut, and food cooked with coconut milk. Most important, though, among the ceremonial foods offered are chicken meat and blood, particularly that which comes from a white-feathered chicken, and biko made out of *omok*, red-grained rice which turns dark purplish-red, almost black, once boiled. White-feathered chicken symbolizes a soul so pure that it is believed to cleanse one's mind and one's entire being, while red-grained rice reminds the participants of a region in the home of the dead called *Kag-bunoan*, a place reserved for those slain by the sword or by the spear (products of the *gomanan*). It is also believed that in *Kag-bunoan* there are suggestions of blood everywhere as well as death by violence. Hence, all plants are of blood-red colour, and the spiritual bodies of the inhabitants retain the scars of their wounds. This explains why tools which are traditionally used for defence are also incorporated into the offering (cf. the concept of pamalugu below), reminiscent of those days when the Bagobo were still a warrior class.

c. *Mag-ampo sa pagluto*. While waiting for the food to be prepared, the participants take turns in praying to the *Tolus ka Gomanan*, the spirit of the forge.

d. *Pamalugu or pagbendisyon*. Group singing follows prayer and this indicates the moment of *pamalugu* or ceremonial washing. Water, applied by means of a bunch of green leaves and twigs with medicinal value, is placed on the head of everyone attending the ceremony. This process is meant to ensure the participants naturalisation in to the world of the spirits, as well as to induce a feeling of restfulness and content as they confront the *Tolus ka Gomanan*. This is viewed, then, as a form of benediction for both the person attending the

ceremony as well as for his agricultural produce; the effect of this so-called benediction is meant to take effect over the whole year, that is, until the next *gomanan* ritual.

e. *Magpanday*. If the *tarauman* or *panday* is physically fit, the production of knives and other metal implements follows. However, since when I was there, Apo Agbak was not physically fit to work, it sufficed that the forge was fired. His son, now *Barangay* Captain Eric Agos, was entrusted with the task of working on the pistons to maintain fire in the forge during the entire ceremonial process.

f. *Bunyag sa laot*. Since the ceremonial blessing of the tools was set to take place a week later, I did not witness this that year. The *panday* told me that the blessing of all the iron tools, both old and new, takes place by praying to the *Tolus ka Gomanan*, while sacred oil (*lana*) and water are poured on the metal implements. As soon as this is done, everyone can then begin their work in the fields.

Documentation of the ritual in 2003

My second documentation of the *Gomek Gomanan* ritual took place January 2003. This was carried out to examine nuances in the ritual and to see whether changes had occurred after almost a decade. Although all the steps involved in the ceremonial process of the *Gomek Gomanan* ritual were carried out as above, there were some changes in the order and manner of delivery. At the start of the ceremony, I observed that bottles of oil were no longer placed beside the *gomanan* or forge. An account of the ritual follows.

a. *Magpanday*. Unlike the *Gomek Gomanan* ritual which took place in 1995, this time some tools were actually made. Three *pandays* were present - Datu Delapena, Allan Ambe, and Gerry Agos. Since Apo Allan, the oldest *panday*, was not feeling well, he had previously asked Gerry to carry out the entire process of *pagpapanday* during the *Gomek Gomanan* rite. Nonetheless, Apo Allan, being the most senior, had to be present during the ceremony, and just like Apo Agbak in 1995, wore a *putong*. All throughout the *Gomek Gomanan* ceremony, Gerry worked at the forge and only stopped occasionally to pray and participate in the 'feeding of the tools' (see below).

b. *Maghalad ug mag-ampo*. As Gerry started to work in the forge, the ceremony began with the offering of coins as *rasyon* to the *Tolus ka Gomanan*. The offering was done after each participant in the ceremony said a prayer in a voice audible to all. However, since guests from other *sitios* were present, there was not enough time for everyone attending the ritual to come forward and pray individually. Instead, one representative from each *lanahan* group came forward and stood near the *gomanan* to pray and offer any amount of coins he or she wanted to the *Tolus ka Gomanan*.

c. *Maghikay sa pagkain*. Among the ceremonial food traditionally offered in the past, only *biko* made out of *omok* rice was evident. No meat was offered; instead, a variety of root crops was laid on the ground in front of the forge. Among these were boiled *kamote*, yam, and cassava in *suman* form. Aside from these, ground corn kernels sauteed with brown sugar, biscuits and milk were also offered.

d. *Pamalugu* or *pagbendisyon*. Although an elder residing in Sibulan presided at the ritual of ceremonial washing in 1995, a female elder from Tudaya was asked to preside this time. Since Apo Agbak, head of the Lanahan sect in Sibulan, passed away in 1998, an elder from Tudaya, Apo Adok, was the one entrusted with the task of leading the group. His so-called 'right-hand', Merlyn Ayong, was designated to preside over the *pamalugu*; she is said to have the *panaad* or gift for giving sound advice and proposing solutions to problems.

e. *Bunyag sa laot*. I was informed that, since I was no longer new to the community, the blessing of the tools would be enacted on the same day in my presence (7). So after the *pamalugu*, everyone brought out their iron implements and placed them on the ground in front of the forge. And all those who wanted to do so took part in what they referred to as 'feeding the tools' (*pakaon sa laot*), which simply involved getting a small amount of food from each of the food platters previously offered to the forge and sprinkling this on top of the tools. While everyone else was focused on 'feeding the tools'. Apo Allan gave special attention to the forge itself by getting a small amount of *omok* (purplish-red *biko*) and placing this on different parts of the forge. I also observed him

pouring coffee on it.
After the tools were fed, everyone started to prepare for their work in the field.

Comments and analysis

Although the *Gomek Gomanan*, at first glance, is primarily a re-affirmation of the Tagabawa Bagobo's belief in the *tolus ka gomanan* and its importance in agriculture, the ritual can also be used for social manipulation. First and foremost, it reaffirms the position of the *panday* in a traditional Tagabawa Bagobo community. Not only is he the source of agricultural implements, but through the *Gomek Gomanan*, on him also depends the efficacy of the tools and the assurance of a good harvest.

Second, the *Gomek Gomanan* also strengthens the position of the elders in the community since their directions regarding the community's agricultural practice are relayed through the ritual. For instance, rice rolled within *abaca* fibres, traditionally offered in the past, was no longer offered in the ritual conducted in January 2003, indicating that rice would not be planted that year. The members of the community had been advised by the elders not to plant rice because there had been too little rain for it to grow. In place of rice, grated corn was offered, indicating that corn would be the primary crop planted that year. I also noticed the absence of the bottles filled with oil previously placed beside the forge during the ritual. Oil in Sibulan is made sacred as it is offered to the *tolus ka gomanan*. Since more people have begun taking prescription drugs, the supply of sacred oil does not need to be replenished as often, and thus, the elders have agreed to its omit it from the ritual.

Moreover, the *Gomek Gomanan* further strengthens the spirit of *sinabbadan* (*bayanihan*), which refers to the traditional Bagobo practice of taking turns in helping one another to carry out those activities in the community which require additional manual labour, e.g. planting or harvesting on a wide piece of land, or house construction. Since the *Gomek Gomanan* ritual takes place in the premises of the *datu*, he and his family take it upon themselves to prepare a generous amount of food to be served for the feast during and after the ritual. In return, the people in the community feel obliged to help clear the *datu*'s fields or plant his land. However, it must be made clear that the spirit of *sinabbadan* can be carried out beyond the ritual of exchange embodied in the *Gomek Gomanan*, since this is practiced at anytime and with any members of the community.

Lastly, the *Gomek Gomanan* ritual reveals that it was also once used to encourage the people in the ways of the warrior. A remnant of past practice is the *putong*, which the presiding *panday* wears for the duration of the ritual. The *putong* is worn around his head and is supposed to indicate that he is (or was) a warrior, and that human blood has been shed through his hands. Moreover, the offering of the *omok* or red colored rice also serves to remind the people of *Kag-bunoan*, the place especially reserved for the souls of dead warriors and for those who have been slain by the blade of the sword (whose source is the forge or the *gomanan*). Thus the ritual reveals not only social relationships but also power relationships. It can be manipulated by individuals or groups attempting to alter or make statements about their relative position within the perceived social order.

Conclusion

All of the data presented reveals how central the concept of the *tolus is* in a Tagabawa Bagobo community. In a place like Lower Egpit where the economy is based on agriculture, the *tarauman*, or local blacksmith, has a position of power both in the realms of the sacred and the mundane. As a shaman and presider over the *Gomek Gomanan* ritual, he is the medium through which people can call on the *tolus ka gomanan,* and as a producer of agricultural implements, he exercises control over their means of earning a living. Moreover, by presiding at the *Gomek Gomanan*, his forge becomes a venue for social manipulation.

This paper has focused only on the blacksmith, his work, and the ritual which celebrates his forge, *pandayan* or *gomanan*, but his role, involvement, and participation in power relationships which cover both the sacred and the secular exemplifies the role of any indigenous artisan (e.g. weaver or brass caster) in a Philippino ethnic community. We see here once again that the Western tendency to separate the sacred from the secular does not apply among Philippino ethno-linguistic groups.

NOTES

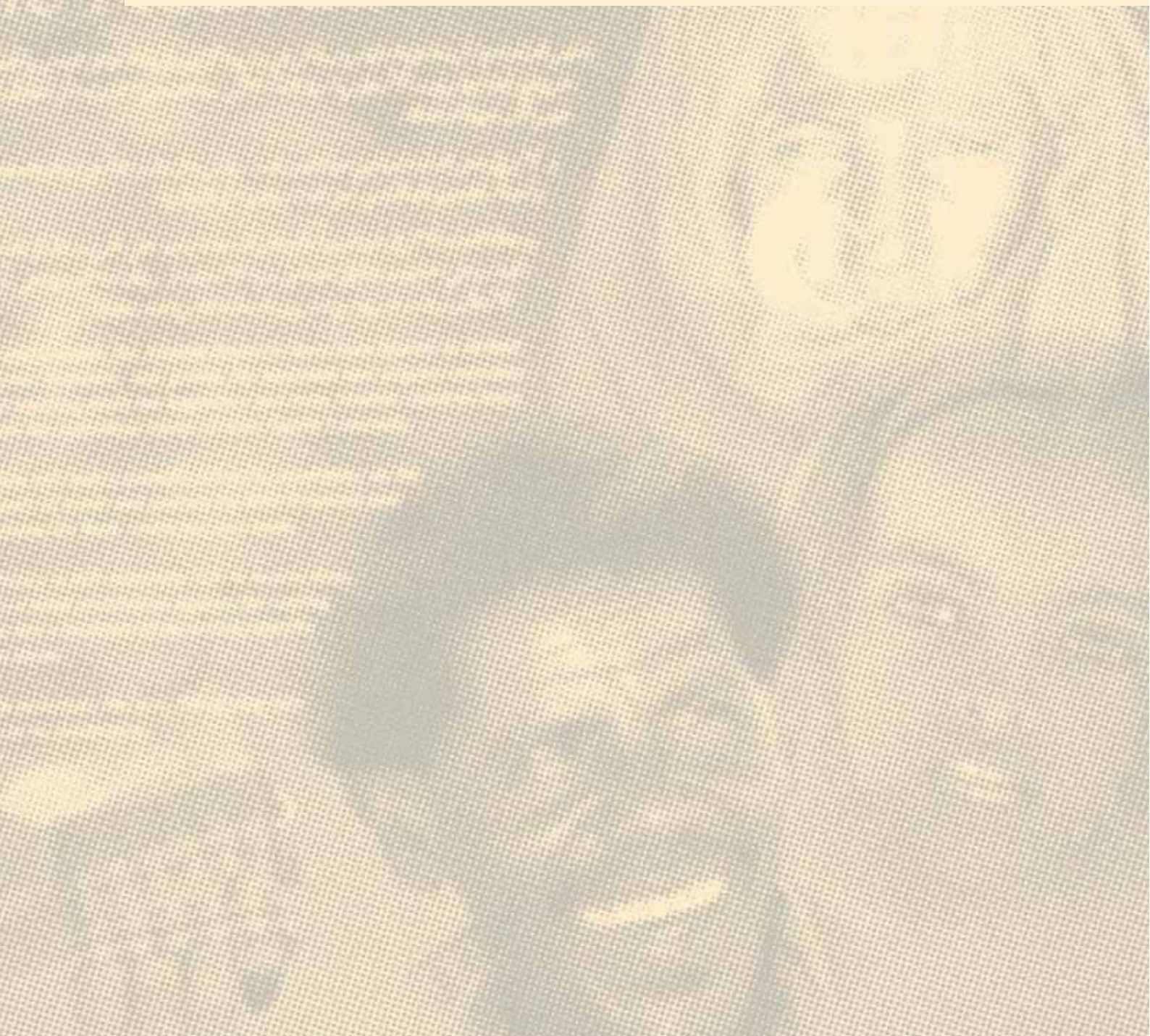
1. This was previously documented by Kenneth William Payne (1985:76) in his dissertation on medical anthropology.
2. Myths of various ethno-linguistic groups in South East Asia also indicate this. The Itnegs of Patoc, Abra, tell the story of Silag and Sayen. The legend tells of two brothers of great physical stature, and how one of them drove away evil elements using a mystical sword. One episode tells how Sayen advised the hunters to lure the *Iboa* (a spirit that appears as a bloated human and eats cadavers from unprotected graves) into the town where he had a forge. At the appointed time, Sayen stood ready with a steel red-hot in his furnace. When the hunters came, followed by the *Iboa*, Sayen thrust the burning steel into the *Iboa's* throat. In the Paraton of Indonesia there is the tale of Ken Angrok (Gandring) the murdered *empu*, who lays a curse on the *kris* which brought death to the children and descendants of the founder of the Singhasari kingdom. The *Itneg* sword and the Indonesian *kris* were weapons used against malefactors and malignant spirits as well as in war.
3. Scott, William Henry. 1994. *Barangay - Sixteenth Century Philippine Culture and Society*. (Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila University Press)
4. Dampier, William. Dampier in the Philippines. pp. 1686-1687 in BR XXXIX (Cleveland)
5. Dixon. 1983. *ibid*.
6. Benedict, Laura. p.79.
7. This was not possible during Fay Cooper Cole's visit to Sibulan in 1913, since women were not then even allowed to go near a forge when work was in progress.

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Life and Tradition of the Ababda Nomads in the Egyptian Desert, the Junction between Intangible and Tangible Heritage Management

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ABSTRACT

In December 2006 a Heritage Centre was opened in the Wadi el Gamal National Park in south-eastern Egypt, following a decade of research and cooperation with the local community of the area. This Centre, called *Beyt Ababda* or House of the Ababda, displays the cultural heritage of the Ababda nomads living in the Egyptian Eastern Desert (on the west shore of the Red Sea). This centre is one of the first heritage centres in Egypt to start with a holistic approach in mind, trying to reach the inhabitants of the region and the visitors of the national park and informing them on cultural as well as ecological issues. The cultural identity and intangible heritage of the Ababda will be emphasized and the desert experience of the visitor will be presented in a new manner for Egyptian cultural heritage management. In the Wadi Gamal area all initiatives, both ecological and cultural are included in order to present the visitor with a complete view of desert life, hopefully providing the Ababda community with a sustainable income and amplified cultural identity.

The history of the Ababda nomads: an introduction

In the desert area of the Red Sea mountains of Egypt, existing on the absolute minimal subsistence level, nomadic groups of the Ababda tribe herd camels, goats and sheep in the wadi (desert valley) systems. Their pastoral nomadic lifestyle is based on herding and on trade in products such as the charcoal they produce on a small scale and the medicinal plants they collect. The Ababda tradition shows strong connections with the Beja cultures of other areas in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia. The Ababda are an ancient people, indigenous to Africa as opposed to their neighbours to the south (the Rashayda),living in the border region between Egypt and

Sudan, and those to the north living in the area towards the rapidly expanding tourist resort town of Hurghada (the Ma'aza) (Hobbs 1990).

The Ma'aza and Rashayda Bedouin originated on the Arabian Peninsula and eventually migrated to Eastern Africa as did many other ethnic groups (Adams 1984). However, nomads such as the Ababda, and with similar lifestyles and traditions, have been living in the area for several thousands of years although their ethnicity and exact origin is difficult to define (Paul 1954). Even though evidence is scant, some scholars have been tempted to compare the Medja cultures known from Pharaonic times, or the Blemmyes mentioned by several sources with the Beja and Ababda culture of the same area today (Keimer 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953a, 1953b). (For more detailed notes on the textual evidence see Barnard, 2005; for the archaeological evidence on the Eastern Desert nomads, see for example the work of Hans Barnard on Eastern Desert Ware Barnard, 2002.)

Still, regarding the Ababda as simply descendents of these ancient nomads is an outmoded and somewhat simplistic view of their culture (Barnard 2005, Wendrich in press). Nowadays, the Ababda are proud of their indigenous African ancestry, but at the same time they sometimes attempt to link their culture (mostly through traditional stories of descent) to the Arabic peninsula in order to give their culture a more securely Islamic base. Although little anthropological research has been conducted on the subject, this may reflect their changing nomadic lifestyle in the past 150 years, and a wish to seek adhesion to the mainstream Egyptian culture. In this paper, however, I have used their own interpretation of their social identity and will avoid further interpretation or speculation about their cultural constitution. (For more on this subject see Dru C. Gladney, 1998 and Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983.)

The material culture of the Ababda nomads is meagre, as is often the case with migrating people, while in contrast their oral traditions and other expressions of intangible culture are vast. Nowadays, the Ababda way of life is under pressure of modern developments, notably urbanization, military activity near the Sudanese border, and the explosive development of tourism along this part of the Red Sea coast over the past decade or so. Very little of the culture of this people has been recorded thus far and their unique customs are already disappearing. Sustainable Ababda heritage preservation is needed as well as a way in which the many aspects of their culture may be presented to the world.

The heritage of the Eastern Desert

The research history of the area

From the early 1990's an international group of archaeologists visited the area to conduct archaeological research on the site of the Graeco-Roman town of Berenike, which lies Ababda land. This programme was organised as the Berenike Archaeological Project 1994 - 2002, led by Dr Willeke Wendrich of the UCLA, California with several other researchers, including the author, and members of the Ababda tribes participated in the archaeological research from 1991 to 2002.

Over the years of cooperation between the archaeologists and the Ababda, friendships and an interest in the ways and customs of these nomads was developed. It was becoming increasingly clear during those years that with the increasing tourism activity along the Red Sea shore the Ababda way of life was on the brink of changing forever. Discussion sessions were held on this subject and in 1996 several members of the Ababda tribes invited the archaeologists to their houses to discuss the possibilities of heritage preservation for the



Figure 1
The Beyt Ababda
Figure 2
Ottoman fort exhibit at Quseir



future. The Ababda asked for help in documenting their lifestyle for their children and the rest of the world. This resulted in several activities, initiated by the Ababda, to record and preserve Ababda traditions.

From 1996 to 1998 onwards the Cultural Program of the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Cairo supported a project to preserve and to stimulate the cultural identity of the Ababda through the preservation of their material culture. Termed the Eastern Desert Antiquities Preservation Project (EDAPP 1996 -1998), this was financed primarily by the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Cairo. The project started an archaeological training programme under the direction of Willeke Wendrich, and worked with the Ababda on their own instigation to create a museum on Ababda material culture. A collection was formed, the objects being described by the Ababda themselves. Part of the collection is displayed in the Ottoman fort museum of Quseir. Another part of the EDAPP collection travelled to the Netherlands where it formed part of an exhibit in the Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam named "Nomads between the Nile and the Red Sea" (2002 - 2003).

This Dutch museum houses another collection of objects from the area collected in the field by Keimer in the 1940's. With both the old and the new collection together a unique impression was given about the traditions and the material culture of the Ababda over the past 70 years. At the same time changes were emphasized as well. Keimer collected objects from the Beja representing and stressing their presumed cultural connection to the ancient inhabitants of the region. The new EDAPP collection was organised by the Ababda themselves, displaying what they thought to be important to underline their cultural identity (Wendrich in press). We considered the manner in which this collection was formed an essential element of the process. The objects chosen do not so much emphasize strict cultural group identity, but mostly display objects used in rites the passage and other social practices like, for instance, hospitality. For this reason the EDAPP collection shows a 'loosely' formed compilation of objects found in the region of southern Egypt and Sudan, sometimes shared with different ethnic groups.

Apart from the different ideas behind the collections, what became clear from the differences between the two collections, the Dutch collection of the 1940a and the new Ababda-led collection for the EDAPP was that there has been an enormous shift in materials used by the Ababda. In one way it could be said that there has been an impoverishment in the materials used, and although this would not do justice to the pride with which these items are treated by the Ababda, it is a symptom that can not be ignored. For instance, it is very striking that over the past half century traditional pottery water carriers have nee replaced first by aluminium water carriers (made from scrap aluminium found in the desert) and then by the re-use of plastic detergent and similar bottles. Such changes indicate the decreasing isolation of these people, through trade with other parts of Egypt and the sea trade with India. It possibly also illustrates a general impoverishment of their material cultural even though pride of their cultural identity and the intangible aspects

of their culture are still strong.

The value of Ababda tradition

Thus one might claim, though with some caution, that the traditional material culture is now no longer regarded as the most valuable feature of their way of life by these nomads. Or, more in line with Hobsbawm's theory on the invention of tradition, perhaps the Ababda hold on to their traditions more loosely as the idiom of their customs change, while displaying ancient values as opposed to newly invented traditions (Hobsbawm 1983). The different values ascribed to this heritage by the Ababda lie at the intangible level, for instance the knowledge and use of their surroundings, their skills in hunting, their feasts and practices of animal husbandry, their medicinal knowledge of plants as well as their craftsmanship. The Ababda are a proud people who have seen many changes in their surroundings over the centuries. It is important to note that these changes have formed their customs and traditions and will continue to do so in the future. Change is especially important as their relatively isolated culture is exposed to the outside world, creating now - as in the past - a blend of new influences, new materials and old traditions (Barnard in press).

For instance, the Ababda have converted to Islam, but hold on to their indigenous African customs as well. They are proud of their knowledge with which they maintain a frail ecological balance in the wilderness of the desert. The exhibitions previously shown in Egypt and the Netherlands were only a small attempt to preserve and document the material culture that accompanies the heritage of these people. Even though the material culture is part of their identity, the objects are mere expressions of a huge system of socio-cultural values behind it. This became all the more clear during the time when the collections for the museums were compiled.

When asked what should be the most important category of objects, items connected to social gatherings, above all the coffee ceremony, were unanimously chosen by both men and women. While their mat houses (*beyt bursh*), for example, were regarded as one of the most characteristic aspects of their culture, it was only when a house was acquired for the museum that the complex system of care and family claims on trees and other resources in the different wadi-systems came to light. With these customs also the patrilineal and matrilineal practices, particularly the marriage celebrations and other feasts, dominating their social life became apparent. The perception of heritage differs through cultures and as some of the visitors from western countries initially focused on tangible heritage, the Ababda mean to preserve and document mainly the intangible. They need, as they themselves have put it, to preserve their way of life for their children's children, so that they will know about the traditional lifestyle of their ancestors.

The future of the nomads in the Eastern Desert

New developments at the Red Sea

With the onset of large developments in the area, the



Figure 3
Wereldmuseum Rotterdam exhibition

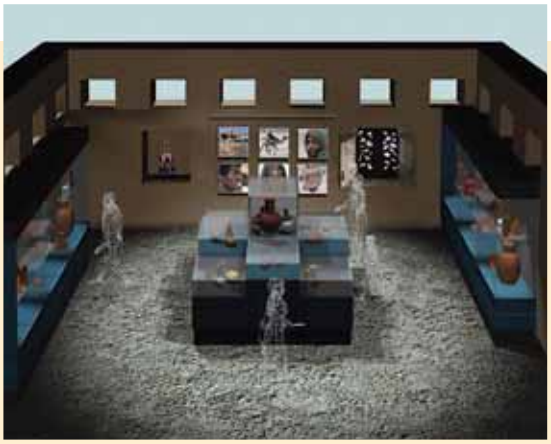


Figure 4
Interior design of the Beyt Ababda

Ababda are not sure what their future position will be. Land along the Red Sea shore is being sold by the government to mainly foreign entrepreneurs who are building hotels and attract tourists in very large numbers to the still undisturbed coral reefs of the southern Red Sea. Increasingly the Ababda are seeking employment as building workers or in the tourism establishments even though they remain largely unaware of western civilization and the needs of tourists. In the Ababda region many of the hotels remain largely empty because the sheer amount of new hotel accommodation being built, particularly since the opening of the latest new Red Sea coast international airport at Marsa Alam in 2001, though total tourist numbers are increasing rapidly. However, tourist attractions other than those along the shoreline are almost non-existent and the general infrastructure of the region remains bad.

Very few Ababda are profiting from the new developments in what has been their country for many hundreds of years, while at the same time very few tourists discover the true value of the culture of the nomads, since at first glance the land they visit looks empty. The Ababda have had little or no physical impact on their environment, and if the Ababda society is noticed at all by tourists, the material culture of these tribes appears primitive and poor. Thus the gap between the visitors of the area and the indigenous people could not be bigger!

More and more Ababda are moving away from the desert. In the past few decades some have moved to the Nile region, particularly Aswan, to seek jobs. In the desert area they are settling in government built villages, using water brought to the area by the government. Transmission masts bring television nowadays and concrete or cardboard houses replace the traditional *beyt bursh*. Still, there is also a counter-movement. Some of the tribe members who initiated the program of heritage preservation are moving away from these new developments and the so-called lurking riches. They have built their *beyt bursh* elsewhere in the mountains away from the new developments. When in 2002 the archaeological excavations came to a halt, the inhabitants of the area continued to ask the international team for help. The inevitable question arose what would be the best practice for the preservation of the Ababda customs in this fast changing environment. Is preservation of these traditions at all possible? And how do we preserve the ancient traditions without being too rigid in our rejection and criticism of the new and inevitable developments in the area?

The Wadi el Gamal National Park

The fact that the natural, ecological and the social



Figure 5
Ababda describing the EDAPP collection

Figure 6
Drinking Gabana with the Ababda
Figure 7
Information about the Ababda in the Map House





structure of the desert will change strongly was not at all celebrated by everyone. In order to preserve some of the riches of the desert, in 2003 a national park was consigned by the Egyptian government: the Wadi el Gamal National Park (WGNP). (The name means 'Valley of the Camel'). This is an area of approximately 7,000 square kilometres alongside the Red Sea has been chosen as one of the most characteristic and unique locations of the southern Eastern Desert. (The approximate co-ordinates for the WGNP area are 24°51'N in the north and 24°06'N in the south; the Red Sea shoreline in the east and 34°28'E to the west. It lies approximately 275 km. north of the Sudanese border, 300 km. south of the already heavily developed resort and diving centre of Hurghada, and around 40 km. south of the new resort area and international airport of Marsa Alam.

The national park is supervised and managed by Egypt's Ministry of State for Environmental Affairs through the Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency (MSEA : EEAA). In natural heritage conservation terms it preserves represents a distinctive transect from the sea to the mountains, with marine (especially coral reef) and sea shore habitats, islands, the coastal plain, and up to the mountains. Animal, floral species and archaeology in the area are preserved and some villages and other traditional locations of the Ababda nomads are located inside the National Park. In order to preserve traditions of nomadic populations, and spread knowledge about their lifestyle, the Park is of the utmost importance. For many intangible elements of desert life, such as hunting skills, animal husbandry and knowledge of traditional medicine can only be truly preserved if there is an ecological viable unit or nature reserve present (see for example Prott 2000).

The Wadi el Gamal National Park provides such conditions for the Ababda and their traditional culture and represents the best focal point for a new project aimed a preserving the tangible and most of all the intangible heritage of the Ababda. This was, it was judged by the international research team in consultation with the Ababda themselves, the best prospect for preserving in an integrated way all the aspects and values of the Ababda environment for the future. Here the frail balance between an ancient subsistence economy within the arid environment could easily be explained to both international and Egyptian visitors. However, there were many other questions to be considered. First, it was necessary to consider how to bring together and express both the knowledge and (material) culture of these people? Following previous smaller and less formal meetings by 2005 with the Ababda it became clear the community, already involved in the National Park and its facilities, were advocating the establishment of some sort of a museum as a starting point within any heritage programme. A stakeholder meeting was held in the Autumn of 2005 between a delegation of the Ababda, the architect of the proposed museum, Gabriel Mikhail, and several members of the Eastern Desert Antiquities Preservation Project (EDAPP) were present. Also present were other actual and potential stakeholders, including National Park Rangers and the Director of Fustat Wadi el-Gemal eco-tourism camp. Meetings were also organised between EDAPP and the Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency, the Tourism Development Authority and USAID (the United States government's international development aid agency), in order to ensure integration of the proposed development with the plans for other developments in the region.

It was agreed that ideally the Ababda's tangible heritage should tell the story of the intangible heritage and culture: the typical examples of the material culture, selected by the Ababda themselves, should be a means to show and enhance the customs and traditions of this group. Thus the museum would not only have to serve the traditional role of a museum: it would also play other roles. It will hopefully stimulate awareness of, and pride in, the traditional nomadic way of life. It is hoped that it would inspire that Ababda to enhance their environment, and it might ideally attract them to live in the area. The museum or heritage centre could help to educate and inform both the younger generation of Ababda as well as the tourists visiting the area. Of course there will be many challenges: in particular the Ababda community will still have to face the inevitable consequences of the explosive growth of tourism in the area. With these plans immediately other questions arose as well. What limits will the environmental conservation needs of the National Park poses on the proposed Heritage Centre, and conversely in what way could the project profit from the development of and investment in the National Park, and thus improve the facilities and value of the Centre? These questions and others are discussed in more detail the following sections of this paper.

Preserving the Ababda tradition

Beyt Ababda- the Heritage Centre

In the autumn of 2005 the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Cairo agreed to finance a further heritage project in support of the Ababda culture. The objects that had been in the travelling exhibition in The Netherlands were returned to Egypt and an initial phase of the heritage centre was built in the summer of 2006 in Wadi Gamal, which was named the Beyt Ababda, i.e. the House of the Ababda. The buildings were designed by the architect, Gabriel Mikhail, who is renowned for his work in creating traditional 'eco-architectural' styles using sustainable materials and natural resources reflecting traditional values, thus re-inventing ancient architectural styles. (For details of his work see http://www.egyptcd.com) In this case his design was inspired by the characteristic ancient Roman architecture found all across the Eastern Desert. Different characteristics of the surroundings have been integrated into the re-creation of the local heritage. Flat slabs of local stone are stacked firmly together, thus blending in with the surrounding terrain of the Red Sea hills. Small windows are set high in the walls and durable materials were used throughout.

The road to and setting of the Beyt Ababda are by design the minimal needed, though sufficient to accommodate and receive tourist buses. The centre has been designed is such a manner that no garbage or waste water will effect the natural ecology of the park. At the same time there were also limits in this isolated environment: very little or no electricity can be used in the heritage centre, limiting for instance the use of multimedia inside the building. In December 2006 the heritage centre opened, displaying locally again the objects the Ababda have chosen to illustrate their culture. This is however only the initial phase of the Heritage Centre, and provides one exhibition area, a restroom and some parking places. However, the building will need to be enlarged in the near future if it is to fully address all the planned purposes of the Centre and thereby meet all needs of both the Ababda people and national and international tourists, but at the moment the planned second phase still awaits additional funding.

Preserved traditions

As the Ababda gathered information about their culture, the question arose what values of their way of life should be highlighted in the museum, and in this the choice was left to Ababda themselves. From amongst the three Ababda groups living in the Berenike area, a group of delegates was assembled. This was done on an ad hoc basis by the nomads themselves, with the help of the local sheikhs, and was based on their knowledge of the area. These groups were asked to compile the collection and tell the story behind it themselves. In this manner the tangible heritage of artefact was collected physically, while the significant aspects of their intangible heritage was similarly identified and recorded.

To achieve all this at the practical level, each group of Ababda men and women sat together, drew pictures of items they collected, described the function and associations of each object and the value and importance of these. It is planned that the Ababda will, with the help of the research team, eventually write a book about their culture. In this way the project hopes to best preserve the necessary information, though in a somewhat unorthodox method. During this process, the interface and links between the tangible and intangible heritage of the Ababda became evident. In this process they divided the objects into categories used both by men and women, those used only by women, and objects used by men. The gender-segregated lives of the people thus became very clear, and when all the discussion about the meaning of an object was finished, the discussion continued on a different level, particularly in relation to traditional handicrafts.

Out of this process three categories of objects were chosen for the Beyt Ababda exhibition, one covering both the male and the female lives, one covering male aspects, and the third the female aspects of the culture. When asked what was to be considered the most important group of items in their life, the coffee-set (*Gabana*) was the first that came to mind. It belonged to both worlds, that of men and women. Sets of rules accompany the coffee ceremony. In a world where there is no modern way of communicating and life can be extremely isolated, the information a guest brings from the outside world can be of crucial importance. Sitting down and drinking coffee while talking is both a very important ceremony of hospitality and a vital method of communication - from place to place, generation to generation and population sub-group to sub-group. The Ababda men considered that in second place were all cultural objects and activities that have to do with the camel, which is a proud symbol of the Ababda life. The camel is at the male side of the spectrum, since women are not supposed to care for these animals. In joint

Figure 8
The mangrove reserve at the Red Sea shore



second place on the female side were things relating to personal adornment and to the traditional house, the *beyt bursh*. The Ababda live in mat houses called *beyt bursh* that can be compared to other nomadic traditions in north and east Africa, such as the Tuareg and the Affar.

Examples of all these items will be included in the museum displays of the Heritage Centre which aim to tell the story of the Ababda way of life. But the major challenge to be faced in the near future is how to display what are essentially intangible traditions relating to e.g. social gathering, hospitality and feast, or a tradition of knowledge? Here it will be important to display both the tangible objects associated with the activity pr tradition which at the same time explaining the intangible meaning behind it. With the limited financial means and the very restricted availability of electricity for audiovisual and similar communication in the exhibitions this will not be easy. At the same time both the Ababda and the international advisory and support team are considering ways in which the Beyt Ababda Heritage Centre can be integrated into the overall conservation, education and tourism roles of the Wadi el Hamel National Park. These issues are discussed further in the following sections.

Desert panorama

The location of the Beyt Ababda Heritage Centre

When designing the Beyt Ababda, the question of making the Centre truly meaningful to all parties was always kept in mind. The location for the Heritage Centre was chosen with extreme care. It lies close to the only asphalted road going through the area north to south, but far enough away from this road to maintain the image of the 'isolated desert'. The Beyt Ababda itself has a great panoramic view across the landscapes of the National Park, from the foothills of the range of mountains running parallel to coast down to the seashore and beach. This is also the kind of place where traditionally the Ababda settle. It is at a crossroads of the different environments that play a key role in the Ababda life. The Heritage Centre lies close to the Information Centre on the natural environment of the National Park itself, which is also the home base of the Park Rangers. Yet the Heritage Centre offers something different in providing the visitor with what is being developed as 'the nomad experience'.

This experience is enhanced by its proximity to another important conservation and tourism initiative in the area. Just a few kilometres from the Beyt Ababda but still within the National Park is Egypt's first tented tourist resort, called Fustat Wadi el-Gemal [*sic*] has been developed (Fustat means 'Tented Camp'). This camp offers luxurious but relatively simple accommodation for both day visitors and longer stay tourists, providing them with a full experience of the desert lifestyle. A privately financed and managed Egyptian development, around 25 of the 34 employees are locally recruited. Here the traditional Ababda coffee (*Gabana*) is served by the Ababda, guests are received in tents and Ababda organise camel tours across the desert visiting the most important archaeological sites, the Roman emerald mines and wadi system of the region. At these sites the architecture which has inspired that adapted for the Heritage Centre was built can be seen in their original forms, since the Roman forts and settlements are still

preserved in the wadis. (For more details of this 'Tented Camp' initiative see http://www.wadielgemal.com/).

However, tourism considerations aside, in choosing the location of the Beyt Ababda, the motivation of the most important stakeholder still needs to be considered. One other important reason for locating the Beyt Ababda relates to the Ababda living inside the National Park. The Park Rangers, who are mostly Ababda and have already been trained to take care of the wildlife, can now also support and oversee the care of the Heritage Centre. The isolated location also has the advantage that it should attract more easily Ababda who wish to settle close by or to visit the area, and the off-road location will hopefully also attract nomads who would otherwise be reluctant to go to the locations with Egyptian and foreign tourists. Also, this location is close to an already existing Ababda 'village' - a location where nomadic Ababda often settle for a period of time. The Heritage Centre will, it is hoped, therefore be a stimulant to enhance their environment: in the future the inhabitants may be drawn to the Centre and will also profit from it.

Panoramic view on the desert heritage

Different values of the ecological, natural and cultural resources of the Wadi el Gamal are stressed in the National Park. Along the coastline there are rare survivals of Egypt once common coastal mangrove trees. In the wadi systems archaeological monuments are still present and preserved, for example Roman forts and settlements such as those of the archaeological area of the Sikait and can be visited by tourists. The terrestrial and marine environment of the National Park also harbours various endangered animal species, such as rare population of Sooty Falcons. Information on the wildlife is available at the WGNP Information Centre at the entrance of the park. Located on a hill at the gate of the wadi this informs visitors about the variety of the WGNP. The Gate Map House displays a map and suggestions for visiting other locations in the area. In the future it is hoped that there will be integrated information for visitors, covering the Nature Information Centre at the entrance of the WGNP, the Gate Map House, the Beyt Ababda, Fustat Wadi el Gamal, the wadi itself with the archaeology and the mangrove reserve at the seashore.

All will in the future be presented as a potential programme for a full day topur which is intended to attract more visitors to the area. The beautiful wide panoramas across the desert plain or the sea will be an important attraction for all these places. The central theme of the tour will be the desert experience, and this will educate the visitors about the ecological aspects of the desert (perhaps even subjects such as wastewater management of the park), of all life forms in the area, and also of the fragile ecological balance that the nomads have maintained over hundreds of years. For Egypt this will be one of the very few holistic approaches to natural and cultural resource management and will hopefully serve as an example for other areas of the country and more widely. In this way the Ababda may see their culture preserved and may even profit from changes that seem inevitable.

Preserving and commodifying traditions?

Having discussed the different values and potential of the Beyt Ababda Heritage Centre for the inhabitants of the region and the tourists, the next consideration is finding ways in which the Ababda may be able to profit from all these natural and cultural resources. Beyt Ababda is intended to create understanding and respect for the culture so different from that of most Egyptians and of the foreign tourists, and how the Beyt Ababda may enhance the identity and pride of the Ababda people, preserving their traditions. But many other questions arise as well. For instance how can the sustainability of this project be ensured following the intial funding and other foreign support, particularly that of the Netherlands government? The Beyt Ababda of course needs to be maintained in the future and the Ababda community needs to be the main keeper, so members of the community need to be to be stimulated to be engaged in heritage preservation.

With all the explosive growth of the tourist industry in the area, an important stimulant to engage the Ababda in active heritage management would be economic profit. But how can one ensure the Ababda receive an adequate financial reward and a proper share of the extra income when their heritage becomes a tourist attraction? Is for instance commodification of the Ababda heritage acceptable and if so, how far should this be taken? What will the effect of this activity be on the lifestyle of the Ababda? Is this what the Ababda want for themselves and their culture? Will it be possible to give traditional Ababda handicrafts a new life, and either way how can these handicrafts become a significant source of income for the people living in the area, and how to trigger their inventiveness? A lot of organisational support will be

required to assure the production, the quality and the continued teaching of traditional crafts. Opinions are not surprisingly divided and such themes have yet been addressed to any great extent by the stakeholders either locally or more widely. Such questions must be addressed some time in the fairly near future, and the Beyt Ababda project will hopefully serve as a catalyst and model in such discussions.

Already there have been suggestions that the Ababda craftspeople should start producing traditional furniture and leather objects for the hotels in the region, thus providing a link with the native resources and appealing to the interest and imagination of the guests. There is already an Ababda craft market initiative, located near the shore area and the mangrove reserve, and close to the modern settlement of Q'ul Ain, selling local products to visiting tourists. The Ababda are therefore clearly willing to engage in projects of this kind, though the implications need to be more clearly defined in the near future. A negative aspect of the market places that spring up at tourist sites is the fact that not only are new handcraft items being sold: some Ababda also sell their own heritage goods to passing tourists who do not understand the value of the objects. In this manner much of the traditional material culture of the Ababda is rapidly disappearing. The Ababda need to be informed and need to have alternatives for the traditional heritage objects they are selling.

Another new initiative currently emerging, but which needs to be exploited further, is based on the traditional drawings that have been produced on the cardboard buildings where the Ababda now live. Here, young Ababda men have been drawing aspects of their culture, like for instance animal hunts showing the pride of young hunters, on the walls of the houses. If this craft is to be exploited, this might serve multiple purposes. It reminds the Ababda of the pride of their culture, it enhances their living area and it is a suitable way of informing visitors in the area of the aspects of Ababda life. In the future this will hopefully be used in a positive manner and may serve as a means of communicating with the world outside the Eastern Desert.

The desert experience

The cultural heritage of the Ababda nomads of the Eastern Desert is not static, it is constantly under pressure and change. Therefore the vitality of heritage must be taken into account when creating a place of memory like the Beyt Ababda Centre. It influences decisions on the arrangements and presentation of the heritage. The Beyt Ababda was not only designed to inform tourists. What in the past may have been assembled as collection of material culture and presented in a museum, will now hopefully become a place where the community can express themselves, maybe even through the production of objects or art, much like a forum or place of reflection in an uncertain future. Hopefully the Beyt Ababda, with its setting and the initiative from within the Ababda community will in the future attract the inhabitants of the surrounding villages to enhance their surroundings and sustain or even revive part of their cultural identity, as a form of sustainable cultural development. The members of the Ababda community themselves are being empowered to preserve their heritage and develop it with the help of Western and Egyptian advisors. Hopefully the Ababda will find a way to

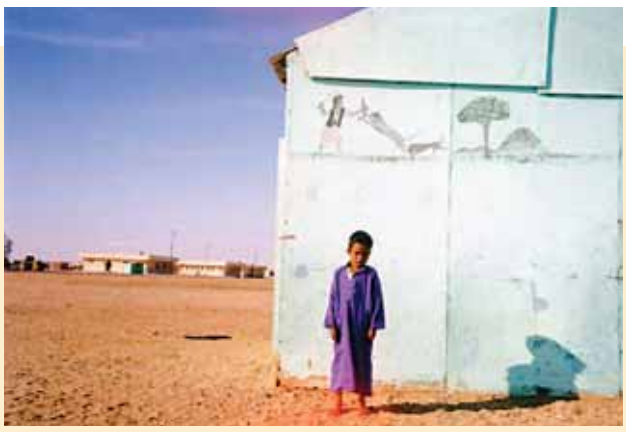


Figure 9
Paintings on a cardboard house

profit economically from the tourist attractions their land offers, as a modest form of eco-tourism in the area.

Claiming respect for a traditional way of life is one of the main objectives of this programme. Using the knowledge of the Ababda understanding of life in the desert is another. Their understanding of this environment is of extreme importance for the survival of the desert ecology. We can learn from the Ababda: the Ababda way of life shows the fragility of the desert environment and how man may act in order to preserve this balance. For centuries a balance has been maintained between the inhabitants of the region and the desert wildlife, with little or no permanent effects on the surroundings. On the other hand the visitor to Wadi Gamal is presented with temporary tourist campsites that have restricted water usage and waste management in order not to intrude on the desert ecology. How different is the impact of both cultures in the same area! Archaeology is also incorporated into the heritage programmes, and in particular fine Roman sites may be visited. While after almost two thousand years vestiges of this culture can still be seen, the nomadic population hardly leaves a trace. It is this theme that may arouse awareness and respect of the Ababda way of life and their unique adjustment to the environment, not as a sign of poverty or shortage of resources, but of unique and necessary adjustment to their surroundings.

In the Wadi el Gamal National Park a complete day tour is planned for the future, introducing tourists to all aspects of the Eastern Desert, not only showing the frail balance between men and nature, but also presenting aspects or themes of Ababda culture. The tangible and intangible heritage need to be merged in order to establish these objectives. Although the funding for such an expanded programme is not yet in place, initial plans are already being made about the way in which the heritage of the Ababda will be presented more fully in the future. The aim is that the tourist will experience an idea, am inclusive trip, in which he or she will experience several different themes of the desert life. These might include the hunt, the use of desert habitation in Ababda life in relation to pride of this people, and associated Ababda music, dance and craftsmanship. Another theme might focus on the inhospitable wilderness set against the hospitality of the Ababda, with all the informative tangible (*Gabana* objects) and intangible aspects (*Gabana* preparing and drinking) of this theme. In such themes and during the inclusive tourist excursion the perspectives will constantly change and the imagination of the visitor will be challenged and stimulated. In this manner the Wadi Gamal both the Ababda and the international team aim to present the visitor with something that will be unique within Egypt: a new way of experiencing the living heritage of a location and its peoples from several different angles, giving a dynamic, 360 degrees, true panoramic view of the Egyptian Eastern Desert and its traditional peoples.

NOTES

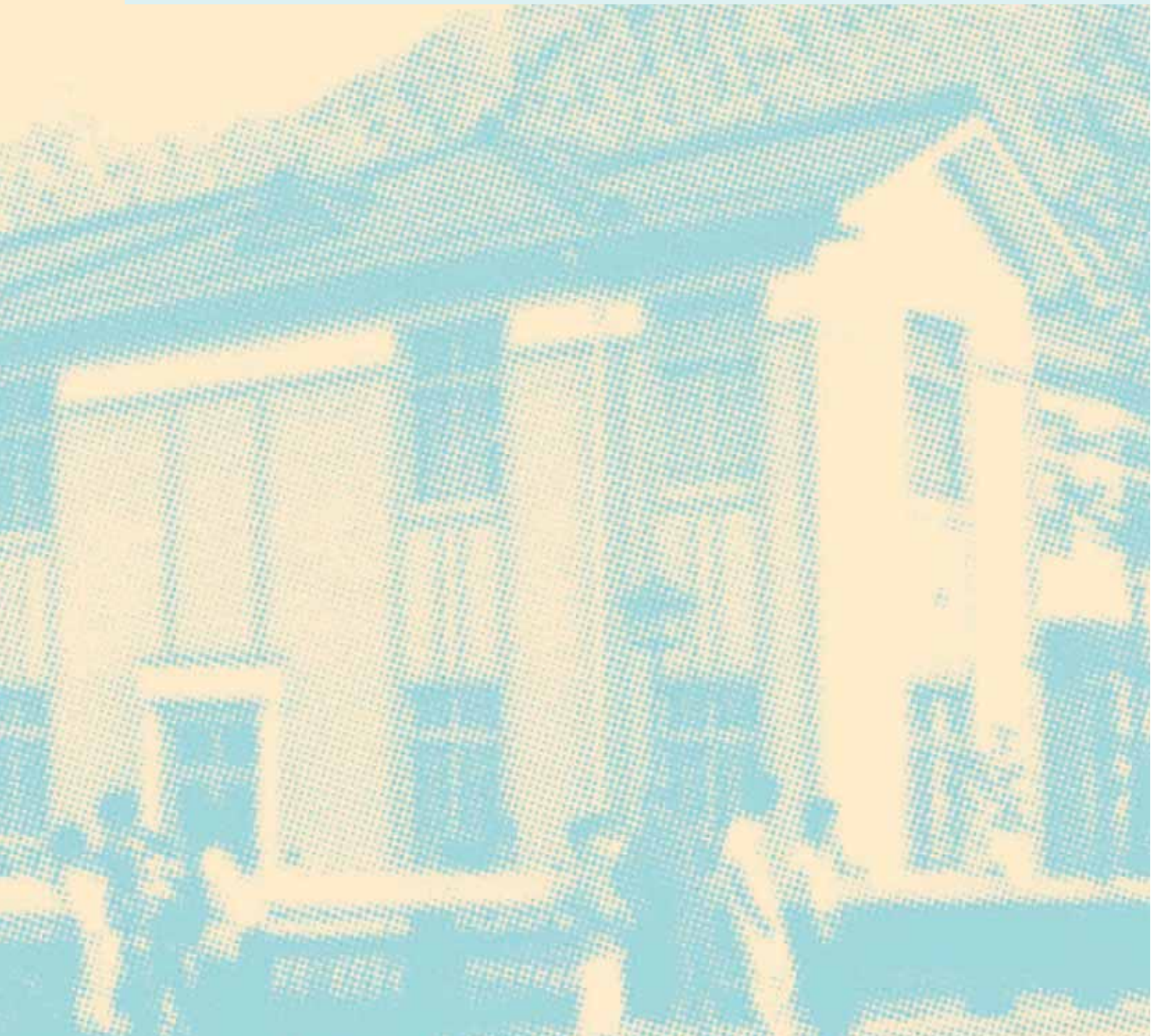
- The Eastern Desert Antiquities Preservation Project (EDAPP) was financed primarily by the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Cairo.
- Rough coordinates for the WGNP area are 24° 51'N in the north and 24° 06'N in the south; the Red Sea shoreline in the east and 34° 28'E to the west.
- At this meeting in the autumn of 2005 a delegation of the Ababda, the architect of the museum and several members of the EDAPP were present, as well as the other stakeholders in the WGNP like the rangers of the park and the director of Fustat Wadi el-Gemal. Also meetings were organized between EDAPP and the TDA and USAID in order to integrate the plans with other developments in the area.
- The architect of the museum, Gabriel Mikhail is renowned for his work in traditional, 'eco-architectural' styles with sustainable materials and used natural resources reflecting traditional values, thus re-inventing ancient architectural styles. For his work see www.egyptcd.com.

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Defining Intangible Cultural Heritage and its Stakeholders: the Case of Japan

Voltaire Garces Cang



Defining Intangible Cultural Heritage and its Stakeholders: the Case of Japan

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Introduction: Gujo Odori, a Festival

Gujo Odori is a Japanese *Bon* (festival for the dead usually held in midsummer), in this case a dance *matsuri* (festival) held annually in Gujo Hachiman, Gujo City, in Gifu Prefecture. Landlocked Gifu Prefecture, and even less Gujo City and the administrative district of Gujo Hachiman, are not too prominent in Japan's consciousness, and are known primarily for the historic villages of Shirakawa-go and Gokayama, UNESCO World Heritage sites, and to some people for the *ayu*, the sweetfish found abundantly in its many rivers.

Gujo Odori begins in mid-July, when the *Hasshosai,* the launching ceremony, is held in front of the old town hall plaza by shrine officials-the traditional sponsors- and local government representatives, with Gujo Hachiman residents and tourists in attendance. Every year, the politicians outnumber the shrine representatives at least ten to one. Aside from public administrative and festival committee officials, also present are members of different organisations such as the local education board, the chamber of commerce and the tourist association.

From early September, during thirty-one selected days within a two-month period, townspeople and visitors dance a repertoire of ten short dances of varying rhythms, on themes ranging from history to agriculture to nature, in different parts of the town selected for historic, and other more mundane reasons, such as easy access and capacity. Although Gujo Hachiman has a population of less than 17,000, on festival days the number of people more than doubles, and during the *Tetsuya Odori* (all-night dancing), a period of four days from the 13th to 16th August - conveniently co-inciding with the *Bon* holiday in Japan - the crowds swell to four times the number of residents (Gujo City, 2006), all contributing activity and profit to the festivities.

Like most Japanese festivals of ancient provenance, the origins of Gujo Odori are hazy. The first historical appearance of the name *Gujo Odori* was in 1914, when it was the name of one type of dance performed in celebration of the opening of the new town hall. In 1923, the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai* (*Gujo odori* dance preservation society), an organization formed one year earlier and still existing today, formally established the repertoire of dances, naming the whole set *Gujo Odori* in a pamphlet printed to promote the dance (Gujo Odori hensan iinkai, 1993). This eponymous pamphlet also contained the first known historical account of *Gujo Odori*, which dated the origin of the dance to the late 16th century, around 1590, when local clan leaders supposedly instructed the inhabitants of Hachiman to perform dances to honour deities to thank them for victory in war, or maybe for good harvests. Thus, in 1991 the festival celebrated its 400th-

year 'anniversary' in 1991.

However, *Gujo Odori* is not merely a huge festival in a small town. Since 1997, the Japanese Government has designated *Gujo Odori* as an 'Important Intangible Folk-Cultural Property,' one among 246 such Properties (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2006). Previously, it was a 'National Folk-Art Intangible Cultural Property,' designated in 1973, before its present category was created. This paper, through the example of designated intangible heritage, specifically *Gujo Odori* in Gifu Prefecture, will discuss significant issues that characterise the field of intangible cultural heritage in Japan.

Intangible cultural heritage in Japan: identifying the 'what'

Japan was among the first countries in the world to legislate for the protection of cultural heritage. One of the early Imperial Decrees of the Meiji government (1868-1911) called, in 1871, for the *Preservation of Ancient Objects*; this was subsequently followed by several laws that ordered, among other things, the preservation of shrines and temples, sites, monuments and *national treasures*. In 1949, a disastrous fire that destroyed ancient murals in the Horyuji temple in Nara accelerated the enactment of the *Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties* in 1950. This law distinguished between intangible and tangible cultural properties for the first time.

Until 1953, the Japanese government selected *those intangible cultural properties of particular value that would cease to exist without state protection* mainly for subsidisised protection and in 1954, the law was amended to include other intangible cultural properties that were of value artistically and historically, leading to the designation of 'Important Intangible Cultural Properties' and their holders from 1955. Again, in 1975, another amendment to the law added the criteria of folk-cultural activities that included local customs, manners, and performing arts, as well as the conservation techniques that are necessary for the preservation of both tangible and intangible heritage (Murakami & Saito, 2001; Zemans & Kleingartner, 1999).

The different amendments and categories lead to a complex mix of types of cultural heritage, but one can easily ascertain five categories specifically described under Japanese law:

1. tangible cultural properties
2. intangible cultural properties
3. folk-cultural properties
4. monuments
5. groups of historic buildings.

Thus, in the Japanese case, officially at least, intangible cultural heritage can come under one of the following three categories:

1. intangible cultural properties
2. intangible folk-cultural properties
3. traditional conservation techniques.

Stage arts, music and applied art techniques all belong to the first category; folk performing arts, manners and customs related to food, clothing and shelter, vocations, religious beliefs, annual events, etc. are all lumped under the second group.

Under Japan's *Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties,* the two major types of intangible heritage, 'intangible cultural properties' and 'folk-cultural properties' (to which *matsuri* belongs), are each

approached differently by the national government with regard to preservation procedures. In the case of intangible cultural properties, for example, pottery techniques and music, first the tradition targeted for preservation is determined, and that is followed by the identification of its 'holders.' They may seek formal selection and designation which can result in financial and other support for successor-training, performance or exhibition funding and other forms of assistance. As for folk-cultural properties, for example local religious rites and festivals, here the first step is the confirmation or determination of practitioners or preservers of the tradition, who are in many cases local public/private preservation groups. Identification (and perhaps selection and designation) of the tradition becomes the second step. Funding and other support procedures may follow. The difference in approaches, while actually expediting the selection process for each category of intangible cultural property, owes much to the nature of the intangible heritage itself: pottery techniques and music (intangible cultural properties) have an existence apart from their practitioners, while religious rites and festivals (intangible folk-cultural properties) have to be performed or practiced to exist (Miyata, 2003).

Japan's relatively long history and flourishing art traditions make it a country with a very long list of cultural objects with high historical and/or artistic value. By 1 October 2006, for the intangible heritage alone, the Japanese national government had designated 113 'Important Intangible Cultural Properties,' 246 'Important Intangible Folk-Cultural Properties,' and 73 individual and group holders of 'Selected Conservation Techniques' (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2006).

The legislation on cultural heritage in Japan is based on categories that are rather selective and precise, but this does not mean that the identification of heritage is selective and precise too. Far from it. The original intention of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties was to preserve such important Japanese heritage that, without government protection, will decline and fall to ruin (Watanabe, 1999). It also states that intangible cultural property, such as theatre, music, crafts etc., which to our country is of high historical and/or artistic value, will be deemed intangible cultural property and will be eligible for protection. Granted that heritage in danger of decline and ruin may be relatively easier to search out, how does one determine whether its historical and/or artistic value is 'high' or not? And how is artistic value determined? The problem of categorisation is prominent in the arena of cultural heritage, whether or not the heritage is tangible or intangible in nature. Certainly it is more conspicuous in the latter field than in the former, as intangible heritage is inherently more fluid and flexible. Intangible heritage is constantly recreated even as it is preserved. And therein lies the difficulty of its definition. The concept of heritage is not easy to define because it

> *looks backward"[it is] something received from one's forebears [whose] core difficulty lies in the tension between the retrospective dimension"and the need to redefine tradition in response to new conditions* (Brown, 2003; p.183).

Brown had studied native American peoples who sought to protect/prevent their cultural possessions from



Figure 1
Former town hall, now tourist centre, in Gujo Hachiman, Gujo City, Gifu Prefecture

use by outsiders, and to redefine their proprietary conditions. Cultural texts like music that were appropriated by researchers and subsequently stored elsewhere were - and are being - reclaimed by native American communities, resulting in power struggles that involve a large swathe of political actors moving in and around a messy system. Consequently, Brown (2003) posed questions that he could not answer, and that leads to even more questions:

> *On what grounds should one group's claim to an element of culture be considered more compelling than another's? Although it is relatively easy to determine whether an individual qualifies for membership in a particular group, how does one decide whether that person 'belongs to' a particular culture?* (p. 219).

In other words, who makes the decisions?

Intangible cultural heritage in Japan: identifying the 'who'

Dealing with the 'what' in intangible cultural heritage is already problematic enough, but equally significant in the research field is the 'who', as the question above asks. Thus, when the National Heritage Conference held in 1983 in the United Kingdom proffered this definition : "heritage is that which a past generation has preserved and handed on to the present and which a significant group of the population wishes to hand on to the future" (Harrison, 2005, p. 5), the following questions were inevitably posed. What is the 'that' that has to be preserved? Why is it worth preserving and handing on? Who or what is a significant group? Who chooses?

A cursory look at the World Heritage Convention's 1972 definition, which identified (tangible) heritage as composed of monuments, groups of building or sites which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science [or] from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view (UNESCO, 1972), among others, also prompts similar questioning. Again, how is value, especially aesthetic value, determined? By whom?

UNESCO's category of 'Intangible Cultural Heritage' created a good 30 years later in 2003, has brought more items and objects into the heritage fold. Its list includes:

> *practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces"that communities, groups and individuals".recognize as part of their heritage"transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups"and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity* (UNESCO, 2003).

At the same time as the objects of intangible heritage have been delineated, its stakeholders have also been identified. But who are these communities, groups, and individuals? Why indeed them, and not others?

This question was the main issue dealt with in a recent meeting organised by the Intangible Heritage Section of UNESCO and the Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO (ACCU) in Tokyo, in March 2006 (ACCU, 2006). In particular, the meeting reviewed the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage and wished to define, once and for all, those identified in the said Convention's preamble and main text, as persons involved in intangible cultural heritage, that is, the above-named communities, groups, and individuals. The Convention had not provided any definition of these persons. The meeting agreed on the following:

1. Communities are networks of people whose sense of identity or connectedness emerges from a shared historical relationship that is rooted in the practice and transmission of, or engagement with, their ICH.
2. Groups comprise people within or across communities who share characteristics such as skills, experience and special knowledge, and thus perform specific roles in the present and future practice, re-creation and/or transmission of their intangible cultural heritage as, for example, cultural custodians, practitioners or apprentices.
3. Individuals are those within or across communities who have distinct skills, knowledge, experience or other characteristics, and thus perform specific roles in the present and future practices, re-creation and/or transmission of their intangible cultural heritage as, for example, cultural custodians, practitioners and, where appropriate, apprentices (2006).

Aside from these persons, the meeting also identified two other distinct groups of people included in the Convention. One is 'society', said to mean the totality of the population of a country (p.28), although it was also pointed out that specific communities, and not necessarily the nation as a whole, are involved in intangible cultural heritage. The other group is the 'multinational' or 'scattered communities/groups', who relate to a single heritage that is not limited to one geographical area or country.

The distinctions are welcome, as they clarify the roles and positions of the actors in the intangible heritage field. Ironically, however, and especially since the Convention is an international agreement, there is still a seeming adherence to the idea of 'national' cultures. However, the same may be said of most international agreements, whether or not they concern cultural heritage. As extensively discussed by cultural studies scholar Bhabha (Huddart, 2006), since international agreements are made between nations, most of the time they turn a blind eye to cultures that are not 'national'.

Nonetheless, the meeting also concluded that without the participation of the said communities, groups, and individuals, intangible cultural heritage cannot be defined and identified, as these persons are responsible for creating, maintaining, and transmitting the heritage, or at least play important roles (p.27). Communities, groups, and individuals are huge and overlapping categories, and one wonders about the actual situations and places where the distinctions can be actually and uniformly applied. Certainly different intangible cultural heritages have different stakeholders who may belong to one or more of the categories, or to none whatsoever.

As already mentioned, in the area of intangible (folk-cultural) cultural heritage, Japan's national government relies on the role of local preservation groups in the identification - and designation - of traditions. Local governments in Japan that work closely with the preservation groups are considered to be those most familiar with the needs of their local community, and are thus considered the best persons - 'communities', with the occasional 'individuals', in the above sense - to serve the population's 'cultural needs' (Watanabe, 1999). As they adopt the regional equivalent of national cultural policy (support for creative activities and development of infrastructure), the local groups also create programmes to revive specific cultures by nurturing traditional and folk culture (such as folk dance, music, crafts, and festivals) (p. 67).

Gujo Odori as intangible cultural heritage: 'whats' and 'whos'

The importance of *Gujo Odori* to the town of Gujo Hachiman is emphasized in the Gujo Hachiman Hakurankan, a pre-War, European-style building that was originally the tax office; it was renovated in 1991 to become the town's main museum. The Hakurankan's display area is divided between two floors, into four sections: 'Water' (*mizu*), 'History' (*rekishi*), 'Skill' (*waza*), and 'Dance' (*odori*). 'Water', 'History' and 'Skill' are more or less evenly spread across the second floor, while 'Dance' monopolises the whole space on the first. 'Dance' is, of course, *Gujo Odori*. It has long been identified with the town. It is in fact its identity, the main reason people come to Gujo Hachiman: during the two-month festival period, an average of 300,000 visitors have descended on the town in the past ten years.

At present, *Gujo Odori* is a repertoire of ten dances performed at night by townspeople and tourists, forming a circle around the *yakata* (wooden stage) of musicians who sing and play the drums, flute and *shamisen* (Japanese three-stringed guitar). It is danced on thirty-one - sometimes thirty-two - nights that are deemed auspicious, including the four successive nights of the *Tetsuya Odori*. The dancing starts around eight o'clock in the evening and lasts until eleven p.m., although the *Tetsuya Odori* continues to around four or five a.m. the next day. In recent years, the opening ceremony and dancing has been held in the plaza in front of the pre-War town hall (now housing a memorial exhibit and souvenir shop), while during the rest of the festival season the dancing site is moved to different areas within the town. No accessories, such as fans, or special costumes are required, but *geta* (wooden clogs) are the preferred dancing shoes since they make distinctive sounds when the feet strike the pavement, according to the rhythm and pace of the dance. The hand movements are very simple, and although some dances require a few complicated steps, these are not too difficult even for people who do not in any way consider themselves dancers.

Gujo Odori is a rousing affair; the dances are fast and rhythmical. There are hundreds and sometimes thousands of people who surround the *yakata*, and it is easy to simply move with the crowd - and difficult to get out of it. Anyone, from toddlers to senior citizens, can join in, and the overwhelming majority of the dancers are

outsiders.

Since 1971, the *Gujo Odori Un-ei Iiinkai* (*Gujo Odori* steering committee) has been in charge of *Gujo Odori*'s management during festival season. The committee is composed of representatives from the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai*, local government (mainly officials of Hachiman's Commerce and Tourism Section in the town office), Hachiman's residents' associations (*jichikai*), shrine and temple officials included, the tourism groups and the local Chamber of Commerce. The most important roles in the committee are given to the residents' associations, the Commerce and Tourism Section, and the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai* (Adachi, 2000).

The residents' associations are responsible for determining the dates and places for *Gujo Odori* to take place, depending on the auspicious days for the shrines and temples (and *jizo* or Buddhist deities) in their areas, or for those with connections to their areas. After determining the dates and locations, the residents' associations make a formal request, through the steering committee, to the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai* for their performance to be on the set schedule.

The Commerce and Tourism Section fulfills the administrative duties for *Gujo Odori*, as it is in charge of tasks like negotiations with the local police and fire departments for their deployment on the set dates and sites, advertisements and announcements about *Gujo Odori* through the media, as well as logistical assistance for the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai* before, during, and after their performances.

The *Gujo Odori Hozonkai*, after receiving the official requests from the steering committee, perform as scheduled. On festival dates, the members wear uniform *yukata* (cotton kimonos), and perform the dances for the festival-goers to follow. Every night, the members only dance in the beginning, for thirty minutes to one hour, after which they move around the crowd to pick out fifteen people - locals, visitors, or tourists of any age or sex - who they deem 'experts' in dancing. These dancers are later given certificates attesting to their qualification as *Gujo Odori* experts. The certificate is free, but the wooden frame that fits its unusual long rectangular shape is sold to the recipient for two thousand yen, if desired.

The *Gujo Odori Hozonkai* is presently made up of around seventy members, and outside the festival season they perform the *Gujo Odori* as official representatives of the tradition, in Gifu Prefecture and all over Japan. Every September, for example, a *Gujo Odori* event is held in Tokyo's Aoyama district, as the Aoyama name is associated with one of the families that ruled the Gujo area more than three centuries ago. *Gujo Odori Hozonkai* members sometimes also give lectures and demonstrations in schools and other public places when requested.

As seen above, the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai* is the chief stakeholder in the heritage that is *Gujo Odori*. The group was established even before any legislation on intangible heritage in Japan was formulated, and is probably the main reason for *Gujo Odori*'s longevity. It has always existed from the time the idea of *Gujo Odori* came to be, and it has worked both in the background and foreground to promote *Gujo Odori* into the prestigious 'Important Intangible Folk-Cultural Property' that it is now. It even audaciously extended *Gujo Odori*'s history far back (to four centuries ago), and became responsible for its



Figure 2
Visitors and residents dance Gujo Odori around the yakata [wooden, movable stage]

constant re-invention throughout the dance's lifetime.

It is the same *Gujo Odori Hozonkai*, however, that has also influenced the development of *Gujo Odori* that has been converted exclusively into *Bon Odori*, with a spiritual (as opposed to secular) bent. In response to the patriotic trends of the time, in 1923 the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai* removed all traces of the vulgar and worldly in the repertoire of songs, leaving only *healthy amusement* (Adachi, 2004; p. 87). One other major transformation was critical: the introduction of the *yakata*, on which *Gujo Odori Hozonkai* members perform the music and songs, and around which the participants dance. Before 1953 when the wooden stage was first used , any participant, especially someone talented and popular, was able to perform the songs to which other festival participants danced. However, for the past half-century, the music performance has become exclusive to the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai*.

In the manner of its transmission, the tradition of *Gujo Odori* has also been transformed into one that is not unlike other Japanese traditions that are run by *iemoto* (titular family heads, mostly of art traditions, in Japan). Adachi (2004) goes so far as to say that the *Gujo Odori* has become an iemoto system under the auspices of the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai*. This is due to the manner of training future dance and music teachers by the present members of the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai*: they follow the *isshi souden* (to one heir, all inheritance) style, whereby only one designated successor receives complete, exclusive training from just one master.

The tea ceremony practice in Japan is a good window into the *iemoto* in the Japanese tradition. A well-known icon of 'Japaneseness', (Reischauer, 1988/1999; Sadler, 1933/2002) the tea ceremony is actually a complicated set of rituals with one simple aim - to serve a bowl of tea. First established in the latter half of the 16th century by its legendary founder, Sen Rikyu, the tradition has, by and large, been held within his family and descendants, with the occasional offshoot. In practice, the title of 'Grand Tea Master' is given to the first son, who receives early training for the post which he occupies upon the death (or occasionally, retirement) of the incumbent.

All of the most important knowledge and practices are handed down to one heir exclusively. In the tea ceremony tradition, the present head of Urasenke, the biggest and most widespread of the tea schools today, is the 16th generation after Rikyu. His chief role is to preserve and to transmit practices, not only about tea and its service, but also other knowledge ranging from formally-stylized Japanese language and manners, Zen teachings, Japanese cuisine, brush calligraphy, traditional tea house architecture, pottery and many other practices that are respected traditions and intangible heritage in their own right.

As with its counterparts in other Japanese cultural practices, tea ceremony rituals have been revived, recreated, or re-invented. And as with many others, all the revival, recreation, and re-invention is done by, or through the approval of, a single individual, the *iemoto*. The *iemoto* has sole authority to define not only what the tea ceremony is, but he also establishes all the rules for its observation (Plutschow, 1999 & 2003). The minutest rules and details, say, the sound made by the water ladle as it is laid on the bamboo lid rest, or the position of the sweets on the tray, are not changed without sanction from the *iemoto*. Even the most senior, licensed teachers in the organization are required to follow these rules; outsiders, even the national government - perhaps *because* it is the national government - do not have any say.

The *iemoto* system may be peculiar to Japanese intangible cultural heritage, but it is found throughout Japan's traditions, including the 'three Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity' of UNESCO: *Nohgaku* theatre, *Bunraku* puppet theatre, and *Kabuki*. Although one may consider the *iemoto* to be an 'individual' as also defined under the UNESCO Convention, he is, if one delves further into the system - shall one say - in his own league, not under Japanese government control, nor under UNESCO influence. He is part of intangible heritage, and he is also not part of it.

In the case of the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai*, being *iemoto* and at the same time being a seventy-strong group of preservationists, they could be identified under any of the three main categories of the Convention. In fact, from the roles that they have played and still play in the *Gujo Odori* tradition today, they could be all of the stakeholders - community, group, and individual. That is quite a lot of power and prestige to be in the hands of a few.

Conclusion

Gujo Odori is but one example of intangible cultural heritage, but one which is formally designated as such despite its vague origins and uncomfortably short history. However, this situation is not at all atypical of intangible cultural heritage in Japan. Many of the festivals around





Figure 3
Focal point of Gujo Odori is the yakata[wooden, movable stage] around which festival participants dance to music performed by assigned musician and singers; paper lantern in foreground shows the characters for "Gujo Odori"
Figure 4
Close-up of the yakata [wooden, movable stage]; banner indicates "Kawasaki." one of ten dance songs in the Gujo Odori repertoire

the country, including the officially designated intangible folk-cultural properties, are not as old as they are reputed to be. Although some of the *matsuri* rituals may have been performed across several centuries, they have been transformed or revised to suit contemporary purposes, for example, by the shifting of procession routes because of urban centre development, or by adjusting dates and locations to accommodate more tourists.

The famous fire-lighting Daimonji *matsuri* of Kyoto, for instance, was 'rediscovered' only after 1950, and in the early 1960s and was adapted into a 'modern capitalistic form' from its original traditions (Caron, 2003). *Bestor* (1989), in his study of the local festival of a district in Tokyo, said that tradition in Japan does not require it to remain unchanged, for *innovation and flexibility are highly regarded and the vitality of the community is the raison d'être for preserving (or creating) tradition, not the other way around,* while enhancing the feeling of solidarity that the tradition brings (p. 253).

But traditions, including festivals, can also exclude. Robertson (1991) mentioned how the *shimin matsuri* (citizen's festival) of Kodaira highlighted the tension between new residents and the 'natives' who claimed descent from the village founders. The former were prevented from participating in the performance of the most important and dramatic parts of the festival, effectively creating a hierarchy based on one's length of stay in the community. Like *Gujo Odori*, which was said to have begun when clan leaders in the 16th century ordered dancing festivities as a form of thanksgiving ritual, the festival in Kodaira had its beginnings as an event sanctioned by the local authorities. Kodaira's present festival is administered by the local government, while festival committees are composed of long-term residents. The power to control the festival has granted, subtly, the power to control the community at large. Here there are shades of *Gujo Odor*i in the hands of the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai.*

Still, the *matsuri* or festival has been tirelessly promoted by local and national governments as a 'quintessentially' traditional Japanese practice, and though newly minted at times, it is given a traditional Shinto form and attached to historical, local political and social/religious organisations. The Shinto forms themselves were *revitalized, reinvented, or simply created from nothing during the late 19th century* (Caron, 2003, p.169). The fact of tradition being 're-invented' is a topic with foregone conclusions (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983), and researchers in the social sciences have frequently pointed out that tradition has continually been utilised to comprehend, explain or manipulate contemporary society. The festival is no exception, of course. Yanagisako (1985) has stated that *Tradition* [is] *a cultural construct whose meaning must be discovered in present words no less than past acts* (p.18).

The ill-defined line between the traditional and the non-traditional notwithstanding, Japan has created a system for selecting and identifying tradition, that is, heritage, which it deems significant for its own patrimony, and no less for its identity. Among these are many Japanese art traditions that are strongly linked to Japan's core identity, such as several martial arts, flower arrangement (*ikebana/kado*), as well as the above-mentioned tea ceremony (*chado/sado*). Many of them are long-standing traditions and fit very appropriately into the Japanese government's designation of intangible cultural heritage, though in fact many do not need protection from *decline and fall into ruin*, as they have fanatical followers and supporters who will ensure their longevity for years

to come.

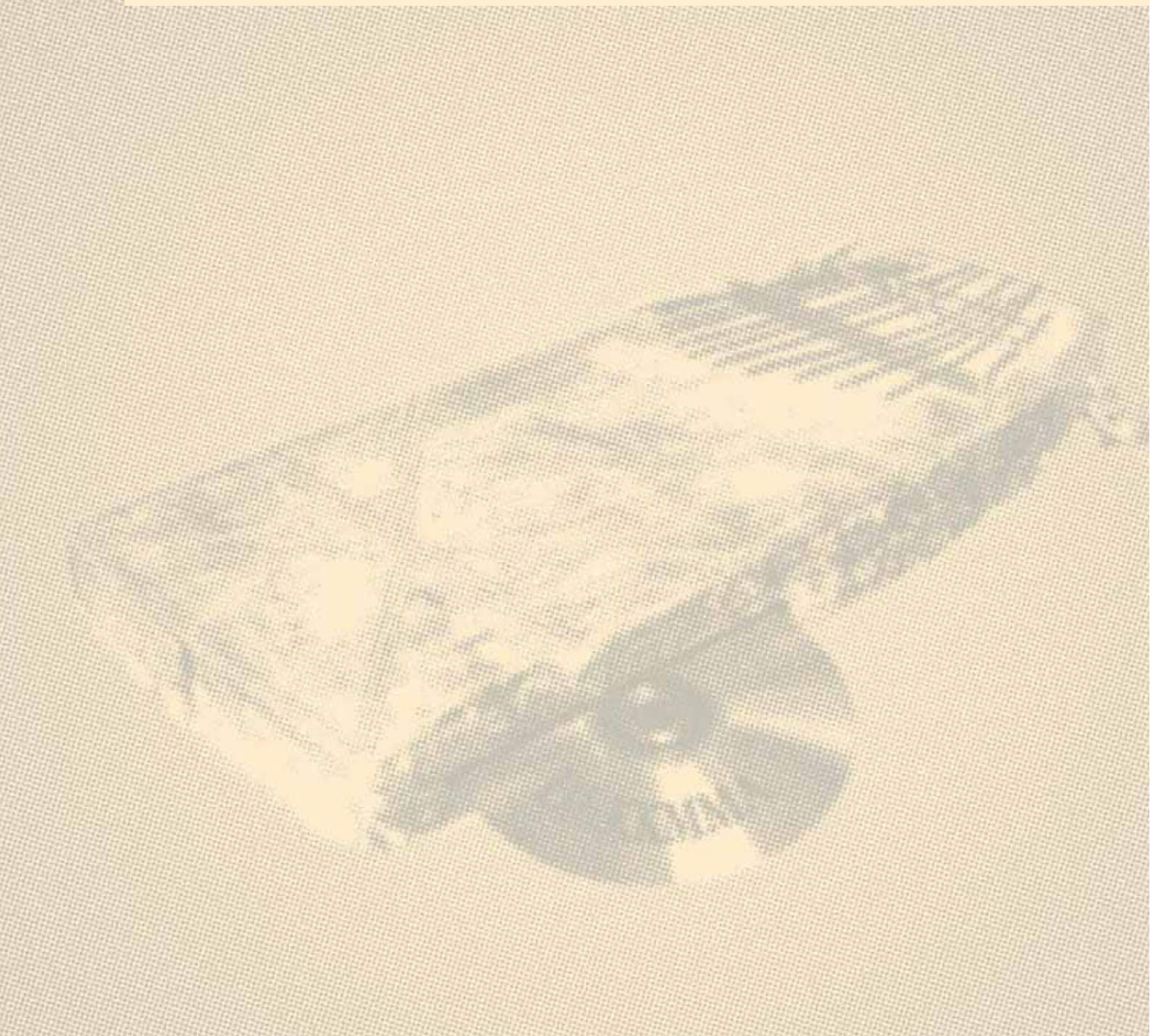
Yet, still, they are not designated cultural properties. It would be safe to say that the reason for the non-designation is not so much due to the 'what', as each of these traditions has strict rituals and rules that have been established and transmitted for generations, and each is inarguably identifiable and determinable as intangible heritage. The omission may be due more to the 'who', that is, the stakeholders in the tradition. The keepers of the heritage have become so established and entrenched that even the national law and its regulations on intangible cultural heritage in Japan have become irrelevant. For aspects of intangible cultural heritage that have already been formally designated under Japanese law, the government has, perhaps unwittingly - especially in the case of intangible (folk-cultural) cultural heritage - contributed largely to the granting of prestige and power to preservation groups such as the *Gujo Odori Hozonkai*. Yet one also wonders about the situation if one took away such preservation groups - for if there were no such stakeholders, the preservation (and re-creation) of such traditions, at least in Japan, would be unthinkable.

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The Problems and Opportunities of Content-based Analysis and Description of Ethnic Music

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ABSTRACT

The Belgian Royal Museum for Central-Africa (RMCA) holds a large collection of ethnographic artifacts, including a sound archive with music recordings from the early 20th Century up to recently. The archive is one of the biggest and best-documented archives worldwide for the region of Central Africa. An on-going digitisation project is part of a strategy to conserve this archive and make it accessible to the public by (i) the digitisation of the data, and (ii) the application of music information retrieval techniques for the digitised data. While state-of-the-art research in music information retrieval aims to search and retrieve music on the basis of content description, most of the existing tools are designed for Western music collections, without any guarantee that these techniques can be applied to music from other cultures. African music, in particular, creates new challenges for content-based description and information retrieval. This paper describes some general problems regarding the content-based description of African and other non-Western music. It suggests an approach for describing pitch structures which will allow for the description of both Western music and non-Western music.

Introduction

During the last decade, digitisation projects for cultural heritage have received increasing financial support from both public sources and private institutions. This underlines the value and importance of preserving collections and making it easier to consult them by means of modern digital infrastructures and appropriate content management tools. Digital audio files can be

stored on a redundant storage system, which combines hard disks with a tape backup system for extra security. Nowadays, the technological infrastructure, based on digital broadband and mobile communication, makes it possible to access musical information quickly. Music can now be available from anywhere and at any time, by a finger click on the computer mouse, and there is no reason why this facility should be restricted to commercial music. The opportunities for storage, back-up, accessibility and documentation, make digital systems particularly well-suited to the preservation of cultural heritage. Unlike the playback of analogue audio, playbacks of digital audio do not harm the original carrier, and the number of copies cannot be exhausted. Digital meta-data, which typically consist of records with information about the origin and nature of the sound recording, and perhaps also the recording conditions, can be added to the musical audio files.

During the last decade, traditional meta-data descriptions which relate to the recording context have been complemented with another type of meta-description that is focused on the musical content. An objective content-description would typically focus on aspects such as timbre, pitch, melody, harmony, rhythm and tempo, while a subjective description would typically focus on factors related to movement (static, dynamic, slow, fast, etc.), emotional descriptors (gay, sad, etc.) or other semantic or corporeal descriptors (Lesaffre et al., 2004; Lesaffre, 2005; Leman, 2007).

So-called 'audio-mining' techniques aim to extract these content-based descriptions directly from the musical audio files. These techniques are based on low-level feature extraction and classification into higher-level descriptors that can be accessed by the human mind. For example, melody extraction from polyphonic audio is based on frequency analysis techniques that work on small time frames (e.g. 40 ms). The task is to select the fundamental frequency component that is representative for the melody, and to discard the information from percussion and accompanying instruments. At a higher analysis level, the time frames will be concatenated to form pitch objects that can be represented as an electronic score (e.g. Paiva, 2006). The melody provides a level of representation which users can access. For example, they can sing a melody and the sung melody can then be compared with a database of melodies that have been extracted from the audio archive.

The audio-mining approach is a first step in what is generally called 'data-mining' or the automatic search for patterns in large volumes of data, using techniques of statistical correlation and categorisation. Indeed, users would typically tend to extract further information from such a database, such as information about similarities in a large collection of musical pieces. Similarities can then be represented graphically, on maps and visualisation schemas (van Gulik & Vignoli, 2005; Pampalk 2005). Music information retrieval thus aims to combine audio-mining techniques and data-mining techniques for the search and retrieval of music in a digital music library. This would allow new query techniques to be developed - like searching for similar pieces of music (including the possibility of 'query-by-example', where the user uploads his audio fragment) or the use of semantic descriptions (e.g. adjectives relating to emotions or gestures) that are automatically connected to the low-level features of the musical content (Leman et al., 2005). However, although the techniques for content-based description and retrieval look promising, it remains very difficult to get technological success rates that would allow practical, real-world applications. There is a huge semantic gap between music as digital encoded audio, and music as

something meaningful. The step from encoded audio to meaning involves many aspects of human perception, understanding and a thorough knowledge of the social context in which the music information retrieval activities are taking place.

At this moment, the audio-mining techniques that have been developed are designed principally to extract information from Western music. Hence, the concepts that underlie audio-mining techniques are often based on Western music theory. Examples are the use of the chromatic (equidistant 12-tone) scale or the assumption of a regular division of the measure in ternary or binary units. There seems to be a general lack of knowledge about cultural heritage from beyond the Western world, and music that has a fundamentally different structure is not usually considered at all.

The construction of a database with 'traditional' meta-data for non-Western, and especially ethnic, music requires an approach that is entirely different from that used for Western popular and classical music. In this paper we describe some of the problems encountered during the process of digitising the music archives of the Belgian Royal Museum of Central-Africa (RMCA), and we propose an approach that would allow more suitable descriptions for music with structural and sociological characteristics that are very different from the Western standard. First, we will give a short description of the collections of the RMCA and the digitisation process. Then we will introduce some of the problems - and opportunities - we have encountered in dealing with databases of non - Western music, and in the last section we will present a system that analyses and compares the pitch content of musical pieces as an illustration of how content-based descriptions of music can deal with specific aspects of non-Western music.

Digitisation of the audio collection of the Belgian Royal Museum of Central-Africa (RMCA)

With its 50,000 sound recordings (with a total of 3,000 hours of music), dating from the early 20th century up to the present day, the music archive of the RMCA (located in Tervuren near Brussels) is one of the biggest in the world for the region of Central Africa. The music archive is part of a larger collection of artifacts from Central Africa that includes musical instruments, masks, tools, animals, plants and many other objects. Conservation and access to this collection is of particular importance given the current political instability, and the general destruction of cultural heritage that is taking place in this region (Cornelis et al., 2005). To conserve this important cultural heritage, and make it accessible to the public, the Belgian government provided a grant for a project called DEKKMMA. The project aimed to (i) digitise the different types of sound recordings (wax cylinders, sonofil, vinyl recordings and magnetic tapes) each with their own specific problems, (ii) construct a database suitable for describing different types of music (Matthé et al., 2005), (iii) explore tools that will allow further analysis



Figure 1
Logo of the DEKKMMA-project, symbolising the digitisation of the African music archive

and classification using audio-mining and data-mining techniques, (iv) develop content pertaining to the description of musical culture and musical instruments from different geographic regions, (v) process audio, photographic and video material from the archives and from the museum collections as background information for the audio files. (The results of this project can be accessed on the website http://music.africamuseum.be/. The reader will find metadata as well as sound excerpts and accompanying documentation such as descriptions of musical instruments.)

The project included the construction of the website, which allows different user groups to search and retrieve data related to the music archive. Three user groups were identified. The first and largest group are people who are just interested in African music, but do not have much knowledge of it. These users typically want to retrieve music using a rather vague and general labelling, such as 'drumming', 'trance music' or 'some song from Rwanda'. The second group consists of users from Central Africa. They often have a good knowledge of certain repertoires and functions of the music, and therefore they tend to ask very specific questions - such as for music played by a specific performer, music from one particular village, lyrics, genres, instruments - and they may well use local terminology. Finally, the third group of users consists of researchers who use the database for further study. This group would typically tend to ask questions related to the geographical spread of certain types of instrument, or the relative importance of certain rhythmic or pitch musical structures in different regions. In short, music information retrieval has to take into account user groups with a whole range of different interests. Research in music information retrieval aims to develop new tools and find proper ways of dealing with the interests of these different user groups. In practice, this often requires a thorough empirical analysis of the needs, as well as the subject backgrounds, of the users (Lesaffre et al., in press).

To overcome the lack of knowledge of the amateur user, extra search strategies have been implemented, such as searching by clicking on a map of Africa, or listing musical instruments in a tree according to Sachs' and von Hornbostel's musical instrument classification. For example, the tree structure allows the user to search for wind instruments, then for flutes, then for straight and transverse flutes and finally a list of vernacular instrument names will be given, including the names of the countries where a particular instrument has been found. Interesting applications to be developed for the first group of users are query-by-example, or search by effective parameters. Query-by-example would allow users to provide an audio example and formulate a request to find music with a similar rhythm. Query by effective parameters would allow users to specify music using descriptors that pertain to particular emotions, musical effects, moods, or movement characteristics. Users can also add valuable information to the database. For this reason, a forum will be set up where users can discuss topics, improve the descriptions of content and, hopefully, fill some gaps. The forum will allow users to come into contact with researchers working on developing the database, and that may produce ideas for the invention of new search tools and possibly allow the database to be extended to include copies of recordings kept at other institutions or by private individuals. In DEKKMMA, some of these facilities have been implemented, while other parts are still at the development stage.

Integrating non-Western music into databases: problems and opportunities

The major task of the DEKKMMA project is to transform the (analogue) music archive into a digital music library, using modern tools of music information retrieval. However, music information retrieval research usually takes Western music and its musical characteristics and semantic descriptions as a standard, and develops tools following a series of assumptions based on Western cultural concepts. These apply to structural aspects (e.g. tonal key, assumption of octave equivalence, instrumentation), social organisation of the music (e.g. composers, performers, audience) and technical aspects (e.g. record company, release date). There is no guarantee that these concepts can be readily applied to non-Western music. Indeed, the production and appreciation of music in oral cultures may be completely different from the way Westerners see music, with traditions of learning by listening and practicing, passing skills from father to son or from master to pupil. Trying to incorporate descriptions of non-Western music in databases that are structured to cope with the demands of classifying Western music, often causes problems. These problems can be found both in descriptive meta-data and in descriptions of musical content. Imposing

Western concepts on to non-Western music can lead to incorrect information going into the databases, or important information being excluded through the lack of suitable database fields.

Music Information Retrieval (MIR) applications that focus on popular and classical Western music will make the search and retrieval of such music easier, and therefore more people will have access to it. In contrast, music that occupies a more marginal position risks being excluded by this technology, and will thus become even less accessible. In this way, the combination of digitisation and commercial large-scale distribution tends to push 'vulnerable' music even further into oblivion. Music information retrieval research should therefore take into account an ethical code that aims to develop tools for all types of music, not just for Western music. This is a huge challenge for music research and it will require a change of approach in most centres that currently deal with music information retrieval. To bring people into contact with music they would normally never have heard of requires a reconsideration of the concepts that underlie musical practices in non-Western cultures.

Simply integrating more ethnic music, and non-Western music in general, into the existing databases and indexes will solve the above-mentioned problem entirely. Indeed, as already mentioned, musical structures, as well as the relative importance of structural elements within the musical experience, can be fundamentally different in different cultures. A straightforward example is the Western focus on pitch and fixed tuning, whereas in African music fixed tuning does not exist. Instead, a large number of different pitch scales can be observed, and often relative pitch (higher-lower) is more important than absolute pitch. A proposal for a method that deals with the description of pitch will be outlined in the next section.

Another difficulty with integrating ethnic music into digital music libraries concerns the organisation of the meta-data. In describing field recordings, it often happens that some information that is 'compulsory' in the description of Western music is lacking, while other information that seems irrelevant in the description of Western music turns out to be very important. For example, names of composers are usually not known. Performers could be named but music is often seen as performed by 'the community' and therefore, the names of the participants are not considered to be very important. On the other hand, the location and date of the recording are important because location can be a crucial search field for retrieving music from oral cultures. Since names of performers and composers are usually not known, the music is primarily identified with the country, region, ethnicity or town where it is produced. In many existing databases, location is not even an existing meta-data field, due to its low relevance in Western music.

A further problem in the meta-data descriptions of field recordings is related to the lack of standardisation. This is due to the fact that these meta-data descriptions often have a historical origin, and have been collected by many different field researchers, often amateurs, who used many different recording techniques. As a result, not all recordings are equally well-documented. For some interesting old field recordings even the most basic information is lacking, and one needs extensive historical research in order to have even a rough idea of the time and place where the music might have been recorded. But even recordings made by professional ethno-musicologists are sometimes not completely documented. In some cases, the documentation has been partially lost, or the connection between the recordings and the documentation is no longer clear. Given the fact that knowledge about traditional music within oral cultures is vanishing under pressure of urbanisation and Westernisation, the correct identification of the music and its meta-data descriptions, as well as the definition of its authenticity (in the digital context) becomes increasingly important.

Finally, there is a problem of terminology. There can be different local names for the same concept, and different researchers can use different terms for them. At this moment, the American Folklore Society and the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress are constructing an 'Ethnographic Thesaurus', a comprehensive, controlled list of subject terms to be used in describing ethnographic and ethnological research collections (cf. http://www.etproject.org). But even a standardised list cannot solve all the problems. Consider the example of the 'thumb piano' (lamellophone). This instrument type has very diverse names (see Table 1). A user looking for one of these names should also be directed to pieces in which one of the other terms is used. This requires an elaborate thesaurus and a specific approach in the construction of the database (Matthé *et al.*, 2006). To make it even more complicated, one name does not necessarily point to a specific sub-type: size, material, number of pitches and

Table 1
Variable denominations for the lamellophone.

Tshisaasj	Ngombi	Kadimba	Agidogo
Tshisaji	Kombi	Kalimbe	Alogu
Tshisanji	Kembe	Malimba	Ashwa
Chisanzi	Ekembe	Marimba	Dongo
Sanzi	Ikembe	Irimba	Isen
Sanza	Likembe	Ilimba	Kankobele
Sansa	Dikembe	Limba	Mambalat
Esanzo	Kidebe		Prempensua
Issanji	Ibekee		Ubo
Kisanzi	Gbelee		· · ·
Kassandji			
Kassayo			

tuning can vary widely. Therefore it is desirable that the user should be able to refine his search by looking for more specific instrument characteristics, or for instruments with similar tuning.

Audio-mining and the pitch structures in African music

Research on content-based music information retrieval aims i) to define the search and retrieval of music in terms of musical content descriptors and ii) to develop automated content-description and retrieval methods. Rather than having to specify the name of the composer or the title of the song, the content-based approach would allow one to specify musical content using descriptors related to its nature such as `happy', 'sad', 'dynamic', 'harmonious', or using corporeal descriptors which define particular movements that are captured by sensors (e.g. indicating tempo or expression), using graphical navigation in databases, and using search and retrieval by providing audio examples (for relevant publications, see www.ismir.net). As content-description is often based on subjective descriptions, knowledge of the user's background is an important issue (Lesaffre et al., in press).

In this section, we focus on one single structural characteristic of musical content, namely pitch. Although pitch is closely related to the physical characteristics of music, and less to subjective factors that would depend on education, gender, and familiarity, there are many problems with this as a content descriptor. The major problem is that researchers tend to develop pitch extraction algorithms that are based on Western concepts and assumptions from music theory which cannot easily be applied to non-Western music. A straightforward example of such an assumption is the concept of the octave-reduced pitch representation, with a categorisation based on the chromatic 12-tone scale.

Within the collection of Central African music of the RMCA, there are a wide variety of tunings and scales. Often, a melody is closely connected to the tones of the Bantu tone languages. This is the case in vocal music where the melody-line has to follow the speech-tones, and in instrumental genres that are based on verbal elements. A similar phenomenon is seen in the music of other tonal languages, such as Chinese. In Bantu languages there is a continuum between speech and music, which makes it possible to transfer messages from one village to another by using drum signals of different pitch. The use of speech tones that do not have a precisely determined pitch makes it more important to distinguish between high and low pitches rather than having specific harmonic relationships between pitches. Typically, in this region, people prefer instrumental sounds with a very broad, percussive spectrum, which in turn reduces the importance of 'correct' pitch intervals. However, other instruments with fixed tuning, like flutes, zither, (wooden) trumpets or thumb pianos, allow the study of possible fixed pitch relations and pitch scales.

To include information about pitch scales and pitch tunings in the DEKKMMA database, a pitch description approach was used that represents pitch scales without reference to Western notes or scales. In avoiding a priori pitch categories, this approach is based on a continuous representation of pitch. Thus, rather than a discrete pitch representation, we propose a continuous pitch representation and continuously-based associated retrieval mechanisms.

In the first stage, the music is analysed by a melody extractor (De Mulder et al., 2004). This melody extractor

Figure 2
Pitch analysis of Ingendo y'inka. The x-axis shows the pitch in cents (0 = a 55 Hz), the y-axis shows the number of occurrences for every 1 cent interval, smoothed by taking the average of 7 bins around the middle. The vertical lines show the position of the a's, dividing the whole into three octaves.

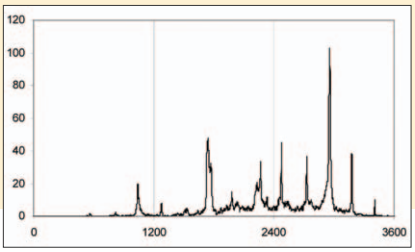


Figure 3
Octave-reduced pitch analysis of Ingendo y'inka. The x-axis shows the pitch with 0 = a, the y-axis shows the number of occurrences for every 1 cent interval, smoothed by taking the average of 7 bins around the middle. The vertical lines show the position of the Western standard pitches, every 100 cents.

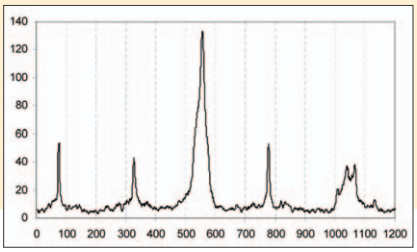


Table 2
Analysis of the most prominent peaks in Ingendo y'inka: the left column shows the pitch in cents above 55 Hz, the middle column shows the distance in cents between successive pitches and the right column shows the size of the octave relationships.

Pitch	interval	octave
1042	236	1225
1278	264	1199
1542	202	1185
1744	237	1214
1981	286	1198
2267	210	1140
2477	250	
2727	231	
2958	221	
3179	228	
3407		

was originally designed for the transcription of vocal queries. It was optimised for monophonic music and the normal voice range. Yet, testing the model on different types of music reveals that it can provide a straightforward image of the pitch distribution, even in music with a more complex texture. For complex polyphonic music with a dense texture, like Western symphonic music, the system is less successful, but other pitch detection systems could be used, following the same methodology. The melody extractor currently used gives a frequency for every time frame of 10 ms. In order to give an image of the scale, we transform these values to cent values (taking the low A, 55Hz as 0 cents). The cent scale divides every half tone into 100 subdivisions, which allows a very precise representation of the actual pitch. An additional advantage of the cent-scale is that the distances are the same in every octave and within every half-tone (this is not the case in a Hertz frequency representation, which has a somewhat logarithmic relationship to pitch). The representation of the pitch content of a piece is then given by plotting the number of occurrences of each cent value between 1 and 6000 cents. In this paper the method will be illustrated first by the analysis of one particular song, then seven other examples, some from the same region and some from completely different musical cultures, will be used to show how this methodology can be applied to a broad spectrum of types of music.

The sample song is called *Ingendo y'inka*. It is performed by a man singing with *ikembe* (thumb piano) accompaniment. The piece was recorded on 14 January 1973 by Jos Gansemans in the village Karengera, Cyangugu province, Rwanda. The singing is mainly in *parlando* style, following the pitches of the instrument. The text describes the elegance of the local cows, because these animals are very importance in local society and are a sign of wealth. Extraction of the pitches in this song reveals that 11 notes occur, spread over several octaves (see figure 2, table 2). The *tessitura* used is quite low; within the octaves A to a' (110-440 Hz). Certain tones occur in the different octaves. A reduction to one octave of 1200 cents gives a better picture of the scale used, but at the same time it illustrates the danger of this octave reduction. Figure 3 shows the octave-reduced representation. The subdivisions on the X-axis (the discontinuous vertical lines) represent Western equal-tempered tuning: Every half tone has a distance of 100 cents, a whole tone measures 200 cents, a small third 300, a fifth 700, the octave 1200. These markers give a clear picture of the pitches of the song, and in this case put forward only 5 different notes that are frequently used. Looking at this pentatonic scale, 3 intervals around 226 cents and two around 266 cents (table 2) can be found.

The African tonality in this case, as measured, can be described as more or less equidistant pentatonic, although the small differences in interval size might be characteristic for this scale. The peak between 1000 and 1100 cents (g and g#) is much broader, and we can, in fact, see three small peaks in it (Figure 3). Although in most music the octaves and fifths relations are usually quite precise, due to the strong sense of consonance, we see that is not the case in this example. The highest octave is much (60 cents) too small, while the lowest is 25 cents too wide. These deviations are not uncommon in African music and they create a sought-after tension

Figure 4 : 73.9.3-6, flute
Octave-reduced pitch analysis of an umwirongi(flute) piece from Cyangugu province, Rwanda.

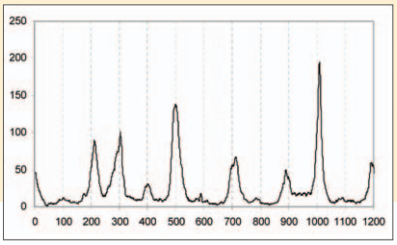


Figure 5 : 73.9.15-10, flute
Octave-reduced pitch analysis of an umwirongi(flute) piece from Ruhengeri province, Rwanda.

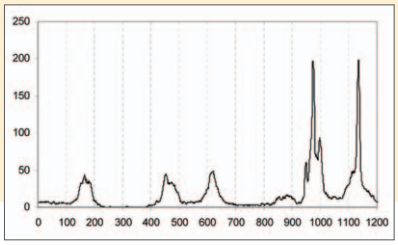
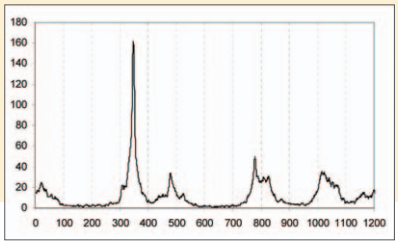


Figure 6 : 54.1.13-1, musical bow and singing
Octave-reduced pitch analysis of a Twa song with umuduri (musical bow) accompaniment from Kigali province, Rwanda.



instead of smooth sounding exact octaves. This shows that the octave-reduction has both an advantage and a disadvantage. It makes it much easier to illustrate the scale and to compare it with other examples, but it removes the subtle differences between octaves that are important in some styles of music.

For six other pieces, an octave-reduced graph is created in order to show the use of this method in characterising and comparing different tuning systems and scales. Thus every peak indicates the number of annotations made for every tone. Three examples (Figures 4-6) are taken from the collection of Rwandan music in the RMCA. The first two were also recorded in 1973 by Jos Gansemans, and they are both played on the *umwirongi* flute. The first (Figure 4) was recorded in the village Cyimbogo in the same Cyangugu province as *Ingendo y'inka*, the second (Figure 5) in the village Ndusu in Ruhengeri province. The third example (Figure 6) represents the pitch content of a song accompanied by the musical bow (*umuduri*) from the Twa people in the village of Nyanza in Kigali province; it was recorded in 1954 by the missionary Scohy-Stroobants.

All the examples point to pentatonic tunings. However, there is no standard. Figure 4 is very similar to figure 3, using a more or less equidistant pentatonic scale. If the pitch of figure 4 were lowered by 330 cents, the main peaks would fall together, and the two would be almost identical. Although the second piece was played on the same type of instrument, the tuning is clearly different, tending more towards irregular anhemitonic pentatonic scales. Another difference is that instead of having one main peak, this example has two large peaks of almost equal magnitude. The third example stands somewhere in between, and could be related to the others, even though the origin, instrumentation and recording date are very different.

Three additional examples illustrate how different musical styles and scales are represented. Figure 7 shows the pitch distribution of Mozart's piano sonata in G Major (KV 283). Figure 8 shows a piece of Korean classical orchestral court music (*Pohoja* performed by the Seoul National Orchestra of Classical Music), and Figure 9 shows a piece of Persian santur (zither) music (*Avaz* from *Bayate Esfahan* played by Mohamad Heydari).

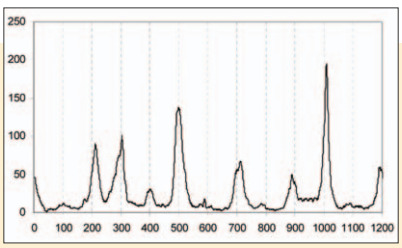


Figure 7 : Pianosonata Mozart
Octave-reduced pitch analysis of W.A. Mozart's pianosonata in G-major (KV 283)

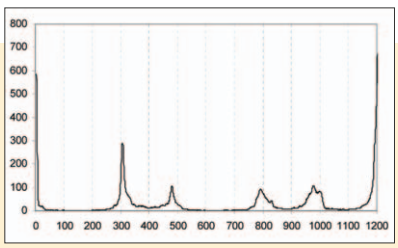


Figure 8 : Korea-Aag
Octave-reduced pitch analysis of *"Pohoja"*, banquet music for the Korean court, performed by the "Seoul National Orchestra of Classical Music".

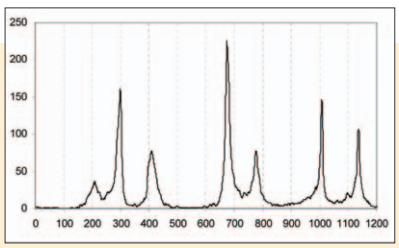


Figure 9 : Iran-Santur
Octave-reduced pitch analysis of *Avaz from Bayate Esfahan* perforemed by Mohamad Heydari on the Persian citer santur.

These examples illustrate the difference between distinct Western and non-Western tone systems very well. The Western system uses a chromatic/diatonic scale in which interval sizes are multipliers of 100 cents, and there is a strict adherence to a 1200 cents octave. The Mozart piece clearly shows its G-major tonality and 100/200 cents based structure (in all examples 0 cents is A, 100 cents is A#, 200 cents is B") so peaks appear at 1000/300/500 (representing notes G/C/D, which are the tonal grades I-IV-V in G-Major), and the peak at 200 cents (note B, III grade) reveals the major tonality.

In contrast, the Korean and the Persian pieces rely on well-defined tuning systems, but the graphs show characteristics that would not be represented idiomatically using Western tonal notation. The pitches used in the Korean court orchestra are closely related to the Western tuning system, but the music uses a pentatonic scale, just as in the African pieces described above, and the pitches do not correspond exactly to the divisions of the Western scale. The Persian example is clearly heptatonic, like most Western scales, but the distances between the pitches do not adhere to the standard patterns as the Persian modes use both 'normal' semi-tones and 'enlarged' intervals, like 3/4-tones. Comparisons of pitch scales can be based on continuous pitch representations using cross-correlation techniques. Although this is computationally intensive, it offers an appropriate method that avoids the danger of imposing Western pitch categories on to non-Western music. Further study may reveal that the cent-scale can be represented at a lower sampling rate to reduce the computational cost in search and retrieval. However, the concept of a continuous representation over different octaves would remain the core feature of this pitch representation schema.

Conclusion

Constructing applications for content-based descriptions of music that can deal with all the world's musical traditions is difficult, but this seems very necessary to protect the world's cultural heritage. It is important to bring together knowledge about the music from different cultures, and to make it accessible to a broad audience. Dealing with ethnic music reveals interpretational problems related to musical practice, the semantic description of musical features, as well as the automated extracted musical content parameters. The fundamentally different use of pitch in African music compared to Western music illustrates the difficulty of applying existing Western discreet pitch categories to non-Western music. Other examples pertain to aspects of rhythm, timbre and articulation. In addition, one should be careful about adopting extra-musical descriptive characteristics, which typically relate to musical practice in its social/cultural context. The use of our Western semantic and perceptual framework is often inappropriate for accurate digitalisation and the subsequent development of a digital library for cultural heritage.

The DEKKMMA-project is an example of a digitalisation project that aims to develop methods for content-based description for all types of music. This was illustrated by the method for representing pitch scales, using a continuous representational schema that can be used in search and retrieval applications.

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Whalers' Shanties of Barouallie, St. Vincent: Observations on the Nature, Decline and Revival of a Unique Caribbean Maritime Tradition

Daniel Lanier & Vincent Reid

Whalers' Shanties of Barouallie, St. Vincent: Observations on the Nature, Decline and Revival of a Unique Caribbean Maritime Tradition

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ABSTRACT

Barrouallie, a fishing community on the Caribbean island of St. Vincent, has a unique cultural heritage associated with its history as a whaling centre. As a way to alert townspeople of a successful catch, Barrouallie whalers sang occupational songs known as 'shanties' while rowing their whaleboats to shore. A product of diverse cultural influences, the shanties of Barrouallie may be viewed as a sub-genre, distinct from the more general body of sea *chanteys,* the work songs of international 19th century merchant seamen. As a mode of expression - not merely a work song -a shanty could function variously as entertainment, satire, and advertisement. While economic and cultural changes in this developing island nation did not favour the continuance of shanty singing, a revival of interest in Barrouallie's whaling traditions began in 2001, with particular attention to shanties and the generation of men who recall the role and significance of these songs in the local whaling enterprise.

This 21st century renaissance of a maritime music tradition among living practitioners represents a remarkable survival that deserves greater recognition. Through the performance and recording of shanties, *The Barrouallie Whalers* have been interpreting and publicising Barrouallie's whaling heritage for an international audience since 2001.

Introduction

A foreigner visiting the Eastern Caribbean community of Barrouallie might at first perceive it as very similar to scores of other coastal villages in the region. Entering the town along the Leeward Highway, the visitor would find small colourful rum shops lining the roads, locals engaged in relaxed conversation or a card game, a spicy mélange of island odours and the ubiquitous beat

of recorded reggae. These common features belie the special character of this extraordinary fishing community. Even among Vincentians, who generally know Barrouallie as a whaling centre, many would not fully appreciate the unique cultural heritage tied to this enterprise.

An important fishing community of approximately 5,500 persons, Barrouallie (pronounced /BEHR-a-lee/) lies approximately 10 kilometres north of the island's capital of Kingstown on the southwest or leeward coast of St. Vincent (13° 15' N, 61° W), the northernmost island in the nation of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Neighbouring nations within this archipelago include St. Lucia, Grenada, and Barbados, with Trinidad and Tobago nearby. Virtually all residents of Barrouallie are of principally African descent. Here farming, in combination with part-time commercial and subsistence fishing, provides employment for many men.

While the greater Caribbean region shares an essentially Creole culture rooted in West African antecedents, one can find subtle diversity in folkways throughout the islands. Barrouallie, for instance, is distinctive in its maritime heritage. The local waters support seasonal populations of a variety of cetaceans that historically formed the basis of shore-based whale fisheries in Barbados, Trinidad, Grenada, and St. Vincent (Reeves: 2002), in which whalers could hunt in sailboats launched from the beach. Initially, these local whaling operations sought principally humpback whales. To a limited extent, Barrouallie today maintains a pilot whale fishery that commenced there in the early 20th century as a commercial enterprise. A musical element of Barrouallie's whaling traditions, one that had largely faded from the lives of its practitioners until recently, exemplifies the diversity of folk culture of which traces still remain in the Caribbean. Several whalers from Barrouallie are the last practitioners of unique Vincentian folksongs that accompanied their shore-based whaling activities. The majority of these local occupational songs are known as 'shanties' (1), which now are a tradition endemic to Barrouallie and may be viewed as distinct from the older sea 'chantey' tradition of deepwater sailing ships.

Prior documentation

The inspiration for the current interest in the whaling songs of Barrouallie originates in the work of American folklorist Roger Abrahams, who visited the area in 1966. Dr. Abrahams interviewed whalers and recorded their songs at that time, and later published the results of this work in a celebrated collection, *Deep the Water, Shallow the Shore: Three Essays on Shantying in the West Indies.* In his essay *'Solid Fas' Our Captain Cry Out: Blackfishing at Barouallie*, Abrahams surveyed the musical offerings of his whaler informants, with emphasis on their work songs or shanties (Abrahams: 1974), and provided some insightful commentary on the role of this music in local society. Abrahams' essay became a reference work of great interest to sea chantey and maritime enthusiasts throughout the world.

In his detailed account of the Barrouallie blackfish (pilot whale) industry, Vincentian researcher Leroy Jackson explained that *the crew make it known to the people that they have made a catch by singing chanteys when they come near to the shore* and provided one shanty excerpt as an example (Jackson: 1967, p. 11). Jackson remarked that even if only a few individuals heard the singing, this would suffice to notify the entire communityvery quickly.

American cetologists, David and Melba Caldwell, visited Barrouallie during 1968 to 1971 in the course of their field research on dolphins and whales. Having portable tape-recording equipment with them, the

Caldwells recorded the shanties of several of the whalers Abrahams had recorded slightly earlier (Caldwell and Caldwell: 1968-1971).

During the same period, Jack Stanesco, a young American Peace Corps volunteer taught school in Barrouallie (Paton: 1971, pp. 3-4). As a folk musician himself, Stanesco learned several of the Barrouallie shanties while there and tape-recorded some of the singers (2). Now, a generation later, several of the men Abrahams interviewed, and the Caldwells and Stanesco recorded in the 1960s, are providing a fresh look at the *a capella* folk music of Barrouallie.

Sailors and whalers

Historically, shipping enterprises have employed many Vincentians. Islanders shipped as merchant seamen or whalers in British, Canadian, and American craft throughout the 19th century. Inter-island trade by sailing or auxiliary craft such as sloops and schooners figured importantly in the regional commerce into the mid-20th century. From the beginning, St. Vincent's agricultural exports relied on deepwater shipping to reach their markets. Thus, the island's economy has longstanding maritime connections to the outer world (Adams: 1996).

Originally, the Grenadines whalers - and later the Barrouallie men - hunted from Yankee-style 25-foot wooden whaleboats powered by sail and oar (see Plate 1), and manned by a crew of six, in a manner similar to that of 19th century American whale-men. With technology adopted from American whalers (Ward: 1995), this enterprise produced whale oil for export and meat for local consumption. Into the 1960s, a fleet of perhaps a dozen Barrouallie whaleboats caught hundreds of pilot whales annually and sometimes brought in larger killer and sperm whales as well. By the early 1970s, many whaleboats had been fitted with outboard motors and light harpoon guns mounted on the foredecks. A few whalers in Barrouallie continue to catch blackfish and porpoises, which are species subject to fewer hunting restrictions by the International Whaling Commission than larger cetaceans. Whale meat constitutes an important part of the local diet and remains a marketable commodity in nearby Kingstown.

Chanteys and shanties

The 'Great Age of Sail' gave rise to a class of (principally) American and British deepwater sailors with a common body of occupational lore that included maritime work songs, a tradition that reached its apex in the mid-19th century. The classical period of chanteying, roughly the 1840s to the 1860s, coincided well with the height of the American sperm whaling industry.

Chanteys, as songs of sea labour, fit generally into several functional categories of shipboard work that these songs accompanied. Thus, *Blow the Man Down*, was a halyard chantey used while setting square topsails, and Rio Grande, was a capstan chantey to accompany the work of turning a capstan around to heave up an anchor. Similarly, work songs accompanied the dockside tasks of stevedoring or cargo-handling. Several other categories of chanteys exist, each adapted in its musical form to a specific type of work. For instance, hauling songs, such as halyard chanteys, generally have alternating solos and short choruses, the choruses featuring specific points (indicated by the words and metre) at which the sailors were expected to haul together simultaneously.



Figure 1
Blackfish whalers from Barrouallie, circa 1970.
Photograph courtesy of the New Bedford
Whaling Museum (Caldwell Collection)

Known to us now from collected texts and archival sound recordings, these chanteys enjoyed their most widespread circulation and use as work songs during the mid-19th century, a period of time during which American and west European sailing vessels dominated deepwater shipping. Virtually all the major collectors and compilers of sea chanteys have observed, to a greater or lesser extent, the diversity of cultural influences in this genre. The crews of deepwater merchant vessels, comprising members of many nationalities and ethnicities but sharing a common body of occupational lore, naturally had ample opportunity to exchange and develop their tradition of work songs over the course of many voyages. Among the most prominent contributors to the genre were Americans, African-Americans, Caribbeans, English, and Irish. Collectively, however, chantey practitioners were nearly as diverse as the crews themselves, with Scandinavians, Germans and others in the mix.

Joanna Colcord, who had first-hand experience on Yankee ships, summarised this phenomenon, with respect to the sources of chanteys on British and American vessels:

> *With the ships of both nations meeting in the ports of all the world, and the sailors mingling freely and shipping indifferently in both English and American bottoms, it would be difficult if not impossible to disentangle the matter of origins.* (Colcord: 1924, Foreword, p. 4)

Colcord noted that several chanteys showed indications of origins in the southern cotton ports of the United States such as Mobile Bay, where similar work songs had accompanied the arduous manual labour of stowing cotton into vessels with jackscrews and wedges. This seasonal occupation brought together a diverse international labour force of sailors and stevedores, many of them African-Americans.

Maritime folklorist, Horace Beck, who collected several chanteys from the Grenadines during many visits, recognized the uniqueness of the region's chanteying traditions. Beck observed that the chanteys he found there did not closely resemble the corpus of familiar sea chanteys in print, although they certainly shared common elements. Beck had the good fortune, in the 1960s, to witness chanteying (principally in Bequia and Carriacou) as a living tradition integrated into community tasks such as vessel launching, careening, and rowing for whales. In his view, the Grenadines chanteys, while descended from deepwater song, had been greatly modified to suit local attitudes and activities (Beck: 1973).

In the context of Grenadines whaling, the singing of chanteys at the oars was undoubtedly established by the early 20th century. Frederic Fenger wrote in 1911, during a visit to Ile-de-Caille (Caille Island) in the southern Grenadines, of hearing on a moonlit night *the plaintive chanty of the whalemen as they sang to dispel the imaginary terrors that lurk in the shadows of the cove* as these humpback whalers returned from their day's work on the sea. (Fenger: 1958, p. 48)

Among the fishermen of Barrouallie, shanties pertained principally to just two work activities - rowing and hauling. A comparison of only the mechanical applications of sea chanteys as work songs, however, overlooks the critical communicative functions of these musical expressions in their occupational and social contexts. The definition and deliberate use of the more specific term 'shanty' in this discussion underlines the role of these songs as vehicles of social expression within the local community. Today, in fact, persons from Barrouallie who can recall hearing shanties a generation ago will associate them not so much with work, but with the return of a happy whaling crew, lustily singing to announce their success.

Shanties of Barrouallie whalers

As noted earlier, the musical form known in St. Vincent as 'shanty' is associated with the practice of longshore whaling, and especially blackfishing, the industry for which Barrouallie is renowned. As songs that once accompanied the rowing of whaleboats ashore after a successful hunt, shanties have a special significance in Barrouallie. From the perspective of Barrouallie fishermen, their shanties served as a sort of broadcast or advertisement to alert the local populace that the catch would soon arrive in port and that the crew would soon need help with the work of bringing their quarry ashore. In addition, Barrouallie has a few hauling songs that accompanied the work of hauling blackfish or larger whales on to the shore. The latter include the widespread Caribbean song *Yardo* , which was known, for instance, in nearby Bequia and Carriacou and more distant Jamaica.

Remarkably, a majority of the shanties known in Barrouallie are recognisable as direct descendants of

classic deepwater sea chanteys such as *Blow the Man Down, Goodbye Fare-You-Well, Rio Grande*, and *Blow, Boys, Blow*, once known by sailors throughout the world and included in every major sea chantey collection. Tunes and textual elements of these sailor songs persisted in many of the Barrouallie shanties long after the demise of their ancestral chanteys. A majority of the shanties feature melodies and refrains very close to their deepwater predecessors, although the songs have acquired distinctly local flavours and meanings in the texts of the solo lines.

Many of the shanties refer to whales or whaling, and signify aspects of the hunt. *Seven Long Years* and *Long Time Ago* were shanties appropriate to sing after a long and arduous whaling episode or in the event of a catch following a long period without success. Excerpts from these examples illustrate how the deepwater chantey had become adapted to its role in Barrouallie as a whaling song, while preserving its general form and some similar phrases:

Chantey: *Shenandoah*

Seven years I courted Sally,
Way-hay, you rolling river
Seven more I longed to have her
Ha-ha, we're bound away, 'cross the wide Missouri
(Colcord: 1924, p. 32)

Shanty: *Seven Long Years*

Seven long years, into de ocean
Hoo row, my rollin' river
Seven long years, I never touch one
We are bound away from this world of misery

The tunes of these two versions bear a marked resemblance to one another, but the subject matter has altered considerably. While the former deals with a sailor's protracted courtship, the latter concerns the lengthy pursuit of a whale. Subsequent verses of the Barrouallie shanty refer to details of the hunt and the hardship endured by the whalers.

Alternatively, *Goodbye, Fare-You-Well*, based on a famous chantey of the same name, refers to *those girls from Bermuda,* meaning the so-called 'tame blackfish' that were easy to approach and harpoon:

Those girls from Bermuda come pay us a view,
Hoo row, hoo row, hoo row, my boy
To de nor'west we roam, and we now comin' home
Goodbye fare-you-well, goodbye fare-you-well.
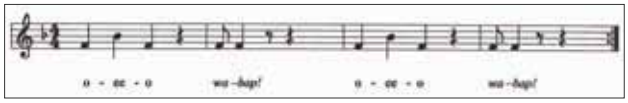
Some of the shanties, as Abrahams perceptively explained, express the tension between boat owners and crews with respect to the proper outfitting of whaleboats. The well-known *Blow de Man Down* (see below) is one such example. In this, the shanties, not unlike their deepwater ancestors, provided a musical mechanism for venting sailors' grievances toward those in positions of power and authority.

Diverse influences

As Caribbean culture in general has evolved from a variety of sources, so the musical heritage of Barrouallie suggests multiple influences. Ostensibly, the Barrouallie shanties originated with the sea chanteys of deepwater sailors, as they share many melodic and textual features with several chanteys well-known to merchant seamen and whalers of the 1800s throughout the English-speaking world. Indeed, the nearby Grenadines island of Bequia, a famous centre of humpback whaling and the source of Barrouallie whaleboats, had a direct historical connection with Yankee whaling (3) and a chanteying tradition.

A related genre to which a few of the shanties bear a marked resemblance, is Afro-Caribbean rowing songs, such as were sung contemporaneously with shanties into the mid-20th century in the Barrouallie vicinity. Leeward canoes, also known as 'passage boats,' constituted a critically important mode of transportation for St. Vincent before the development of modern roads around the island. These approximately 10 to 12 metre long dugout canoes of native Carib design carried cargo and passengers along the Leeward coast to the capital city of Kingstown under power of oars. The oarsmen and 'steerman' (coxswain) sang to synchronize their rowing. One such rowing chant went:

EXAMPLE 1
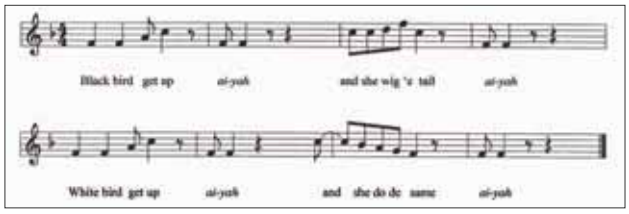


The chorus - *wa bap*! - coincided with the unified pull of the oars, coordinating the effort in precisely the manner that other sea chanteys synchronized the hauling

or heaving of shipboard machinery. The steerman would shout words of encouragement to the rowers between choruses: *move, boy*! and *now we movin!* (4)

Barrouallie was the home port for some of the leeward canoes. One of the whalers' rowing songs, *Black Bird Get Up*, though based in part on a 'ring play' (singing game), has a form and metre that resemble those of the passage boat chant described above:

EXAMPLE 2



The whalers of Barrouallie explain that their captain would initiate this song to encourage the men and coordinate their rowing when in pursuit of a whale. This type of rowing song represents a particularly ancient variety of sea chantey, obviously ancestral to the Barrouallie shanty tradition in general.
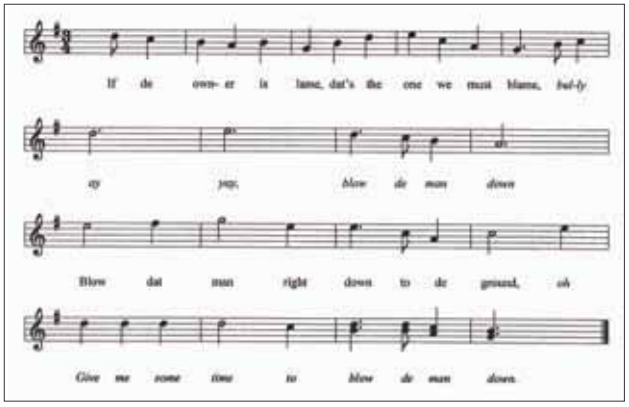
Remarking on the improvisational aspect of chanteying, Stan Hugill, a most prolific writer on the subject of chanteys, compared the performance style of African-American chanteymen to that of calypso singers:

> *"in typical Negro shanties"the first two or three verses were so-called 'regulation' and the remainder improvised in the manner of calypso singing.* (Hugill: 1961, p. 32)

Calypso, the music of Carnival and a quintessentially Caribbean genre, undeniably resonates with the Barrouallie shantie tradition. Among the many popular varieties of music now enjoyed in the nation - reggae, gospel, soca, ska, and others - none has greater importance to Vincentian culture and society than calypso. With a distinct performance style and roots in African banter song traditions, this form of topical song is the preferred vehicle for social and political expression in the islands. Shantying, in its heyday at Barrouallie, could serve communicative functions on the local scale similar to the satirical functions of calypso as enjoyed throughout the Caribbean. The calypso singer and the shantyman share the gift of spontaneous composition and performance, much esteemed by their audiences. As in calypso entertainment, the shanty could express with humour, rhyme, and rhythm the opinions and grievances of a social group - in this case, whalers - with greater satisfaction than other available means of communication.

As Abrahams has noted, the whalers of Barrouallie adapted the old chantey *Blow the Man Down*, to satirise a boat owner who provided inferior equipment to his workers (Abrahams: 1974). When old, worn-out whaling tackle broke owing to its poor condition, the whalers might sing the following lines:
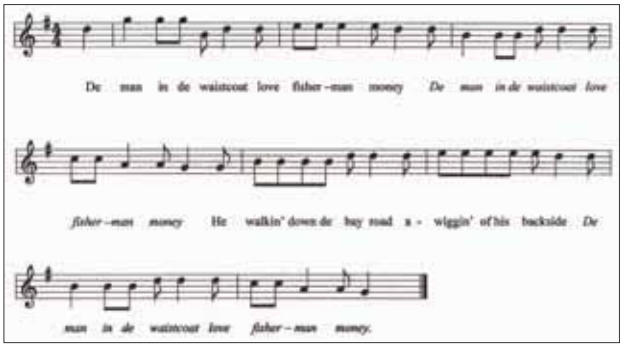
EXAMPLE 3



Other solos of the shantyman on this theme included: *If you give me some rope, I will tie dem like goats* and *If you give me some line, I will treat you real fine.* (5). With this type of musical commentary, the fishermen's shanty served a time-honoured social control function identical to that of the calypso.

Another object of the whalers' ridicule was *De Man in de Waistcoat*, the official who collected duty from the whalers for landing their catch at the slip:

EXAMPLE 4



This song goes on to expound comically on the character of this well-dressed, but unpopular, fellow. Another verse: *He sittin' on his stool jus' like a little boy in*

Sunday School, de man in de waistcoat love fisherman money.

The Caribbean has served as an incubator of deepwater sailors for centuries and, as folklorists have observed, chanteys or chantey-influenced songs have lingered among these islands to a greater extent that elsewhere. The Grenadines, because of its commercial whaling history, appears to have offered a setting particularly favourable for sustaining the use of chanteys for so long. The whaling activities of Norwegians in the vicinity during the 1920s (Romero and Hayford: 2000) and later, may have influenced the longevity of this musical tradition (6), as classic chanteys were well known to Scandinavian seamen. The Eastern Caribbean is virtually the only part of the English-speaking world in which such clear vestiges of this old sea music tradition has survived into the 21st century among living practitioners.

Commentators on chanteys have expressed nearly unanimous consensus on the giftedness of African-Americans, in general, as chanteymen. For instance, Colcord, recalling her deepwater sailing experiences of the 1890s and discussing the merits of American, English, and Irish chanteymen, wrote*: ...they in turn were far outstripped by the American negroes - the best singers that ever lifted a shanty aboard ship.* (Colcord: 1924) Another respected chantey documenter, William Doerflinger echoed this opinion:

> *There were no finer shanteymen, as a class, than the Negroes, whose racial gifts of song, dance, and humor also made them particularly popular as [shipboard] entertainers.* (Doerflinger: 1990, p. 97)

The distinctive musical abilities of African-American singers, on which such observers remarked, had their roots, not in some sort of racial predisposition of course, but deep within in African culture and the musical styles to which it gave rise.

In the substantial body of sea chanteys compiled and interpreted during the past century, one can find ample evidence that West Indians contributed significantly to the genre and practice of chanteys (Abrahams: 1974, pp. 6-9). Those who observed and recorded chanteying - many of them travellers - often commented on the exceptional improvisational skills, and particularly the use of harmony, in West Indian chanteying. Some of the pre-eminent chantey collectors credit Eastern Caribbean sources in particular. Frederick Pease Harlow included several West Indian work songs in his *Chanteying Aboard American Ships* and described his recollection, in superlative terms, of Barbadian dock workers singing at their work in 1878:

> *The negro stevedores at the fall where the cargo was hoisted by hand, sang this chantey day after day"The harmony of their voices outshone any college quartet ever heard. Such singing I never expect to hear again under similar circumstances.* (Harlow: 1948, p. 241)

Beginning his collection a half-century after Harlow's trip to Barbados, the celebrated British chantey anthologist and seaman, Stan Hugill, learned many sailor songs in the Windward Islands, and ultimately attributed approximately 50 versions of chanteys in his monumental collection, *Shanties from the Seven Seas*, to Eastern Caribbean seamen. Hugill's sources included at least five such informants, among them a Vincentian chanteyman (Hugill: 1961). Clearly, the examples of Harlow and Hugill point to the richness of this region as an esteemed source and ultimate haven for chanteys.

Chanteys persisted in popular Caribbean tradition for many years following the passing of the 'Age of Sail' in the early 20th century, as American ethno-musicologist Lomax documented during his highly successful collecting forays throughout this region in the 1930s and 1960s (Lomax *et al.*: 1997). Whereas, with the demise of commercial sailing ships, chanteys had all but vanished from use among merchant seamen by the early 20th century, chanteying maintained some currency in Caribbean islands where a few types of heavy manual labour justified their use. The endemic Afro-Caribbean culture had favoured communal singing among workers since plantation days, and the islands preserved such practices to a greater extent than mainland communities.

Decline of shanties in Barrouallie
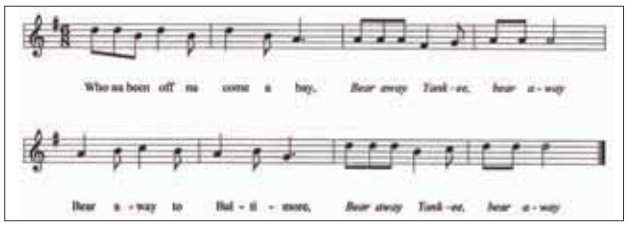
The eventual abandonment of sea chanteys as work songs accompanied the inevitable decline of commercial square-rigged vessels and the professional seamen who sailed them. One might at first suppose that an analogous process occurred in Barrouallie, with the advent of outboard motors (in the late 1960s) and other mechanical conveniences that made shanties obsolete as work songs. The whalers themselves, when asked why the singing of shanties had ceased, have offered another

explanation.

As a whaleboat approached Barrouallie, its crew would sing to alert the townspeople that a catch was coming in, the rowers' voices echoing from the volcanic hills surrounding the harbour. The weary oarsmen would need assistance hauling whales ashore and beginning the other processes contingent on the fresh catch, and thus expected a crowd to assemble at the beach. Traditionally, such activities had a strong element of communal participation, and local conventions called for some degree of sharing of the whale meat. The 1960s and '70s were a time of rapid development and profound changes in Barrouallie and other Caribbean communities. As cash transactions became increasingly important in the local economy, a shift in community values affected the practice of whaling, which had rarely ever been a particularly profitable venture. A catch shared among the whalers, boat owner, and a select few, yielded a better cash profit than a catch shared more generally in the community. So, with the increasing difficulties of making a living in the business of whaling, the returning crews became quieter (7).

The shanty known as *Bear Away Yankee* speaks directly of this turn of events.

EXAMPLE 5



In the local dialect, the first solo line *who na been off, na come a bay* means 'whoever hasn't gone out (whaling), don't come to the bay.' The song continues with further admonitions: *If you want de liver you have to buy,* and *If you want de guts you have to buy*, meaning that the whalers expected payment for even the most undesirable parts of the catch. This shanty's lyrics, somewhat ironically, were intended to discourage communal participation rather than to attract a crowd, while it expressed the growing concern for financial profit.

Of course, in Barrouallie as elsewhere in the developing Caribbean, economic changes brought about many cultural transitions. These developments attended a general decline of oral folklore and folksongs throughout the region. Folk tales ('Anansi' stories), ring plays, and a host of other once-popular folk traditions now remain only in the memories of older residents, except for an occasional resurrection in the classroom.

A Renaissance of shanties and shantymen

At the suggestion of the authors, the group of men now known as 'The Barrouallie Whalers' first assembled as such in early 2002 at the home of Alfred Mason, one of Dr. Abrahams' chief informants. About 36 years earlier, these men had been among those who provided the essential material for Abrahams' essay on Barrouallie shanties.

Now in their 60s and 70s, the Barrouallie Whalers (8) represent the last generation of Caribbean whalers who hunted from wooden whaleboats powered by sail and oar. These men engaged in such work from the late 1940s until the 1970s, and one of them has continued blackfishing (with more modern technology) into the present century. The Barrouallie Whalers did not truly consider themselves performers - much less, professional musicians - until their invitation to travel abroad and perform publicly for folk music enthusiasts. This opportunity, and the interest it generated, encouraged the men to practice and remember the songs of their whaling days.

During the Spring of 2002, a remarkable cultural exchange took place when four of the Barrouallie Whalers travelled to the United States to speak and sing of whaling at America's premiere maritime museum, Mystic Seaport Museum in Connecticut. For the first time, the Barrouallie Whalers brought their unique repertoire of songs, stories, and whaling lore overseas and participated in the museum's annual *Sea Music Festival*, an event that draws an international cadre of performers and an audience of several thousand. A CD produced at the *Sea Music Festival* contains three tracks by the Barrouallie Whalers, which demonstrate how well they adapted to their new role as entertainers.

Since 2002, the Barrouallie Whalers have embarked on an organised effort to revive and preserve their whaling heritage of lore and song. In October 2003, the Barrouallie Whalers journeyed to Friesland, in the Netherlands, to take part in a maritime festival at Workum. There, as guests of honour, they participated in several musical and dramatic performances during a three-day international event. Locally, St. Vincent's Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries hosted a

Fisherman's Day in 2005, at which the Barrouallie Whalers made presentations for the exhibition in Kingstown. Other public events have provided opportunities for them to perform in St. Vincent as a way of highlighting their cultural heritage.

The revival of interest in the Barrouallie shanties and whaling tradition is not a spontaneous phenomenon; it has been inspired from outside the region by American and European aficionados of maritime history and culture. Indeed, on the local level, there seems little that would favour a resurgence of shanties, now an arcane and obsolete occupational music form, and one associated with a bygone era of very demanding work and a lower standard of living. Commercial blackfishing continues as an important local industry, but without the older socio-cultural complex in which the shanties thrived. Official proponents of St. Vincent's national heritage, who are very sensitive to the whims of tourism, recognise that-out of environmental concern- whaling would not always be perceived favourably by foreigners. Some might therefore be reluctant to draw undue attention to the subject. For the most part, it is outsiders who have taken the lead in celebrating the merits of Barrouallie's musical traditions, although most of the whalers themselves have responded enthusiastically. The whalers' genuine enthusiasm for the shanty revival reflects their inherent pride, a degree of nostalgia and the excitement of feedback from an appreciative international audience.

As true bearers of tradition, rather than mere revivalists, the Barrouallie Whalers have phenomenal importance for our appreciation of the shantying tradition. Not professional entertainers *per se*, these men are skilled performers nonetheless, as their concerts have demonstrated. The whalers appreciate a gifted shantyman and expect variety in the delivery of a shanty. For any particular shanty, each rendition will be unique and extemporaneous. Spontaneous vocal harmonies are a natural feature in many shanty refrains, rather than an embellishment added for the public's enjoyment. Their performances illustrate many of the elements of shantying (or chanteying) most difficult to convey in transcriptions or even sound recordings. Some of these elusive features include textual improvisation, vocal overlap, syncopation, spoken commentary, synchronised movement, and a myriad of other interactions - subtle or emphatic - that occur within the group and within a given performance setting (9). The shanty tradition of Barrouallie exemplifies the best qualities of Caribbean folk music.

While the future of Barrouallie's shanty tradition is uncertain, the men who now enjoy performing have taken up the cause of interpreting this tradition and seeing that it is not forgotten. Since the late 1960s the Barrouallie school music curriculum has, from time to time, featured some of the shanties, often through the efforts of teachers who had family members in the blackfishing trade. The renewed interest in Barrouallie's whaling heritage generated by the international success the Barrouallie Whalers shows promise of re-inspiring local preservation efforts.

Local and national organisations, including the Barrouallie Fisherman Cooperative and St. Vincent's Ministry of Tourism and Culture, have expressed support for efforts to preserve and document Barrouallie's whaling heritage. The annual government-sponsored *Fisherman's Day* serves to educate the public about the old traditions and innovations in the blackfishing industry and has become an opportunity to showcase Barrouallie's shantymen as important exponents of local culture and as performers. Musical entertainment at the *Fisherman's Day* often includes a folksong competition in which contestants compose and perform songs with a theme related to fisheries. Although this competition does not involve the shantymen, the fact that such live, local entertainment accompanies the event demonstrates that the Barrouallie community remains both receptive to folk music and able to generate new musical material in the context of its maritime heritage. As eco-tourism grows in popularity and importance for St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Barrouallie becomes increasingly aware of the importance of marine habitat conservation and sustainable fishing practices. Perhaps the whalers and their descendants will find that the interpretation of Barrouallie's whaling history - including the performance of shanties - has a place in the development of the whale-watching business for tourists.

The Barrouallie Whalers Project

Conceived in 2001 by the present authors American, Dan Lanier, and Vincentian, Vincent Reid, the *Barrouallie Whalers Project* aims to document and preserve important aspects of Barrouallie's whaling heritage, to encourage the enjoyment of this unique culture, and to publicise these activities for Vincentians and other interested persons throughout the world. On a co-

Figure 2
Barrouallie whalers (standing, from left) Edgar Mulraine, Veron Harry, and George Frederick, demonstrating whaleboat operations in 2002 at Mystic Seaport Museum in Connecticut. Seated is senior museum interpreter James Mortimer. The 1841 whaling bark Charles W. Morgan is in the background. (Photograph by Carol Entin)



operative, volunteer basis, Lanier, Reid, and the Barrouallie Whalers are actively engaged in the promotion of this project. Based in the United States, the *Barrouallie Whalers Project, Inc.* is a nonprofit organization. Readers who wish to know more about the Barrouallie Whalers may visit the web site http://www.barrwhalers.org, which features photographs, brief recorded samples, and other information.

NOTES

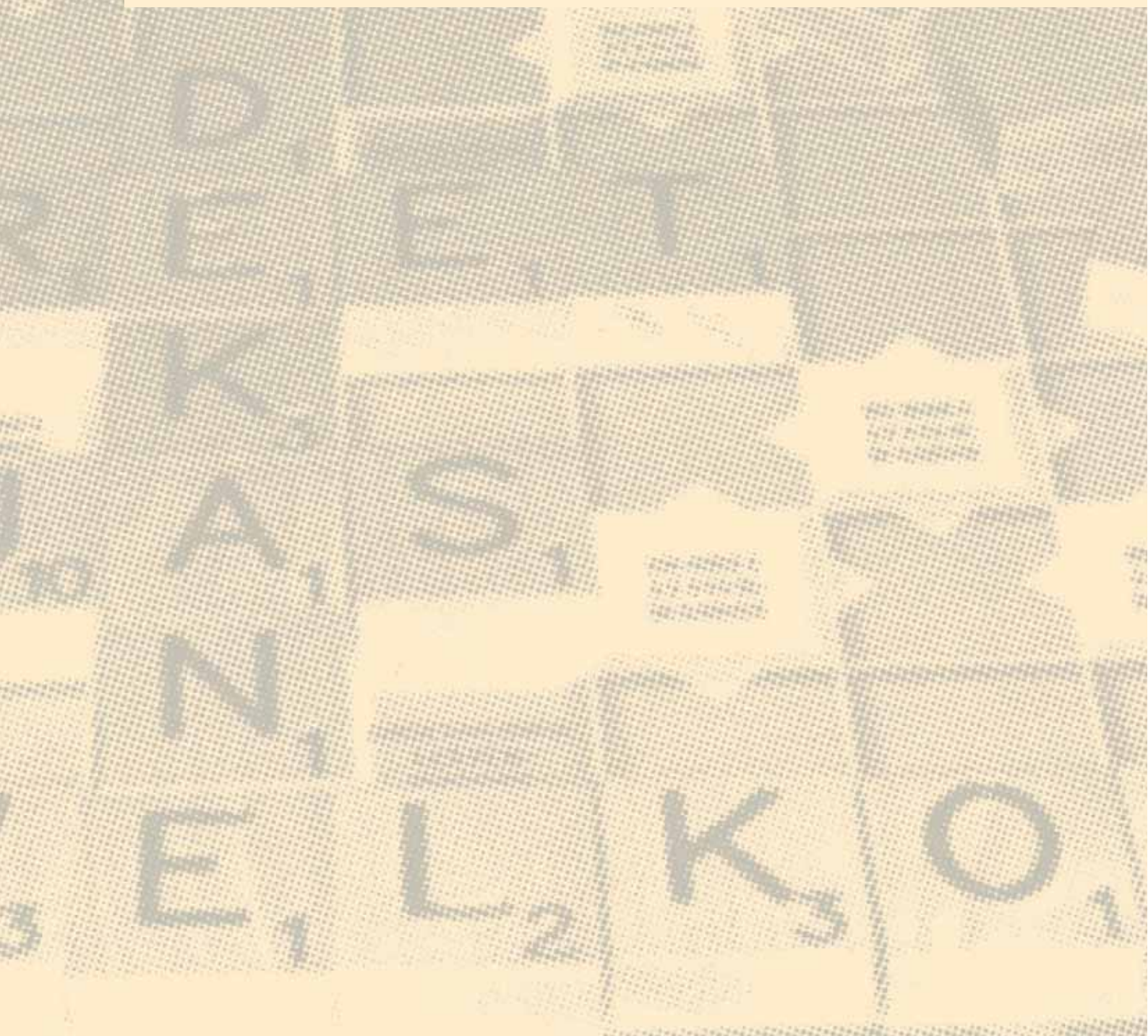
1. The term 'shanty' (with the Vincentian pronunciation /shahn-tee/) serves herein as the designation for this Barrouallie singing tradition for two principal reasons: a) to maintain consistency with Abrahams' orthography and, accordingly, to recognize his seminal role in this research; and b) to identify the work songs of Barrouallie specifically as a sub-genre distinct from the body of classical 'sea chanteys' (the latter spelling reserved for this more general category) as practiced by 19th century merchant seamen.
2. Upon his return to the United States, Jack Stanesco performed a few of the Barrouallie shanties on two phonographic recordings issued by Folk Legacy Records of Sharon, Connecticut. These recordings popularised these songs among American folk music enthusiasts. In addition, Stanesco donated his recordings of Barrouallie whalers to the folk music archives at the United States Library of Congress.
3. The acknowledged originator of Grenadines whaling, William T. 'Old Bill' Wallace, Jr. (b. 1840), served in Yankee whaling vessels in the 1860s and up to1880. In 1875, Old Bill founded his first whaling station on the island of his birth, Bequia (/bek-way/), next to St. Vincent (Ward: 1995).
4. Personal communication in 2002 with Edgar Mulraine of Barrouallie, St. Vincent.
5. Internal rhyme within each solo line occurs throughout this shanty.
6. Personal communication in 2001with Alfred Mason of Barrouallie, St. Vincent. Mason recalled that a Norwegian whaler knew sea chanteys.
7. Personal communication in 2002 with whalers Veron Harry and George Frederick of Barrouallie, St. Vincent.
8. The Barrouallie Whalers who have participated in international events include Edgar Mulraine (now deceased), George Frederick, Milton Patrick, Veron Harry, and George Marson.
9. Certainly, some of these performance elements belong more appropriately to recreational performance or entertainment events, rather than strictly to a work song setting.

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Museums and the Intangible Heritage : the Case Study of the Afrikaans Language Museum

Matilda Burden



Museums and the Intangible Heritage : the Case Study of the Afrikaans Language Museum

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Introduction

Two issues are addressed in this paper, namely the problem of representing heritage that is totally intangible in a museum 'exhibition', and the issue of the Afrikaans language and its place within the many officially recognized languages of the new South Africa. The two issues are linked in this analysis of the current exhibition in the Afrikaans Language Museum in Paarl, South Africa.

Having been involved in museums for the past two to three decades in different ways, from an academic as well as a popular viewpoint, in theory and in practice, I have always been very much aware of the importance of acknowledging and exhibiting intangible culture. I remain astonished that the literature on museums to a great extent still focuses very largely on material culture and in many cases totally ignores the existence of the perhaps intimately intangible culture. For example the Museums Association of the UK, still defines a museum as an institution which "collect, safeguard and make accessible *artefacts and specimens [my emphasis]*, which they hold in trust for society", while the International Council of Museums (ICOM) only added references to the intangible heritage and cultural centres to its definition of a museum in October 2004. However, on the positive side, the 2006 meeting of States Parties to the UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention of 2003 nominated ICOM as one of five recognized expert non-governmental advisory organisations to assist in the implementation of the Convention.

Languages are recognised in the Convention as one of the most important aspects of the intangible heritage of peoples, not just because of their intrinsic interest, but also because it is through language that so many important manifestations of the intangible heritage are transmitted from generation to generation.

Exhibiting the intangible heritage

Perhaps the most important problem that will be addressed in this article is the need to exhibit or otherwise present intangible culture or heritage in a way that will interest and involve the general visitor, while still achieving a well-researched and educationally valuable display. It is therefore necessary to reflect shortly on the concept of the intangible heritage in the context of museums and museum exhibitions. The research methodology followed in this quest was to compare the findings of a literature investigation of this topic to a case study, namely that of the Afrikaans Language Museum,

at Paarl, South Africa, which is in its entirety a museum of intangible heritage.

Intangible culture or heritage can be presented in museums in two different ways. Firstly it is in my opinion almost impossible to exhibit and explain artefacts meaningfully without providing the context of the customs and other aspects of the intangible culture that form the environment within which these artefacts belong. This need has received much more attention in recent years than a few decades ago. For example, George Abungu, former Director General of the National Museums of Kenya, put a lot of emphasis on this in his 2005 interview with Medeia Sogor of *Atmusephere*, saying: "intangible provides the meaning for the tangible." (Abungu 2005). He also makes clear in the same interview that in his opinion museum officials should go beyond the academic evidence to obtain direct from the community the meaning that had always been part of a specific object up to the point that the object had been moved to the museum. However, in the second instance the intangible heritage can and should also be exhibited or preserved in its own right: as a song, a custom, folk belief, folk dance or language.

I believe that there are several reasons for the fact that this principle was seriously neglected in the past. Certainly among the most important reasons was a tradition which can be traced back to the very beginning of museums. Once again I find that Abungu agrees with this view, saying: "Museums have cases of problems with the intangible because the way they have been founded and created was to show the most beautiful, the most spectacular, the greatest of all, and the unique that appeal to your eyes" (Abungu, 2005). Another reason is that it is much more difficult to display intangible heritage: this demands considerable imagination and maybe more technical aids than the display of works of art or other physical museum objects.

Several leading works on museums of the past decade or so that have been consulted do not refer at all to intangible culture in museums or suggest even vaguely that it exists as a museological issue. Their common point of departure is that museums are there to collect, research and display material culture (e.g. Moore 1994 & 1997, and Macdonald 1998, Falk & Dierking 2000). This impression is confirmed by the Vice-Director of the Chinese Cultural Relics Bureau, Beijing, Mr Shu, when he stated, "Museums have traditionally been a space in which material evidence of the past is collected, conserved and displayed. However practices, ideas, knowledge and skills associated with these objects have received little attention for a long time. I believe that the issue of intangible heritage is one of the most important areas for the museum profession to explore in the years ahead." (Shu, 2004).

However, there is a reference in the work of Margaret May, in her chapter "Exhibition ideas: integrating the voices of communities and audiences (May, 2002) refers to the use of stories that speak to the audiences. It seems that she refers here to information and contributions from communities that could highlight certain exhibitions (the first capacity), rather than stories in the sense of folk tales or individual experiences (the second capacity). The latter is what the museum in the case study attempts to display. In the few other references found to intangible heritage or oral history, it was noted that it was always the first capacity mentioned, namely the context of the material object that received the attention: nowhere does there seem to be references to the complete displays of intangible culture. For example, in ICOM's *Museum Basics* the

authors state: "researchers use oral history techniques [...] when researching books or exhibitions, or simply when researching the background of objects in the museum's collections" (Ambrose and Paine, 1994, pp. 147-148). It has therefore been very difficult to measure or test the case study against the existing literature for purposes of display or transmission methods. General museum and exhibition principles could however be tested.

In South Africa the term *oral history* is such a "buzz" phrase nowadays, that each and everybody connected to the discipline of history, museums, archives, certain government departments and several other institutions wants to conduct oral history surveys and recording projects. Although this may sound promising it is a pity that the concept is not always fully understood and its depth not fully exploited. A part of the problem is the employment of field workers or interviewers who are not properly trained. I am aware that many institutions worldwide use volunteers for oral history projects. For example, Ambrose and Paine (1994, p. 147) also refer to "groups of enthusiasts doing oral history work", but others, including me, cannot accept this approach as scientific. In my experience interviewers have to have a complete understanding of the academic background of the discipline in which they work (may it be history, cultural history, folklore, ethnology or sociology), and the theories and methodology of that discipline, to be able to do proper fieldwork and interviewing.

At the Department of Cultural History at South Africa's University of Stellenbosch (which was amalgamated with the Department of History in 1999) oral history projects have been conducted for almost four decades. This is not a new concept, as the website of the UK-based Oral History Society seems to imply in claiming that "No longer are we dependent only on the written word" (http://www.oralhistory.org.uk) as if oral history is a totally new invention. In fact, for centuries we have not been dependent only on the written word. For many ages, local history, community events, folklore and genealogy have been transmitted orally through generations, and the recording of these date back many centuries. Also, as a result of this work done by the Stellenbosch Department of Cultural History among others, some museums in South Africa have been made aware of the intangible heritage and its significance, and have been encouraged to incorporate information on this in their normal exhibitions. The attention due to intangible heritage was further enhanced in South Africa's National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 which enforces the conservation of living or intangible heritage (Act no 25 of 1999).

Languages in the Republic of South Africa today

The current exhibition in the Afrikaans Language Museum at Paarl, Western Cape Province, South Africa, needs be seen against the background and in the context of an unusual language milieu with a long and politically influenced history. At present there are eleven official languages in South Africa, as detailed below (with the percentage of the population that speak the language as their first home language taken from (Van der Merwe & Van der Merwe 2006, p.15):

isiZulu (23.8%)
isiXhosa (17.6%)
Afrikaans (13.3%)
Sepedi (9.4%)
Setswana (8.2%)
English (8.2%)
Sesotho (7.9%)
Xitsonga (4.4%)
Siswati (2.7%)
Tshivenda (2.3%)
isiNdebele (1.6%)

Afrikaans is therefore the third largest "first home" language in South Africa as a whole and is the home language of a majority of the population (55.3%) in the Western Cape Province, where the Afrikaans Language Museum is situated. The other two significant language groups of the Province are isiXhosa (23.7%) and English (19.3%) (Van der Merwe & Van der Merwe, 2006 p. 67).

Though Afrikaans is now established as a distinct and significant language in its own right, albeit one of the world's youngest, the perception that prevails abroad and even within South Africa is that Afrikaans is just a simplification of Dutch, but this is far from correct. In the 17th century, after the colonisation of the Cape by the Dutch East India Company, the languages that contributed to the formation of a new local language were Dutch and to a lesser extent some of the Khoi languages and a little French brought by French Huguenot refugees who settled in the Western Cape from

the 17th century. In the 18th century German was added to these, as many, in fact most of the employees of the Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (VOC - the Dutch East India Company) at this stage were Germans. However, the German influence was not very significant because these immigrants were mostly single men who married Dutch women (Trümpelmann in Pienaar 1968, p. 51) and therefore their children learnt to speak the already adapted form of Dutch. The German influence is most noticeable in Afrikaans first names and surnames (Combrink in Olivier & Coetzee 1994. p. 22-28).

Much more important in language terms, in the 18th century the numbers of slaves increased dramatically as they were imported from the Far East and the East Coast of Africa. It was the malay language that added most to the emerging new local language, especially in the form of vocabulary. Achmat Davids is convinced that the origin of Afrikaans was in the creolisation of Dutch by free blacks, slaves, the lower ranks of Cape society, and the farmers, slaves and Khoi-Khoi in the interior (Davids in Olivier & Coetzee 1994, p.113). This is however only a superficial summary of the origin of Afrikaans: this is discussed in far greater depth in the work of J du P Scholtz, e.g. in his *Wording en ontwikkeling van Afrikaans* (Scholtz, 1980).

There have been later influences helping to create the Afrikaans that is spoken today. In the 1806 the British finally occupied the Cape and since then the English language has not only influenced Afrikaans, but helped to cause dissension between the respective main uses of the two European languages and between the peoples of South Africa in many ways: this was to last for two centuries through to the present day. During the 350 years since colonisation there have also been many Portuguese at the Cape, though the main influence of Portuguese was through Malay-Portuguese (Davids in Olivier & Coetzee 1994, p.117).

Since the settlers of European descent came into contact with the Nguni- and Sotho-speaking people of Africa at the beginning of the 19th century, these languages have also had some influence. There is not the space here to consider what all these influences were and how they contributed to form Afrikaans. Suffice to say that the result is a very poetic language with exceptional possibilities towards alliteration, rhyme and nuances of meaning, totally different from Dutch and other European languages, as perfectly illustrated in an article by Réna Pretorius, titled 'Die sêkrag van Afrikaans soos weerspieül in die Afrikaanse poüsie' [The power of expression of Afrikaans as reflected in Afrikaans poetry], (Pretorius, in Van Rensburg 2004, pp. 1-12).

Though Afrikaans, often referred to as "Cape Dutch", was spoken in the latter part of the 19th century by both white and "coloured" people alike (the coloured population being of mixed descent, mainly from Khoi-Khoi, with slaves and white settlers), it was still not an official language and did not exist in written form. It was with the object of formalising and gaining official recognition for it that an association with this aim was founded at Paarl in 1875: the *Genootskap vir Regte Afrikaners* [Association of True Afrikaners] (discussed below). A long and hard road followed for the leaders of this and later movements seeking to gain recognition and acceptance of Afrikaans from the British then dominant in South Africa.

However, with the rise of the Afrikaner during the first decades of the 20th century, especially within politics and the economy, Afrikaans gradually evolved into a fully developed language able to serve the economy, politics, science, education, art and technology. The language was further boosted with the establishment of several newspapers, magazines and cultural organisations during the 2nd and 3rd decades of the 20th century. Under Act no 8 of 1925 Afrikaans was finally acknowledged alongside English as an official language of the then Union of South Africa under the British Crown (SESA 1970, vol.1, pp. 79-80). Unfortunately, by the early 20th century there had been major demographic changes within the Cape since the greater part of the Khoi-Khoi population had been wiped out by a number of smallpox epidemics during the 18th century, and the remainder of the population began mixing with the new populations arriving in the region, particularly slaves and white people, resulting in the almost total disappearance of Khoi-Khoi languages and culture as well.

There is no doubt that despite having had a powerful status, especially within government through much of the 20th century, Afrikaans is currently under threat at the official level. Despite its official recognition under the Constitution of eleven official languages under clause 6 of the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, and the requirement that the national and provincial governments must use a minimum of two official languages, in practice many government bodies actually enforce the use of English as their only working language within certain government departments. This trend is

particularly marked in the sphere of education that is targeted. The use of Afrikaans is in marked decline within universities and other higher education institutions, while the latest statistics show that in some Provinces the number of Afrikaans medium schools has fallen by up to almost 90% since 1993, (Rademeyer in *Die Burger,* 07/07/06). In very many cases the Afrikaans schools have been replaced or reorganised as either English medium-only schools or as double medium schools using English together with a local official language.

There have been political factors behind such changes. For example, very recently the prominent journalist and former Soweto activist Jovial Rantao, argued that Afrikaans was the "official language of a racist regime" in an article: "Government should do away with Afrikaans-medium schools" (*Cape Argus,* 23rd February 2007). In a reply to this in the same newspaper (5th March 2007), Prof. Christo Viljoen, Professor Emeritus and former Vice-Rector of Stellenbosch University, condemned such views saying: "It is pathetic that 10 years after democracy and attempts to reconciliation and nation building, a hate article such as that written by Jovial Rantao " should be written, let alone published in a newspaper such as the Cape Argus", and counters Rantao's with claims lots of statistics as well as a quote from Bill of Rights of the 1996 Constitution.

Why a language museum?

In 1942 the inhabitants of the town Paarl in the Western Cape Province of South Africa, decided to erect a monument for the Afrikaans language, to establish a museum and to start a special study fund for students of Afrikaans. They started to collect funds for this monumental idea and in 1975 the Afrikaans Language Monument was inaugurated.

The original idea behind the Afrikaans Language Museum in the 1970's was to honour the members and work of a society (the GRA: Genootskap vir Regte Afrikaners-Association of True Afrikaners) originally founded in 1875 in Paarl. Their aims were to establish Afrikaans as a written language, to standardise the language and to start publishing in Afrikaans. The home of one of the leaders of this society, Gideon Malherbe, was bought and restored to serve as a museum, and furnished as near as possible to the original late 19th century appearance.

Since 2002 a lot of work has been done to create a completely new educational exhibition on the top floor of the building, while the period rooms and exhibits on the origins and history of the GRA and its founder members remain on the ground floor. The new upper floor exhibition can be seen as providing the Museum with an important additional function: to indicate that the Afrikaans language is dynamic and develops and adapts continuously as circumstances require (The Afrikaans Language Museum Brochure, 2003).

The Museum nowadays makes a lot of effort to reach out to South Africa's other very varied language groups in. It presents several educational programmes that relate directly to the school syllabus and which are presented in all three significant official languages of the region, i.e. English and Xhosa as well as Afrikaans. Special programmes address speakers and students of all three languages, and in addition to its work on the Afrikaans language and wider multilingualism issues, they also address cultural diversity, as well as promoting poetry and public speaking competitions to encourage creativity.

The Museum makes very good use of the media to obtain their goals. For example, in co-operation with the University of Stellenbosch, the Language Museum assists in the development of electronic courses for non-Afrikaans speakers (C. Snel 2007: interview). This the longest-established language museum in South Africa, and almost certainly in the world. (The USA's National Museum of Language has been under development since 1997 but does not yet have permanent accommodation; construction of a Chinese Language Museum began in the ancient city of Anyang in 2006, and in the same year the Portuguese Language Museum-which incorrectly calls itself the first language museum in the world-opened in São Paulo, Brazil.) Within South Africa there is now pressure for the development of language museums for other official languages, and the Afrikaans Language Museum is offering assistance with the formation of these as the national government and other bodies begin to promote and establish these.

The exhibition

As the museum is housed in a family home, the several first floor rooms given over to the new exhibition were mainly originally bedrooms and are therefore quite a lot smaller than purpose-designed museum exhibition

rooms. It has therefore been very challenging to utilise these rooms to the optimum effect. All the signage and text throughout the Museum is presented in all three official languages of the Western Cape, namely Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa. This is also the case with texts and commentaries on the Museum's sound systems. Another challenge that the exhibition has overcome, was to avoid making the museum or the exhibition itself a political instrument. Lorena San Roman (1992, p. 29) in her chapter: "Politics and museums" argues that politicising the museum and its exhibitions in such a way should be avoided at all costs.

In the space available in this paper only key features and highlights of the exhibition can be referred to. However, each main sub-theme of the exhibition uses a range of display methods in presenting the different aspects of the intangible culture of the language and of the Museums programme and activities. The reader therefore needs to follow the interesting features and characteristics of the Afrikaans language simultaneously with the display techniques.

Room 1 - Orientation: Meet Afrikaans

Of the four types of orientation that Belcher (1991, pp. 99 -100) suggests are necessary in museums, namely geographical, intellectual, conceptual and psychological, the first room in this exhibition focuses only on the last type, the psychological approach. The reason is that the theme of the room is simply: *"Meet Afrikaans"*: the visitor is not geographically orientated or guided in any way, nor taken intellectually from the unknown to the known. This is a room where the visitor can walk around and enjoy several aspects of the language, for example the names of seaside holiday houses, photographs of which are pinned like washing on a line (see figure 1). The names reveal an important ability of the Afrikaans language, namely to form puns with words and parts of words. This results in names that are very humorous, sometimes sophisticated and difficult to catch, but in other cases straightforward and very funny.

The exhibition also has signposts in the form of traditional road indicator signposts displaying very eye-catching Afrikaans place names (see figure 2). On one wall is a large board with plaster letters and words, which visitors can rearrange into sentences, rhymes, names or messages as they wish, (see figure 3). Another board has a collection of satirical poems by a well known Afrikaans poet, Philip de Vos, which visitors enjoy tremendously. Next to that is a collection of Afrikaans jokes that can be found on the internet. From the ceiling hang a few banners with short verses of folk poetry, mostly quatrains. The whole idea of this room is to supply an introduction and to assist the visitor in getting acquainted with the Afrikaans language.

Room 2 - The roots of Afrikaans

The next room is devoted to the roots of Afrikaans. Informative banners indicate Afrikaans words derived from languages other than Dutch but which contributed to the formation of the language, for example Afrikaans words from the Khoi family of languages, from Malay, Portuguese, Arabic, Nguni, Sotho and English (Olivier & Coetzee 1994; Scholtz 1980; Van Rensburg 1997). One wall in the room displays a large map of the world showing with the aid of arrows the regions of the world where the roots of Afrikaans lie. At the southern point of



Figure 1
The name of holiday homes, pinned like washing on a line



Figure 2
A road signpost with place names



Figure 3
Plaster poetry: words and letters
with magnets to build sentences or poetry

Africa is a shown as a "port-hole" that enlarges South Africa as the geographical background of the formation of this language (see figure 4). There is also a sound system through which the visitor can listen through earphones to an explanation in all three official languages-Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa - of the roots of Afrikaans. Another large circular panel in this room introduces the visitor to the different cultural groups that contributed originally to the first stages of the language, for example the Khoi people, the Dutch, the slaves and the French Huguenots.

Room 3 - Variants and group language:

Room 3 displays examples of group language and variants of Afrikaans. San Roman (1992, p. 26), argues that, particularly in the case of issues of political controversy, it is important to represent a range of different opinions on a theme, and to achieve that, proper, wide-ranging research by the museum officials is absolutely necessary. Following this principle the curators of the exhibition in the Language Museum have done a lot of research on variants of Afrikaans. It is definitely not a language with only a standard form, and the variants (which cannot be characterised exactly as dialects) give great scope to the different speakers of Afrikaans reflecting different cultures and backgrounds.

The display begins with a short summary of the meaning of group language and of the different examples traced in South Africa. On the walls are photographs of speakers of a particular group language or variant, with phrases or vocabulary underneath. What makes this theme very lively, are the short video clips of people speaking different variants of Afrikaans. There are for instance examples of Afrikaans as spoken by sheep shearers, fishermen of Waenhuiskrans, taxi driver Afrikaans, Cape Afrikaans, spoken by the coloured people of Cape Town and vicinity, Afrikaans of the West Coast, and student language.

Room 4 - Vernacular/folk language:

This room presents vernacular language in different forms, for example folk tales, songs, rhymes, riddles, place names and idioms and sayings. It is partly focused on the interests of children, but there is much for the adult visitor also. Firstly there is an armchair next to a CD player where one can relax and with earphones listen to tall stories, a particularly popular genre in the folk tale tradition of Afrikaans. A large display panel is devoted to riddles, painted in bright colours with a cosmic theme of moons, stars and planets. One sickle moon is transformed into a big question mark. Each riddle is printed on a laminated card which hooks onto a small door with a wooden knob. As the door opens, it reveals the answer to the riddle. The visitor can therefore test him/herself before looking at the answer, and the actual riddles can be easily replaced to ensure that the display does not remain static (see figure 5).

According to Caulton (1998, p.2) when the term *hands-on* is used, there is normally an assumption that the activities will involve interaction and provide added educational value, that hands-on will lead to *minds-on. Interactive*, he says, implies that visitors will engage in mental interaction, which can happen without physical interaction taking place. The term is therefore often associated with computer games where the only physical activity taking place is via the keyboard and where entertainment and education are not necessarily joint objectives. This is a very important point that many museums still tend to forget: visitors can become very bored when reading, looking and listening in a museum. Ambrose and Paine (1994, p. 75) say that people learn



Figure 4
Map of the world indicating the roots of Afrikaans



Figure 5
Board with riddles and answers behind the little doors







Figure 6
Place names ending with-fontein
Figure 7
Huge scrabble board
Figure 8
Time line presenting the development of Afrikaans in the media

best when they are involved in some way. Such interactivity is offered in this room via the computer keyboard, but both entertainment and education are definitely provided.

An enjoyable programme of Afrikaans idioms and sayings called *Gekke Gesegdes* (literally "mad sayings") was designed for the computer. The visitor explores this through a self-test, and this produces a certificate showing not just the percentage score, but also humorous comments on their answers. These named certificates can also include the person's name, and can be signed by a museum staff member. Another part of the exhibition is on children's songs and games, with a beautifully illustrated panel covering one wall and which provides the words of songs and rhymes and suggests different children's games. On another computer the visitor can access a number of children's games by activating a DVD showing children at play and singing together during their play, while the words of the songs are projected at the bottom of the screen.

Of all the thousands of interesting place names in Afrikaans, the so called fountain names were selected to be represented here. A collection of more than 200 place names ending on the Afrikaans word-*fontein* (meaning a natural spring in Dutch) is written in a curving S-form from big to small, suggesting the infinity of these interesting names (see figure 6). One may wonder: why so many names that end in *frontein*? It is suggested that because South Africa is such a dry country, it may be that the yearning for water manifests in place names, especially the names of farms. Almost any component imaginable is connected to-*fontein*: for instance the names of people, like Clara-Annafontein and Andriesfontein; the names of animals (the most abundant by far), like Elandsfontein and Jakkalsfontein; the surroundings, like Duinefontein; numbers, like Tweefontein and Sewefontein; plants, like Kareefontein (a tree) and Grasfontein (grass), etc. The last feature in this room is a white board supplied with a temporary marker for use by visitors to make comments on the exhibition or to add interesting facts. It is therefore a section of the exhibition that provides for hands-on, minds-on and interactive participation.

Room 5 - Word craft

The more formal aspects of the word craft are represented in room 5, for instance the art of the making of dictionaries. Examples of several volumes of the dictionary of the Afrikaans language are displayed on a desk that is specially designed for lexicographers. An enlarged reproduction of a Scrabble board is mounted in the centre of this room with huge letter blocks with which visitors can play (see figure 7). Scrabble is a very enjoyable and internationally known word game, of which the Afrikaans version is particularly challenging and has lots of potential for creativeness. In this room also Afrikaans authors are represented by their names and dates on individual laminated coloured cards, hooked with S-brackets onto a large mesh panel. Each period, covering more or less three decades, is represented by a specific colour, but the colours are evenly spread over the board; that means that writers of a period are not grouped together. This is quite cleverly done, because apart from the fact that it gives an aesthetic pleasant appearance, it is also interesting and challenging for a visitor to check whether a certain writer's name is there. Even so, if they may find a name or names lacking, there is also a white board like the one in the previous room where they can supply names or make any suggestions. It will be noted that the Afrikaans Language Museum does not reflect widely on the Afrikaans literature and the

works of the named authors because there is also a Literary Museum in South Africa, focusing on Afrikaans literature (in Bloemfontein, the capital of the Free State Province).

Room 6 - Afrikaans and the Media

The content of the last room of the upper floor is aimed at the visitor who does not mind reading a lot of text and who actually appreciates information of an historical nature. This display is dedicated to Afrikaans in the media, especially the audio-visual media. Four categories or genres were identified, namely drama and music, radio, film and television and general cultural historical events. The history of these four genres in Afrikaans was thoroughly researched and incorporated in a time line, separated by four soft colours. The time line is presented on both sides of each of three lengthy display boards along the centre of the room (see figure 8). The highlights in the history of each category are indicated on the time line, and on the blank spots on the different lines where nothing of importance was recorded, interesting drawings and photographs are incorporated. The time line initially covers the period from 1652 to 2003 but can be extended in the future as needed. There is also a noteboard which lists all the sources used for the compilation of the time line.

Conclusion

Klein argues: "There is a truism in the museum field that people do not read labels. Casual observation of museum visitors will tend to confirm this. Nevertheless it is not true of every visitor, nor is it true of every exhibition", (as quoted in Edson & Dean 1994, p. 189). In the first five rooms of the Afrikaans language exhibition there is relatively little conventional text or labels to be read. The reading material included is easily readable and mainly presented on large banners or interesting panels. Many hands-on, minds-on and interactive displays are included, making a visit to this museum an enjoyable as well as an educational experience. Belcher (1991, p. 58) classified three types of museums (in relation to their underlying exhibition concept and the response it is intended to elicit from its audience), namely emotive, didactic or entertaining. He adds that these categories are not mutually exclusive and that a single exhibition or museum can comprise elements of each. In my opinion the Afrikaans Language Museum offers all three elements. Though the emotive element is - correctly - should be restricted to the visitor's own response. Arguing this does not imply a subjective approach on the part of the curators who created the exhibition.

There are of course other museums in South Africa which are successful in representing different aspects of the intangible history of the country and its diverse peoples, but they are few as yet. This museum in its totality presents intangible culture and the new displays of the Afrikaans Language Museum, although small in comparison to most other museums, makes it one of the leading institutions in South Africa that is focused solely on the intangible heritage. Against the background of multilingualism in South Africa the negative attitudes towards Afrikaans in some quarters, and various other problems discussed previously in this paper, it can be seen that the tri-lingual displays and programmes of the Afrikaans Language Museum have an important role. They are visited in increasing numbers by educational and other groups of all the main language and cultural traditions of the region, also seeks to play a leading role in the reconciliation of people in this country, as well as in assisting and supporting other language groups.

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Crossing Cultures through the Intangible Heritage: an Educational Programme about Migration in Greece

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the preliminary results of a research programme on the social and cultural impact of migration into Greece conducted on the Greek island of Skiathos. The programme involved educational activities which were based on the collection and analysis of oral material. A school class of eleven years old students, both native and immigrants, was asked to search into their family history and bring to light heirlooms and related narrations which represented oral traditions in their countries. In a first phase of the project the artifacts and the accompanying oral material were used as stimuli for discussion between native and immigrant children in the class. Subsequently, the collected tangible and intangible material was displayed in a temporary museum exhibition entitled 'With a suitcase full of dreams'. The perceptions which all the groups of children, participants and visitors, native and immigrants had about migration before and after the educational program were recorded and analyzed in relation to the impact of the oral traditions on them. The results of the study are discussed with respect to the new communicative role which institutions of formal and informal learning could undertake due to the multiple use of intangible heritage in the approach of subtle social subjects such as migration. Among the most important findings was the fact that children who took part in the project and visited the exhibition realized that through discovering other people's culture they could develop their knowledge of unknown aspects of their own culture and history.

Introduction

'As everyday we listen to many people speaking in different languages, *we* have the impression that *we* live in a different country. For all that, *we* live in our place which has been changed because of the foreign people who had migrated recently'. (Andreas, 11 years

old schoolboy)

In Greece the debate about intercultural education is very recent. The beginnings were seen in the 1980's, when ethnic Greeks and immigrants who derived mainly from neighbouring Balkan countries crossed its borders. The education and other measures implemented in the light this reinforced the integration of students who had a different cultural identity(1). However, the applied school curriculum does not provide sufficient or effective opportunities for either the satisfactory coexistence of both native Greek and immigrant children nor for developing the necessary intercultural communication among both groups of schoolchildren.

The transition from a perception of a single Greek dominant culture to the awareness of the multicultural character of today's society requires educational activities which promote the assimilation of differences instead of mere recognition of and acquaintance with these. Greek schools follow a curriculum that is basically centred on teaching and learning factual knowledge, and which does not offer appropriate stimuli for the cultivation of social skills such as interaction with'other' people. In parallel with this, the nation's museums are generally not flexible enough to develop an inclusive, communicative role to tackle contemporary social subjects such as migration. Also, oral exhibits are restricted in comparison with the tangible pieces of heritage, and the oral archives are generally not sufficiently endowed with narrations which are based on or refer to local history of the area served.

The present study is intended to examine two questions. First, what is the importance of intangible heritage on the learning process in both the school and the museum? This was based on an educational programme which was carried out in a multicultural school community of the Greek island of Skiathos in the year 2006. The records of the two local primary schools showed that out of about around three hundred enrolled students, about one third were immigrant children who have migrated to Skiathos from either Balkan or north-west European countries. In relation to this, a principal objective of the research was to shed light on children's perceptions on migration according to their own experiences in their multicultural social and school environment. It also aimed to examine how the oral traditions which immigrant people narrated either in school or in a museum environment affected students' impressions about migration. The second aim of the research was to estimate the extent to which knowledge of the other's intangible heritage produces empathy toward the immigrant people and their cultures.

Research methods

The whole 2006 research programme lasted six months, and it was conducted with the active participation of the eleven years old students of the 1st and the 2nd Primary Schools of Skiathos. An important part of the study was to establish a baseline record of the participating children's existing ideas and preconceptions about migration and migrants before the work began, and then to review this again after completion of the project, so that the two can be compared.

For the first part of the study, i.e. the recording of pupils' perceptions and preconceptions about migration, the students were divided into four groups according to their origin and involvement in the project. The first two groups together comprised a class of the 2nd local Primary School who were all to participate in the organisation of the planned museum exhibition on the findings of the project at the end of the study. One of these two groups consisted of twelve native Greek students, while the second group had eight children who had immigrant parents. The immigrants in the study were mainly found to have family origins in the Balkans or north-west Europe, with families who had settled in the Island during the last two decades, though there were also children from returning native Greek families who were descendants of the first migrants who had travelled from Skiathos to the United States during the major period of Transatlantic Migration (1890-1910)(2)

The other two groups consisted of ninety students of the same age, from the second primary school, who visited the exhibition: the third group being native Greek students (as with group 1), while the fourth were either themselves immigrants or children of immigrants (as with group 2).

In each case the ideas of each participant about migration and migrants, and about their response to the exhibition, were collected through a questionnaire which comprised both open and closed questions before and after their participation in the research. In addition, many students were inspired to draw the stories that they had heard, and to write letters to an emigrant child of their age, while the response to the exhibits in the museum exhibition were video-recorded too.

Everyone has got his own history

The first phase of the research was carried out in the school class. Using the message'everyone has got his own history' the pupils of the first two groups were encouraged to discover the paths their ancestors followed before arriving in Skiathos. With guidance and participation in activities which contributed to the necessary knowledge they researched their own family's past, as well as that of their school mates. It was important in terms of developing self-esteem to ensure that their efforts were praised as each activity and its findings were presented by each child to the others in the class.

In particular, a primary learning activity was developing a so-called *personal life line*, by which the students had the opportunity to recall parts of their life story and place them within the wider chronological context of the real events in the local society. Additionally, the students made *family maps*, on which they illustrated the route which their parents and forefathers followed before coming to Skiathos. In relation to this, it was noticed that many children who started out believing that their families had been in Skiathos for a very long time discovered unknown aspects of their family past such as the fact that their great-grandparents had migrated temporarily or permanently to other countries too. Furthermore, they formed family *photo-mosaics* of their families, which were seen to illustrate similarities and differences, as well as uncommon features of the cultural environments from which they derived (Figure 1).

What proved to be a particularly appealing and constructive task for the students was their search for *heirlooms*, i.e. representative objects of their family which had passed from generation to generation. The children had the opportunity to inform their schoolmates about the origin of the particular objects, the date and the place of their fabrication, the names of their predecessors, their real and emotional value, and their use. At the same time, they realised the special value which these objects had in revealing aspects of each individual's past and of its cultural identity.'The objects could lead back to the people who used them and through doing this we are drawn to an appreciation of ourselves and of those who have forgotten' (3). Furthermore, in relation to the immigrants the presentation of their heirlooms constituted a unique chance to draw attention to life stories and material culture of peoples whose voice was generally ignored. These also provoked discussions among native and immigrant children about the prevailed customs in each country of origin.

After the students were familiarised with the process of interviewing, twenty-seven individuals who had migrated to the island of Skiathos were invited to the meet the first class in order to be interviewed by the students and to tell their own life story (Figure 2). Frequently the questions asked by the students focused on the family's decision to come to Greece, and on the way of living, the manners and the customs of the immigrant's motherland, and the things for which they felt nostalgic - in other words many different aspects of the intangible cultural heritage.

In the same way the immigrant presenters and interviewees talked about their tangible heritage: the personal objects (heirlooms) brought to Skiathos, and which are reminders about either their family or their school life at their home country (Figure 3). Also, despite initial hesitation, eight parents of immigrant students agreed to attend sessions as informants, and other guests were relatives and friends of the immigrant children. These narrations motivated the children to work in groups seeking out immigrants from different





Figure 1
Example of a photo-mosaic depicting the cultural environment from which children are derived
Figure 2
An immigrant informant narrates her own life story in the school class.



Figure 3
An immigrant tells a story about a family heirloom.
Figure 4
Each exhibit was accompanied by a relative short story which was written by the students.



countries in order to find out more information about their countries of origin.

Using a cross-curricular learning approach, they also collected additional information, for example about the culture, the politics, the economy and the educational system of each country. The results of all this research by the students and from written sources were combined with related abstracts of the interviews on special posters.

'With a suitcase full of dreams' exhibition

The second phase of the research project was a temporary museum exhibition entitled'With a suitcase full of dreams' and took place in the Cultural Centre of Skiathos. Held in June 2006, this was focused on the first phase of the research, the main content being the family heirlooms and the accompanying comments and information from the contemporary immigrants. The exhibition also included visual material from written sources such as archives and letters, and from the mementos and narrations of the ethnic Greek people whose ancestors migrated from Skiathos to United States during the period of the Transatlantic Migration (1890-1910) but whose families have now returned to Greece.

The exhibition's primary objective was to communicate the multi-faceted synthesis of the local population by presenting different voices and personal objects. It also aimed to affect positively the attitude of its visitors, especially of the children of the school year surveyed, towards the immigrants in their community, through their interaction with the exhibits and especially with the invited informants. In particular, it was intended to estimate the impact which the presented intangible material had on the eleven years old pupils in relation to their attitudes to migration and immigrants.

The exhibition was designed by taking into consideration the special cognitive and emotional needs of children in the school age. The language and the style of the texts were pre-evaluated in order to be understandable to students of that age. Concerning time, a regressive time-line from the present backwards was used rather than a traditional chronological presentation, and student research group wrote a considerable part of the texts.

The forty-five objects were displayed in thematic contexts according to their country of origin, and the way they were presented varied. Some objects were accompanied by a tape- or a video-recording narration. Three of the exhibits were demonstrated by their owners who kindly participated in the exhibition process and told the related story. A replica of an exhibit was used by children who impersonated the members of a family who had migrated to Skiathos. There were also exhibits which were presented by the migrant students (the second experimental group). The first section of the exhibition was titled'Everyone has got a family history' and it comprised of family heirlooms. Each object was accompanied by a relatively short story which a child, whether native or immigrant, had written by using the information derived from the interviews (Figure 4).

For example, the story of one object exhibited was presented orally by a student who originated from Albania. In this case the schoolboy presented an icon of the Virgin Mary which was bought by his great-



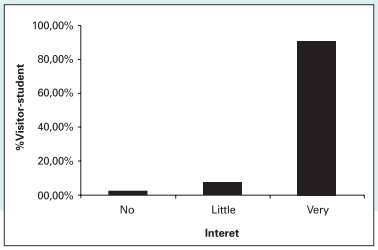


Figure 5
The pair of golden earrings.
Figure 6
How interesting was the exhibition?

grandfather with a piece of silver that he had found. Successively, he donated the icon to his son, and the latter offered it to the student's father to take with him as a talisman when he migrated to Greece. The boy showed this artifact with pride, because it was his family's special heirloom, which would pass to him when he became an adult. As this section encouraged the schoolchild visitors to ponder on similar objects and customs, other children explained that icons were used as talismans in Greece too.

In another example, a girl from Poland gave a presentation about a pair of golden earrings which her grandfather had offered to her grandmother as a symbolic gift on their marriage, and which her mother had accepted as a bridal gift, (Figure 5). "These will be given to me when I get married too", she explained. Again, other children explained that similar customs are found in Greece, especially the provinces: in this case when girls become engaged they usually accept golden rings as presents from their fiancés.

The second thematic unit comprised of exhibits which belonged to immigrants from Balkan and north-west European countries. Each of these exhibits was accompanied by a photo and a related abstract from its owner's story about the life in the homeland and their'uprooting'. There was also a poster with information and photos of the country which the first and the second experimental groups of students had selected. Thus, each object was presented in an appropriate, meaningful context. In respect of the impact of the live narrations on children, three immigrants-parents were invited to display their heirlooms and explain the related histories and traditions.

The third part of the exhibition comprised of personal objects of families which had migrated from Skiathos to the United States in the period 1890-1910, but who had now returned to Greece. Through this thematic unit the visitors learned about a little known often disguised aspect of the social and cultural history. It is also the case that these returning immigrants have brought into the society of Skiathos some new customs and habits(4).

There is a comparison here with the experience of contemporary migrants, and the information revealed common practices in seeking to adjust themselves to a new country. Besides, both sets of migrants - those to the USA a century ago and the recent migrants from other parts of Europe into Greece - were shown to have shared similar dreams and needs. In the same way the visitors were stimulated to remember names of people who had migrated to America during the same period, and this information was recorded and then verified using the USA's Ellis Island Immigration Museum's archive(5).

We are schoolmates but not friends…

The initial collection of children's perceptions about migration contributed to defining and developing further the most important guidelines of the particular research programme. It became clear that the mere co-existence of individuals and families of different in schools or neighbourhoods for a long time did not necessarily lead to acquaintance with the'other'. On the contrary, most of the eleven year old native students who constituted the focus groups had a rather negative attitude towards the immigrants. They made much of their national identity as Greeks: for example a schoolboy said:"…I am Greek! I don't have any immigrant friends, because I don't trust them…" In the same way an immigrant boy said: "I am usually informed about the classes [school timetable] by children of my nationality. It's difficult to cooperate with the others". It was noticeable that the ideas of the female students seemed more conciliatory or at least more encouraging. For example, one girl said: "I don't have any problems with the immigrants. They came here to find jobs. Friendly or hostile people could be found in any community."

It is worth saying that most of the native students had adopted perceptions of the superiority of Greek culture over those of the immigrants derived from family and social environment influences. They were prone to show discriminatory attitudes and behaviour towards people from Balkan countries, and especially those from Albania. For example, one student said: "…There is no problem with the English migrants. Those do not react in the way the Albanians do…".The characterisations mostly accorded with the predominant stereotypes, i.e. these were: "Uncultured, slovenly, impoverished". The students were unwilling to get to know each other. "Their customs are sometimes weird. I can't understand them". Conversely, the non-native children mainly talked in the third person when they were asked about migration. They seemed aware of the reasons for the immigrants' arrival in Greece, but they avoided accepting that identity themselves. Characteristically, two boys consistently used the phrase "move in" instead of the word "migrate" when writing their story lines.

Linguistic skills were seen to have special validity within the discourse. On the one hand, the knowledge of the Greek language was regarded and used by the native students as a means of stressing their power against their immigrant schoolmates. On the other hand the immigrant students frequently used their mother tongue as a means of defence. The difficulty of speaking, and especially of writing (in a non-Roman script) in Greek dissuaded them from being more communicative.

Another native student expressed the need for adaptation and assimilation: "I don't accept immigrant children not speaking in Greek language when they are in school. Sometimes they talk in their own [language] as a way to keep secrets". However, among the two groups of children the oral narrations proved to be a chance to express ideas and emotions which had remained repressed for a long time, within fragile but rather sensitive'equilibrium'. The initial reservations about the process of collecting heirlooms and customs by interviewing foreign people were considerable but they were gradually reduced because their relation to the social history became better understood.

Listening to the 'other'

Setting up a museum exhibition about migration was a complex educational experience for the eleven year old students, which led to the development of both the cognitive and social abilities among the participants. In particular, their acquaintance with the use of intangible culture changed considerably their ideas about history in two directions: firstly they realized that the historical past is not only written and found in their books, but it can also be discovered by more conceptual researching methods such as interviewing. Actually it contributed to the acquisition of meta-cognitive or "meta-historical" knowledge(6). Secondly, they began to comprehend that history is not restricted to the ancient or the heroic past actions within an ethnocentric approach. It may also comprise the ordinary, and in many cases of the under-estimated stories of individuals which can enrich and bring to light new aspects of history.

Both the theme and the content of the exhibition seemed very interesting to the most children who were asked about them during the survey (Figure 6). Native children who participated in the collection and the presentation of the oral narrations were found to have changed significantly their negative attitudes about their non-native schoolmates, and they asserted that they could cooperate with and give support to an immigrant child. Additionally, their initial repulsion of migrants has been reversed into empathy with them. They understood that each object hided a sensitive human story. Each narration was about a person who "strived for a better life", as one typical child put it.

The children's ability to perceive the individual motives for migrating was notable, and they recognised differences in the political and social circumstances of the countries of origin which may have contributed to the decision to migrate to Greece. Instead of the original stereotypes migration was evaluated in accordance with the specific context of values and beliefs(7).

Their written speech seemed enriched with the adoption of relevant terminology. Discussing the explanation of an example of migration one boy said: "The regime didn't allow the citizens to cross the borders into other countries or to own real estate. It was authoritarian." Their substantial engagement with the collection of narrations and customs had also affected positively their acting in the small role-play dramatisations that were organized within the context of the exhibition. More particularly, the native students realized the significance of the "speech" and customs of the others, and acknowledged that the immigrants could

have the right to bring their cultural traditions and values with them into another country.

The *immigrant-students* who participated in the organization of the museum exhibition realized that although they themselves may have regarded the life stories of their parents as uninteresting, and perhaps rather embarrassing parts of their past even to their own children, through the programme these have proved to be crucial evidence, towing light on as important a social matter as migration. Furthermore, these stories constituted an additional source for local social history. Thus, despite the frequent denial of their own identity initially, they now seemed to acknowledge and support their home country and culture.

Their ability to "step into the others' shoes" was significant in terms of developing understanding and tolerance. The questions which they asked of other migrants were more substantive and to the point. In addition to the observed improvement in both their oral and written speech, they tended to be much more inventive in finding alternative ways to express their thoughts and feelings. Their drawings which were informed by the interviews were more focused and expressive and each object was presented in the appropriate context (Figure7).

The survey and other feedback from *child-visitors* to the exhibition showed that they were satisfied by its content. "It hadn't got statues but it comprised of interesting and significant objects too", a girl admitted (Figure 8). Just like the child participants in the project they realized that very common objects can be precious because they are tokens of the personal and the local history too - because of their intangible associations. Each exhibit reminded them of similar objects and customs within their own cultures and traditions. Furthermore, the visitors were motivated to think of wider global human values such as democracy, freedom of speech, and friendship. The exhibits therefore stimulated'intercultural dialogue'.

At the end of the exhibition the children mostly recalled objects according to the short narration of their owners rather than their external features (Figure 9), indicating the significance of having a people-centred exhibition. The oral descriptions were easily accessible, and the children found those objects and stories which referred to the school years or had children as heroes as especially appealing. A typical story was that of a boy called Jovalin, whose parents originally left him back in his own country while they migrated illegally to Greece on foot. Eventually his grandparent found the money needed to pay for a visa for entry to Greece and gave him three banknotes in order to buy a bicycle when he arrived in Greece, though "I could never spend this money", the boy said, referring to these notes.

Reading and hearing about these life stories the *native child-visitors* recognised the motivation of the immigrant families to come to their country. In the surveys 72% of those children understood and recalled the reasons for their move to Greece given by the various migrant informants. They felt supportive of these immigrants but they mainly focused on their financial rather than emotional needs. It is also notable that native and immigrant visitors reacted to the same extent to both the two types of assistance. (Figure10). "I would give to an immigrant a place to stay and food", a girl declared. The solutions which they gave were mostly related with the



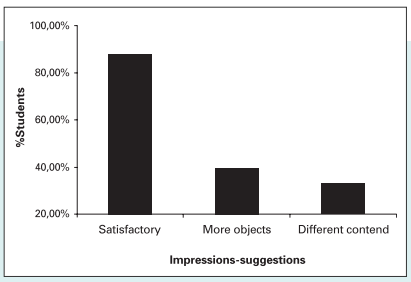


Figure 7
An immigrant student describes the trip of an immigrant who travelled from Skiathos to United States in 1895.
Figure 8
Children's suggestions about the exhibition.

Figure 9
Student visitors recalling objects taking into consideration their owners' narrations.

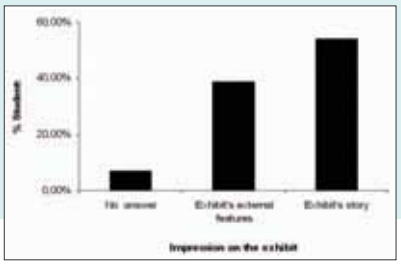


Figure 10
The indigenous children who visited the exhibition asserted that they could support an immigrant child.

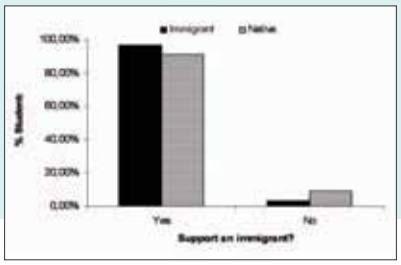
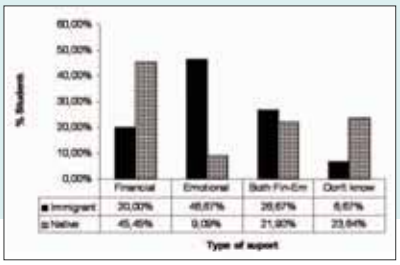


Figure 11
The type of support to an immigrant.



adjustment to the environment or assimilation. "I would help him to learn our language or our area". Additionally, according to their answers they proved to be much more objective about the effectiveness of each story. The use of oral content in the exhibits enabled them to perceive the meaning of migration and to sympathise with the difficulties which migrants confront, even though they had not had to deal with the issue before.

As for the *immigrant-children visitors to the exhibition,* these were impressed by those objects which evoked similar life experiences of their own. They found it easy to compare themselves with other people who had migrated to Greece as well. For example, a boy said: "Perhaps when that person came to Skiathos, he wouldn't have spare clothes or a place to stay" and these children used their own accumulated knowledge in order to understand the cognitive and affective state of other migrants(8). Also, they could recognise and recall less obvious aspects of each life history displayed. Children in this category did not conceal their origin. On the contrary, they were given the chance to discover parts of the history of their country of birth, and to relate these to their own family and personal history. Accordingly, immigrant students who visited the exhibition proved to be more understanding and sensitive in referring to the type of help they could offer: "I could give him a house and a job" or "We could be friends". Their speech was similarly emotionally affected (Figure 11).

As an epilogue

The utilisation of the intangible heritage of recent immigrant families in this particular study facilitated the educational approach to the rather subtle and delicate subject of migration. At the same time it affected considerably both the *historical* and the *museological* aspects of the research. In particular, it projected the'individual' experience and viewpoint which is usually restricted or omitted altogether in the presentation of historical issues.

In relation to the *historical* aspects, the active participation of many people-both the four groups of children and some immigrant parents - in the research was an indication that history has a private as well as public side, and the'social' dimension of the construction and the reconstruction of the past were ascertained. The voices of the immigrants-people who talked about their family, their country and their coming to Greece - contributed to a more pluralistic and'inclusive' view and understanding of history. The programme gave both indigenous and migrant children the chance to break the prevailing silence (and in some cases, prejudice) and adopt more active and positive roles in the relationships between Greek and immigrant children and families both in the school and in the wider community.

With reference to the *museological* aspect of the study, it was clear that the use of the oral material within the exhibition makes rather complicated issues such as migration and its effects more accessible and understandable, while the narrated customs and life stories which accompanied the exhibits promoted a people-centered approach of the past. Furthermore it indicated the crucial role which a museum can play in sensitizing a community to important and perhaps complex social matters. As a contemporary'forum' prepared with active involvement of both Greek and immigrant children (the first and second groups of the study), this particular exhibition facilitated the interaction among the visitors, especially children, drawn from often quite different cultural environments, and successfully

promoted interchanges of ideas about their tangible and intangible heritage. In addition, it was found that the presentation of'difference' presupposes an acknowledgement that the various cultural communities need to be regarded as equals and respected for each member's specific characteristics and needs(9).

In the *educational* process the collection of the intangible heritage acquainted children with the research process generally, and knowledge of historical research procedures in particular. The students who participated in the collection of the oral material were able to exercise critical judgments towards the migration and to actively perceive the changes in their society that this is producing. Furthermore, all the children who visited the exhibition realized that through discovering other people's culture they could also discover and enhance knowledge of hidden aspects of their own culture and history. Listening to other people's voices is a prerequisite for the co-existence and collaboration within society and in making cultural progress.

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Short Papers, Reports & Reviews

A Major Advance towards a Holistic Approach to Heritage Conservation: the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention

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A Major Advance towards a Holistic Approach to Heritage Conservation: the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention

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By adopting the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the October 2003 General Conference of UNESCO of 190 Member States, signalled a historic turning point in the comprehension of the concept and definition of heritage within contemporary societies, and of related actions for its safeguarding and preservation.

Only two decades following the adoption of the World Heritage Convention in 1972 were needed to progress to a new stage in the analysis of heritage on an international scale. For some, this was an indication of the extreme mobility of ideas; for others it restored the cultural balance or simply reflected the rapid acceleration of ideas through time, among the actors of the international community of heritage. However, it really represented the achievement of an idea born in 1946 with the coming into being of UNESCO itself: that of the universal nature of cultures.

Over the past fifty years, the concept of cultural heritage has broadened to a very great extent. The Hague Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in times of Armed Conflict (1954) was concerned only with 'cultural property', as its title made clear. The Venice Charter (1964) was in fact rather narrower, referring to 'monuments and sites' and dealt specifically with the architectural heritage. Through the development of policies in relation to the World Heritage Convention cultural heritage rapidly expanded to include groups of buildings, vernacular architecture, industrial and the 20th century built heritage. Over and above the study of historic gardens, the concept of "cultural landscape" highlighted the interpenetration of culture and nature.

The emergence in the second half of the 20th century of an anthropological approach to culture and the refocusing of social sciences on processes, often to the to the detriment of objects, have been further significant factors in the redefinition of heritage, regarding this as an entity made up of various, complex and interdependent expressions, revealed through social customs as well as the physical heritage.

Today, it is the diversity of expressions that defines heritage rather than adhesion to a descriptive standard. This process, explicitly dependent on the recognition of the complexity of heritage, was not obvious while simplified visual representations of the diversity of cultures through their heritage expressions dominated thinking. African habitats and sculpture, European monuments, the lost pyramids of Latin America and the national parks of North America, are now no longer simply perceived as images par excellence of the

heritage of humanity, but have acquired a new dimension, through the intermediary of the concept of their inherent or associated intangible values.

It is the quest for the meaning of cultural expressions that has paved the way for the acknowledgment of a new approach to heritage. This quest, which has acquired growing importance over the last twenty years, has made it necessary for us to identify the social customs and systems of beliefs, including myths, of which intangible heritage is the sign and expression. The definition of intangible cultural heritage and its better appreciation as a source of identity, creativity and diversity have therefore greatly contributed to draw a comprehensive approach to heritage which will now apply to both tangible as well as intangible heritage.

For most of UNESCO's 60 year life legal standard-setting activities focused on the protection of tangible heritage. As a consequence, the safeguarding of intangible heritage remained for a long time rather neglected, although a first step in this direction was made in 1973, when Bolivia proposed that a Protocol be added to the Universal Copyright Convention in order to protect folklore. This proposal was not successful but it helped to raise awareness of the need to recognise and include intangible aspects in the domain of cultural heritage.

It was not 1982 that UNESCO to set up a 'Committee of Experts on the Safeguarding of Folklore' and created a special 'Section for the Non-Physical Heritage', which together resulted in the Recommendation on the Protection of Traditional Culture and Folklore, adopted in 1989. This Recommendation set an important precedent in relation to recognising "traditional culture and folklore". It also encouraged international collaboration, and considered measures to be taken for its identification, preservation, dissemination and protection.

Since 1989 several regional assessments on the impact of this Recommendation have been made. They culminated in the Washington International Conference in June 1999 organised jointly by UNESCO and the Smithsonian Institution. Experts taking part in this conference concluded that a new or revised legal instrument would be required to address questions of terminology and the breadth of the subject matter more adequately. The Conference underlined the necessity to place an emphasis on tradition-bearers rather than scholars. It also highlighted the need to be more inclusive, encompassing not only artistic products such as tales, songs, etc., but also knowledge and values enabling their production, the creative processes that bring the products into existence and the modes of interaction by which these products are received and acknowledged.

In the nineties, two new UNESCO programmes witnessed the increasing importance of intangible cultural heritage: the Living Human Treasures system, launched in 1993, and the Proclamation of Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, launched in 1998. In the framework of this second programme, nineteen forms of cultural spaces or expression were proclaimed as "Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage" by the Director-General of UNESCO in May 2001, another set of twenty-eight "Masterpieces" gained international recognition in November 2003, and forty-three in 2005. These proclamations provide a useful indication of the types of intangible heritage that different Member States wish to safeguard. Also, the experience gained through these programmes confirmed that a new international law instrument for the protection of intangible heritage would be needed. After several

studies commissioned by UNESCO had been undertaken on the advisability and feasibility of adopting a new normative instrument for this purpose, the General Conference concluded that a new Convention would ensure the most appropriate protection. In 1999, the process of drafting this new instrument began, trying to find the most appropriate approach to the specific protection needs of the intangible heritage. The final draft of this new Convention was submitted to the 32nd session of the General Conference and adopted by a large majority in October 2003. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage entered into force in April 2006, three months after its legal adoption by 30 States, and by the end of April 2007 the Convention has 77 States Parties.

This unquestioned success demonstrates the need to protect heritage by operational activities in parallel with the implementation of normative instruments, and this two-fold approach is increasingly recognized by Member States. It has revealed an extremely positive dimension of the work pursued at international level. As discussion on legal instruments for the protection of the heritage requires all Member States of UNESCO to be present and offers them all the chance to voice their views, the new concepts and notions that gain recognition through international normative action are, consequently, expressions of a truly universal approach. Discussions between 1999 and 2003 on the definition of the Intangible Cultural Heritage have therefore greatly benefited from the exceptional wide representation of cultures, as compared to the narrow geographical and cultural composition of the expert Assembly that had drafted earlier measures, such as the 1964 Venice Charter,

The success of the new Convention is also explained by the fact that it is now widely recognised that in all cultures the tangible and intangible heritage are closely interrelated. Cultural heritage operates in a synchronised relationship involving society (that is, systems of interactions connecting people), and norms and values (that is, ideas and belief systems that define relative importance). Heritage objects are the tangible evidence of underlying norms and values, and thus they establish a symbiotic relationship between the tangible and intangible.

The intangible heritage must be seen as a broader framework within which tangible heritage takes on its shape and significance. The Istanbul Declaration, adopted at the Round table of Ministers of Culture organised by Mr. Koichiro Matsuura, Director General of UNESCO, in Istanbul in September 2002, stresses that 'an all-encompassing approach to cultural heritage should prevail, which takes into account the dynamic link between the tangible and intangible heritage and their deep interdependence'. Yet the underlying idea, forged fifty-two years ago by Claude Levi Strauss, 'is not to demonstrate that major groups that composed Humanity have brought, as such, specific contributions to our common heritage'. Instead, it is by ensuring greater and equal representation of all cultures that we come closer to the idea of safeguarding 'the very fact of diversity' through the reformulation of our approaches to heritage.

The Shanghai Charter, adopted at the 7th Asia Pacific Regional Assembly of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in Shanghai in October 2002, recommends the establishment of 'interdisciplinary and cross-sectoral approaches that bring together movable and immovable, tangible and intangible, natural and cultural heritage' and the development of 'documentation tools and standards in establishing holistic museum and heritage practices'.

But, what is meant by these 'holistic approaches for the tangible heritage and intangible heritage' and how can they be put into practice? The tangible cultural heritage, be it a monument, an historic city, a landscape, a work of art or a collection, is easy to catalogue, and its protection consists mainly of conservation and restoration measures. The intangible heritage in contrast is ultimately made up of processes and practices and therefore needs different safeguarding approaches and methodologies. It is fragile by its very nature and therefore much more vulnerable than other forms of heritage as its survival and transmission onwards hinges on 'actors' within the expression of the intangible tradition, and on social and environmental conditions. Safeguarding the intangible heritage therefore involves collection, documentation and archiving as well as the protection and support of its bearers.

While the tangible cultural heritage is designed to survive long after the death of the person who produced or commissioned it, the fate of the intangible heritage is much more closely related to its creators as it depends in most cases on oral transmission. Therefore, the legal and administrative measures traditionally taken to protect material items of cultural heritage are in most cases not appropriate for safeguarding a heritage whose most significant components relate to particular systems

of knowledge, values and the social and cultural context in which it is created.

Taking into account the different needs for conservation of monuments, cities or landscapes on the one hand and for safeguarding and transmission of cultural practices and traditional knowledge on the other hand, it will therefore be necessary to develop a threefold approach which will (i) put tangible heritage into its wider context, (ii) translate intangible heritage into "materiality" and (iii) support practitioners and the transmission of knowledge and skills. A holistic heritage approach will therefore mean viewing the tangible heritage in its wider context, particularly in the case of religious monuments and similar sites, and relating it more closely to the communities concerned in order to take into better account the relevant spiritual, political, or social values. In order to safeguard intangible heritage, it also needs also to be 'translated' from its oral form into some material manifestation, be this in archives, inventories, museums, audio and film records. Although this might be regarded as 'freezing' the intangible heritage and reducing it into documents, it should be clear that this is only one aspect of safeguarding and will require great thoughtfulness and care with regard to the most appropriate methods and materials chosen for this task.

Thirdly, one fruitful model for supporting practitioners and the transmission of skills and knowledge might be the policy, first developed in Japan and now been aopted more widely, of designating and protecting 'Living National Treasures', i.e. masters who possess specific traditional knowledge and skills. UNESCO started to work with a similar concept in 1993 with its 'Living Human Treasures' system designed to enable tradition holders to pass on their know-how to future generations. When artists, craftspeople and other 'living libraries' gain official recognition and support, better care can be taken to ensure the transfer of their skills and techniques to others.

These thoughts are gained from the recent work on the notion of intangible cultural heritage in order to implement a more holistic approach to heritage conservation programmes. Even if tangible and intangible heritage are very different, they are the two sides of the same coin: both carry meaning and the embedded memory of humanity, and both rely on each other when it comes to understanding the meaning and importance of each.

Project Report: the National 'Human Living Treasures' Programme of the Astra Museum, Sibiu, Romania

Corneliu Ioan Bucur



Project Report: the National 'Human Living Treasures' Programme of the Astra Museum, Sibiu, Romania

Corneliu Ioan Bucur
General Director, Astra National Museum Complex, Romania

The city of Sibiu, on the southern margin of the Transylvanian region of Romania, is one of the European Union's two Capitals of Culture for 2007, (sharing the honour with the city of Luxembourg). The 'Astra' National Museum Complex of Sibiu, traces its origins to the 19th century, is one of the most important of its kind in south-eastern Europe. The 96 hectares in area Astra Museum of Traditional Folk Civilization is believed to be the largest open-air museum ('skansen') in Europe, and other museums within the service include the Museum of Transylvanian Civilization, the Franz Binder Museum of Universal Ethnography, the Emil Sigerus Museum of Saxon Ethnography and Folk Art, the projected Museum of the Culture and Civilization of the Romany. Important supporting departments include the Cornel Irimie Memorial Cabinet, Conservation & Restoration, the Astra Film Studio, Marketing and Public Relation Office, and the Astra Publishing House.

Now, in the 21st century, the Astra Museum Complex is recognised as in the vanguard of the development of a new concept of museology, replacing the fetishism of the object of traditional ethnographical museums with a museum of the history of culture and civilisation, serving also as a national academic centre under the patronage of the Romanian Academy for modern interdisciplinary research on the history of Romania's folk civilisations. In all this the Complex has based its policy and practice on modern theories of the 'living museum' in which the best of traditional folk culture can be preserved, beginning with the establishment with approval of the Romanian Academy of the open air museum of folk technique in 1962. These concepts and policies have been further developed over the years, and particularly since the adoption of the present objectives and priorities in 1980. They have been based on a national system for researching, valorising, strengthening, energising and handing on to the younger generation all the activities concerned with understanding, preserving and promoting the nation's tangible and intangible heritage.

The Astra and other museums in the Complex regard folk techniques as fundamental to an understanding cultural history, and this field is very well represented through the impressive collections of types of tools and equipment, of homesteads and workshops, of artefacts more generally, all representing and illustrating the tangible cultural heritage-the technical and creative gifts and skills of the Romanian people. The Museum Complex also serves as a national centre for the revival and support of the traditional folk crafts, and for folk costume, and for the literary, dance, musical and food folklore of Romania, as well as of the customs associated with traditional festivals and feasts associated with

particular times of the year, with the life cycle of people, with everyday life, and with labour in the fields.

Alongside this ambitious research and collecting programme the Museums are concerned to hand down to new generations and to preserve in authentic forms the cultural traditions and an awareness of the national cultural identity that was totally ignored, damaged or even suppressed during the long period under the Communist system. Now within the European Union, the museums are looking towards comparative trends within Europe. A national centre for making and archiving anthropological documentary films is also part of the Complex. These films focus on recording and explaining traditional culture and civilization, and the Astra Film Studio organises a biennial International Anthropological Film Fest. There is also a national centre for the training of restorers and conservators from all the museums and types of collection.

Because of its rich collections and heritage the Astra Museum of Traditional Folk Civilization is regarded as the 'national Pantheon of folk culture' and thus is able to develop and lead strategic cultural programmes for preserving and safeguarding in the national conscience Romanian cultural identity. At the national level the Astra Museum was the first to establish and develop a national school for education in ethno-identity values, and offers and continuing and convincing demonstration of how to sustain the European and universal values of our history and culture.

The present Director of the Astra National Museum Complex, Prof. Dr. Corneliu Bucur, was one of the experts who took part in a UNESCO Workshop in Venice in February 1989 which developed the initial UNESCO *Recommendations upon the rescuing of the traditional and folk culture* adopted by the November 1989 General Conference of UNESCO, and this policy led in turn to the *Decision concerning "Living Human Treasures"*, adopted in 1993 by the 142nd session of the UNESCO Executive Board, and then the *Guidelines for the Establishment of National "Living Human Treasures" Systems.*

Since 1990-91 the Astra Museum has adopted a large, well-defined and formally organised system for promoting public recognition across the whole world of the exceptional intangible cultural values of both traditional and contemporary Romanian culture and folk art, and of the other ethnic groups living in present-day Romania. In 2000 UNESCO published a report reviewing the way in which the 1989 Recommendations were being adopted and applied across the Member States of UNESCO around the world. In this review four Asian countries : Japan, Thailand, the Philippines and South Korea were highlighted for their progress in developing intangible cultural heritage programmes, together with just two European countries: France and Romania.

The Romanian system developed at the national level by the Astra Museum in cooperation with many other ethnographic and folk art museums around the country has a number of different elements. Some other countries have built their national 'Living Human Treasures' programmes around a perhaps quite small number of named masters of particular intangible cultural practices, often just one representative 'Living Treasure' for each form of traditional art, craft or performance. In contrast with this, the Romanian system regards all important practitioners of the country's intangible cultures as Living Human Treasures within the terms of the UNESCO policies, not just those specially named and financed by the State, and all are therefore supported by State policies and programmes, and especially through those of the Astra Museum.

A particularly important early initiative in support of Romania's Living Human Treasures was the founding in





Figure 1, 2: The Fair of Romanian folk artisans 2003

1992 of the Romanian Folk Artisans' Association. This organisation covers all folk crafts and is permanently open to new members, and also participates in the organisation by the Astra Museum of the Romanian Folk Artisans' Fair, which is held every year around the national feast and holiday of the Virgin Mary (15th August). This is open to both members of the Folk Artisans' Association and to other folk artists, and 23 Fairs have now been held.

In 2006 over 250 folk artisans from all over the country took place by invitation, and these represented many different ethnographical areas and craft genres, all coming from well-known centres of craftsmanship. All the traditional Romanian folk crafts were represented, including embroidery, weaving, pottery, painted Easter eggs, wood and bone carving, wood and glass painted icons, mask making, leather and furrier's trade, making dolls and toys, making musical instruments, furniture, knitting with natural vegetable fibres, and the making of hats and other personal adornments and ornaments. In order to provide permanent high quality outlets for sales of original crafts, the Museum also provided and manages two Folk Art Galleries, one at the Folk Museum and the other in the City centre (see below).

The Museum also supports the 54 year old Traditional Folk Art Academy of Romania, which has six sections (folk literature, folk music, folk dance, folk crafts, folk studies techniques, and traditional Romanian cookery). The Academy is also a living organisation to which new members are continuously nominated and elected. Following the election of new members following a rigorous system of selection, the organisation now totals over 220 folk artisans covering most of the famous craft workers of the country, selected by specialists in ethnology including other members of the Academy, and also serves as "the national forum of the best and well known folk artisans". The members hold analytic and democratic dialogues about the past (tradition), the present, and the future of folk culture.

From 1992 the Museum organised four annual Romanian Children Folk Artisans' Competition. In 1996 approaches were made at the Ministry of Education and as a result it began to be included in the official calendar of Extra-Curricular Educational Activities under the new name 'National Traditional Folk Crafts Olympiad'. Children aged between six and eighteen may participate in this competition providing they can prove that they are genuine folk artisans with skills acquired at school or in the family. The Olympiad is a unique event within which those taking part become acquainted leading adult craftspeople whom help to hand down the secrets and skills of their crafts to the young generation.

2006 saw the 11th event which was held between 24th and 30th August 2006, and was organised in collaboration with Sibiu County Council, the Ministry of Education and Research and the County Inspectorate for Education from Sibiu. Part of the 'Living Human Treasures' programme initiated by the Astra Museum draws in artistically gifted children from all cities and villages across Romania selected after local preliminary competitions in each county across Romania, with the aim of promoting traditional folk crafts, and the two winners of these finals are declared Romania's Folk Olympics Champions. In 2006 35 counties plus Bucharest City took part, and 140 child winners at the county level progressed to take part in the national event, accompanied by their instructors and teachers. The finals of the 2007 (12th) Olympiad have been announced for an eight day period from 23rd August 2007 in the Open Air Museum. During the week competitors will, as in previous years, create traditional

arts and crafts, wearing their national costume, under the guidance of master artisans and folk artists.

Beginning in 2001 the Museum has organised a new kind of event - an annual National Festival of Folk Traditions modelled on the annual Smithsonian Folklife Festival in Washington. DC, USA, (at which Romania had been an invited participant in 1999). The Festival is considered to be the most important of the cultural events organised by the Museum, while the annual Anthropology and Documentary Film Festival, established in 1993, is recognised as one of the best in Central and Eastern Europe.

The National Festival of Folk Traditions is centred on performances in the open air on a very large stage, with authentic performances that reflect the many different genres of folk culture performance across the whole country. This is an interactive performance event with live demonstrations, illustrating the everyday life or the spiritual (religious) life, and offers a direct dialogue between the artistes and craftspeople and the visitors to the Festival. Soon all are singing, dancing, story-telling, working or cooking traditional meals altogether. Each folk artisan presents the traditions of the area that he or she comes from. The festival has a cycle of live performances and activities developed in the Open Air Museum. At each Festival there are also invited performers and craftspeople from different Romanian counties illustrating different historical-geographical and cultural traditions, including Transylvania, Muntenia, Moldavia and a county with an ethnic Romanian tradition now in the Republic of Moldavia (former part of the USSR), while in 2006 guest participants were invited from Romanian communities in Serbia and Hungary.

The Festival presents over 450 participants all dressed in their original folk costume as indications of their ethnic identity. The event has the following structure including seven thematic sections: religious arts, folk literature, musical arts, choreographic arts, traditional folk crafts, folk technique and traditional folk meals. There is a six day programme for the Festival with seven to eight hours of activities and performances every day. The objectives and aims are (1) to preserve Romanian contemporary folk culture, (2) to promote the value of the heritage which is nowadays seen to include rural traditions in addition to the traditional concern with the physical heritage, and (3) to encourage the younger generation to know, to save, to become acquainted with and to carry forward the values of the national heritage, as a mark of the country's ethnic identity.

In the Autumn of 2006 the Museum Complex inaugurated the House of Arts in the historic city centre of Sibiu - a new and better location and facility for the Folk Art Galleries of the Museum, and complementing the Gallery at the entrance to the Astra Open Air Museum. The new city centre Folk Art Galleries have six ground floor rooms within the House of Arts, one room displaying for sale each major category of traditional artifacts made by contemporary folk artisans. From time to time there are working demonstrations by expert artisans for the general public, which are very good opportunities to show their skills and demonstrate how they are preserving the authentic tradition in folk art. Also, in the gift shops the goods for sale are displayed and arranged by type as in an exhibition, thus enhancing and enriching the image of Astra as a living museum, with the contemporary products of traditional crafts serving as a direct link between the living folk artisans and the public.

Eight annual International Anthropological Documentary Film Fests have now been held, the most recent in October 2006. The Film Fest is now well known



Figure 3: National festival of folk traditions





Figure 4, 5: National Olympiad for children traditional folk crafts





Figure 6, 7: Traditional folk art academy from Romania

and appreciated not only in Romania but more widely, and is now regarded as one of the best documentary film festivals in Central and Eastern Europe. As copies of the entries are deposited with the Museum the collection has become a rich film archive, with a special emphasis on traditional cultures and civilization.

The Romanian 'Living Human Treasures' programme developed and implemented by the Astra National Museum Complex now comprises a series of major annual cultural events, together with measures aimed to support and promote the work of traditional craftspeople, performers and other inheritors and transmitters of the intangible heritage. All are interlinked to provide a programme for safeguarding and promoting the intangible cultural heritage, which has placed Romania among the leading countries of the world within the field. The policies and their implementation are also important in helping to oppose the universal globalisation with is threatening national and local cultural identity around the world.

This policy and programme is particularly important because of two further developments. First, Romania ratified on 20th January 2006 the new UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which then came into force internationally on 20th April 2006. (In June 2006 Romania was also elected to the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage established under the Convention to guide its implementation.)

Second, as already noted Sibiu is the European Union's joint European City of Culture for 2007. All the many institutions involved with this are concerned to assert and promote the cultural identity of the Sibiu region and Romania as a whole, in the context of the new Millennium and the new greatly enlarged European Union, which Romania joined on 1st January 2007. The main theme for the City of Culture year is inter-cultural dialogue: promoting dialogue between the host and guest communities generally and in particular between Romanians and ethnic groups living in Romania, with indigenous populations more widely, and among people of different nationalities, races, denominations and professions. The aim is to know and celebrate each other's cultures, to cultivate mutual respect and esteem, and to strengthen inter-community relations and friendships.

In both of these developments the Astra Museum generally, and its work in support of Romania's many hundreds of 'Living Human Treasures', is seen to have a most important role.

2007 : the Year of Jeju Folklore Project- Reviving the Cultural Heritage of Nature's Paradise

Han Minho

2007: the Year of Jeju Folklore Project-Reviving the Cultural Heritage of Nature's Paradise*

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ABSTRACT
In 2006, the National Folk Museum of Korea (NFMK) initiated the project *The Year of Local Folklore.* The project is to be carried out by both NFMK and local governments. Extending over 10 years, the project is scheduled to cover the whole nation, focusing on specific regions, one by one, each for two years. For the first year, intensive research will conducted on the folklore of the chosen region. In the second year, exhibitions, performances, and academic conferences, based on the results of the first year's research, will be held. In short, the projects will lay the foundations on which local governments and residents will further promote their culture.
Jeju Island was selected as the project's first target because its folklore has been conserved relatively well due to the island's separation from the mainland, but, because of rapid development in recent years, it is now at risk of extinction.

Environmental context

Jeju Island is located about 150 km south east of the mainland of Korea. In the past the island was used as a penal settlement. Its total area is 1,848 square km, which is three times the size of Singapore or 1.7 times the size of Hong Kong. The land is generally flat and oval-shaped. Mt. Halla, in the centre of the island, provides contour lines which form concentric circles, letting the cultivated lands spread to the sea coast. The island has a subtropical oceanic climate with four distinct seasons. The temperature ranges from -1°C to 35°C.

The island is endowed with a beautiful natural setting

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and a unique traditional culture. It is the premier tourist destination in Korea because of its unparalleled natural beauty. Scenic beaches, waterfalls, cliffs and caves are situated throughout the island and allow visitors numerous ways to enjoy their leisure there. Mt. Hallasan, a national park consisting of an extinct volcano cone, is especially popular. About five million tourists (domestic and foreign) visit the island each year. In 2002, UNESCO designated the island an ecology preservation zone, a 'Biosphere Reserve'.

The percentages of primary, secondary, and tertiary industries in the island's economy are 16.1%, 3.0%, and 80.9% respectively. The population is 557,000, which is 13% of that of Singapore or 8% of that of Hong Kong. The island boasts excellent resources such as an airport, ports, and road facilities. All the tourism sites in Jeju are within one hour's distance by car.

Though Jeju's history goes back to the Stone Age it has developed rapidly since the 1960s. In particular, the Korean government has recently recognized Jeju's enormous potential as a centre for tourism and business. It designated the island a 'Free International City' in 2002, and a 'Special Self-Governing Province' in 2006. With greater autonomy, Jeju is pushing ahead with ambitious projects to build tourist attractions and business complexes.

Institutional context

There are over 40 museums in Jeju, including the Jeju National Museum, the Jeju Folklore & Natural History Museum, the Peace Museum, and the Museum of African Art. Each of them has its own unique theme, such as folklore, natural history, foreign arts, food, cinema - and even sex! About half of the museums are connected with the National Folk Museum of Korea through the 'Network of Museums'Cooperation.'

The Network was initiated in 2005 to help local museums and has been led by NFMK. At its own expense, NFMK provides local museums with educational programmes, professional assistance to repair and arrange collections and various workshops.

The collaboration and cooperation between central and regional government to develop Jeju also plays an important role in designing and implementing any project on Jeju Island.

Sequence of events

In January 2006, NFMK drafted the project *The Year of Local Folklore* and got the approval of the Minister of Culture and Tourism. Soon after, NFMK entered into the *Agreement of the Year of Jeju Folklore* with Jeju Province. By the end of March 2006, NFMK had discussed and decided the details and schedules of the project with Jeju Province and local folklorists. In April, NFMK concluded an MOU with the National Institute of the Korean Language to study Jeju dialect, which is so unique that a person from the mainland cannot communicate with a person who uses it. NFMK is considering cooperating with UNESCO to preserve it as oral intangible heritage.

Also in April, NFMK organised two research teams with four of its staff members and eight local experts, and dispatched them to two Jeju villages which were judged to be representative of Jeju folklore. Residing in the villages until this coming November, these staff will do a thorough job of researching local folklore and traditions.

Basically, the project is to be carried out jointly by NFMK and local government. Extending over 10 years,

the project is scheduled to cover the whole nation, focusing on specific regions, one by one, each for two years. For the first year, intensive research will be conducted on the folklore of a region. In the second year, exhibitions, performances, and academic conferences will be held, based on the results of the first year's research. Hopefully, cultural commodities, tangible or intangible, will also be developed. Up to this point, NFMK will play an important role, but from the third year on local government should take the lead.

The reason why Jeju was selected as the first target of the project is because, until recently, the folklore of the island has been conserved relatively well due to the island's separation from the mainland, but it is now at the risk of extinction because of recent rapid development.

Leadership and decision making

The Committee for *the Year of Jeju Folklore,* a formal framework for the project, was set up in Februrary 2006. The governor of Jeju Province took the chair of the committee, and the director of NFMK was its vice chair. Legislators of the National Assembly representing Jeju, and directors of major cultural institutions in Jeju, joined as committee members. The executive committee was also organised, chaired by the director of NFMK. The secretariat is composed of five divisions in charge of planning, research, exhibition, acquisition, performance and education, respectively.

Although the committee and the secretariat are made up of the people from NFMK and Jeju Province, NFMK has played a leading part from the inception of the project.

Cultural resources

Jeju has a very strong and unique oral folk tradition, especially in the *bonpuri* (the main themes of shaman songs told in story form) and *nodongyo*, the traditional work songs of farmers and fishermen.

Oral traditions can be categorised into legends, folk songs, proverbs, riddles and so on. Jeju is often called 'a treasure house of folk songs' because the songs of this province are rarely found in other areas. Folk songs relate to the way of life of local residents and reflect the realities of their lives. The powerful and dynamic tunes and words reflect their attitudes and preoccupations

Jeju is also an island of tales. Every town has its own myths and legends. There is hardly a nook or cranny, stone or cliff on Mt. Halla that does not have a legend or story about it. The locals believe that more than 18,000 gods and goddesses preside over the island. The most powerful, and typically orally transmitted, myth relates to the island's origin, recounting that the three gods Samsinin - *GO eula, YANG eula,* and *BU eula* - founded the nation of Tamla on Jeju after their marriage to three virgins who crossed the ocean. The gods are said to have emerged from *Samseonghyeol*, literally a hole for the founding gods, and Jeju still has three caverns regarded as sacred places.

It is well known in other provinces that Jeju has many folk customs and songs of shamanic origin. Other kinds of music are hard to find. Jeju's musical instruments are mainly percussion instruments used in shamanic music.

Folk crafts are the skills handed down generation after generation among the common people, to create objects for use in their daily lives. Jeju has a large number of folk crafts, including *kat* (Korean hat making), bamboo and native grass crafts, pottery, and dyeing.



Figure 1: Jeju Island, Korea: general scenic view



Figure 2: Heobeok, a traditional water jar



Figure 3: A native woman diver, Jeju



Figure 4: A native women diver, Jeju



Figure 5: Folk performance, Jeju

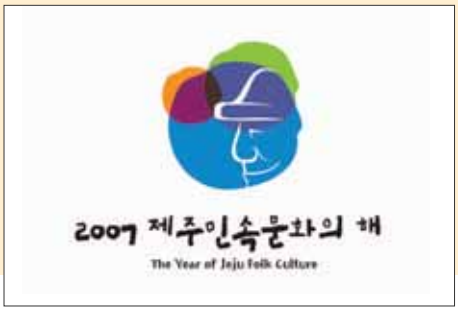


Figure 3: Year of the Jeju Folklore Project emblem. This symbolises Jeju's three main characters in three colours: green for Mount. Halla, orange for tangerine, and blue for water.

Social and economic inputs and outputs

The budget for this project is about $2.5 million, of which $2 million will come from NFMK and the rest will be borne by Jeju Province. The project aims to lay a foundation on which the local government and people of Jeju will be able to build to promote their culture further. The end result of the project will be a comprehensive report on the island's folklore. The report will provide a detailed explanation of Jeju's cultural resources and will show the island's potential as a centre for cultural tourism. In the second year of the project, some pilot programmes (exhibitions, performances, conferences, etc.) will be implemented utilising the findings of the report.

For the first two years, the main investor is central government, namely, NFMK. However, it is the responsibility of the local government and people to exploit the outcome of the project because the residents of Jeju are expected to be the beneficiaries. The local newspapers and broadcasters have welcomed and applauded the project, partly because it does not include any regulation or disadvantage for the residents' properties.

Considering that the impact of the project will extend over a long period of time, a rigid cost benefit analysis cannot be given. The project, and the situation, is subject to change.

Sustainability

The benefits of the project are sustainable. It is critically important to make full use of them. One of the ultimate ideals of the project is to build an eco-museum where Jeju's natural and cultural heritage can be preserved. The leading role of local government and the active support and participation of the residents are essential factors, because after two years the human and financial resources of NFMK will be moved to another region.

Lessons learned

The project is at an initial stage so it is too early to enumerate any lessons learned. However, a few general observations can be made. First, as in all the other projects, the main protagonists must have a clear long-term vision, expertise and resources. In the case of this project, NFMK and its director have performed this role effectively and efficiently. From the beginning, NFMK secured the support of central government (the Ministry of Culture and Tourism).

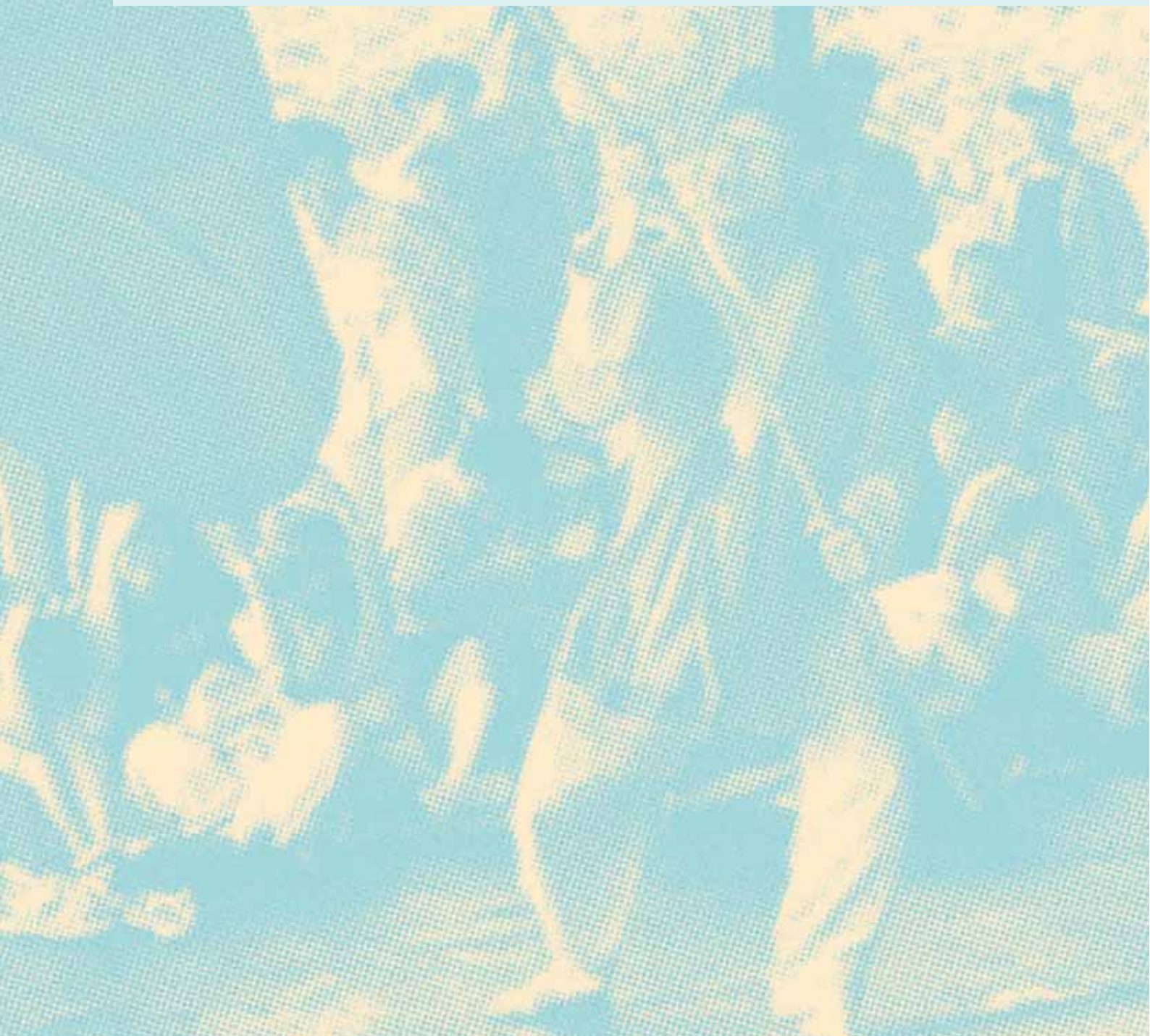
Secondly, close collaboration and cooperation between central and local government is crucial. NFMK concluded the necessary agreement with Jeju Province and formed a joint organisation to carry out the project.

Thirdly, support and participation from the local community is essential. Keeping that fact in mind, NFMK made strategic efforts to involve the local press with the project and this has been very successful.

Lastly, it is highly recommended that a local organisation be established, drawn from both the public and private sectors on Jeju, to keep the project going.

Conference Report:
Tangible-Intangible Cultural Heritage:
A Sustainable Dichotomy?
the 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar

Charlotte Andrews, Dacia Viejo-Rose, Britt Baillie & Benjamin Morris



Conference Report: Tangible-Intangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy? the 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar

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Introduction

Nearly a decade ago the Cambridge Heritage Seminars (CHS) began meeting at Cambridge University, creating a forum for discussing ideas, questions, and case studies arising from working with, or studying, cultural heritage, itself a nascent field. From their start the Seminars proved to be fruitful venues for conversation, and through the events themselves and their subsequent publications, have garnered a great deal of interest and comment over many different disciplines.

With the ripening of the discipline of heritage studies (as it has come to be termed) since that time, the remit of the CHS has likewise expanded to include collaboration with academics, policy-makers, and practitioners, with the intent of a mutual enriching of theory and practice amongst these sub-sets of researchers. The 2006 Cambridge Heritage Seminar, held at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research on 13 May 2006, sought to better understand the rapidly evolving concepts of tangible and intangible cultural heritage (sometimes referred to as 'material' and 'immaterial'). Both the structure of the programme and the diverse make-up of the participants continued the CHS tradition of open discussion and interdisciplinary learning.

The impetus for the May 2006 conference was the impending ratification of the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (here referred to as the 2003 Convention), which came into force the month before the conference, in April 2006. Given the developments in the field that this convention represented, and the debates over the interpretation and implementation that would surely ensue, it was timely to lend it a critical eye. Discussion of the 2003 Convention did figure prominently during the course of the day, but its presence did not prevent a range of other issues from surfacing in the numerous papers, posters, and conversations that took place. Participants spoke eloquently on the perceived dichotomy between tangible and intangible cultural heritage, both praising and questioning its usefulness for theory and practice. To extend the discussion to the wider community in heritage studies, this report contains a synopsis of the conference (divided into three parts), a critical discussion of the issues it raised, and some avenues for future research.

Development of the discourse

From the very beginning, clear and communicable

definitions of the two concepts were a priority. To establish the foundation for the rest of the day, David Stehl of UNESCO presented a history and description of the 2003 Convention, detailing its provisions and obligations for States Parties whilst contextualising it against the 1972 UNESCO *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.* Using examples taken from around the world, Stehl emphasised the 2003 Convention's focus on 'living' heritage and the breadth of cultural expression it covers. As with any Convention adopted by UNESCO, however, Stehl took care to point out the need of the member states to follow through on the recommendations the Convention provides - such an international Convention is toothless, he argued, without the full support of its States Parties.

Following Stehl, Claude Ardouin (British Museum, Department of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas) argued for the fluidity of the tangible-intangible distinction. He suggested that the role of museums in safeguarding and interpreting objects frequently extends past the visitor's experience of the display case. The T45 Citroen truck, for example, widespread in West Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, had become woven into the songs and oral traditions of those who had driven them, ridden in them, and interacted with them in other contexts. Arguing that the inseparability of tangible and intangible heritage was one of the 'first principles' of contemporary heritage studies, Ardouin exposed the creation of these categories and the intellectual and managerial means by which they were artificially separated. Such separation, he argued, can be successfully countered by appropriate curatorial training that accentuates the links between apparently different 'knowledge clusters.' By uniting the tangible object and intangible associations surrounding it, museum staff and stakeholders may enjoy a richer, more nuanced relationship with that piece of history.

Like Stehl's and Ardouin's introductory addresses, the following four papers in this session oscillated between the theoretical and the practical. Adrian Calvo-Valderrama (Universite Pierre Mendes-France) offered a sociologist's perspective in his paper *Tangible to Intangible Heritage: A Sociological Question.* Using Emile Durkheim's definition of a category as *a solid frame that contains all of our thoughts,* Calvo-Valderrama traced the evolution of UNESCO's definition of intangible heritage, and considered the implications such a definition would have: implications for everyday conceptualisation, use of language, and praxis. Great care must be taken, he argued, for a definition purporting to exist *for all of humanity.*

These concerns were adopted by Stephanie Koerner and Lorna Singleton (University of Manchester), in their paper *The Unquiet Past: Cultural Heritage and Spaces Where Reasons Matter in the Changing Social Geography of Science, Technology, and Human Values.* They demonstrated how conflict and globalisation, and their effects upon social geography, have given rise to fears that traditional life-ways, languages, practices, and cultures are disappearing. In their view, the 2003 Convention placates these fears through the promotion of safeguarding measures, a major part of the Convention's protocols. Furthermore, Koerner and Singleton argued, the 2003 Convention redresses the postcolonial recognition that the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (a term coined by Laurajane Smith) has been dominated by Western theories regarding expert knowledge and accountability.

The highly controversial notion of the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse; was taken up by the other two participants in this session, Emma Waterton and Laurajane Smith (both of the University of York).

Waterton's paper, *We Have Trouble Communicating: Intangible Heritage and the Dominant Heritage Discourse,* argued that the discourse of 'grand,' 'tangible,' and 'aesthetically pleasing' heritage set out in the 1972 *World Heritage Convention* has become 'naturalised,' that is, largely unquestioned. This explains, she suggested, why the idea of intangible heritage has not been wholly adopted by scholars and policymakers, a situation that is reflected by the significant lack of Western nations that have ratified the 2003 Convention. (As of this writing, in autumn 2006, the UK has not begun the ratification process.) Waterton argued that the establishment of intangible heritage as a third exclusionary category of heritage (after natural and cultural, set out in the 1972 Convention) has only resulted in the unquestioned adoption of the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse': attempts to theorise intangibility have sidestepped the already-established categories of heritage, thereby further reifying its place in the academy.

Echoing Waterton but taking her argument even further, Laurajane Smith argued, in her paper *Heritage and Its Intangibility*, that heritage should not be defined by its materiality or immateriality, but rather by what is *done* with it in a broader cultural context. She described how the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' obfuscates what heritage actually does in our society by seeing heritage as the actual 'thing' (monument, artefact, building) - as opposed to the values and meanings we ascribe to objects, acts, and events. Contending that on these grounds all heritage is, in fact, intangible, Smith argued that heritage mediates cultural and social change through the continual construction and negotiation of identity, place, and memory. It is therefore active and performative, illustrated by visitors to heritage sites who engage in a cultural ritual by which they acquire cultural literacy and thus social capital. Finally, drawing on the work of Ashworth and Tunbridge on 'dissonant heritage,' Smith argued that all heritage is contested, and that the cultural performance of heritage is about the negotiation of this contest to create and maintain social consensus.

Forms and meanings

In order to explore how these abstract concepts play themselves out, later papers drew on case studies to illuminate their affects and effects in practice. They explored how cultural heritage is transformed by the visitor experience, and how its consumers determine what becomes heritage and the various forms it will take.

The first two papers presented reflected on the notion of heritage as fictional landscape, and equally, fictional landscape as heritage. John Carman (University of Birmingham) gave a paper entitled *Castles in the Air: the Intangibility of the Tangible*, in which he argued for heritage as a realm of ideas rather than a collection of objects. It is the ideas and memories that we have about objects and the symbolic values that we ascribe to them that transform them into heritage, he claimed, not the other way round. Drawing on examples of heritage linked to battlefield sites, the paper illuminated how memorials and re-enactments both recall and replace the memory of events. In this way, Carman argued, the creation of new objects comes to represent the intangible past. Detailing the transformation of empty space into battlefield space, and then into heritage space, he proposed that what we choose to honour about battles reveals far more about our present needs than about the past events themselves.

Picking up Carman's cues on the transformation of space, Benjamin Morris (of Cambridge University) mapped out the landscape of heritage born out of the literary endeavour. His paper, *Altars of Words and Stone: On Literature as Heritage* focused on instances of heritage that would not have existed in their current form without literature: encounters created not by history or politics but by fiction and poetry. He identified three primary categories of literary heritage: places associated with a literary tradition, the physical remnants of literature that require conservation (such as letters and manuscripts), and the contemporary institutions that exist to nurture and safeguard literary activity. He offered examples such as pilgrimages to writers' homes, like Dylan Thomas' birthplace in Swansea (which is not open to the public but which garners visitors anyway), and to sites that appear in their writings, such as a bare spot of earth in a Georgia cemetery made a tourist attraction by the novel *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*. Taking Scotland as a case study, Morris charted how the city of Edinburgh had engineered its 2004 designation by UNESCO as the first World City of Literature. He concluded by arguing that literary heritage extends past the spatio-temporal bounds ascribed to tangible heritage, but this process must take into account its consequences on writers living and working today.

Whereas Carman and Morris focused on the intangible heritage of narratives, two other papers analysed intangible heritage made manifest in living persons and practices. In her paper, *Living Human Treasures and their Tangible Products: Traditional Whistles in Matera*, Chiara Bortolotto (Istituto di Arti, Culture e Litterature Comparate IULM) raised crucial questions about the transformative impact that labelling can have. Looking at the production of traditional whistles from the regions of Puglia and Basilicata in southern Italy, she presented the case of a craftsman who was labelled 'living heritage,' and how this labelling transformed him, his practice and the resulting objects. After the recognition had turned his art into a representative symbol of the traditional pottery of this region, he began signing the whistles and turning them into expensive collectors' items. As a result, the whistles became decorative objects and lost their original role in traditional children's games. In this sense, Bortolotto's paper served as an admonition to overzealous heritage managers who seek to append the notion of heritage to too much: it can do as much harm as it can do good, she warned, and the consequences can be devastating.

A paper by Marden Nichols (of the University of Cambridge), *Documenting Folklore? Intangible Heritage in the 20th Century*, examined the development of folklore as heritage in the twentieth century. Central to her expose of the issue and to each of her examples was the issue of documentation, bringing to light the fact that while terminology has changed, there is still tension and disagreement surrounding the documentation of intangible heritage. Her case study of Henry Chapman Mercer's Moravian Pottery and Tile Works suggested a productive route for approaching the safeguarding of intangible heritage. Mercer had not only collected tiles and ceramics, but researched the production techniques involved in their making and design and proceeded to manufacture tiles using this knowledge. The example showed that our condemnation of archives as 'frozen and 'dead' culture discounts the potential of future generations to re-encounter and revamp expressions of heritage long unpracticed. Like Bortolotto's work, Nichols's paper also illustrated how the intervention of heritage managers and other enthusiasts seeking to revive and sustain cultural practices often reflects these interventionists' values - not those of their original creators.

Interpretation and representation

The final session of the day concentrated on assessing the influence and implications of tangible and intangible heritage for cultural heritage management, spanning both presentation- and research-oriented approaches.

Surpassing the usual critique of museums' obsession with the physical relics of the past, Patrick Boylan (City University London) revealed the concern many museums have in fact had with non-material culture in his paper, *The Intangible Heritage: A Challenge and an Opportunity for Museums and Museum Professional Training*. Given that the intangible is increasingly recognised by museums, Boylan discussed the implications for museums of aligning with specific cultural domains outlined by the 2003 Convention. Addressing both collection-centred museums driven by 'scholar-curators' and community-minded 'new' museums led by multi-tasking, holistically-minded teams, he stressed the importance of specialised, general, and lifelong training and capacity-building for museum professionals. In the wake of continual change and redefinition within the museum field, Boylan underlined that protection and promotion of the intangible heritage, especially as codified by UNESCO, is a most timely and crucial concern, and also briefly introduced the forthcoming new International Journal of Intangible Heritage, of which he is Editor-in-Chief.

Codifications are meaningless if they do not have consequences for practice, however. Mohamed Bounhiss (City University London) illustrated these concerns in a paper entitled *Sustaining Intangible Heritage: The 'Eco-Museum' Concept in Morocco*. A native Moroccan, Bounhiss telescoped between local and national contexts to evaluate the museological response to his country's rich and diverse cultural heritage. By tracing the colonial legacies and ideological frameworks that underlie Morocco's contemporary heritage management and museology, Bounhiss exposed the continuing failure of museums to recognise and respond to diverse local political and cultural forms. These museums also privileged tangible heritage, he argued, playing to foreign and tourist interests. In the second half of his paper, Bounhiss contrasted this discriminatory role played by public museums with an analysis of the Ait Iktel village eco-Museum, where local definitions, agendas, and environments contextualise and safeguard tangible and intangible heritage in complementary ways. He argued this it is not only a more effective, sustainable and

renewable type of museum, where cultural identity can be organically and fully constructed, but one in which the assets of territory, community, collections, craft and habitat can be translated into economic growth, community development and broader social empowerment.

A case study on the other side of the world offered similar insights. Sarah Byrne (University College, London) gave a paper entitled *Archaeological Research Implications and the Case Study of Papua New Guinea,* drawing on her exploration of the social meaning of monumental complexes on Uneapa Island in order to question the dichotomy's suitability for research agendas. While acknowledging some positive implications of the tangible-intangible separation for heritage practice, she warned of its limited benefits and even counterproductive effects for understanding past and present social phenomena. She critiqued a post-process agenda that privileges perception over practice and social action over materiality, an approach she claimed, that does not adequately account for the ways that social meanings merge. Byrne advocated balanced research that recognises the subtle interplay between tangible and intangible elements, rejecting the division's true nature as a methodological construct largely devoid of any real social meaning.

Discussion and avenues for further research

The round-up discussion moderated by Beverley Butler (University College, London) suggested avenues for ways forward and further research. Many of the issues raised above will require further analysis before they merit stable conclusions, but there were some broad lessons to be learned from the speakers and participants. First, in homage to the theme of the conference, it appears that the dichotomy between tangible and intangible (or material/immaterial) heritage is frequently unsustainable, as material culture resists interpretation or appropriation without an overt acknowledgement of the meanings and values ascribed to it.

Yet structuralist critics must be headed off at the pass: to suggest a dichotomy is not necessarily to declare an opposition, and a concept as capricious as cultural heritage requires a dialectical approach between materiality and immateriality rather than an oppositional one. Material culture can only be fully understood in the context of its capacity for social or epistemiological action, and likewise, the conceptual bases of material heritage to which we owe a great deal of our cultural identity (not to mention occasions for preservation and conservation) could not exist without the objects and spaces to which they belong. So whilst the interplay between the material and the immaterial has partly been mapped, what remains are accounts of how this interplay translates into legal structure and action. Examining cases in which this translation has proven a success or a failure will greatly increase our theoretical and practical resources, and will open the way for safeguarding practice that is more informed and potentially less disruptive.

Even a brief look at the countries that have ratified the 2003 Convention reveals where most of the thinking on the tangible/intangible interplay has already advanced, and it would be fruitful for Western-oriented researchers to learn from these experiences. One place to start would be UNESCO's list of *the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity*, though (as Bortolotto argued) it is important to bear in mind that such proclamations will have their own effects on the subject. Cross-cultural comparisons and collaborations, as well as respect for the diversity of understandings of tangibility and intangibility, are one of many ways forward that will bear just this kind of fruit.

NOTES

For more information on the next conference, consult the CHS website at http://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/heritage-seminar/ (where archived information on the 7th CHS can also be found).

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Symposium Report: Only in America? Ethnographic Archives, Communities of Origin and Intangible Cultural Heritage

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Symposium Report: Only in America? Ethnographic Archives, Communities of Origin and Intangible Cultural Heritage*

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Following the adoption by the 2003 UNESCO General Conference of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* many States very quickly embraced and ratified the Convention (by the end of May 2007 there were already 86 States Parties), while others countries seem much more hesitant or even hostile. These differences in national attitudes towards ratification are potentially very interesting. While the August 2006 Symposium: Ethnographic Archives, Communities of Origin and Intangible Cultural Heritage held in Washington D.C. at the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) and the Library of Congress did not address directly the possibility of ratification of the Convention by the United States it did nevertheless touch upon some of the central issues in the Convention, in particular the managing, preservation and access to intangible cultural heritage. The Symposium, and this brief review of it may therefore serve as contribution to the debates about intangible heritage issues taking place more widely around the world, and therefore is not only of relevance to the United States, since some of the different questions and criticisms voiced during debates may be of relevance to other States that remain hesitant about the concept, meaning and values of 'intangible cultural heritage' as defined in the 2003 UNESCO Convention.

Most of the Symposium contributions focused on the special challenges posed by the variety of often quite different forms of ethnographic materials that relate to indigenous communities, and was inevitably coloured by the USA's 16 years' experience of applying the ground-breaking Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (universally referred to as NAGPRA).

The list of symposium speakers counted some of the leading authorities in the United States. These included Suzan Shown Harjo, who is a prominent member of the Southern Cheyenne & Muscogee (formerly known as "Creek Indian") People, and a Founding Trustee of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI). She is also Director of the Morningstar Institute, a policy institute based in Washington D.C. that has been pivotal in the development of the last three decades of federal legislation on Native American issues including NAGPRA; 1990. She was also the principal author of the NMAI Policies on Repatriation (1991), Indian Identity (1993) and Exhibits (1994). Moreover Harjo has been pivotal in developing a succession of key federal Indian laws:

*August 2006 at the National Museum of the American Indian and Library of Congress, Washington DC, USA

American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978); National Museum of the American Indian Act (1989); Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990); and Executive Order on Indian Sacred Sites (1996).

Other main speakers included Jane Sledge, Associate Director of the National Museum of the American Indian, and a very experienced museum documentation and information systems specialist, Michael F. Brown, Professor of Anthropology & Latin American Studies at Williams College in Massachusetts and the author of *Who Owns Native Culture?* (2003) (which earned him a status as the "commanding figure in the debate on culture and copyright"), and Karen J. Underhill, Head of Special Collections and Archives at the Northern Arizona University. She had hosted a recent international gathering which led to the June 2006 release of a draft Code of Best Practices and Guidelines for the Safeguarding and Use of Native American Archival Materials (available on line at: http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-/index.html)

The Symposium was divided into four parts. An opening morning session at the NMAI began Jane Sledge's mapping of NMAI's emerging practice, and this was followed by Karen Underhill's presentation of the newly released Code *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* (PNAAM). These two practical and applied presentations were then followed by two more analytical and policy oriented lectures delivered respectively by Michael Brown and Suzan Shown Harjo focusing on the notion of 'cultural sovereignty' for Indigenous communities.

The following technical workshop, led by the American Folklife Center staff, provided valuable insights into the preservation and cataloguing principles of audio-visual collections at the Library of Congress illustrated by practical case studies, and the continuing themes through these presentations were digitization and systems for creating metadata, cataloguing principles, preservation of multi-formats, and accessioning.

The First Panel Session that followed featured a presentation on archival practice at the National Anthropological Archives by Robert Leopold, Director of the National Anthropological Archives & the Human Studies Film Archives, housed by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. and adjunct professor in the Museum Studies Program at George Washington University. (He had also participated in the 2006 international workshop that drafted the important Code entitled *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials*.)

Experiences with digitization of Aboriginal intangible cultural heritage in Australia were presented by Linda Barwick, Director of the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC) and Senior Research Fellow, University of Sydney. This was followed by two lectures on the historical vicissitudes of ethnographic field material in Jamaica and Afghanistan-Tajikistan respectively. That on Jamaica was delivered by Ken Bilby, an anthropologist, ethnomusicologist, cultural historian, and recordist, who is currently a Research Associate at the Smithsonian Institute, Dept. of Anthropology. He has published numerous scholarly articles on Caribbean music and culture, and in 2004 was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship to research a book on the vital role of deep-rooted rural musical traditions in the development of urban popular music in Jamaica. The paper on Afghanistan and Tajikistan was given by and Margaret Mills, Professor at the Near Eastern Languages and Cultures Faculty at the Ohio State University (OSU), and is widely regarded as a leading specialist in the popular culture of the Persian and Farsi-speaking world.

The Second Panel Session included four presentations on Indigenous archival practice by Jennifer Walele (a member of The Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde/Chinock, an Archivist at the U.S. Department of State and a Ph.D. Candidate in History at Georgetown University), David George-Shongo (Tribal Archivist, Seneca Nation of Indians Tribal Archives, Chair, Native American Archives Roundtable, Society of American Archivists), and Alvin Windy Boy, Sr. (Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, Chippewa Cree Tribe). The Symposium concluded with a Question and Answer session and the drawing up of some preliminary conclusions. In the space available here I can only discuss the implications of the views expressed in the keynote addresses of the opening section of the symposium, but it is hoped to survey in the future the wider discussion and critiques of the concept of intangible cultural heritage and thus do justice to the other lectures delivered at the Symposium.

In her Keynote Jane Sledge presented the 'Indigenous Knowledge Management Project' characterising this as the 'science of cultural access'. She characterised this NMAI project as an endeavour in which the criteria continuously had to be redefined and readjusted, making the project constantly evolving. In essence, the project is about how information technology tools can be refined and extended to enable indigenous communities to preserve and protect their intangible cultural heritage, whilst supporting traditional protocols and facilitating better cross-cultural communication and understanding. The objectives of the project are, in collaboration with Indigenous communities, to develop metadata models which satisfy the indexing and search requirements of indigenous communities, as well as to develop digital curation tools facilitating restricted access based on a set of criteria defined by customary law notions of gender, age, role, kinship, and ritual calendars. Sledge rounded off her presentation by quoting NMAI Director Richard West for saying that according to Western Cheyenne ontology the tangible and intangible realms are inseparable. This brought her to some concluding remarks about NMAI's "holistic approach" to access and associated intellectual property issues.

Karen Underhill's paper outlined the background to, and key principles of, the newly launched ethical and professional practice code *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* (PNAAM). She stressed that the Code was written from a Native American perspective and that its governing principle was the recognition of Native Sovereignty. Underhill illustrated the potential of ethnographic repositories for promoting and recovering traditional knowledge, but also reported an example of the misappropriation of this in a TV commercial.

She touched on the major inspirations for the new American Code, referring in particular to the earlier Australian guidance *'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Protocols for Libraries, Archives and Information Services'* http://www.cdu.edu.au/library/protocol.html). Regarding intellectual property issues, Underhill said that the key problem for Native Americans and other indigenous peoples was that under current national laws and international conventions all copyrights eventually expired. However, often Native communities wanted certain knowledge to remain protected in perpetuity, akin to the notion of the *Droit Morale* of an artist in the civil law tradition. She also touched upon another key question in the U.S. context: does the law, and in particular NAGPRA, also apply to field notes, photographs and other types of documentary material. Some museums had returned such intangible heritage documentation to tribes as part of the settlement of a NAGPRA claim, but currently there was no case law on this.

Another key principle of the Code was the appeal to tribes to develop their own research protocols. As an

example of best practice in this field, Underhill focused on those developed for the Hopi Native American tribes by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. Underhill concluded by addressing the question of formal endorsements of such Codes. Several organisations had already pledged that they would endorse the *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials,* but the exact number of endorsements by professional organizations remains to be seen.

Michael Brown opened his talk with the confession that he had run out of new ideas about cultural and intellectual property and that he therefore regarded his role in the Symposium as that of a 'participant observer'. His talk was retrospective and revolved around what went into the making of his book *Who Owns Native Culture*? (2003), and the critical reviews this had received. Brown stated that he would have to think twice about repatriating his own field notes recorded in Peru back to the local communities, because they were of a private and inchoate nature. However, Brown contended that Native Nations should be fully entitled to impose their own protocols on researchers within their own dominions, as the PNAAM Code encourages.

Brown then addressed the reviews of his important work, opening with a quote from an Australian reviewer: "A good book to think with and against". Brown thought this was the best possible critique, because it reflected his intentions: to make often convoluted intellectual property issues accessible and bring them to the forefront of public debate. He then summarised the various critiques of his book under two general groups. The first was that Brown's solutions are 'too pragmatic' in taking for granted the workings of the Western legal system. Responding to that challenge, Brown said that any grandiose generalized normative regime would never work: 'There is no magic bullet', as he put it. In his view, any viable approach had to be flexible and adaptive to specific situations.

The second major group of criticisms turned on Brown's notion of 'cultural sovereignty' which, according to Brown's critics, the book was alleged to have consistently failed to acknowledge and respect. Brown's response to this was that since the beginning of time, humans had stolen and appropriated different cultural traits from each other. He argued that the very foundation of different cultures was the movement and exchange between them. According to this view every culture, be it modern or traditional, global or local, is the product of syncretism, (the attempted reconciliation or union of different or opposing principles, practices or parties). He further argued that there was never such a thing as 'cultural sovereignty', nor will there be one in the future as the information society grows ever more interconnected and entangled.

By implication Brown argues, controversially, that the idea that Native Nations should be given the right to exercise control over the circulation of 'their' cultural productions in the public domain is simply 'nonsense' and out of step with current realities of the global information society. Brown concluded his talk with the suggestion that instead of debating sovereignty, ownership and 'one size fits all solutions', we should talk about how to 'share the benefits' of cultural products and innovations. Such a benefit-sharing approach could be regional or global and would stress practical and flexible resolutions to specific situations, rather than any monolithic and generalized legal solutions.

Suzan Shown Harjo contested Brown's stand, and offered a broad defence of the applicability of a uniform legal regime to the management of intangible cultural heritage. She stated that tribal laws have worked for millennia and that Jefferson's and Adam's Bill of Rights (i.e. Amendments 1 to 10 of the United States Constitution) did not spell everything out, but nevertheless carried fundamental meanings, which had worked in favor of justice for all. (Though not explicit on the point, presumably Harjo is referring to the First Amendment's provision on the right to exercise freedom of religion, which probably was the basis for the development of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978).

Directly confronting Brown's views on of 'cultural sovereignty', Harjo stated that she did not like any 'modifiers to sovereignty', and continued 'Sovereignty is a fact. You either have it or you don't. There is nothing in between'. In emotionally charged and evocative ways, Harjo spoke about 'cultural predators', which she defined as Westerners who had no ideas or culture of their own, but who took the original ideas and cultures of Native Americans and couched them in the language of 'archaeology' or 'ethnography'. Reversing the usual distinction between idea and expression in copyright doctrine, Harjo stated that tangible expressions were intangible ideas in Native American cosmologies. What needed protection against theft and misappropriation were the ideas.

She used this reversal of conventional copyright doctrine as a springboard to present an argument about the applicability of NAGPRA to the intangible domains of Native American cultures. Harjo discussed the case of so-called Native American ledger books. Historically, figurative arts among the Plains Indians of North America chronicled the life and deeds of warriors and chiefs and their experiences of war, hunting, religious ceremony, and courtship. These abstract visual narratives were created on rock, buffalo hides, robes, and tipis. However, from the 1850s and the 1870s these Native American warriors experienced tremendous upheaval through increased contact and conflict with European Americans, leading to massive bloodshed and to the transformation of everyday life on the Plains.

In the same deeply troubled period warrior-artists acquired by both peaceful and violent means ledger books, cloth, ink, pencils, and colored pencils, and later notebooks, sketchbooks, muslin, and watercolours from European colonists and military personnel. With these they recorded visually their historical past and the then tumultuous confrontations of the present. Many art historians and anthropologists nowadays see the ledger books as examples of how Native American artists have adopted and adapted Western materials, methods, and conventions to their own artistic traditions, thus inventing new art forms that comment upon and document cultural transitions brought on by Western education and cultural domination. Harjo argued that, for instance, that Plains ledger books visually depicting different historical events and deeds of the Plains Indians do meet the requirements for the NAGPRA category of 'associated funerary object', because within the Plains *Dogman Society* this type of items were intended as burial goods.

Moving on to address the language of the law, Harjo contrasted western legal thinking with Native American modes of thought. The former emphasized *Rights*, the latter *Responsibilities*; the former stressed *Property*, the latter *Obligation*; the former gave priority to *Title*, the latter the *Authority* to do something; and the former codified *Entitlement*, whereas the latter afforded certain *Privileges* to some of its members. NAGPRA was, in her view, a piece of legislation which deployed the western legal language of rights, property and control, though the wording of the law served as a mean to authorise and enable Native Americans to exercise their fiduciary *obligations* vis-à-vis their cultures. According to Harjo, NAGPRA restored the 'prior and primary rights' to protect Native American cultures against commodification and misappropriation.

Overall, the Symposium gravitated into a post-NAGPRA debate. Behind legalistic questions specific to NAGPRA loomed the much larger question of whether NAGPRA was applicable to intangible cultural heritage. This question remained unanswered throughout the Symposium, which ultimately returned to the central issue contended by the two keynote speakers (Brown and Harjo), namely whether the best approach to the relation between intangible cultural heritage and intellectual property is a uniform legal regime as advocated by Harjo, or an ad hoc negotiated and flexible benefit sharing approach advanced by Brown. In terms of international comparisons, the interesting question is whether this very close coupling of intangible cultural heritage with intellectual property rights is specific to the United States.

Born in Europe:
an International Programme on Representing Migrant Experiences in European Museums

Udo Gößwald



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Udo Gößwald
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Born in Europe' was initiated by the Heimatmuseum Neukölln in the year 2000 as a joint project with the Portuguese Asociation of Company Museums (Aporem), the Lisbon Water Museum, the National Museum, Copenhagen, the Danish Women's Museum, Aarhus, the Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art, Vienna and the National Museum for World Cultures, Göteburg, supported and funded by the European Union under it's Culture 2000 programme, (see: http://www.born-in-europe.de), and with friendly support from the Museumspädagogischer Dienst, Berlin and the office of the Europe representative in the local administration of Berlin-Neukölln.

It aimed to address issues relating to current cultural changes in Europe in several different ways, all focused around the question of what being born in present-day Europe means for people of different ethnic origins. There is no doubt that an educated and progressive Europe has to rise to the cultural challenges presented by migration and globalisation. Museums can play a leading role here, since their collections can reflect the effects of integration or disintegration achieved by a society and the ruling political constellation at any given time. Furthermore museums in Europe can use documentation and presentations, events, special forms of publicity and educational measures to ensure a comprehensive debate on those current problems deriving from conflicts in identity with individuals and social groups, and especially among migrant populations.

In doing so, we need to understand that our European heritage is not a mono-cultural one, but in contrast is very complex, and has been shaped by ethnic, religious and cultural differences and migrations over many centuries. As the Hungarian writer and Karlspreis laureate György Konrád put it: "Europe is a place which is the home of both the constitutional state and of human rights, but it is equally the place where a love of one's homeland does not conflict with an interest in the [European] whole." The Swiss writer Adolf Muschg has argued against precipitously becoming merged in a single 'European identity'. Instead, he advocates understanding Europe as a metaphor, one embracing both living in peace and security while being open enough to receive new impulses, which in fact enrich and constitute the feeling of being at home.

For hundreds of years migration movements within Europe have affected regional and national cultures, have enriched their diversity, their specific crafts, the architecture, literature and the arts in general. Crossing borders has been a necessity for many whose economic

future seemed hopeless, for those who wished to practice their religion without persecution and, of course, for many forced into exile for their own safety because they fought for social rights, democracy and freedom in their home countries. The coming and going of peoples in large numbers has been an important experience of European societies. Traces of migrant cultures can be found in almost all European museums, but their meaning and worth in terms of Europe's cultural heritage have not been fully recognised yet.

In order to connect with the search for identity in Europe and Europe's future potential, in 2000 the Museum Neukölln, Berlin, initiated a five year project called 'Born in Europe', which aimed to reflect on the issue of birth and migration in a museum context. When dealing with children and birth you face a complex of expectations, hopes and worries about the future at the same time. Birth, as a process of delivery, sets the child free and at the same time creates a lifelong bond. Children are the future: they also reflect wishes and hopes. Birth can therefore be a metaphor for a new beginning and hope, a symbol that life has to go on and that a person has to take action in life. Many children of recent migrants have been born in Europe. How will their different ethnic, religious and cultural influences shape Europe's future identity?

Identifying what may be called a European cultural identity is a process, an open, complex and unfinished game - always under construction. However, each discussion about identity carries the risk of provoking an aggressive and narrow-minded attitude about the 'other'. That is why the project "Born in Europe" set out to promote the idea of a new Europe, which I would like help to develop, following closely the ideas of Ash Amin, an urban ethnologist and geographer who teaches at Durham University in England.

My vision of this new Europe is like a gateway, which is being supported by two pillars. One pillar has its foundation in the Greek word *ethos,* defined as the habit of regular stay or shelter. The pillar itself is the principle of hospitality, which was found in medieval cities as sites of refuge and hospitality for travellers and those in need of sanctuary. The second pillar is founded on the tradition of the philosophy of Socrates according to which we are not born free, but only reach freedom through dialogue and engagement. This incorporates the principle of mutuality as the basis on which identities are formed. 'Freedom follows from engagement with and publicity for the stranger in and among us, not least because without the stranger constituted as the 'other', the self cannot be defined(1). The third element of the gateway, its roof or connecting top, should be dedicated to the individuality of each human being, respecting the differences in habit, gender, longings and behaviour of each individual and certainly to foster his infinite potential for creativity.

To accept difference is a cultural good that has to be fought for. None of this is achieved by itself. The aftermath of the European conflicts of the 20th century which did so much to oppress individuality, still cast long, dark shadows. An alternative idea of Europe should therefore be located within a philosophical ethos, one that will promote empathy and engagement with the stranger as the essence of what is to be 'European'. This is what I would like to call the 'Gate of Europe'. However, he who comes through the door as a stranger should not forget to greet, says an old Chinese proverb. The stranger does well to adapt to his new surroundings, to learn about its heritage and to contribute what he thinks to be helpful. Hospitality can only be offered for a limited amount of time; integration is always a two-way street.

To understand the different approaches to the very complex subject, I would like to document the structure and content of one element of the 'Born in Europe' international cooperation programme - the exhibition "Born in Europe - New Identities", organized by the Heimatmuseum Neukölln, Berlin, but shown at the Martin-Gropius-Bau in Berlin from August 20th to October 17th 2004(2). This set out to promote a debate on the origins, identity and future in Europe, clearly showing that indifferent tolerance is not enough in relations with people of various ethnic and cultural origins. Instead, it is high time for us to identify and address the fears and expectations across Europe, with the aim of improving the basis for mutual understanding and achieving genuine acceptance of the 'other'.

As the major part of the overall joint museum project photographers and curators of each partner museum had visited local migrant families from all over the world with new-born babies and documented their everyday life. The exhibitions were the result of this work: from all the surveys 98 photographs were chosen and presented as a European gallery of a special kind, which was showing in various partner museums between 2002 and 2005.

The exhibition had three elements or 'chapters' as follows.

The Gates of Europe

The main aim of this part of the exhibition was to address the question of Europe's borders. This question relates not only to the geography, but it also carris important cultural and historical aspects: "What Europe means to us, is determined by our behavior at its borders", as the Swiss writer and former president of the Academy of Arts in Berlin Adolph Muschg put it. Though travel and migration within (and indeed beyond) Europe was mostly very open up to the emergence of the concept of the powerful nation-state in the latter part of the 19th century, from the early 20th century onwards crossing borders became increasingly difficult, even though this may appear to have been a necessity for many whose economic future seems hopeless, for those who wish to practice their religion without fear of persecution, or for those who cannot find political rights, democracy and freedom in their home countries. While there is now freedom of movement within the 'Schengen' countries of the European Union, for others, the gates of Europe are been restricted more and more even for refugees and asylum seekers, and many of these, together with much larger numbers of what are classed as economic migrants, feel forced to enter the EU illegally, and often risk their lives in the process.

The first installation within the 'Gates of Europe' part of the Exhibition was by Anna Henckel-Donnersmark. Approaching the exhibition the visitor found a combination of two TV sets standing quite close to each other. One showed a small blue boat in the open sea, which would become identified as a refugee boat tossed back and forth by the waves in an endless loop. The other showed a close-up of rapidly flowing water indicating dynamics and the flow of life. Seen simultaneously the pictures evoked an uneasy feeling, symbolizing fear and hope at the same time, making both life and death possible options.

The visitor then saw a series of sixteen pictures by the Spanish photographer Matias Costa. These mainly showed African refugees in the Spanish enclave of Ceuta



Figure 1: View into the exhibition "Born in Europe - New Identities" at Martin-Gropis-Bau in Berlin(21.8. - 17.10.2004)





Figure 2: Maxan and Matisan, born November 4, 2001 in Berlin with their parents from Sri Lanka
Figure 3: Lucas, born December 27, 2001 in Berlin with his parents from Brazil

on the coast of Morocco, but others were of migrants arriving on beaches in the southern part of Spain, or in the refugee camp of Sangatte, France. With his pictures Costa gave a face to all of those who have risked their lives attempting to reach Europe, and show the anxiety and uncertainty of people in desperate situations. (More than 4,500 people have died attempting to reach a European coast.)

The Austrian artist Harald Schmutzhard used three monitors in his video installation "Border Rescue" aimed at provoking empathy with fugitives at the borders of Europe. One showed the dates, numbers and locations of refugees known to have suffocated or drowned on their way to Europe. Another showed films published on the Internet which were intended to help fugitives to find their way across the border between the Czech Republic and Austria, but combined with the sound of heart beats. The third video was of a water basin in a zoo with seals swimming around, except for one, which seemed to be lying dead in the corner. The visitors, especially children, notice this animal and waited until it came back to the surface and is 'saved'.

Searching for identity

The second unit of the exhibition focused upon the heritage of young people of different and often hybrid cultural backgrounds in particular, and aimed to define their identity in Europe anew. Very often migrants experience a social and cultural reality which feels like living between two different worlds. For those living in Europe as refugees the question of their identity is especially difficult, because their precarious legal status makes stable relationships to other people and their surroundings very complicated. But this can also be a problem for people whose family have been living in a European country already for several generations: the expanding European Union provokes questions relating to their own identity as well.

The installation 'Identity Checkpoint' of Peter Kees referred to basic questions of identity and heritage. An office-like situation with a desk and two chairs in the style of the 1970s gave the notion of being in the *Ausländerbehörde*, an institution where migrants are registered and questioned when entering a European country. Peter Kees had tried out the process of registration used with passers-by in Berlin, Budapest, Bratislava and Prague. On a sheet of paper they were asked to indicate their identity according to their ethnicity, and their personal, social and self-assessment of their identity. Also, each interviewee was photographed with a camera used for ID-cards and asked to give a piece of genetic material sufficient to make a DNA test. The results were remarkable and showed how seriously involved people became in trying to give an adequate description of themselves. It was evident that most of them began to realise how much their identity was a specific construct which while it does include real migrant experiences where relevant, it also depends to a great extent on sel-projections and inner wishes. The installation was definitely a significant confrontation with the 'Other Self' and inspired many visitors to think about their own identities, and in what sense they see themselves as Europeans with a migration background.

The video work of the French artist Sylvie Blocher 'I and Us' (which had been chosen for the Biennale in Venice in 2003), focused on very personal aspects of



Figure 4: Melissa, born September 28, 2001 in Berlin with her father from Turkey



Figure 5: Togoldor, born in Berlin, with her mother from Mongolia

finding one's identity. Together with the group Campement Urbain, which consists of architects, sociologists and the artist herself, this work had been created in Beaudotte on the outskirts of Paris, a suburb where many migrants live. The residents were involved in the art work by asking them to stand in front of a video camera with identically black T-shirts on which a short phrase had been printed in red letters. The content of the phrases were very personal, referring to wishes, hopes and anxieties or political statements. It definitely took some courage to show these in public. Shown as a 3m by 4m projection, the exhibition visitor was confronted by a special kind of intimacy that immediately touched the visitor and provoked an inner dialogue with the figures. Also in this installation the stranger was approached with a special form of empathy and respect. Having seen the section about the arrival of anonymous people to the coasts of Europe, the visitor was this confronted with migrants in a very direct and personal way.

The members of an under-18 soccer team from Tasmania Gropiusstadt in Berlin-Neukölln, and who play in the highest division of the German Junior League, was the object of a portrait series by the Italian photographer Denise Vernillo. This showed a group of young men from Berlin, most of whose parents have migrated to Germany from Turkey, Bosnia, Serbia and Poland, and who dream of becoming stars in the European soccer leagues. Their main goal is to play football professionally: this will take a lot of discipline and they have a hard path ahead of them. This section of the exhibition seeks to show identity as something young people work for, something they want to achieve.

The interactive multimedia application by Andrea Behrendt dealt with pupils of a 10th grade school class of a local gymnasium in Berlin-Neukölln. The pupils were asked to describe their families' heritage by marking the birth places of their parents and grandparents and their own on a world map. When clicking on each pupil on this map an oral comment was given, relating also to photographs and objects that the student concerned had chosen to be a part of their social memory. Some of the objects were shown in the exhibition. In this very special way personal memory was linked to experiences of migration and family heritage. The video 'Wir liegen dazwischen' ('Being in between'), also directed by Andrea Behrendt, shows the search for identity by six young girls living in Berlin among different worlds of influence.

In the video 'Heimat Europa' by Anna Henckel-Donnersmark bi-national couples from Poland, Belgium, France, the United States, Japan and Germany who have decided to live in Berlin, talked about cultural enrichment and what Europe means to them. However, they also talked also about the difficulties of living in Europe, about language barriers, xenophobia, and about being seen as the eternal stranger. However, they still try to fulfil their dreams in the new surroundings with their partners and children.

Born in a new country

With the birth of a child in a European country many migrants are quickly confronted with the traditions and cultural habits of their new surroundings. Very often the families experience a lack of social relationships, which

were generally much stronger in their countries of origin. On the other hand the expectations towards their own future and that of their children now that they are livid ny, that Internet, d as economic migrants, feel ar, ng in Europe are being articulated very clearly. As already explained, the major part of the joint museum project 'Born in Europe' consisted of photographers and curators from each partner museum visiting five migrant families from all over the world and with new-born babies in each of the cities of Gothenburg, Copenhagen, Berlin, Arhus and Lisbon, and documented their everyday life.

As a result of the work in the five centres 98 photographs were chosen and presented as a European gallery of a special kind which was shown in Gothenburg, Arhus, Lisbon and Copenhagen. In the case of Berlin the decision was made not to present the photographs hanging on the wall in the normal museum or gallery way, but to leave them lying on the ground or leave them leaning against the walls. In this way a long narrow aisle was created in the middle which was meant to provoke associations, for example about the difficult passage of birth.

This installation also referred to the instable situation of the many migrants who have not yet found a place where they can settle down and hang their family photographs on the walls of their house or apartment in the normal way. The effect of this presentation was that people walked through the display around extremely carefully, while looking down physically on the pictures. They did not necessarily mean that they were looking down on these people in the metaphorical sense, but instead it was hoped that the arrangement would lead to the visitor looking very intensely at the photographs, with affection and sympathy.

On the white wall above the photographs the names of the new-born children were written, together in each case with the names of their parents, their place of birth and with the country of origin of the parents. In addition one key sentence was displayed from the interviews with each immigrant family shown reporting on their own situation, as in the following five examples:

"The most difficult thing is the feeling that nothing belongs to us; it seems as though everything is borrowed" (Brazilian family living in Lisbon)

"There are many things you can complain about, but it's very important, that you are allowed to complain" (Turkish family living in Arhus)

"We don't feel at home here, but we feel even less at home there."(Palestinian family living in Berlin)

"We thought we could live as a free family in Denmark" (Afghan family living in Copenhagen)

"My children are going to learn both Kurdish and Swedish; they will grow up here, and they will grow up as Europeans" (Iraqi-Kurdish family living in Gothenburg)

At the end of the gallery the visitor was confronted by a quote in large letters from Kofi Annan, at the time the General Secretary of the United Nations:

"The integration of immigrants that have become





Figure 6: Togoldor, born in Berlin, with her mother from Mongolia
Figure 7: Yussra, born July 31, 2001 in Berlin

permanent members of the European societies is essential for its productivity and for human dignity. The message is clear: The immigrants need Europe, but Europe also needs immigrants. A closed Europe would be a poorer, a worse, a weaker, an older Europe. An open Europe will be a more just, a stronger, a richer and a younger Europe keeping in mind, that we have to manage immigration well. Immigrants are a part of the solution, not a part of the problem.(3)

The responses towards the project overall and the exhibition in particular have been very encouraging. The exhibition attracted a mainly young international audience, including many with a migrant background. People quickly felt encouraged to speak about their own view of things, triggering many emotional reactions. Birth, life, development, the search for identity, evoking memory in order to articulate anxiety, hopes and wishes towards the future were, as was hoped, key elements of the "Born in Europe"-project.

I see this as a dynamic and open cultural project that is just beginning. Activities of this kind should continue to develop and be supported, demonstrating engagement and empathy for the stranger among others, and to help ourselves to foster a new, broader, idea of Europe and European culture.

NOTES

1. Amin Ash, From ethnicity to empathy: a new idea of Europe, 24. July 2003 at www.openDemocracy.net
2. Other showings of versions of the exibition included the Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art, Venna, April October 2002, Watern Museum, Lisbo,n Septembet 2002, Museum of Ceramics, Loures, Portugal, December 2002 / March 2003, and the National Museum for World Cultures, Göteborg, Sweden, June 2003.
3. Kofi Annan, UN Secretary-General: Speech to the European Parliament on the occasion of receiving the Andrej-Sacharow-Award, Brussels, 29. January 2004

Book Review

Indigenous Knowledge on the South African Landscape.. Potentials for Agricultural Development

Patrick J. Boylan



Book Review: *Indigenous Knowledge on the South African Landscape.. Potentials for Agricultural Development**

Patrick J. Boylan
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Though traditional knowledge about both nature and craftsmanship are now recognised as important parts of the intangible heritage, most recently in the 2003 UNESCO *Intangible Heritage Convention*, most studies of the intangible heritage still have the traditional 'folk life' focus on aspects such as arts, crafts and performance, while the recent studies and discussion of indigenous knowledge seem to have concentrated on aspects of intellectual property, such as the protection of such knowledge from unfair commercial exploitation. This study of the level, and potential value, of traditional knowledge within African agricultural practice, is therefore particularly welcome, not only on its own merits but also as a model for futures studies of this kind from around the world, and probably in relation to other traditional crafts and practices as well.

The study was carried out under the Urban, Rural and Economic Programme of the South African Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) where Tim Harte, an agricultural anthropologist, is a senior research manager. Ineke Vorster is a geneticist by training and a researcher in the Agricultural Research Council, who has been working with smallholder farmers since 1998. The authors discuss the overall context of agricultural development in Africa, with its overwhelming emphasis on introducing and expanding 'western' industrial-style agricultural principles and practice into small-scale units, usually of less than 10 acres, and often less than a tenth that size, and farmed by a single individual or family with few financial resources, rather than by a commercial enterprise.

This model represents the great majority of farmers in Africa, as well as parts of Asia and South America, and is characterised by multi-cropping with a variety of crops within a single field or holding : some, perhaps most, for consumption by the family itself, though often with some produce for cash sale as well. These differ markedly from the 'western' model of 'developed' agriculture, which is characterised by its much larger size of holdings with their monocultures highly dependent on, often costly, external inputs of machinery, buildings, fuels, commercially produced hybrid (and soon GMO) seeds and plants, and of chemical fertilisers and pesticides.

Over the past decade or two there has been great

* Tim Harte & Ineke Vorster (Cape Town : HSRC Press, 2006, 44 pp. ISBN 0 7969 2162 8, price 75 S.A. Rand; now also available for free PDF download from http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za)

interest in traditional knowledge in relation to medicines and other treatments for disease, not least among international pharmaceutical companies, but this study shows that some traditional agricultural knowledge and practice can also be confirmed by modern scientific research, and may even in some cases be superior to the industrial agriculture model. For example, five types of traditional African green vegetables are all nutritionally far superior to the commercial cabbage varieties that are rapidly displacing them in the diet of local people. In a region where vitamin A deficiency is already a serious health problem (it is in fact the most frequent preventable cause of childhood blindness) substituting commercial varieties of cabbage for traditional vegetables containing between 170 and 570 times as much vitamin A (and up to 50 times as much calcium, 20 times as much iron and 3 times as much phosphorus) makes no sense at all.

In another case studied, villagers in Kwazulu-Natal Province were losing many eggs to dogs wandering about the village. Rather than go to the great expense of housing their chickens in pens or buildings, they returned to making traditional nesting boxes for the hens out of the waste roots of sisal plants. With a little straw inside them, these were fixed to trees above the height the dogs could reach. The hens could fly up to these - and the loss of eggs ceased. In the same village, a farmer found that instead of having to buy new sorghum seed each year, he could create his own supply of good seed by returning to a long-abandoned practice of wrapping the emerging seed-heads of the strongest stalks with grass until they were fully developed and ready for harvesting, thus preventing loss of the seed to birds.

The study also found some interesting responses to emerging new technologies by traditional farmers who adapted them to changing circumstances. For example, a village had become dependent on a communal, commercial-style, heated glasshouse nursery for the production of its maize plants for early planting. When this closed, one farmer devised his own substitute using home-produced compost and an ingenious system of screens to control the temperature of the seed trays in a home-made, lean-to structure, without the expense of using artificial heat or glass. Another, producing some apples for commercial sale as a cash crop, developed his own system of grafting new varieties on to his existing trees when the market demanded changes from his original variety. This not only saved the considerable cost of buying new trees, but also meant that he was producing the new variety for sale in just two years rather than five.

The study concludes that both within South Africa's official Indigenous Knowledge Systems Policy, and more generally, the current indigenous knowledge research focus on medicinal plants needs to be expanded to cover support for peoples' knowledge of their agriculture, environment and plant foodstuffs, including low-external-input food security for those who need it most, not just on expanding further specialist production for export.

Brief Biographies of the Authors

Honey Libertine R. Achanzar is a member of the faculty of the Department of Arts and Communication at the University of the Philippines in Manila. She has conducted extensive research on South East Asian Art and Culture and specialises in Philippine metal work.

Jolanda E.M.F. Bos-Seldenthuis studied Egyptian archaeology (Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, the Netherlands). She has worked with the Dutch Archaeological State Service in contract archaeology and is now working for the private consultancy Past2Present-ArcheoLogic, developing heritage management policies. In Egypt she researches possibilities for Egyptian heritage management in general. Jolanda wrote several research designs and risk analyses on heritage management in the Netherlands for the Past2Present publication series and articles on Egyptian heritage management. She also lectures on Egyptian archaeology and management.

Mounir Bouchenaki studied in Algeria, Italy and France, and has a Doctorate in Archaeology and Ancient History from the Faculty of Letters of Aix-en-Provence, France. After serving as the Director of Antiquities, Museums and Historic Monuments in the Ministry of Culture and Information of Algeria, he joined UNESCO and served for many years in various capacities, finally as the organisation's Assistant Director-General for Culture. One of the major advances during his period as Assistant Director-General was the adoption of the Intangible Heritage Convention in 2003. He joined the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) as Director-General in 2006, and is now based in Rome.

Patrick J. Boylan is Professor Emeritus in Heritage Policy and Management at City University London, and Editor-in-Chief of the International Journal of Intangible Heritage.

Corneliu Ioan Bucur was born in Medias, Romania, in 1942, and graduated from the University Cluj-Napoca in 1965, specializing in ethnographic museology. He has also studied ethnographic documentary film studies at IWF- Gottingen, Germany, 1969-70, and completed his Ph.D. in History Sciences at the Institute of Art History, Bucharest, in 1981, specializing on the History of Civilization of pre-industrial technique. Beginning as curator of the Brukenthal - Folk Technique Museum, Sibiu, Romania, in 1965, he rose through Head of Department, and then from 1990 the General Director of the whole of the "Astra" National Museum Complex, which includes the largest open-air museum in Europe. Since 1971 he has also held university lecturer and then professor positions in the University of Sibiu. In addition to his role as Chief Editor for the scientific publications of the Museums he has published over 150 books and research papers and articles. His achievements in museological activity have been recognised by a Personal Award from the European Museum of the Year awards in 1993, and by the Romanian President Medal "Cultural Reward" in 2004, and "Cultural Excellence: Grand Officer" in 2005.

Matilda Burden was born in George, Western Cape Province of South Africa, undertook her studies from

BA to D.Phil. at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, and returned to Stellenbosch as Lecturer in Cultural History 25 years ago, after working initially as an Archivist in the State Archives. Within Cultural History, (including the sub-discipline of Folklore) she has specialised in the intangible heritage, with a focus on Afrikaans folk song and vernacular language, though her interests also include architecture, furniture, genealogy and place names, and her academic publications have covered themes such as Afrikaans folk songs, Old Cape furniture, vernacular language, folk beliefs and weather-lore. She serves on several councils, committees and commissions relating to cultural heritage at South African national, provincial and local levels, including the Board of the Afrikaans Language Monument and Museum, both at Paal, Western Cape.

Voltaire Garces Cang was born in Cebu in the Philippines, and graduated successively from Kyoto University (BA in Educational Psychology), the University of the Philippines (MA in Asian Studies), and Waseda University, Tokyo, (MA in International Relations). He is now a PhD Candidate in the Graduate School of Intercultural Communication of Rikkyo (St. Paul's) University, Tokyo, and also a Visiting Researcher at the RINRI Institute of Ethics, also in Tokyo. His main research interests include intercultural communication, heritage studies, and Japanese society and culture.

Udo Gößwald is director of the Museum Neukölln in Berlin, Germany, and was the founder of the international project 'Born in Europe'. He has also been chairperson of the European Regional Organisation of the International Council of Museums (ICOM-Europe) since 2005. For more information see http://www.museum-neukoelln.de , http://icom-europe.org

HAN Minho has an MA in Arts Management from Carnegie Mellon University, USA, and is now Director of the Spatial Culture Division of the Ministry of Culture & Tourism, Republic of Korea.

Richard Kurin is the Director of the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage where he oversees the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, and other cultural heritage programmes. A former Fulbright fellow with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, he is the author of Reflections of a Culture Broker: A View from the Smithsonian. Dr. Kurin has been awarded the Smithsonian Secretary's Gold Medal for Exceptional Service and the American Folklore Society's Botkin Prize for lifetime achievement.

Martin Skrydstrup is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, USA. He is also a Board Member of ICOM's International Committee for Museums of Ethnography(ICME)

Maria Vlachaki was born in Volos, Greece in 1973. She has studied pedagogy, history and social anthropology in the University of Thessaly, Greece. She is a PhD candidate on museum education in Department of Preschool Education, University of Thessaly, Volos, Greece, and is also attending a

Brief Biographies of the Authors

Postgraduate Course in Museum Studies. Since 1998 she has been working in primary education as a teacher. She has research experience in the implementation of oral history on education and her results have been published in various Conference Proceedings.

Rita De Caluwe studied Mathematics at Ghent University and Computer Science at Université Scientifique et Médicale de Grenoble. She was Professor in Computer Science at Ghent University from 1974 until 2006, where she lead the research group on fuzzy databases and organised the international series Lectures on Fuzziness and Databases in the Nineties. She has been the Belgian representative at the IFIP General Assembly for 4 years.

Olmo Cornelis is has a Masters in Systematic Musicology and in Composition. He studied at Ghent University, Belgium, and at Ghent Royal Conservatory. He is currently working on the digitisation of the very large ethnomusicological archive of the Belgian Royal Museum of Central Africa, Tervuren, and is also active as a composer, writing mostly music for small ensembles.

Jos Gansemans leads the ethnomusicology department at the Royal Museum of Central Africa, Tervuren, Belgium, where he is in charge of the musical instruments collection (8,000 instruments) and the sound archive (of around 3.000 hours of recorded music). He has undertaken a lot of fieldwork in Africa (particularly Rwanda, Congo and Ivory Coast), but is nowadays largely occupied with publications of articles and CDs based on his research and the collections.

Axel Hallez studied Computer Science at Ghent University, earning a Master's Degree specialising in software development. He is an Assistant at the University and is currently he is finishing his doctoral research on (fuzzy) object comparison.

Marc Leman is Research Professor in Systematic Musicology and Head of the Department of Musicology at Ghent University, Belgium. His research includes musical content processing, with a special interest in epistemological and methodological foundations. He is the author of several articles and books, most recently Embodied Music Cognition and Mediation Technology, which will be published by the MIT Press in September 2007.

Tom Matthé graduated as a Computer Science Engineer at Ghent University. Since then, he has been involved in project research and at present is an Assistant at the University. His interests are mainly fuzzy data bases and fuzzy querying techniques.

Dirk Moelants is Doctoral Assistant in the Musicology Department at Ghent University, Belgium, where he teaches music theory and ethnomusicology. His research focuses on aspects of rhythm, gesture and timing in music performance and perception. He is also active as a viola da gamba player, specialising in

the performance of contemporary and non-western music on his instrument.

Guy De Tré is Professor in Fuzzy Information Processing at the Department of Telecommunications and Information Processing at Ghent University. His research is centred on databases, more specifically on search techniques and querying, the modelling of imperfect information and the enhancement of database accessibility.

Daniel Lanier, an independent researcher and musician, has studied American maritime music and culture for over 30 years. Formerly employed in the education department of Mystic Seaport Museum (Connecticut, USA), he learned of Caribbean shanty traditions in the 1980s. His current profession as an environmental consultant brought him to St. Vincent, where he met Vincent Reid in 2001 and proposed a revival of shanties in Barrouallie. In 2002, Lanier and Reid founded The Barrouallie Whalers Project to further the documentation and preservation of Barrouallie's maritime heritage.

Vincent Reid, an independent researcher and Vincentian native, has worked throughout his homeland for over 22 years in various public research and infrastructure projects. He is presently a supervisor in the Solid Waste Management Unit. The Island Coordinator of The Barrouallie Whalers and a founder/director of the project, he also manages other Vincentian performing artists. He recently acted as local liaison for researchers from Arkansas State University studying the Barrouallie whaling history with a grant from the National Geographic Society.

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Instructions to Contributors

INSTRUCTIONS TO CONTRIBUTORS

Aims and Scope of the Journal:

The *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* aims to play a role as a comprehensive academic journal on the intangible heritage, as defined in Article 2 of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003.
It seeks to promote international communication about research, investigation, conservation, transmission, performance and communication, and the exchange of ideas among scholars, researchers, professionals, educationalist and other practitioners and bodies involved in the intangible heritage sector.

Refereeing (Reviewing):

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Boylan, P.J. 2000. Museums, the Community, and Development. pp. 8 - 27 in ICOM Korea, *International Symposium for the Establishment of Korean Industry and Technology Museum.* (Seoul: Korean National Committee of ICOM)

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