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Sérgio Lira

http://www.ijhsd.greenlines-institute.org
ijhsd@greenlines-institute.org

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Contents

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International Journal of Heritage and Sustainable Development
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Editorial

Sérgio Lira *Green Lines Institute – Barcelos* slira@greenlines-institute.org

After the two first issues of the IJHSD, Green Lines Institute now publishes the third issue of the Journal, thus continuing a consistent path in the publication of original scientific contributes in the field of heritage and sustainable development. In the first two years of its existence, the Journal was published once a year; but in 2013, for the first time, the Journal will be published twice and becoming biannual from now on. The main objective originally presented – "making these two sometimes separated subjects [heritage and sustainable development] a common object of analysis and research") – remains and is reinforced with this new periodicity. This issue, in particular, gathers some of the most significant contributions presented to and presented at the international conference on heritage and sustainable development, Heritage 2012. After assessment by the scientific committee in order to identify the most significant contributions for the purposes of this issue, authors were invited to rewrite their papers into Journal articles that were then submitted to peer-review. In reading throughout these articles the relationship between sustainable development and heritage regains a new strength and the interdependence between both is proven even more tightly.

Yet, the main areas of research and discussion covered by the Journal remained the same as originally proposed, for their research worthiness and thematic coherence: a) heritage and sustainable economics, b) heritage and governance for sustainable development, c) sustainable preservation of natural heritage, d) sustainable preservation of cultural heritage, e) heritage and communities development, f) heritage and sustainable tourism and g) sustainable preservation of built heritage. This third issue therefore covers a vast area of research and the articles discuss some major points concerning both theoretical and field research on heritage and sustainable development. The sequence of the papers was organised in author's first name alphabetic order.

The first article, from Green et al., argues that "universities have the capacity to play an important role in supporting the living heritage of place by acting as anchor institutions in making sustainable communities". To prove this point, the new town of Hatfield was chosen as case-study and the industrial past remembered. The concept of "sense of place" played a central role in the research having in mind its importance in place-shaping and localism, which are central to public policy and planning discourse and practice in the UK. Authors also stressed that "as one of few points of continuity in a community, universities remain underexplored as institutions with the resilience, adaptability and capital to act as anchors to lead work on reclaiming lost pasts and build sustainable futures.". Povilionis discusses in his article the Lithuanian Baroque organbuilding art tradition, also introducing the importance of the Vilnius School of Late Baroque Organbuilding (VSLBO). The Author argues in favour of the importance of this art and tradition for the formation of the East-European organ art in the 18th century and discusses the role of the most prominent organmaster, Nicolaus Jantzon. Presenting the history of organbuilding since the 16th century as scenario, Povilionis focus on the Vilnius artisans' work (that spread across the present territories of Lithuania, Belarus, Poland and Latvia and are easily recognised in the general panorama of Baroque organs) and specially on Jantzon's activity and the detailed reconstruction of organ concept in the Bernardine Church in Vilnius. In his article on the plan to promote and preserve the fortifications of Pamplona, Valdenebro García presents a very significant case study. Departing from the fact that Pamplona is an important fortified city in northern Spain whose defensive elements were maintained practically intact (that being an exception as the demographic growth at the end of the 19th century caused enlargement of urban layouts and the ancient medieval walls were demolished in the process) the Author presents and discusses the new uses of the walls: "some modern facilities have been incorporated into the old walls at the same time as turning them into an entertainment area". The next article is about the Ifugao rice terraces (Philippine) that have been listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in Danger

since 2001. Cagat focused her research on the link between heritage conservation efforts and development projects. One of the major issues under analysis is the Ambangal Mini-hydro Plant (in operation since 2010) used to demonstrate the link between heritage conservation and community development. This article also reflects the ethnographic research that was done in the Ifugao Province and the Author concludes that the article "demonstrates spatial relations are at the crux of tensions. Issues regarding access to resources, and autonomy over its management are entangled in people's sense of place.". The Virtual Sydney Rocks is under analysis in Devine's article on virtual heritage. The author argues that virtual heritage "offers worldwide audiences the ability to interact with virtual copies of heritage objects and places" solving the problem of limited number of visitors in some popular sites. The case-study "is designed to be an engaging and informative virtual heritage resource that allows users to explore the oldest part of Sydney over a 200-year period" namely by setting the time and by observing the site as it was. First person view is enabled and visitors can move around and explore it freely. The case-study will be further used for conducting research on the effect that different user engagement strategies produces on the sense of 'being there'. In their article Rankin & Crompton studied the Labrador Metis (a people of mixed European and Inuit ancestry who live along the coast of central and southern Labrador, Canada). They present some of the results of a multidisciplinary research project that focus on the politics of identity, and aims at understanding the archaeological past in order to negotiate a sustainable future. The changes that occurred there in the last 20 years were particularly important regarding the people's development of a sense of cultural identity and shared history. The Island of Mozambique is presented as a case study in Damen's et al. article, which focuses on management deficiencies and aggressive development as two major threats to cultural World Heritage properties. The article presents and discusses the impact of factors affecting the attributes conveying the outstanding universal value, by relating their patterns of change in time. The analysis of landscapes as ancient heritage in Béziers area is the scope of Marchal's article, the role of the Cultural Park of Biterrois being the central issue under study. As the Author emphasises, "The "Biterrois" has been perceived, appreciated and classified since the Renaissance up to now" and the "awareness of local heritage in the Biterrois emerged in the 1640s.". The article also focuses on heritage enhancement actions that have taken place since the early 2000s, within the framework of the European Union. In her article, Jackson discusses sustainability in the context of cultural heritage. The study focuses on heritage in England and stresses the difference between the iconic importance (and the materiality) of sites and the "attempt to keep the site open and in use, thus providing a meaningful and sustainable contribution to the present". The article uses as case-studies two theatres in North West England that have recently been assessed for listing, and discusses "whether the new Localism Bill for England could help to provide a sustainable future for buildings such as these.".

The Editor wishes to thank all Authors who contributed to the issue and hopes that it will contribute to foster the discussion on heritage and sustainable development, given the relevance of the contributions being published. The Editor also wishes to thank all members of the Editorial Board for their kind and permanent contribution.

The IJHSD is, from the previous issue onwards, published in electronic format (under e.ISSN) and open access via the web-site [http://ijhsd.greenines-institute.org]. A printed version (under ISSN) will also be available as "print-on-demand" option, for all those wishing to purchase a hard copy. The call for papers for future issues of the IJHSD remains open and the Journal very much welcomes further original contributions to the theme.

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Living heritage: universities as anchor institutions in sustainable communities

Alix Green *University of Hertfordshire* a.r.green@herts.ac.uk
Sarah Lloyd *University of Hertfordshire* s.v.lloyd@herts.ac.uk
Susan Parham *University of Hertfordshire* s.parham@herts.ac.uk

In this paper we argue that universities have the capacity to play an important role in supporting the living heritage of place by acting as anchor institutions in making sustainable communities. In a case study centred on the new town of Hatfield we explore how the act of remembering industrial pasts works as a powerful affirmation of heritage as a living history that has the potential to inform policy, place-shaping and academic theory and practice. Key to our approach is the concept of "sense of place" and how in the UK this has become interconnected with ideas about place-shaping and localism that are central to public policy and planning discourse and practice. As one of few points of continuity in a community, universities remain underexplored as institutions with the resilience, adaptability and capital to act as anchors to lead work on reclaiming lost pasts and build sustainable futures.

Keywords: universities, heritage, place-shaping, sustainability.

Introduction

The term "heritage" has many meanings across the English-speaking world, but what is not in doubt is the importance of history as a living tradition. As a channel that connects people imaginatively, often emotionally, with the past, history can foster relationships of belonging and identity; it can contribute to community-building, economic prosperity and cultural adaptation. It is in this context that we refer to heritage and explore its capacity to orientate people in specific places and embed them in a flow of time. For some communities, the act of reclaiming forgotten or marginalised histories can be a powerful affirmation of presence. Remembering industrial pasts is one response to their loss; where social fragmentation runs along lines of cultural difference, shared histories have the potential to make connections through empathy. Far more than a form of preservation, heritage or living history has the potential to inform policy, place-shaping and academic theory and practice.

In discussing universities as anchor institutions in sustainable communities, we explore the physical place-shaping aspects of heritage with reference to a particular case study in the new town of Hatfield, north of London, in the United Kingdom. We think of heritage as not simply about the preservation or conservation of a few "important" buildings but reflecting a more subtle relationship with a wider set of elements that contribute to collective memory. We note that the orthodoxy of the 1964 Venice Charter, however, has continued strongly to shape the way that built-form aspects of heritage are approached. As Hardy points out (Hardy, 2009: xvi), the Venice Charter was read as requiring old buildings to be understood as historical documents in themselves, never to be copied for fear of "falsifying" history: 'In recent years the requirement of Article 9 of the Charter that new work must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp has been misused to justify contrasting

modern additions, alterations and new buildings in historic places worldwide, and to validate modernist interventions in traditional buildings and places'. As Hardy goes on to say, 'these misused clauses have become a central regulatory tool used in development control to block any form of traditional design' (2009: xvii). This is one key context for the way that heritage and the increasingly influential concept of place-shaping have come together in recent years.

Key to our approach in this paper is the concept of "sense of place" (genus loci), which has both an academic and a popular resonance, capturing something intellectually and/or emotionally about the spirit of the place: its prevalent feeling and identity. Everywhere is somewhere; all places have their own unique local character, the things that make them distinctive. It is this distinctive character that underpins feelings of connectedness and authenticity. How we understand place is complicated, reflecting layers of meaning built up over time: the settlement in its landscape; the way the buildings and spaces fit together; the way streets and buildings look and feel; the materials they are made of and the way people use them. Yet some places feel more "authentic" than others. Places that reflect the constraints of local topography, landscape and building materials and vernaculars can feel far more "real" than those that look the same everywhere. That is why a village usually feels more "authentic" than a business park, with its single function land use, generic architecture, planting and car parks. The history, natural landscape and "townscape" of a place and the way these elements intertwine through daily use can be understood as marks of identity that make up "genus loci".

The heritage of a place is central to how this genus loci is developed and transmitted, and this can be as much artistic, literary, technical, political, religious and institutional (among other things) as about buildings and landscapes. In the UK, a holistic notion of place-shaping has emerged at the centre of public policies for the regulation and governance of space (Gallant and Wong, 2008) and gained additional influence from political commitments expressed in terms of localism. Its effects, however, have been the subject of vigorous debate, not least in relation to heritage; it is notable, for instance, that place-shaping approaches have been used to justify mass demolition of working-class housing in the north of England (Allen and Crookes, 2009).

In this paper we first situate our case study within the wider political context. We then move on to consider the Hatfield case study in terms of place-shaping, history and heritage, connecting its historic role in the aviation and defence industry to structural economic shifts in recent years that undermined its economic base and its more recent renewal through the provision of educational and business services. We explore the heritage case study as a process of social, intellectual and community engagement with place-shaping and reflect on its key elements. We look at some of the spatial design implications for place-shaping arising from the reconsideration of the Venice Charter and conclude that heritage-related activities give universities important opportunities in future to anchor cultural and physical environments as part of an overall focus on sustainable communities.

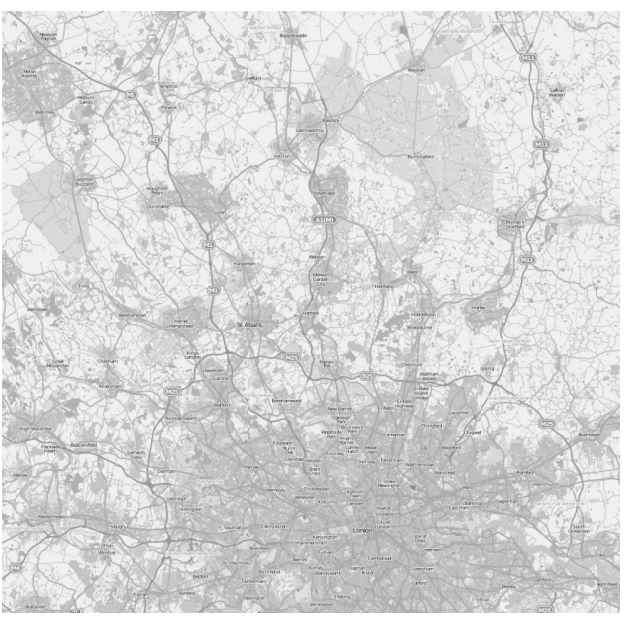

Figure 1. Map of Hatfield in in its regional context Source: Map data © OpenStreetMap contributors, CC BY-SA.

Political context

In this initial part of the paper, we attempt to locate the concept of place-shaping within a wider political context, but also to bridge between place-shaping and history and heritage. It is interesting to note that, as the turn towards localism was occurring in policy, so a conscious shift in attention within the discipline of history was elevating the experiences of the everyday and situating those localised experiences within global currents. Historians had been responding to the collapse of certainty associated with postmodernism since the 1970s, if not before, yet it was in the 1990s that momentum built, with Richard Evans publishing his trenchant defence of history in 1997 (Evans, 1997; Tosh, 2006). While the pressure has since eased, as historians work with multiple perspectives, sensitive to the gradients of power, the rejection of the nation as a unit of historical thinking in favour of local and identity groupings has become well established. A 2011 companion to history demonstrated this well (Rublack, 2011). In the context of public engagement, this turn can be problematic where audiences remain interested in matters of national identity and with the lives and conduct of elites, alongside, rather than in tension with, matters of local heritage and everyday life.

Place-shaping assumed political significance during the Labour administrations from 1997, which devolved power in Scotland and Wales and sought to define a "new localism", a framework of accountability for local authorities, both to residents and to central government. Themes such as efficiency and responsiveness can be traced back to 1980s and remain evident under today's Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government, an indication of consensus across party lines in terms of the policy priorities for local administration, but also of the resilience and traction of the language of locality and of local distinctiveness and determination. The Conservative governments of the 1980s and 1990s emphasised market pressures to this end, with an interventionist approach of inspection and regulation, a tone which their Labour successors picked up. As Sir Michael Lyons, the author of the 2007 inquiry into local government noted, a tension emerged between a devolutionary impulse based on the recognition of the need for local decision-making for local circumstances, and a disciplinary impulse in pursuit of the reform of public services, often through target-setting (see local government White Paper: *Strong and Prosperous Communities*, 2006). So, while Lyons put a holistic notion of place-shaping at the centre of the regulation and governance of space in the UK, the concept must be understood in a context where localism carried a political charge.

It is possible to identify a number of factors that contributed to successive governments' interest in localism. One is the concept's rhetorical power, though it is notable that the language of devolution and empowerment has been, and continues to be, deployed by central governments in contexts where they also evince a lack of trust in local capacity and capability, particularly those of local authorities. This usage provides an indication of the (at least perceived) power and resonance of localism (one example would be schools policy, where academies, later free schools, run outside the control of councils, and much greater powers are being accrued to the Secretary of State). Another, connected, factor is a broader crisis of legitimacy for central government, involving a disaffection with the politics and culture of Westminster and a sense of democratic disengagement. "Sleaze", associated particularly with the Major era, was damaging to individual reputations but also collectively. The Iraq war, and the absence of WMD, eroded public trust under Labour and the parliamentary expenses scandal spanned two administrations. The Leveson Inquiry is exposed close connectivities between government and the media and can be seen as the latest in a series of episodes that have undermined confidence in central government. As a result, political rhetoric has been shaped by a need to emphasise not only accountability in a broad sense but also the importance of devolving responsibility and control downwards (under the precept that those who deliver and use services know best).

We can perhaps connect localism (as a policy concept), the academic turn away from the national to the local, and public interest in local history and heritage. We can recognise in them attempts to respond to collapses in established certainties through creating anchors at local level. Localism in the 1990s suggested democratic devolution and accountability but also reflected an acknowledgement that central government no longer had the big funding levers to provide incentives for change (this also underlies current Prime Minister David Cameron's "Big Society", which has taken on a localist narrative). The academic turn to local/global polarities responded to an erosion of objectivity and of the grand narratives of national rise and fall. For some, heritage suggested an authentic grass-roots phenomenon through which ordinary people connected with the past and discovered a transformative sense of belonging (Samuel, 1994); for others, it was a form of commercialised nostalgia that exploited a need for "comfort" in a "postindustrial, postcolonial… postmodern, postboom situation" (Boniface, 1995: 24; Hewison, 1987). The search for a sure anchor, for a refuge from the turbulence unsettling the structures and apparent certainties of the past is understandable at a human and at an intellectual level. But what are the mechanisms and the organising principles to do so? Much of the thinking in these three perspectives on the local – the political, the historical and the heritage-oriented seems to rely on the creation or identification of collectivities that replace those structures – often institutions that once provided a more certain framework. This paper suggests that, in the search for new, more fluid forms of collectivity, we may have missed the potential of a particular type of institution: the university.

With histories measured in decades if not centuries, universities are often one of the few points of continuity in a community - as well as a major employer, cultural hub and catalyst for renewal, drawing in people and businesses. Yet they remain under-explored as institutions with the resilience, adaptability and capital to act as anchors within communities in a "post-institutional" world. This is as much a challenge to

universities themselves as to any other constituency. Their leaders and their staff have often located themselves in national frameworks, both economic and social, even when established to meet local needs by founders motivated by civic pride and a commitment to the future of the place. This may be associated with the effects of homogenisation of institutional mission and identity, where esteem becomes attached to activities measured nationally and compared internationally, rather than shaped and valued locally. This paper aims to challenge us to reimagine the role universities can play within their communities as part of a historically-conscious place-shaping agenda.

Place-shaping, history and heritage: a case study

The county of Hertfordshire has a population of over a million people and a twentieth-century history of urban, demographic and economic expansion connected with its proximity to London. The population is culturally diverse, including Londoners re-located to post-war council estates, travellers and migrants from many countries.

Hertfordshire's complex sense of place derives from many layers and kinds of settlement built up over a very long history. People have probably lived in Hertfordshire since Mesolithic times; Neolithic long barrows, several Iron Age hill forts, and the traces of a Celtic settlement (an "oppidum") near present day St Albans (itself an important Roman town) remain. Hertfordshire's settlement pattern of market towns grew in the Middle Ages through trade and agriculture, while abandoned medieval settlements in the north and east of the county reflected poor harvests and hard times. Roman roads through Hertfordshire are a reminder in the landscape of the importance of trade to and from London over the long haul, as are, more recently, Myddelton's New River (constructed between 1608 and 1613), the Grand Union canal, the railway development of the nineteenth century and the motorways and highways that now transect the county. In the twentieth century, modernist ideas in town-making have given Hertfordshire some of its distinctive character including garden cities, post-war new towns and the redevelopment of traditional settlements (in part) as suburban overspill for London. Hatfield itself comprises a traditional village centred on the historic Hatfield House and a post war new town, with these two urban elements severed by the north-south railway and highway.

Figure 2. Traditional Hatfield village urbanism Source: Photograph from the authors.

Figure 3. Hatfield's "New Town" urbanism Source: Photograph from the authors.

From its origins as Hatfield Technical College, the University of Hertfordshire (UH) emerged and developed alongside broader cultural and planning ideas about how to make places. Through Garden

Cities, which are a particularly important part of Hertfordshire's built heritage (Miller, 2010; Howard, 1974), and from modernist exclusionary zoning (Fischel, 2004) as demonstrated by Hertfordshire's new towns, there was a strong preference for placing housing here, and industry there. From post-war campus planning came a policy preference for developing educational facilities in purpose-built campuses away from the bustle and distraction of the town. UH's origins in engineering and the aeronautical industry have shaped the physical form of the campus. It is an aspect of UH's identity that feels very present – and contributes to its sense of place.

Figure 4. Map of Hatfield Source: Map data © OpenStreetMap contributors, CC BY-SA.

Yet while the ascendant post-war campus model has produced spaces in many universities whose character is often green and attractive, "exclusionary zoning" of facilities sometimes reinforces a lack of integration and connectivity. As Forsyth and Crewe (2010) demonstrate, in what they call the *international campus-garden-suburb style,* the linkages between technically-focused business parks and a university campus model based on garden cities have become ubiquitous for good reason. This spatial style of economic development around cities has been an economic success story. More broadly, though, the campus model with its attendant business park offshoots has showcased particular forms of "object" architecture, which reflect the assumptions built into dominant readings of the Venice Charter, thus acting as a key design component of a spatial model that produces urban sprawl (Hayden, 2004). Not only are there significant environmental sustainability issues emerging but as Gertrude Stein (1938) said: 'when you get there, there is no there, there'. These placeless architectural approaches are being challenged and design guides to retrofit increasingly dysfunctional sprawl environments are now appearing (Dunham-Jones, 2011; Tachieva, 2010). Similarly, our case study foregrounds some of the complex aspects of the interconnection of place-shaping and heritage, in which post-industrial educational and business development has also been associated with economic revitalisation, yet has also contributed to a modernist heritage of urban sprawl with consequent sustainability and liveability issues.

Figure 5. The "business park" architecture and place shaping of South Hatfield Source: Photograph from authors.

The de Havilland airfield community heritage project

In 2004, the University of Hertfordshire opened a second campus on one portion of the former Hatfield Aerodrome. From 1934, the airfield site had grown into a major centre of the British aviation industry. During the Second World War, the de Havilland Aircraft Company developed and produced the Mosquito fighter-bomber there; post-war, the site was an important centre of rocket, missile and jet-engine research. In the 1940s, de Havilland planes held records for the fastest and highest flights. The world's first commercial jet airliner, the de Havilland Comet, was developed and manufactured at the aircraft works in the 1950s; its test flight hanger was for a time the largest aluminium building in the world. For decades, the airfield had been an international centre of technological research and business. It was also the major local employer: over 4000 workers in 1939, rising to 10,000 by the 1960s. A dramatic reversal occurred when BAE Systems closed the site in 1993, with a loss of 8,000 jobs. As a result, by mid-decade, a thriving company town was experiencing post-industrial uncertainty and decline.

Figure 6. The de Havilland site's original buildings - the aircraft hangar now used as a fitness centre and hotel Source: Photograph from the authors.

Figure 7. The de Havilland site's original buildings – part of the Art Deco-style administration block now extended and used as a police station Source: Photograph from the authors.

By 2003, few of the original buildings remained: an art deco administration block (now a police station); a gate house (a fast-food restaurant) and a control tower and hangar (a private sports club). In their place, the property firm, Goodman (then Arlington), gained planning permission for a residential area of 1800 homes, a distribution centre (1 million square feet), office buildings and for an eventual 1.8 million square feet of production. A small shopping area, school and a nature park were also part of the mix. This re-development, including heavy remediation, demolition of the production space and breaking up of the runways, erased most physical traces of the site's industrial past, with major implications for its sense of place. Although there had been attempts to capture the history of the airfield by naming the streets after de Havilland planes, and considerable interest exists in the history of the de Havilland site, locally, nationally and internationally, there was little to connect the new businesses and residents to the site. If we consider the specific time stream of the area the medieval manor, centuries of agricultural labour, early aviators, hangars and noctural rocket tests – redevelopment had obliterated temporal as well as spatial markers.

Figure 8. Aerial view of community exhibition in Salisbury Village, June 2010, showing a plan of pre-Second World War beacons Source: Geoff Collins.

It was in this context that members of the University's History Department looked out of the office windows and wondered about the significance of the scene. Then, in 2009, one of these historians teamed up with the de Havilland Housing Partnership, which was set up to implement the brownfield development and regeneration scheme. The Housing Partnership, comprising the borough council, private developers, registered social landlords and a tenants' panel, aimed 'to foster an active, practical and sustainable community who feel a genuine sense of place, in as short a timeframe as possible' (see: http://alturl.com/pbsu7). The de Havilland Airfield Community Heritage Project – the outcome of this collaboration between the University and Housing Partnership and funded by a community grant from the UK's Heritage Lottery Fund began in June 2009 and ran for 18 months (de Havilland Airfield Community Heritage Project, 2010).

The project explicitly set out to commemorate and make visible the cultural, social and economic heritage of the former airfield and the thousands of people who had worked there. As is common in public history, it started with an anniversary; July 2009 was the sixtieth anniversary of the first flight of the de Havilland Comet. People from Salisbury Village (the residential area), local school, college and university students, as well as businesses on the site, participated in a series of events which generated permanent educational and commemorative features. A heritage trail with ten boards was set up across the site; the old aerodrome navigational beacon, the only remaining example of its kind in the world, was restored and re-installed at one of the entrances to the business park. Over 100 men and women, recruited through various ex-employees' organisations, word-of-mouth and local advertising, attended a reminiscence event that launched the oral history project. They agreed to be interviewed about their experiences and feelings as employees at the airfield; the oldest had memories dating back to the 1930s, while the youngest participants had worked on the Spielberg movies that were filmed on the site in the 1990s after industrial activity had ceased.

Figure 9. Map of the de Havilland heritage trail Source: University of Hertfordshire.

In applying for funding, the project described its aim as 'to generate a much needed sense of community and place for residents on the site and Hatfield more generally' and to do this through physical structures and acts of reminiscence (Davies, unpubl.[i]). Many ex-workers still live locally and came back to events at the former airfield; partnerships created by the project gave residents access to varied experiences and knowledge of the site. By working with a county-wide online community archive in Hertfordshire, the history of the site was embedded in a still wider historical frame, that of "Hertfordshire Memories" and "Our Hatfield". Here again the project worked within an established discourse in which it is said that a shared sense of history can foster community identity through cultural "ownership" of a common historic/historical legacy (Jordanova, 2006); it becomes a living tradition.

Figure 10. Typical Hatfield "new town" post war domestic architecture Source: Photograph from the authors.

Reflections on the case study

Looking back over the project it was apparent that the University could act as a community broker by bringing together disparate groups and interests. This also required sensitivity. A sense of place, an appreciation of heritage, and a local identity cannot be imposed from outside or above; a living tradition can only be experienced and made by the participants themselves. Here, the University continues to learn through ventures in community heritage, with new projects related to the anniversary of 1914 and the development of another of Hertfordshire's post-war New Towns, Stevenage.

The de Havilland Aerodrome Community Heritage Project also raises some questions about the role of higher education institutions in fostering community cohesion and creating a sense of identity. The heritage model is frequently couched in the language of legacy, pride and celebration. But what are the trade-offs between commemoration and omission? Were some people's experiences represented more visibly than others: skilled male employees rather female residents of Hatfield, for instance? What are the longer-term effects for Salisbury Village, where in the main residents had no personal links with the history commemorated and whose connection with it was solely through their presence in that location? Can technological innovation in missile production, for example, ever be a source of unalloyed inspiration? In the case of weapons, there is a lethal difference between "here" and "there". These are clearly subjects for longer-term evaluation, but they raise a final possibility. In addition to facilitating community history projects, do academic disciplines and research cultures offer the possibility of opening – over time – a rather more complex understanding of history in place? It is notable that the de Havilland Housing Partnership aimed to create a sense of place 'in as short a time frame as possible'; could institutional longevity suggest another or complementary sense of place, one which is created through a sediment of connected but not necessarily uniform histories?

A strong theme in this case study is fragmented and broken connections: the disappearance of aviation manufacturing; the end of economic certainty for those laid off in 1993; demolished buildings; a first generation of residents with little more than road names to orientate themselves culturally; a transient student population. The current focus of the Business Park as a distribution centre reinforces that sense of unsettledness. Even the dynamic de Havilland Housing Partnership ran its course and disbanded by the end of the project. By contrast, the University can provide continuity, sustainability and certainty. What also emerged was considerable potential for the University to engage in community partnerships specifically through heritage initiatives. Knowledge exchange is a common objective in higher education institutions, but the activities discussed in this paper suggest models of research collaboration that build new academic identities grounded in specific local and institutional contexts.

What can we learn from the project about the role of universities in contributing to place-making? In one sense the University of Hertfordshire had a distinctive role to play; not only was it literally on the spot, but, since its foundation as the Hatfield Technical College in 1952, its own institutional history had been tightly bound up with the de Havilland Aircraft Company. The project also fitted well with the University's declared mission to be rooted in the county. As a major local employer with over 2000 staff, a role it has assumed since the demise of the aircraft industry, the University was comfortable with the idea of brokering connections between residents, schools and businesses. Higher education also has generic qualities that support this sort of activity: breadth of resources (in this instance, departments of history, education and engineering) and strong relationships with external organisations, including schools and businesses.

Figure 11. de Havilland redevelopment area urbanism, in modernist style Source: Photograph from the authors.

Figure 12. de Havilland redevelopment area urbanism, in traditional style Source: Photograph from the authors.

In the longer term, the urbanism created from this post-industrial landscape will itself need some reassessment or retrofitting to support the sense of place. For the University's ongoing heritage role in anchoring sustainable communities, this would mean focusing on urbanist principles of robust, long-life architecture: buildings that work for many users doing different things over time; spaces where people would rather walk than drive; and a convivial public realm that produces outdoor rooms where people will want to meet each other (Madanipour, 2003). Achieving human-scaled places means connecting up compact, mixed-use buildings: a bit like a traditional town (Jenks, Burton & Williams, 1996).

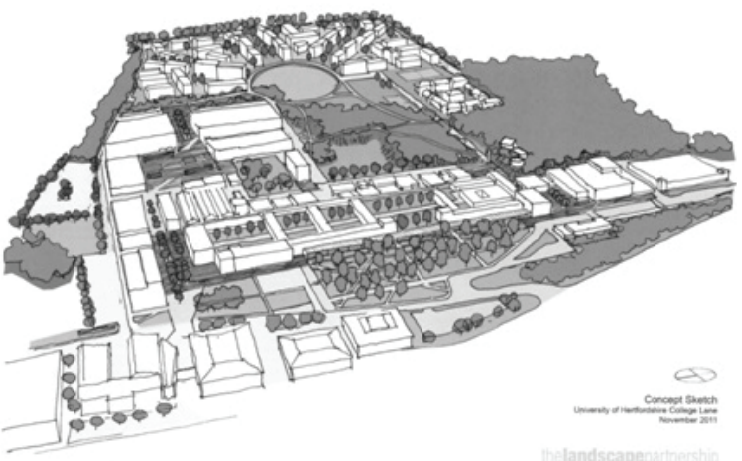

Figure 13. Diagrammatic representation of the University of Hertfordshire master planning process outcomes Source: Estates, University of Hertfordshire.

So, as well as its intellectual and social responsibilities in supporting heritage, UH continues to employ master-planning initiatives on campus and work with partners beyond its own estate to support place-shaping. In the twenty-first century, we have started to acknowledge the need to repair urban areas, make good architectural mistakes and rethink approaches to heritage's spatial expression. In so doing there is a range of approaches that look to urbanist principles (Parham, Clos, 2005); reconnecting urban spaces benefits universities and host communities. Reknitting the urban fabric offers exciting opportunities for authentic and sustainable urbanism and makes universities richer educational environments in which the genus loci – the spirit of the place – will be well in evidence.

Conclusions

The Hatfield case study shows how a university has taken up the opportunity to support a local community in dealing with the difficult outcomes of structural change and the consequent imprint on the landscape. We suggest that no other institution would have been able to adopt such a role. This is partly to do with

continuity over time. Though the transformation of the institution from technical college to university has been profound over a sixty-year history, its locatedness within the community as an educational centre gives a sense of resilience allied to a capacity to evolve. This combination connects the past to the present, and in doing so provides a structure for imagining the future. In this case study, the capacity of universities to play an "anchor" role in knitting together critical aspects of heritage as a living tradition in a new town context is demonstrated. Yet universities in very different geographical, cultural and economic circumstances can also reinterpret the anchor role in ways appropriate to the distinctiveness of the institution and the place. If universities are to realise their potential as anchor institutions in sustainable communities, new perspectives will need to be developed in policy and university strategy, in urban design and planning, and in academic practice.

A recognition that universities are institutions with intellectual and social capacities and responsibilities can productively inform policy around local economic development and sustainable communities, bringing policymakers from higher education into structured dialogue with colleagues in other Government departments as part of the policymaking process. In the UK, such an approach would place universities in a central role within the new Local Enterprise Partnerships and as hubs within Enterprise Zones, able to mediate between economic and social imperatives (Wilson, 2012). University leaders are presented with the opportunity to reimagine the role of institutions as anchors within their communities and to consider the location of that mission within national and international frameworks. A key element of this reimagination is an acceptance of responsibility, through intellectual leadership, for contributing constructively to the collective memory of place in an academically rigorous way that meets objectives for making sustainable communities.

It may be that to contribute fully to a sustainable sense of place over the medium term, universities in the "international campus-business-park model" will need to work with local partners to reconfigure the modernist heritage of sprawl-based urbanism that in some cases has replaced a defunct industrial past and to which their own economic and spatial pattern contributes. Urban designers, planners, architects and other with expertise in making the built environment can assist in a process of "sprawl repair" that gives due attention to the heritage aspects of place-shaping. In this way a finer urban grain can be achieved in the urban fabric in and around "new town" universities that recognises and reflects layers of past meaning in heritage terms but points to a sustainable future.

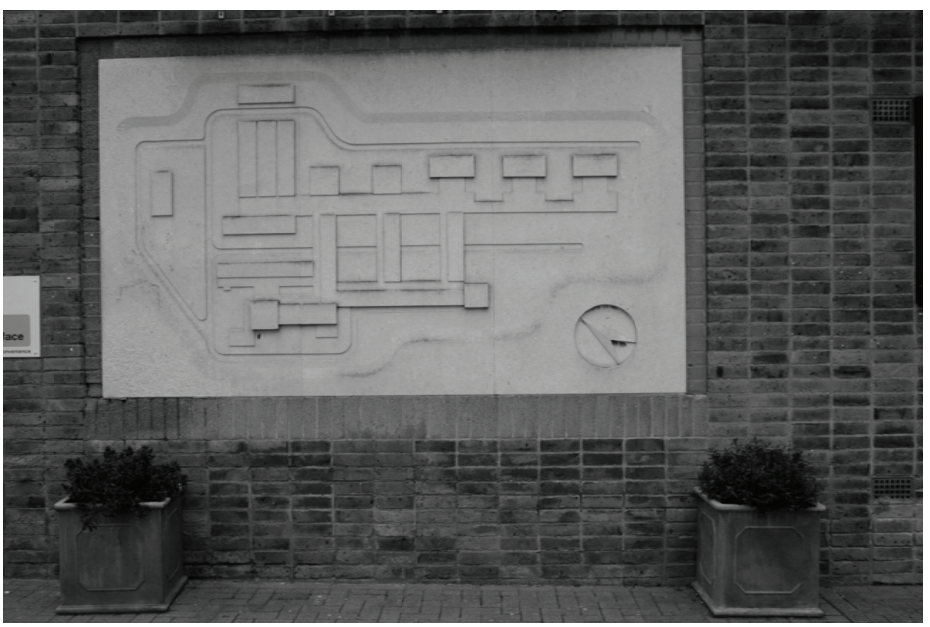

Figure 14. Bianco del Mare Plaque by Trevor Tennant (1953) at the College Lane Campus of the University of Hertfordshire Source: Photograph from the authors.

In recent years, British academic historians have noted a separation of university-based research from the activities of general audiences who are interested in family, local and national pasts. As the case study suggested, heritage provides one context for bridging that divide and putting the history of a particular place into use by individuals and groups. The role of universities as brokers in this process has

considerable potential. Through such projects, historians can also bridge another divide by showing that a sense of place is as much an effect of historical time as a matter of physical space. Although the common language of heritage projects – the air of celebration, inspiration and legacy – can be an uncomfortable, even inappropriate, one to use, institutional longevity presents historians with a mechanism to foster a constructive yet critical approach to community heritage projects and elicit a more nuanced sense of the past. And finally, community histories challenge academics to think about their practice as located in a specific institutional context, itself socially, temporally and geographically located, and to consider the implications of their work for how that institution sets and understands its ethos and purpose. This research has highlighted the resilience and adaptability of universities in their capacity to act as anchors and points of continuity in a community as well as to lead work on reclaiming lost pasts and building sustainable futures.

Endnotes

[i] Owen Davies, Application to the Heritage Lottery Fund, 2009.

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Origins, formation and influence of Lithuanian baroque organ heritage and Organbuilder Nicolaus Jantzon's legacy

Girėnas Povilionis *Centre for the Lithuanian Organ Heritage, Lithuania* girenasp@yahoo.com

The article presents the Lithuanian Baroque organbuilding art tradition, the existence of the Vilnius School of Late Baroque Organbuilding (VSLBO) as the national identity of Lithuanian organ history, its importance for the formation of the East-European organ art in the 18th century and the most prominent organmaster Nicolaus Jantzon's legacy. Organbuilding traditions have come to Eastern Europe, Lithuania including, from Eastern Prussia (particularly from the region of Königsberg / Kaliningrad, Russia) and various German principalities starting the 16th century. The formation of VSLBO in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) in the 2-half of the 18th century emerged. The beginning of Lithuanian organbuilding tradition is noted by the grand organs with 20-36 stops that were built almost exceptionally by Jantzon and his followers (Raczkowski, Griese, etc.), generally called masters of the VSLBO. Most of grand organs were built for churches of the Bernardin order. The types of architectural composition and the organ façade (2-tower structure), the stop list and carved wood ornaments that had original forms and a unique configuration of decorative details attributed to the area of the Vilnius artisans spread across the present territories of Lithuania, Belarus, Poland and Latvia, are easily recognised in the general panorama of Baroque organs. The research focuses on Jantzon's activity and the detailed reconstruction concept of organ in the Bernardine Church in Vilnius.

Keywords: Vilnius School of Late Baroque Organbuilding, Bernardin order, Gerhardt Arendt Zelle, Nicolaus Jantzon, Joachim Friedrich Scheel, Mateusz Raczkowski, Józef Woyciullewicz, 2-tower organ structure, organ stops Jula, Unda Maris, Salcinal, Sedecima, Flet Major, Flet Minor, Vox humana, Trompete, Vox Campanorum, carved wood ornaments, Baroque organ in the Bernardine Church in Vilnius, reconstruction concept.

Introduction

The first organ in Lithuania was first mentioned in historical documents in 1408, when the Grand Master of the German Order Ulrich von Jungingen from Marienburg sent a present – a clavichord and a portative – to Anna, the wife of Vytautas, grand duke of Lithuania. But the history of the development of the art of organ building in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a separate and unique organbuilding school was formed in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries and after that made a great significance to organ heritage in Eastern and Central Europe. Until the beginning of the eighteenth century organ building in Lithuania was influenced by the German (various German principalities) and Prussian (especially of Eastern Prussia – the Königsberg region [present-day Kaliningrad, Russia] where the organ tradition came from the influential schools in Hamburg and Gdansk) organ building tradition.[i] At that time, organ builders of the Königsberg school were invited to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; they also went to Scandinavian countries[ii] and Livonia [present-day part of Latvia]. However, influenced by foreign and local tendencies the art of organ building in Lithuania formed and grew to be independent – the Vilnius late Baroque organ building school with its own masters and style. Its history encompasses a hundred years – from about 1740 until about 1840–1850.[iii]

Figure 1. On the left: Influence to organ building in Lithuania until the beginning of the 18th c. On the right: Grand Master of the German Order Ulrich von Jungingen (17th century depiction by Christoph Hartknoch).

It should be mentioned that for a long time historians attributed the instruments made by Vilnius masters to artisans from Königsberg, as the largest part of Lithuanian Baroque organs are small positives of 7–12 voices that were often considered provincial, unoriginal instruments which reminded of or simply copied those made by masters from Eastern Prussia. Indeed, masters from Königsberg travelled to Lithuania to build organs in the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, but they made single instruments.

Small positive, BALBIERIŠKIS CHURCH
Unknown builder, 1802, 1 manual, 10 stops
Manual (C-c‴)

Principal	4 pedum
Flet	4 pedum
Flet Major	8 pedum
Salcynal	8 pedum
Flet minor	4 pedum
Quinta	3 pedys
Oktava	2 pedys
Waltt Flett	2 pedys
Tercija	1 3/5 pedys
Szpilflet	2 pedys
Pauken	

Small positive, VĖŽAIČIAI CHURCH
Unknown builder, 1804, 1 manual, 10 stops
Manual (C-c‴)

Principal	4′
Flet major	8′
[Qwintadena]	8′
Undamarys	4′
Flet minor	4′
Qwinta	3′
Waltflet	2′
Oktawa	2′
Sedecym	1′
Mixtur III ch.	1′
Cymbelstern	
Pauke	

Figure 2. The largest part of Lithuanian Baroque organs – small positives of 7–12 voices.

Stylistic, constructional and musical similarities with instruments built by masters of different schools that mistakenly induced various researchers to attribute the organs surviving in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to Königsberg artisans are understandable: the organ builders who settled in Vilnius in the mid-eighteenth century came from outside bringing their own traditions. However, so-called Vilnius masters also established their own tradition characteristic of the area of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and were able to build large instruments on a par with those made in Western Europe. More and more of them arrived as in the eighteenth century when many churches were built or reconstructed all over the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and there was increasing demand for new organs. Some of the artisans stayed in Vilnius, the cultural and political centre of the duchy, where the administrative centres of monasteries were situated and connections with the authorities made it possible to get commissions in the most remote provinces. Therefore, the legacy of the organ builders of the Vilnius School is important not only in the history of Lithuania but also of the mentioned countries. Incidentally, speaking about the Vilnius school of the late Baroque organ building we refer to "Lithuania" with its eighteenth century state administrative borders. In this way, the area where Vilnius masters worked was rather large as the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the eighteenth century was ten times larger than it is now: present-day Belarus, parts of Latvia, Poland and Ukraine belonged to it.

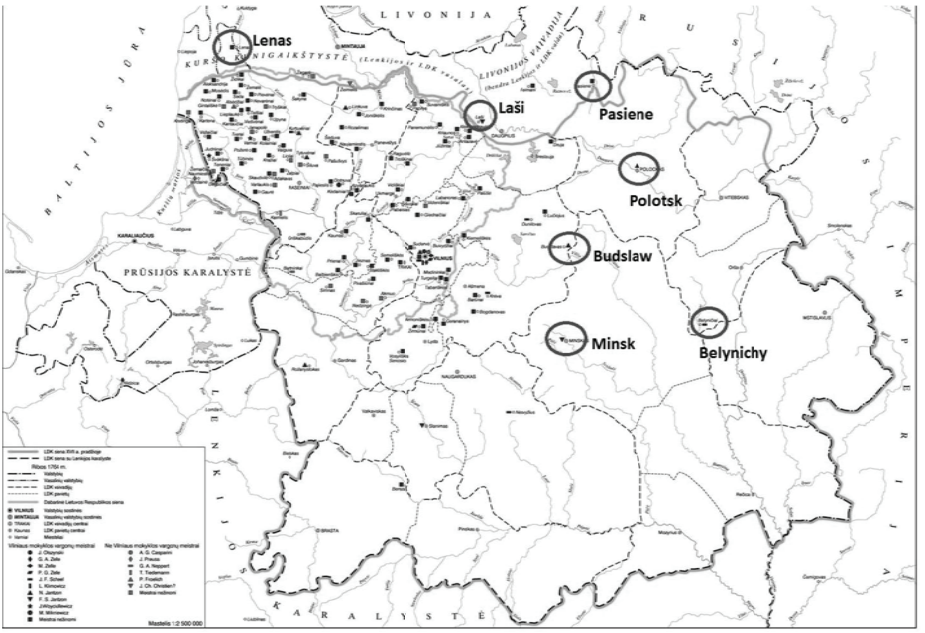

Figure 3. Some important Organs built by Vilnius masters outside present-day Lithuania.

It is interesting to note that those borders did not always coincide with the boundaries of the Roman Catholic Church. Because of this, instruments by Vilnius masters have survived in the neighbouring principalities of Courland and Livonia (present-day Latvia that did not belong to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at that time) but only in Catholic churches. An interesting fact is known about the religious beliefs of those masters: almost all of them were Lutherans (in Lithuania, Catholics dominated); however, there was no religious intolerance and religious differences were not an obstacle to build organs for Catholics.

Origin of Vilnius masters

First the organs in Vilnius churches were portrayed by J. Galicz in the press in 1861. The archival information about organs in Polish, Belarus and Suvalkija churches is found in publications by W. Łyjak and M. Paknys has gathered archival news about the biographies and instruments of Vilnius organbuilders in 17th–18th c.

Most of the artisans were Vilnius citizens. From 1737 master Gerhardt Arendt Zelle (Celle, ?–1761) who came from Königsberg was mentioned as living in Vilnius. His origins might have been linked with Ostfriesland (present-day part of Germany) or with town Celle (about 40km from Hanover).[iv] Before settling in Vilnius, he worked for almost ten years at the workshop of Georg Sigismund Caspari (1693–1741) in Königsberg.[v]

First mentioned in 1752, Joachim Friedrich Scheel[vi] (Schoell, Schöl, ?–1782), who was born in the environs of the small town of Schwaan (not far from Rostock, Germany) from the principality of Mecklenburg. He might have been a relative of master August Scheel and his namesake son (b. ~1811) who lived in the town of Kalish, Poland (Vogel et al., 1995, p. 260).[vii]

Between 1763 and 1765, mention was made of Mateusz Drygalski[viii], who came to Vilnius from Prussia.

Nicolaus Jantzon (Mikołaj Janson, Jantzen, 1720–1791), an apprentice of Zelle, who was first mentioned as living in Vilnius in 1752, arrived from Hamburg (Paknys, 2001, p. 57). A year later, he married his master's daughter most probably with a view to establishing himself in the organ building trade in Vilnius.[ix] It is likely that when his father-in-law died in 1761 Jantzon took over the workshop and became the most distinguished representative of the Vilnius school of organ building in the latter part of the eighteenth century. His son Friedrich Samuel Jantzon (1764–1842?) was also an organ builder.[x]

At that time (2nd half of 18th c.–beginning of 19th c.) local masters Ludwig Klimowicz (mentioned between 1752–1794), Jan Pawłowski (mentioned between 1789–1794), Bazili (Bazyli) Sidorowicz

(mentioned between 1789–1794), Antoni Szulk (mentioned at the end of eighteenth century), Jakub Bohdanowicz (mentioned in 1794), Karol Bortkiewicz (mentioned in 1795), Jacub Philipp Gryś (Griz, Griese, Gryze, b. 1762–after 1794), and Józef Kowalski (b. 1782–18??) also worked in Vilnius. Artisans who did not live in Vilnius but collaborated with the masters of the Vilnius school and followed the same style also belonged to the same group: Mateusz Raczkowski (mentioned between 1787–1803), Tomas Franciskus Dreynowski (mentioned in 1808), and Józef Woyciullewicz (mentioned between 1806–1821) from Samogitia (Žemaitija).

Instruments built by the masters of the Vilnius school are spread over a large area. The latest research suggests that the church in Pasiene (present-day Latvia), then a remote part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, houses a 1765 organ by an unknown master from Vilnius[xi]; in the church in Laši (Latvia) stands a 1798 instrument built by Friedrich Samuel Jantzon; the church in Lėnas (Latvia) houses an instrument by Dreynowski; the large instruments in the churches in Polock and Budslaw (Belarus) are attributed to Nicolaus Jantzon[xii]; the organ in the Bernardine church in Lvov (Ukraine) must have also been built under the influence of Vilnius masters.[xiii]

Figure 4. Organ in Bernardin church (Lvov, Ukraine, master attributed to VSLBO), 2nd half of 18th c.

It can be assumed that organs built in the tradition of the Vilnius school are more widely spread due to the migration of the organ builders. For instance, Johann Christoph Ungefug (Jan Ungefug, Ungefugt, Ungefungt, ~1725–1788) was born and studied the trade under Zelle in Vilnius; he later left for Eastern Prussia. Daniel Wróblewsky (Wrobel, 1744–1818), one of the most distinguished organ builders of Polish origin in Denmark later studied under Ungefug. Therefore, it is likely that so-called Vilnius organ building school "father" master Zelle could have indirectly influenced the culture of organ building in Poland (Mazurian region), and perhaps even in Denmark and Norway, and the significance of Vilnius school reveals its importance to the art of organ building not only in Eastern Europe, but also in the wider area.

Figure 5. Daniel Wroblewsky's organs in Østre Porsgrunn (Norway, 1782) and Nysted (Denmark, 1777).

Organ façades

Architecture

The organs built by the masters of the Vilnius school are distinguished by the original architecture of the façades. Their two-tower structure was a characteristic feature of the school. It is likely that this composition came from Eastern Prussia as it is seen in the mid-eighteenth century instruments in several churches in the environs of Königsberg: in the church in Caymen (present-day Kaliningrad region) and the 1737 organ positiv by Caspari in the Church of Neurosgärten in Königsberg. It is known that Zelle worked under Caspari at that time, and later Jantzon studied under Zelle. The restored façade of the instrument in St Johns' Church in Vilnius can be regarded as a compositional prototype. Its central part is of a typical form on the base of which the façades of most of later Lithuanian organs were built.

The two-tower façade composition is dominated by two polygonal side towers and straight flats surrounding them. This is a double form of a three-part compositional element (3x2) with an extra central tower. This seven-part form is the architectural base of façades that changed depending on the size of the instrument, id est it was narrowed, widened or flats were moved to different places. In this way, new façade forms that could be divided into three groups were created. The Vilnius masters favoured the first two, while the third that was rarely used includes instruments with different forms of the façade. The first group includes one-manual façades, while modifications of the organ façade with two manuals are in the second group.

The oldest two-tower composition organ has survived in the Church of St George in Vilnius and in the church in Joniškis (Molėtai District); the newest one is in the church in Kantaučiai. In Samogitia, the organ builders used this composition until the 1815s, while the church in Žemalė has an 1839 classicist form.

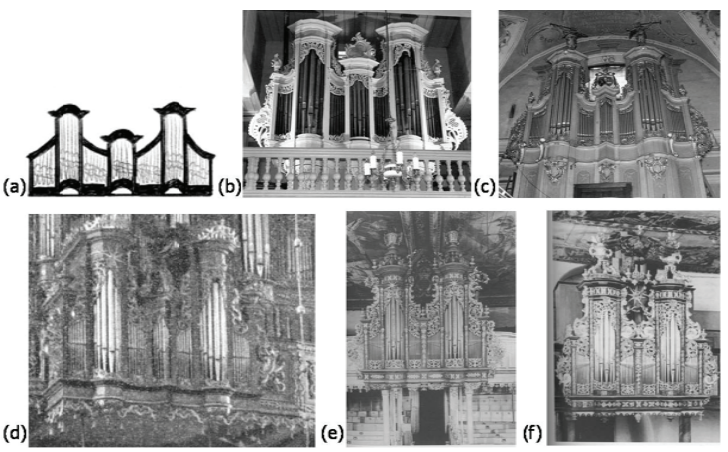

Figure 6. The oldest two-tower composition of Lithuanian Baroaque organ façades: (a) model, (b) Joniškis church, 1770, (c) Vilnius St. George church, 1760–1770. Comparison to various organs: (d) G. S. Caspari organ positive in Neurosgärten in Königsberg, 1737; J. J. Mosengel's organs in (e) Schoenbruch, 1714, and (f) Stockheim, 1714.

Figure 7. The latest two-tower composition of Lithuanian Baroaque organ façades in Kantaučiai, 1815, and Žemalė, 1839.

Figure 8. The reconstruction of the façade of Nicolaus Jantzon's organ in the St Johns church, Vilnius, 1766.

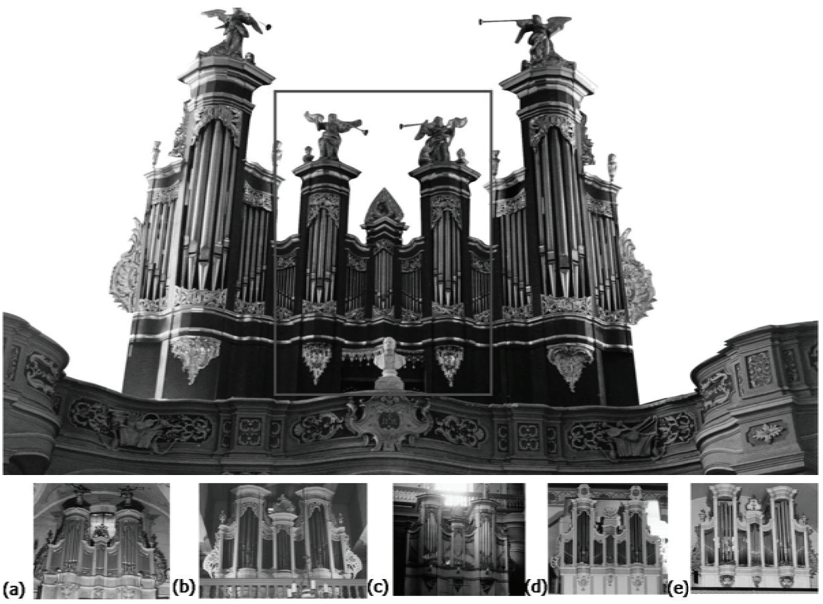

Figure 9. Organ in St Johns church, Vilnius, as façade model and other organ façades by Vilnius school masters in: (a) Vilnius St. George church, 1760–1770; (b) Joniškis church, 1770; (c) Vilnius All saints church, ~1770; (d) Seda church, 1803; (e) Tverai church, ~1800.

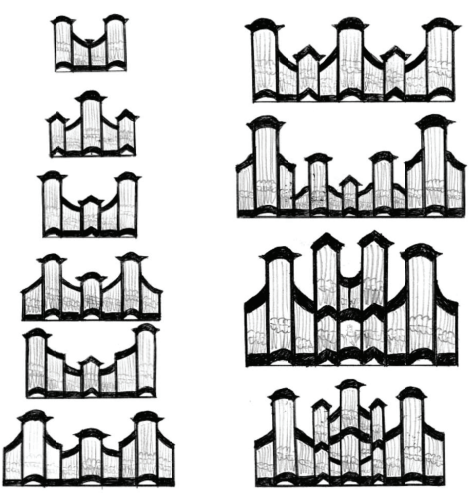

Figure 10. Schemes of façade compositions.

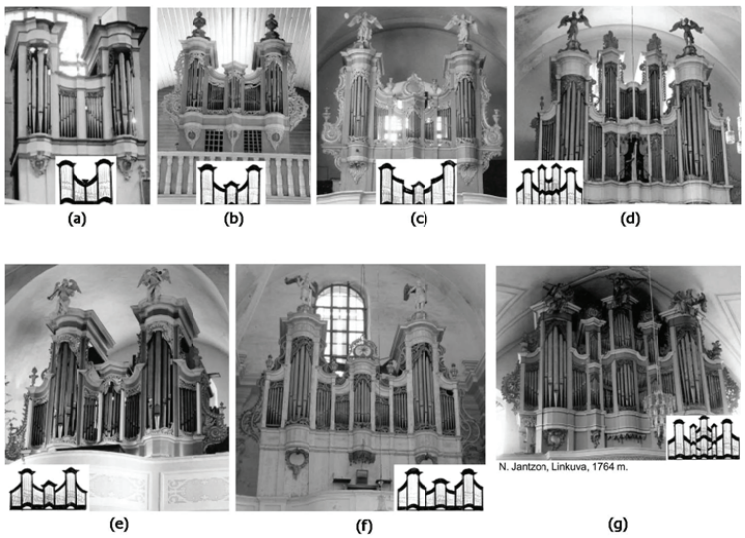

Figure 11. Façade model's variants: (a) Pasiene church (Latvia), 1765; (b) Semeliškės church, 1781; (c) Stakliškės church, after 1782; (d) Kurtuvėnai church, M. Raczkowski, 1792-1794; (e) Šeduva church, till 1792; (f) Budslaw (Belarus), N. Jantzon, 1783; (g) Linkuva church, N. Jantzon, 1764.

Figure 12. The organ façade "triplet" by N. Jantzon in Troškūnai, 1787-1789, and Tytuvėnai, 1789, and by M. Raczkowski in Kurtuvėnai, 1792-1794.

Figure 13. Other organs by N. Jantzon in Bernardine church in Vilnius, 1764-1766, Linkuva, 1764-1765, and Budslaw (Belarus), 1783.

Ornamentation

Organ façades that have survived in Lithuania – baroque, rococo and some neo-classicist ones – altars, pulpits or other elements of church interiors alike, used to be decorated with patterned woodcarvings. At the end of the eighteenth–beginning of the nineteenth century, rococo and neo-classicist motifs used to be combined in the structure and décor of organ façades. Some late baroque organ façades have been attributed to neo-classicism referring to the iconography of décor.

The most valuable is late baroque and rococo décor of organ façades. Traditions of the Vilnius school of organbuilding were the most remarkable in architecture and décor of late baroque organ façades. The integral character of décor established by research is evidence to the fact that permanent woodworkers and carvers most probably used to accompany organbuilders from the Vilnius school both around Vilnius and to more distant areas of GDL. Tendencies in décor of the Vilnius school of organbuilding had influenced the work of provincial masters who took over professional artistic tendencies by adding local elements. Organ façades were remarkable for the shapes of decorative details and patterns often characteristic exclusively to them; a unique configuration of ornamental details was created for every part of organ façades. Elements characteristic to Königsberg and other schools (trumpeting angels and the figure of King David) together with slightly provincial, but unique, enriched with local motifs, iconography of carved wooden patterns (a hagiographic sign of the Eye of Providence and shapes of patterns on wings and little wings of organ façades) have been found in the décor of great organ façades of Vilnius school. The largest number of surviving organ façades attributed to the Vilnius school of late baroque organbuilding were built from the 1760s to the beginning of 19th c.

Figure 14. Nicolaus Jantzon's organ in Tytuvėnai church, 1789, as a typical example of Lithuanian Baroque organ ornamentation.

We may state that there were formed the original compositions of plastic woodcarving that decorated the organ façades in Lithuania. For example, late Baroque organ façades as other elements of the church interior were adorned with carved wood ornaments that had original forms and a unique configuration of decorative details. For instance:

- Decorative console at the bottom of every tower;
- Pipe feet and tops covered with an ornamented openwork lattice;
- Façade sides adorned with volute wings;
- Cartouches at the top of towers with the initial letters of the one who funded the instrument (in most cases), monograms, an extract from Psalm 150, a coat of arms or other elements (a star, a clock);
- Eye of Providence in the central part;

Towers of the façades of grand and middle-sized organs often adorned with a composition of several figures: angles with trumpets and a figure of King David.

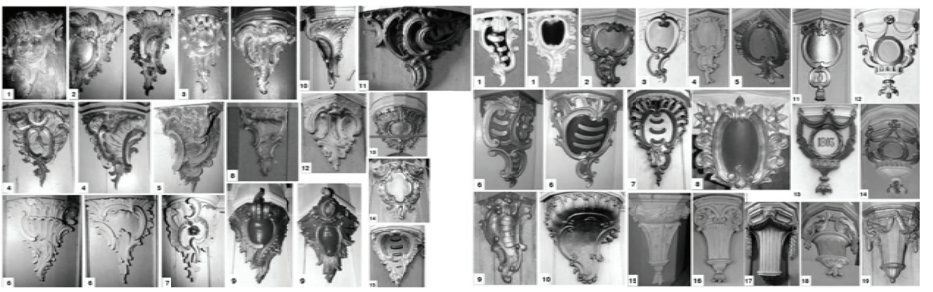

Figure 15. Ornamentation elements (consoles) in Lithuanian Baroque organs.

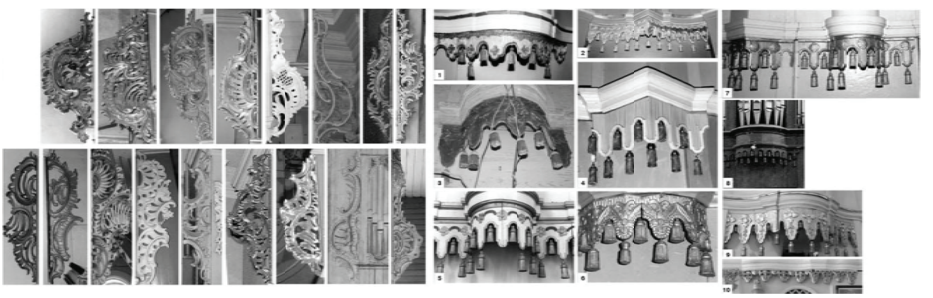

Figure 16. Ornamentation elements (wing carvings and lambrequins) in Lithuanian Baroque organs.

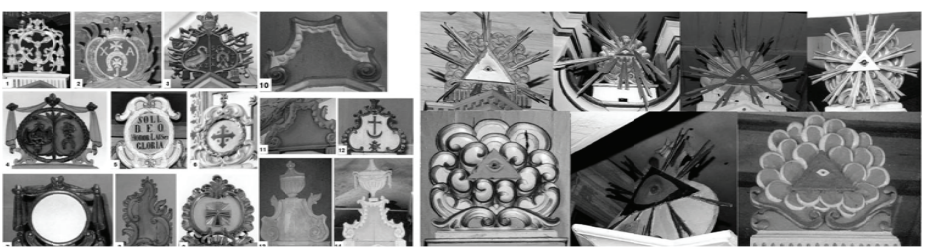

Figure 17. Ornamentation elements (cartouches and Eye of Providence) in Lithuanian Baroque organs.

Instrument

The organ is a complex instrument, technically and technologically, and organ research is a separate field. This article part is concerned with the aspects of stop lists and registers characteristic of the Vilnius school of organ building. This is also associated with the questions of originality and authenticity of organ instruments from the Vilnius School. This question has been raised because this part of late baroque and neo-classicist organs and stoplists of instruments, which have survived and have not survived in Lithuania, has been little researched until now. The stoplists of instruments were changing during repairs, reconstruction or re-building; the names of stops on the console were most often renewed referring to current (and not historical) formulas of the names of stops. Authentic stoplists also perished during fires, wars and replacements of old organs with new ones and other cases. Very few instruments have preserved authentic stoplists on consoles and corresponding authentic pipes until today (for instance, organs from Adakavas, Budslaw [Belarus] churches).

In Lithuania, in Catholic churches unlike in Lutheran ones the role of the organ as a musical instrument was not so great (although the instrument was obligatory in all churches) as organ music most often accompanied liturgy, which did not promote independent and professional playing. So the small organs with one manual (keyboard), without pedals, and stops from 8 to 12 were built in 18th–1st half of 19th c. Lithuania commonly.[xiv] However there are several interesting examples – the instruments with two manuals (keyboards) that were built by organbuilder Jantzon mostly (even 8 organs are attributed to him) in the second half of the eighteenth century.[xv] We may specify that the most important instruments built by the masters of the Vilnius school are the grand organs by Jantzon in the Bernardine Church in Vilnius, as well as in the churches in Linkuva, Budslaw, Tytuvėnai, and Troškūnai. The stop lists of his instruments stand out by their original register names and pipe scales (*Jula*[xvi], *Unda Maris*[xvii], *Salcinal*[xviii], *Sedecima*[xix],

Flet Major, *Flet Minor,* the reed stops *Vox humana* and *Trompete*[xx]) as well as an exceptionally rare and a highly effective musical instrument used in grand organs – a tuned bell carillon (*Vox Campanorum*), acustic drums and cimbelstar.

Figure 18. The console of the organ in the church of Tytuvėnai.

Figure 19. The tuned bell carillon – *Vox Campanorum* in Tytuvėnai church organ (built in 1789 by N. Jantzon) and Vilnius St. Spirit (Dominican) church organ (built in 1776 by A. G. Casparini, Königsberg).

1789, 2 manuals, 25 stops, Pauke, Cymbelstern, Vox campanorum	
I Manual (C-f‴) gs' ~ 440 Hz	**II Manual** (C-f‴) gs' ~ 440 Hz
Pryncypał 16′	Pryncypał 8′
Bordon 16′	Flaut travers 8′
Oktawa 8′	Jule 8′
Salicional 8′	Flet Mayor 8′
Undamaris 8′	Oktawa 4′
Hol Flet 8′	Flet Minor 4′
Super Octawa 4′	Super Oktawa 2′
Flet Amabilis 4′	Walflet 2′
Qwinta 3′	Sedecyma 1′
Sedecyma 2′	Mixtur III ch.
Terciya 1 3/5′	Vox Humana 8′
Mixtura IV ch.	Vox campanorum (bell carillon, gs- f‴)
Trompet 8′	
	Pauke (Acustic drum, tone G-Gs)
Manual shove coupler (II/I)	Cymbelstern (tone a-cs'-e'-(fs))
Calcant	
Ventyl IM.	
Ventyl IIM.	
4 bellows	

Figure 20. The stoplist of Tytuvėnai church organ: the underlined stops are specific for Jantzon's Organs.

Vilnius organ builder Nicolaus Jantzon

The Vilnius organ builder Nicolaus Jantzon (1720–1791) is one of the most distinguished figures in the history of the art of organ building in Lithuania. Born in the environs of Hamburg, Jantzon was first

mentioned as living in Vilnius in 1752 (Paknys, 2001, p. 57). Then an apprentice under the famous organ master Gerhardt Arendt Zelle, he worked at the new organ for the Church of Evangelical Lutherans. In 1753, Jantzon married his master's daughter Anna Elisabeth (Paknys, ibid.) probably trying to establish himself in the trade of organ building in Vilnius. In 1761, when his father-in-law died he could have taken over his workshop.[xxi] In 1764, Jantzon took an oath of allegiance before the magistrate and became a Vilnius citizen (Urbanavičius, 2005, p. 338). His son Friedrich Samuel (1764–1842?) was also an organ builder, while his other son, (1763–1804) was a famous goldsmith in Vilnius (Laucevičius et al., 2001, p. 220, 337–338).

Nicolaus Jantzon's legacy – the grand Baroque organ – is an important part of the organ heritage. Recently, newly discovered names of forgotten masters were added to the history of the organ building in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Therefore, a new controversy arose over the authorship of organs in Tytuvėnai and Troškūnai that had been attributed to N. Jantzon. The authorship of part of the instruments attributed to Jantzon has not been fully established because of the lack of surviving church records. I've attributed to Jantzon the organ in Tytuvėnai and hypothetically the instruments in the Cathedral and the Church of St John in Vilnius besides the ones in the Bernardine churches in Vilnius, Troškūnai and Budslaw that have documented authorship. Unfortunately, only fragments of many of the instruments attributed to Jantzon have survived, while some of them have been destroyed. In order to rebuild the organs made by Jantzon in the Bernardine churches in Vilnius and Troškūnai it is possible to draw on the rather well preserved instruments in Tytuvėnai and Budslaw, and on the surviving fragments in the churches in Linkuva and Šimonys.[xxii]

Drawing on the results of research into Jantzon and his associates, I would like to attribute hypothetically the instrument in the church in Joniškis (Molėtai District) to him. It was built for the Church of St Nicholas of the order of Bernardine sisters around 1770 and after the church was closed in 1886, it was transferred to Joniškis. No direct proof about the exact date of the organ's construction and the organ builders has been discovered in the archival records, but it was undoubtedly built by Vilnius masters. The wind chests, similarities in the façade and wooden pipes in the organs in Joniškis and Linkuva allow to attribute it to Jantzon. It is impossible to establish the builder by the architectural composition since the composition type of the organ in Joniškis was used by other masters of the Late Baroque of the Vilnius School. However, the organ in the church in Joniškis is one of the oldest of the surviving instruments with such architectural structure. This architectural composition is found in instruments of the mid-eighteenth century in the environs of Königsberg: in the church in Caymen (present Zaretchje in the Kaliningrad region; Ger. Caymendorf, Kaymen; Lith. Kaimė, Kaimis, Kaimiai; mid-18th c., master unknown) as well as in the positive[xxiii] of the organ in the Neurosgärten church in Königsberg built by Georg Sigismund Caspari in 1737 (Boettticher, 1891–1898, p. 243). Keeping in mind that at that time Gerhardt Arendt Zelle, a Vilnius master, worked under Caspari and later, in his turn, Zelle later taught Jantzon, the use of the architectural model of the organ in the Church of St Nicholas in Vilnius (later transferred to Joniškis) could be linked to Jantzon.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Jantzon was the most distinguished organ master in Vilnius. Between 1764 and 1766, and in 1768, he built two organs for the Bernardine Church in Vilnius. It could be surmised that because of this connection he could have received a commission for the organ in the Church of St Nicholas of Bernardine sisters around 1770. His later works – the organs in Troškūnai, Tytuvėnai and Budslaw churches – testify to Jantzon's collaboration with the Bernardine convent. Since the convent was under the jurisdiction of the Vilnius Bernardine administration, Jantzon's authorship of the organ in the Church of St Nicholas is likely.

Similarities between the surviving fragments of the organ in the church in Linkuva attributed to Jantzon and the instrument in Joniškis can be noticed. The construction of the wind chests in both instruments is similar: in the organ in Joniškis, the sliders of the wind chest are linked with wooden couplers and fixed with thick wooden pins, while the ends of the sliders in the old organ in Linkuva have analogous wide holes. The openings in the pallets of the wind chests in both instruments are also almost of the same length, about 33–35 cm (these are rather long pallets).

Reconstruction concept of the Jantzon's organ in the Bernardine Church in Vilnius

The organ in the Bernardine Church in Vilnius, one of the first instruments by Nicolaus Jantzon, was built between 1764 and 1766. All that has survived of the organ is the façade that was expanded at the end of the nineteenth century. Although the original pipes, action system or bellows have not survived it is possible imagine what the instrument looked like from an eighteenth archival document that described the organ in detail All the surviving parts behind the Baroque façade were built by the organ master Juozapas Radavičius at the end of the nineteenth century. The reconstruction of this instrument will require dismantling those parts that later can be used building a new organ with a new façade in the style characteristic of Radavičius.

Organ Façade. The façade of the Bernardine Church in Vilnius is almost identical with the instrument in the church in Linkuva, only larger. At the end of the nineteenth century when the organ of the monks gallery, which stood behind the grand altar, was moved to the present gallery the façade was expanded adding square side flats. The expression box of the second manual was mounted on the top of the central part. When the console on the right side of the organ was dismantled, the carvings that

adorned it were used to cover the pipes of the tops of the new flats. With the panels of the organ socle dismantled and the action system remade, a new console was installed in the opening.

In the 1856 and 1862 inventory books mention is made that the organ was made of ash tree and was lacquered. A closer inspection of the instrument's construction frame and façade revealed that all parts were made of a conifer tree (spruce or pine), no parts of ash tree were discovered. The present façade has been lacquered several times and painted in imitation of wood texture. Some painted spots remind of the texture of ash tree. The façade painted to imitate ash was made to match the interior of the church: ash altars, the pulpit, confessional, etc. At the end of the nineteenth century, the façade and the new side flats were covered in oil paint in some places to imitate wood texture and lacquered. No gilded or silvered spots were discovered on the façade cornices, carvings and sculptures. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the façade with its ornaments was very realistically drawn in imitation of ash wood and looked very convincingly like the altar nearby made from natural ash wood.

The reconstruction of the instrument in the Bernardine Church in Vilnius will require getting rid of the nineteenth-century flats and mismatching expression box as well as sealing the openings in the socle. When the organ depth is reduced to the authentic size, it will be possible to move the instrument closer to the western wall making the passage to the balcony parapet wider.

Not a single original façade pipe has survived in the Bernardine Church organ. The pipe scales can be calculated according to the surviving original wooden pipe stopper handles as well as researching into the façade pipes of the organ in Linkuva that almost all are authentic. They belonged to the first manual registers *Principal 8′* and *Octave 4′* as well as the register *Principal 4′* of the second manual. The pipes are made of high quality but exceedingly thin plain metal. It is written in the archival documents about the organ of the Bernardine Church that all principal registers (most of which stand in the façade) are made of "high-quality English plain metal". In the process of the reconstruction of the façade, pipes of the instrument in the Bernardine Church, the organ in the church of Joniškis that was built at about the same time could serve as a sample.

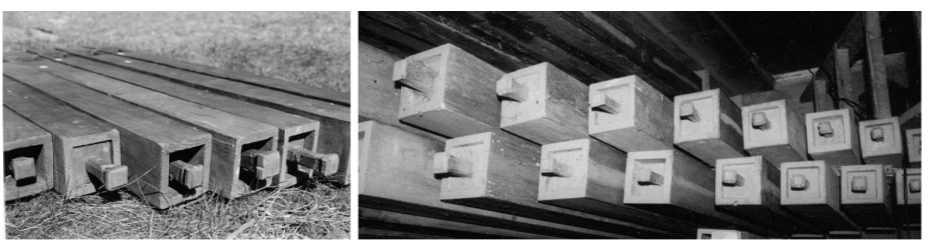

Figure 21. Wooden pipes in the organs in Joniškis and Linkuva churches.

Console. The console of the organ in the church of Bernardine in Vilnius was installed in the right side (facing it from the grand altar), which is a unique case among grand organs in Lithuania. However, in Lithuania in small instruments with a single manual the console is in the centre of the façade only in exceptional cases. (At the end of the nineteenth century when the organ was reconstructed and the panels on the socle were dismantled, the new console was installed.) In all other grand organs built by N. Jantzon and his associates (in the churches in Linkuva, Budslaw, Vilnius Cathedral and the Church of Sts John in Vilnius, Tytuvėnai, Toškūnai and Kurtuvėnai) the console was installed in the centre of the façade.

The range of the keyboard in the Vilnius Bernardine and Joniškis organs unlike in the instrument in Linkuva already has a full great octave. Several fragments of the keyboard of the organ in Joniškis have survived – the frame with profiled tops, as well as several tone keys and one half-tone key. These fragments are the oldest surviving samples of the organs attributed to the Vilnius Organ School. The keyboard frame profile looks very similar to that of the later organ in Budslaw attributed to Jantzon (1783).

The side console in grand two- or three-manual organs was also seldom used in West Europe. The question is why Jantzon designed a two-manual organ played from the side and whose idea he used as it is quite a different mechanical action. When the Vilnius Bernardine Church was being constructed, Jantzon's teacher Zelle was already dead (†1761). In the side of grand organs a console that is seen in the instruments by the masters Stumm who worked in South Germany (e.g. in Kirchheimbolanden) was installed. The Schöller masters belonged to the same professional circle. Perhaps this master was related to the Vilnius master Scheel. Although the Vilnius master claimed that he came from the small town of the Schwaan in the Duchy of Meklenburg the names like Scheel or Schoel do not figure on the list of the organ builders in the environs of Mecklenburg. Perhaps he was born in Schwaan or vice versa, or maybe he had stopped there on the way to Vilnius? It is not known where he learned the craft of organ building. If the Schöller masters who were mentioned in the Stumms' professional circle had links with the Vilnius organ

builder Schoell, then the Stumms' influence could have been passed on to Jantzon in this way. The two-manual organs by South German masters Stumm and Geib are not tall, with a positive in the choir organ placed in the lower case (since almost everywhere the ceiling of the balcony is low and it is not possible to expand to upwards). There a console was installed in the side of the organ. However, the most interesting thing is that the façade of the organ built by the Stumm brothers in the Friedrichskirche in of the town of Worms (1768) is exceptionally similar to the façades in the instruments in the Vilnius Bernardine and Linkuva churches. The stop list of this instrument has something in common with Jantzon's organs – the registers *Solicional, Quintatena, Flaut Traversier, Vox Humana*, etc. (Bösken, 1981, p. 98). One more question arises: perhaps Jantzon building the grand organ in the Vilnius Bernardine Church kept in touch with French masters as the façade's carving is defined as *francuszczyzna* (like French)? Although it is a general term for Rococo ornamentation, he might have received samples of organ prospects from France through other artisans.

Figure 22. Similarities of the organ façade in churches in Vilnius Bernardine and Worms. Left: Jantzon's Organ in the Bernardine Church in Vilnius. Right: the façade of the organ built by the Stumm brothers in the Friedrichskirche in of the town of Worms (1768).

Figure 23. The organ consoles in the churches of Tytuvėnai and Budslaw.

Figure 24. The consoles in the churches of Joniškis and Budslaw.

Wind Chests. In the Vilnius Bernardine Church, Jantzon's organ had three wind chests: for the first and second manuals and the pedal pipe system. In the side further from the console was the pedal pipes' wind chest, from the middle part towards the console was the first manual's wind chest, and above the latter the second manual's wind chest. The exposition type of the wind chests in this church is somewhat different from that of the organ in the church in Linkuva as the latter had no pedals. Here the pipes of the first manuals are standing on two wind chests, with the chest of the second manual above them.

However, the construction of the wind chests should be similar to that in the Vilnius Bernardine church as the instruments were built almost at the same time. The wind chests in the church in Linkuva (their fragments were discovered in 2001 in the attic of the monastery in Linkuva) look very similar to those of the church in Joniškis.

The wind chest sliders in the organ in Joniškis are interconnected with wooden couplers and fixed with wooden pins. The apertures of the valves of the wind chests of the instruments in the churches in Linkuva and Joniškis are also almost of the same length – around 33-35 centimetres. They are rather long valves.

Figure 25. Wind chests in the churches in Linkuva and Joniškis.

Stops Action. The registers were activated with metal handles in the shape of a key. Action was made of vertical levers and horizontal draw stop rods. It should be recreated according to the organ type with an analogous side console.

Keyboard action. Type of organ with side consoles where the action roller board tracker is installed horizontally.

Bellows. The air feeding system with mechanically operated bellows with six wedge-shaped parts should be restored. The bellows system of the organ in the church in Tytuvėnai should be chosen as an analogue for reconstruction. They should be installed on several levels in a room next to the organ where the bellows by Radavičius are presently stored.

Conclusions

The surviving large organs by the most distinguished Vilnius school master Nicolaus Jantzon define the characteristic features of the instruments in terms of the architecture of the organ façades. In the façades of Jantzon's organs the influence of the compositional details characteristic most probably of the façade of instruments by Hamburg masters (the bottom of a two-stage central part) is seen as well as the features characteristic of the grand instruments of the Königsberg late baroque instruments: a three-part composition on both sides of the organ, side towers with symmetrical outside little windows and a figure of King David in the centre of the façade.

The distinctive features of the grand organs of the Vilnius school are given:

1) the pipes in the organ façade in the large side towers and squares are not part of the pedal system as typical of the instruments made by Hamburg and Königsberg masters, but to the first manual; and

2) the structure of the façade – a composition with two dominating side towers, while a composition with the central highest tower was typical of Hamburg and Königsberg organ schools' instruments. Analysis of the typical register structure, origin and prevalence in Lithuania proves that the dispositions typical of the Vilnius organ school instruments by its main master – Jantzon – were stable.

Organ building as such formed as an independent school that had influence all over the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The artisans of various nationalities and religious beliefs who settled in Vilnius in the eighteenth century constituted a large part the city's population. Nowadays researching in the history of organ building in Lithuania the issue of whether to consider not only Lithuanians, but also Poles, Belarusians, Germans, Latvians and others as part of the country's culture does not arise. The geographical area where the Vilnius organ builders' instruments are found worked testifies to the fact that they were widely spread in the remote places of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, for instance, in Pasiene (present-day Latvia), Bialynices (present-day Belarus; the church and the organ have not survived), the Jesuit church in Polock (present-day Belarus, the organ from this church now is in Vilnius St Johns church), Budslaw (present-day Belarus), the Dominican Church in Rozanystok (present-day Poland, the organ has not survived), the Bernardine Church in Lvov (present-day Ukraine). Additionally, the presented data makes it possible to argue that the legacy and activities of the masters of the Vilnius school are

important not only in Lithuania, Belarus, Latvia, Poland and Ukraine; they could have influenced indirectly the history of organ building in Denmark and Norway.

It is difficult to speak about whether the organs built by the masters of the Vilnius school could have influenced in any way eighteenth-century organ music composed in Lithuania. Or vice versa – whether organ music written at that time might have made any impact on the building of instruments as only fragments of manuscripts of such music from that time have survived. However, the restored and recreated organs built by Nicholaus Jantzon, the most distinguished master of the school and his followers reveal at least part of the musical life of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and may encourage to continue studies of the organ heritage by a wider circle of experts.

Endnotes

[i] Among the privileged Königsberg organmasters are mentioned Johann Josua Mosengel (1663–1731), Georg Sigismund Caspari (Caspar, 1693–1741) and Adam Gottlob Casparini (1715–1788). All of them were associated with the famous family of organmasters Trosts from South Germany. For example, G. S. Caspari and Mosengel were the apprentices of one of most prominent German organmaster Johann Tobias Gottfried Trost (~1650–1719 or 1722), A. G. Casparini was an apprentice of Heinrich Gottfried Trost (1681–1759, son of mentioned J. T. G. Trost) (according to Friedrich, 1989, p. 16–17; Renkewitz et al., 2008, p. 20, 456).

[ii] It should be noted that the significant organbuilding schools of Stockholm and Linköping were established under the influence of the Königsberg school in the first half of eighteenth century.

[iii] There is no possibility to mark the concrete date pointing the end of the Baroque and Classicism period in Lithuanian organbuilding art. Therefore a point of interface of Baroque and Romantic organs was chosen: the obvious stylistic modification in the instruments' disposition and façades' composition appears in the middle of 19th c. Secondly, the dates 1740 and 1840–1850 were chosen on the basis of the first and last known Baroque instruments attributed to the masters of the Vilnius school were built in the area.

[iv] If we assume that Zelle's origins were linked with Ostfriesland, then he could be a relative to Christian Zell, who in 1741 made a harpsichord for Ostfriesland Duke (Vogel et al., 1995, p. 141). Secondly, a nameless Zell is mentioned in the environment of famous South Germany (present-day North France) organmaster Johann Andreas Silbermann (Schaefer, 1994, p. 251). And thirdly the origin may be linked with town Celle (about 40 km from Hanover) based on the different records because in archival documents we find two versions of last name: *Zelle* and *Celle*. It should be recalled that various Lithuanian organmasters in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries had associated their name with the location. For example Merten FRIESE (from Ostfriesland), Johann GOLANDER (from Holland), Johann Preuss (from Prussia).

[v] According to Renkewicz and Janca, Gerhardt Arendt Zelle built the organ in Neidenburg (present-day Nidzica, Poland) in 1732 under the direction of G. S. Caspari (Renkewicz et al., 1984, p. 234).

[vi] The author of the article takes a notice of the analogous pronunciation and spelling the surnames Zelle and Scheel (Cel, Celė, Čelis, Szel, Šelis) and in Lithuanian and Polish historiography was interpreted as one family.

[vii] It is not clear that Scheel was from Mecklenburg, such as the name is not listed among Mecklenburg organbuilders. However in the territory of present-day Thuringia (Germany) an organmaster Johann Friedrich Scholl was mentioned in the second half of eighteenth century (Pape, 2009, p. 263). Also known an active organmaster Johann Wilhelm Scholer (1723–1793) in South Germany (Rodeland, 1991).

[viii] The master's life dates are unknown.

[ix] In 1764 Jantzon swore the citizenship to Vilnius Magistrate and became the real Vilnius citizen (Urbanavičius, 2005, p. 338).

[x] Jantzon's son Paul (1763–1804) was a great Vilnius goldsmith (Laucevičius et al., 2001, p. 220, 337–338). In the records of Vilnius Lutheran community among Jantzon's children are mentioned: Anna Elisabeth (1755–1769), Regina Barbara (1756–?),Johann Arendt (1758–1801), Nicolaus Beniamin (1760–1764), Ludovica Susanna (1762–1762), Friedrich Samuel (1764–1842?), Maria Dorothea (1766–?), Paul Nicolaus (1768–1807), Johanna Catharina (1770–1801), Anna Helena (1772–?), Johann Michael (1775–1779).

[xi] The author of the article has discovered a record *Jula 4. ped 1765 In Wilda* on the organ pipe of Jula register in Pasiene church. *Wilda* in ancient German was called Vilnius.

[xii] An organ in Różanystok church (present-day Poland) is attributed to Nicolaus Jantzon also (Smulikowska, 1989, p. 124).

[xiii] The organ in the Bernardine church in Lvov (Ukraine) was investigated and the data were gathered during expeditions researching all surviving baroque organs attributed to the Vilnius school and its most distinguished master Nicolaus Jantzon in Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine in 2011 Spring and Summer. The scientific expeditions were made under the Postdoctoral Fellowship at Lithuanian Culture Research Institute, funded by European Union Structural Funds project "Postdoctoral Fellowship Implementation in Lithuania" within the framework of the Measure for Enhancing Mobility of Scholars and Other Researchers and the Promotion of Student Research (VP1-3.1-ŠMM-01) of the Program of Human Resources Development Action Plan.

[xiv] In the catalogue by the author there are represented over 120 organs that were examined personally. There was made the research in nature and collected the historiography information and archival material according author's means. The stop lists of Lithuanian Baroque organs show the variety and uniqueness of this instrument (Girėnas Povilionis catalogue published in Lithuanian with English Introduction: *Vargondirbystės menas Lietuvoje: nuo baroko iki klasicizmo. Vargonų katalogas. XVII a.–XIX a. pirmoji pusė* [Lithuanian Art of Organbuilding: from Baroque to Classicism. Organ Catalogue. 17th c.–1st half of the 19th c.] Vilnius, 2009).

[xv] It is known that Vilnius masters L. Klimowicz and J. Olszynski have built the instruments with two manuals also (not survived).

[xvi] It is the most specific and very often register in Lithuanian Baroque organs and matches the registers *Gemshorn* and *Spitslöte*. The variants of records are *Jula, Iula, Julla, Julia, Jólla, Jola, Julia*, and the pitch amplitude is very wide: 8′, 4′, 2 ⅔′, 2′, 1′. However it should be noted that the name *Jula* is found only in East Prussia organs: register *Jula 8′* was in Königsberg Cathedral (organ by Mosengel, 1721) (Schaefer, 1994, p. 176) and Evangelical church in Heiligenbeil (organ by Preuss) (Renkewitz, 1984, p. 113). In German organs we may find *Julaquinte* that is absolutely different register.

[xvii] It is something similar to romantic register *Vox Coelestis*. In Latin "unda maris" means "sea wave". This register has survived in the organs, attributed to Vilnius masters, in Pasiene (Latvia, 1765), Dapšionys (1801), Vėžaičiai (1804), Vidsodis (~1807) and other churches. Revording variants: *Undamaris, Unda Maris, Undemaris*, and *Undamarys*.

[xviii] This register has survived in the Tytuvėnai, Budslaw, Joniškis organs. For the first time in Lithuania this register is mentioned in the beginning of seventeenth century in the organ by unknown master in Bernardine church in Vilnius and in the organ (1647) by Gdansk master Merten Friese in Brigites church in Grodno (Hrodno, present-day Belarus).

[ixx] It is believed that the name of this register has come with Gdansk and Königsberg tradition.

[xx] The combination of these registers has survived in Tytuvėnai church organ by Jantzon, also the are found in one manual organ in Žermalė church (1839), other organs in Naujasis Daugėliškis, Kantaučiai, Nevarėnai, Židikai and other churches.

[xxi] Arendt Gerhardt Zelle's sons were rather young (around 20), they did not have the necessary qualifications, therefore it is not likely that they headed the workshop.

[xxii] At the beginning of the 20th century, the organ in the church in Troškūnai was dismantled, leaving only the façade with the pipes standing there. Instead of Jantzon's instrument a new one with two manuals, pedals and 17 registers was installed (it is believed that it was built by the Vilnius master J. Radavičius). Parts of the old instrument were given to the Šimonys parish and in 1921, a new instrument was made from them.

[xxiii] It was found only in one instrument by G. S. Caspari; part of the façades made by him might have been similar but have not survived.

[xxiv] LVIA – Lietuvos valstybės itorijos archyvas [Lithuanian State History Archive].

[xxv] MAB RS – Mokslų akademijos biblioteka, Rankraščių skyrius [Lithuanian Science Academy Library, Manuscript Department].

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Plan to promote and preserve the fortifications of Pamplona

José Vicente Valdenebro García

Pamplona City Council, Pamplona
Public University of Navarre, Pamplona
Spain

j.valdenebro@pamplona.es
jvv@unavarra.es

With the demographic growth at the end of the 19th century, the ancient walls in most cities were demolished with relish in order to permit the enlargement of their urban layout. Pamplona, an important fortified city in northern Spain, was not averse to doing so either. However, perhaps the actual geography of the city, or perhaps fate itself, has resulted in the fact that at present it has maintained most of its defensive elements practically intact. Nowadays, far from being a hindrance to its inhabitants, some modern facilities have been incorporated into the old walls at the same time as turning them into an entertainment area. An important action plan is permitting their value to be exposed together with the integration into them of amenities and accessibility improvements, which contribute to the transformation of the old quarter of the town.

Keywords: Pamplona, military heritage, fortification, city wall, landscape, sustainability.

Introduction

The city of Pamplona is located in the North of Spain. With an area of 25 km² and a population of 199.700 inhabitants, it is the capital of the autonomous community of Navarre (the old Kingdom of Navarre). Pamplona is situated on a plain surrounded by a circle of medium altitudes mountains. The rivers Arga and Sadar cross the city through the east-west direction and they converge before leaving the basin. Both rivers flank a terrace that is sharply cut to the north and east over the river Arga, and descends in rapids slopes toward the river Sadar over the south. The terrace is singled out in the northeast corner, slightly elevated and vertically cut on the borders of the river. From there it is possible dominate a wide area, the valley, the surrounding mountains and the passage routes. The natural configuration defines a protected area that has water in the basement and good accessibility to the river. On the terrace, just at the northeast edge, the city was founded.

Since Pompey set up camp at the site of the current Cathedral in 74 BC, Pamplona acquired the status of stronghold. Its strategic position overlooking the passage to the Iberian Peninsula via the Western Pyrenees towards Aragon and La Rioja meant that it came to be considered "one of the chief keys to Spain and its safest bastion this side of the border" (Madrazo, 1886). Consequently, since Roman times, and save a few specific moments in which the walls were destroyed, Pamplona has always been fortified, being a Stronghold until the beginning of the XX century.

Since first built, following the first Roman settlement, the walled enclosure was modified and extended in Mediaeval times, the period in which two new distinct burghs with populations of different origins drawn by the consolidation of the Way of St James were built next to the city. From then on, there existed, in what should have been a single city, three distinct towns, each with its own walls and separated by moats or "no man's land": the city of Navarrería, the Burgh of San Cernin and the Town of San Nicolás. With the unification of the burghs in 1423, in the reign of Carlos III, through the "Privilege of the Union", these defences were adapted to create a single walled enclosure to defend the entire city,

joined to the already-standing palaces and Mediaeval castle. At this time, the city belonged to what was originally the Kingdom of Pamplona (later Kingdom of Navarra), strategically located between the Kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and France.

Figure 1. Orthophoto of Pamplona, 2011.

At the end of the XV century, after conquering the Kingdom of Navarra, Ferdinand the Catholic ordered that the Castle of Santiago be built and the walled enclosure of the Mediaeval city modernised. In 1571, with the arrival of artillery, Philip II of Spain ordered that a modern, functional Citadel be built to replace the old castle. Thanks to its pentagonal geometry, the Citadel was the first of its kind on the Iberian Peninsula.

The engineer of fortifications Jacobo Palear el Fratín and Capitan General Vespasiano Gonzaga y Colonna, who would later be named Viceroy of Navarra, took part in the work. They both came from Italian circles, where military engineering had progressed spectacularly over recent decades. Following the model of the Antwerp citadel, work began that same year on the Pamplona building, which was to have a twofold function: to defend the stronghold from external attack and to prevent potential internal uprising. Work continued into the next century and, following successive improvements to the fortifications, concluded in the XIX century.

The position of the citadel, somewhat further from the town than experts had initially advised, meant that it was necessary to build two new entire defensive faces for the city to link it up with the New Castle. And so, the South and West faces of the city's walled enclosure became redundant and were almost entirely pulled down. On the southern side, this meant demolishing the old Castle of Santiago and the Bastion of San Antón, which, despite being two of the city's most modern defences, had actually fallen behind the times in the face of new military techniques.

Figure 2. Citadel of Pamplona, 2012.

The new defensive line comprised four new bastions on the western side: the Bastion of Gonzaga, now barely recognisable; the Bastion of Taconera, which can still be seen in the gardens of the same name; and the Bastions of San Nicolás and la Reina, which were demolished in around 1920. Four new gateways were also opened: the Gateway of Tejería, in 1640; the Gateways of la Taconera and San Nicolás, in 1666, and the Gateway Puerta Nueva, in 1675.

In 1685, in the reign of Charles II of Spain, work began on ravelins and counterguards to strengthen the exterior defences of the citadel: those of Santa Clara and Santa Isabel, equipped with counterguards, and the simple Ravelins of Santa Lucía and Santa Ana. The Ravelin of San Roque, between the Bastions of Taconera and Gonzaga, also dates from this period.

Later, during the reign of Philip V, the recently created Engineer Corps performed significant exterior reinforcement work. In around 1730 and following the plans of Jorge Próspero de Verboon, who belonged to the school of Vauban, work began on the advanced Forts of San Roque, el Príncipe and San Bartolomé. Only the last of these is still in a good state of repair. The French Front was also strengthened with the Low Bastions of Guadalupe and el Pilar, and the Kings Ravelin.

We can say that the fortifications of Pamplona have universal relevance for two main reasons: firstly, those who came to the city to build and improve its defences were the finest builders of their day in Europe; and secondly, the 'trial and error' approach employed in Pamplona provided a melting pot of theoretical and practical knowledge of the three European schools of fortification: Italian, Flemish and French. The Pamplona complex was the maximum exponent of the transition from the Mediaeval system to Renaissance modernity in terms of military engineering and the city became a place for technical innovation and the exportation of talent.

These defences have suffered many ups and downs before reaching our day. As in other cities of this kind, strong demographic growth, together with a drop in the defensive effectiveness of the walls, meant that they became a hindrance to the city and, consequently, something to be got rid off.

Development of the urban grid led to the elimination of some defensive components of the fortification, which, as a sign of modernity, was even celebrated by the local population. Such was the case with the demolishment of the Bastions of San Antón and la Victoria in the Citadel in 1888, and part of the walled enclosure's southern curtain wall in 1915.

However for various different reasons, the majority of Pamplona's defensive elements currently remain almost completely intact. By Ministerial Order of 25 September 1939, the walled complex was declared a Historic-Artistic Monument of National Interest and by Decree of 8 February 1973 the Citadel achieved the same status.

Figure 3. Aerial view of Pamplona.

Since then, the loss of the defensive function meant that the preservation and maintenance works were not a priority. This led to the progressive deterioration of its walls as much by the accumulation of dirt as by the roots laid down by a great deal of vegetation between its ashlar blocks. Additionally, the old town that had grown inside the walls of the fortification had become out-dated and inadequate in terms of its infrastructure, something which became more evident towards the boundaries of the fortification. This situation, which can sometimes be used as a reason for opting not to agree decisive measures, can end up becoming an opportunity to increase the value of those actions carried out.

On the other hand, we could not forget the close relationship that Pamplona walled area have with their immediate environment and especially the River Arga Corridor Park. Throughout the north of the city, where the terrace ends with a large scarp over the river, natural heritage (of the river) melts with cultural heritage of the city walls. This great landscape quality area is an important resource for the welfare of citizens and therefore it was necessary to promote it, making it accessible and enjoyable, to ensure its sustainability.

Following these premises, the Pamplona City Council began working in 2006 on a major action plan to restore the fortified complex and to improve its surrounding environment. Amongst its main objectives the following are the most important:

Manage, preserve and enrich the historic urban landscape of the walled city – the old town of Pamplona. Contemporary architecture will be integrated into the historic urban landscape in order to avoid altering its original design.

Adapt the patrimony to new functions and demands. The functional restoration of the patrimony will turn it into a cultural, tourist and economic attraction by creating attractive spaces in which to live, visit and invest. In order to achieve this it is essential to overcome the existing tensions between legal frameworks, social demands and political action.

Understand and organise the historic city for the well-being of its residents and visitors. New functions and activities will be integrated, incorporating functional improvements in areas such as housing, parking, public premises and public spaces.

Make the walled area accessible throughout its entire route. The walls have gone from being an insurmountable barrier for defending the town to becoming a place for meeting and recreation for Pamplona's residents. The next challenge is to ensure that everyone can freely enjoy this space.

Raise awareness within the citizens of Pamplona and Navarre about the tangible and intangible importance of its capital's fortifications, as well their historical and future value.

Turn Pamplona into an international point of reference for the tangible and intangible heritage linked to the fortifications, in turn promoting the city as a cultural tourism destination through its heritage resources.

This strategic plan for the city has been developed within the regulatory framework defined as much by current planning regulations – the Municipal Plan of Pamplona [2002] and the PEPRI (Local Government Protection and Reform Program) of the Old Town of Pamplona [2001] - as by the

Fortifications of Pamplona Action Plan [2006], written especially for this purpose. All of these actions seek to consolidate the recommendations from the different documents of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), or UNESCO such as the European Charter of Architectural Heritage of Amsterdam [1975], the Declaration of Amsterdam [1975], the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe or Granada Convention [1985], and especially the Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture - Managing the Historic Urban Landscape [2005], framework for the discussion about the functional changes and integration of new architecture into the historic city, and within which the necessity to organise and preserve the historic urban landscape was established.

Three central lines of action

The restoration plan for the walled area has been designed around three central lines of action. The first of these is aimed at implementing specific measures to preserve and restore tangible goods. The second is to carry out functional improvements to the environment in areas such as housing, public premises, public spaces and improvements in mobility and accessibility. The third focuses on promoting and revitalising the walled enclosure by displaying its historical and architectural values to both the citizens of Pamplona and its visitors.

In turn, coinciding with these actions, archaeological work has been carried out to investigate and document the remains of some stretches of wall that had been demolished many years before and have only now come to light during the construction of new infrastructures.

The works already completed and that are currently underway come to a total of over 25 actions. Although usually dominated by one of the central themes, the majority of these measures have enjoyed a certain cross-over in such a way as to resolve a number of shortages at the same time. These actions have been carried out with a vision of heritage in which the monument is not a simple cultural reference but an opportunity for sustainable development.

Preservation and restoration of the monument

The loss of the defensive function of Pamplona's walled area combined with the needs of the city to expand led to the walls becoming a problem for the city. Some of these defensive elements, such as San Antón and Victoria Bastions, the Santa Teresa and Santa Lucía of the Citadel's Ravelins or the Queen's Bastion on the southern front, were destroyed to allow the city to expand. The remaining part, which was still standing, was left abandoned and vegetation gradually began to cover the walls, creating a green wall on the stone wall itself.

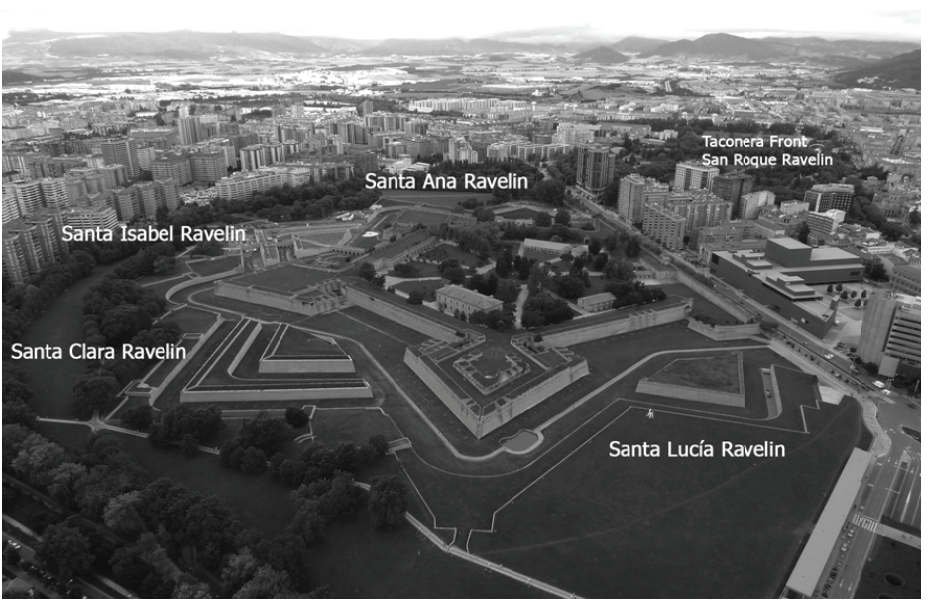

Figure 4. Citadel of Pamplona during the restoration work.

Preservation was practically non-existent and at the start of the 21st century the progressive deterioration of the monument became apparent. From this moment on the search for funds to address this major investment began.

In the first instance, between 2003 and 2008, restoration works on the France Front were undertaken, comprising some of the most outstanding defensive fronts of all the walled area (the Redín, Guadalupe and Abrevador Bastions and the Kings Ravelin), as well as the reconstruction of the Santa Lucía Ravelin together with the construction of the new bus station in Pamplona, more of which will be detailed later.

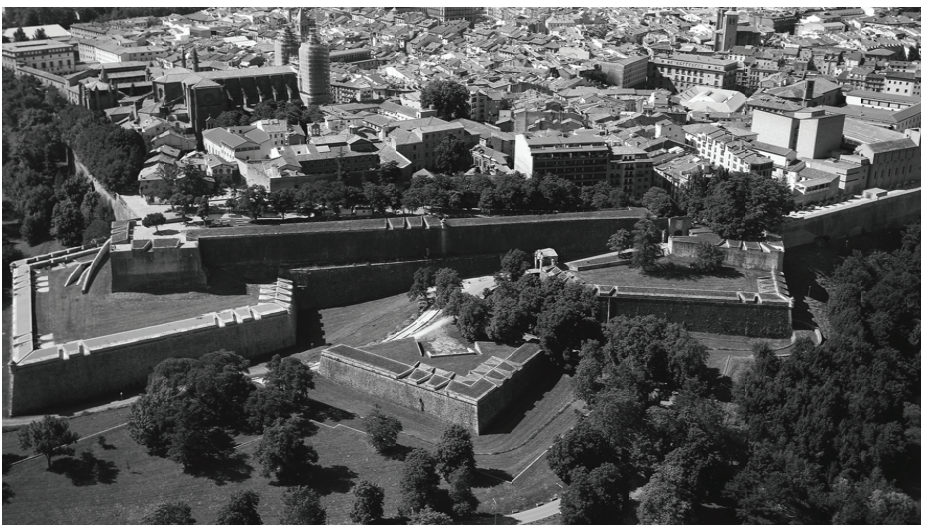

Figure 5. Frace Front.

In 2009, attention turned to the whole Taconera area. The moats of the Taconera Bastion, San Roque Ravelin and the remains of the old Gonzaga Bastion, in which the Paseo de Ronda, a sentry walk, on the north front of the city has been redesigned.

In mid-2010 the restoration work on the Santa Clara Ravelin in the Pamplona Citadel was completed (with its counterguard, moat, counterscarp and covered pathway), which together with the Taconera Ravelin is one the defensive elements requiring the most urgent intervention due to the deterioration caused by the vegetation.

Figure 6. Santa Clara Ravelin: before and after the restoration works.

At the end of 2011 the restoration works on the Santa Ana Ravelin and the Santa Isabel Ravelin (and Counterguard and the Socorro Gateway) of the Citadel were completed. With this, the restoration the Citadel's exterior defences were completed.

Figure 7. Santa Isabel Ravelin: before and after the restoration works.

Figure 8. Santa Isabel Ravelin: after the restoration works.

Figure 9. Santa Ana Ravelin: before and after the restoration works.

Figure 10. Santa Ana Ravelin: before and after the restoration works.

In all of these actions the processes followed have been very similar: numbering and removing those ashlar blocks at risk of detachment, removing the existing vegetation and applying biocides, replacing the blocks, cleaning the stretches of wall with brushes and re-joining them with hydraulic lime mortar.

Functional improvements

The constructive and social quality of the historic centre inside the walled enclosure has always seemed to be linked to the inherent quality of the walled complex. Of the different studies carried out into the issues surrounding Pamplona's Old Town, it is clear that the deterioration of the Old Town increases as it approaches the boundaries of the walled area (paseo de Ronda). This is due, in a large part, to the "cul-de-sac" effect generated by its orography, making it difficult to connect with the rest of the city and therefore making it a less travelled area.

However, these are the areas which hold the greatest potential for tourism and leisure, as much for their historical values as for their spatial characteristics and excellent location.

Within the regeneration policies for cities and historical centres, it is essential to take decisive action to provide them with appropriate functional conditions whilst still preserving the cultural values that characterise them. This has worked in four main areas: mobility and accessibility, public spaces, parking and public premises.

Mobility and accessibility

In order to transform the walls into a place for walking and leisure, measures aimed at improving mobility and accessibility have been prioritised. At the moment the entire paseo de Ronda, which goes along the upper stretches of the wall, is passable and for the most part accessible. It follows a circuit which is almost five kilometres long in which the fortification's stretches of wall provide a boundary to the urban park alongside.

In this line of action the route corresponding to the Media Luna Park, Barbazana Walk and El Redín Bastion, France or Rochapea Front and front of the ancient Gonzaga Bastion have been redeveloped, achieving a recovery of the lost historical continuity.

Mechanical elements have also been incorporated to cover the existing 30-metre gap between the northern areas of the city situated outside of the walls. In 2008 the construction work on two lifts that cross the slope and stretch of wall was completed, covering the difference in height between the Rochapea area and the Old Town, with the unloading point in a public building that incorporates a restaurant-viewing point and several galleries.

Figure 11. Descalzos urban lifts.

This action, along with others recently carried out, has led to the creation of a major commercial hub that crosses the Old Town in the north-south direction, linking in with the other pedestrian areas of the Second Enlargement.

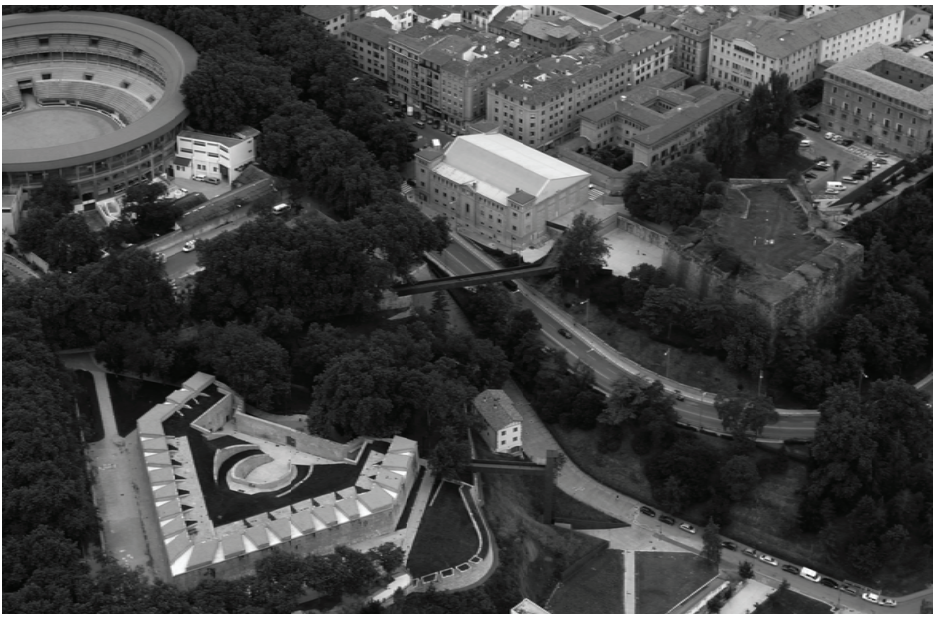

Figure 12. New pedestrian footbridge and urban lift next to the San Bartolomé Fort.

Figure 13. New pedestrian footbridge next to the San Bartolomé Fort .

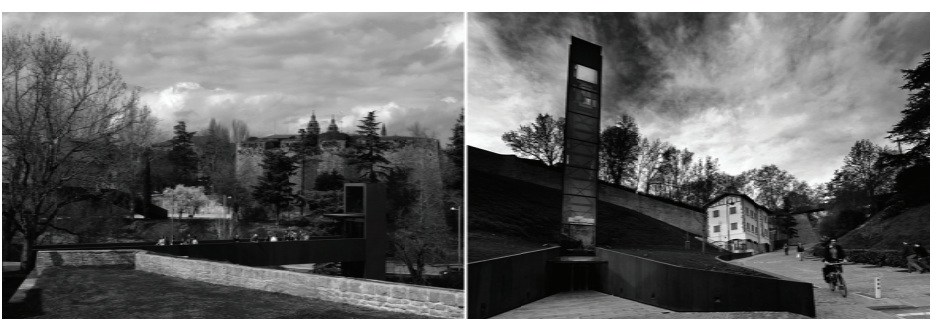

Figure 14. New urban lift next to the San Bartolomé Fort.

Also within the measures implemented in the improvements in mobility has been the building of a pedestrian footbridge which will connect the Second Enlargement of the city with the Old Town in a more immediate and barrier-free way, whilst at the same time improving the continuity of the paseo de Ronda. It is a simple Corten steel structure which crosses a distance of over 70 metres between both points.

Another initiative which has followed this line of action has been the construction of an urban lift in the same area, which improves the mechanical connection between the Old Town and the Second Enlargement with the River Arga Park, crossing the existing 20-metre gap between the wooded area of the river and the city.

Parking and public spaces

It is common for walled enclosures to correspond geographically with historic town centres, so that interventions in these areas are often linked to pedestrianisation efforts and redevelopments in these centres, as is the case in Pamplona.

The progressive elimination of parking areas as a result of this work requires the construction of new car parks in nearby areas, therefore facilitating parking for visitors and residents. It is a necessity that directly affects its attractiveness.

On the other hand, the need to respond to population growth within the fortified area meant that housing developments were built upwards; resulting in a very dense pattern formed by very deep buildings with only one bay and very narrow streets.

While a series of measures to boost the building renovations has been promoted, it has also been necessary to recover public spaces for the neighbourhood to oxygenate the buildings in the urban area. Between these spaces it is important to enhance the results of the paseo de Ronda development or the recovery of a green area of over 30,000 metres squared restoring the old glacis of the Citadel, which had been turned into a car park for vehicles in the area, an action linked to the construction of the new bus station.

Figure 15. Recovery of the Santa Lucía of the Citadel of Pamplona Glacis and Ravelin (Citadel of Pamplona).

Public premises

Ambitious measures have been achieved that affect the preparation for use of those empty spaces that at one time or another supported structures belonging to the walled area and that were demolished in order to allow the evolution of the city or the construction of more modern military facilities.

The construction of the new bus station has been a brilliant exercise in integrating new public premises that recover the formal structure of the monument itself. In 2005 work began on this infrastructure that is "hidden" behind the monument, occupying the subsoil of its missing glacis. The roof of the station became a large green sheet that folds together with the structure, as if it were a piece of origami, to rebuild the defensive elements of the Santa Lucía Ravelin of the Citadel of Pamplona – glacis, covered pathway, counterscarp and moat – that years before had disappeared to enable the development of the city during the building of the First Enlargement and the new military barracks.

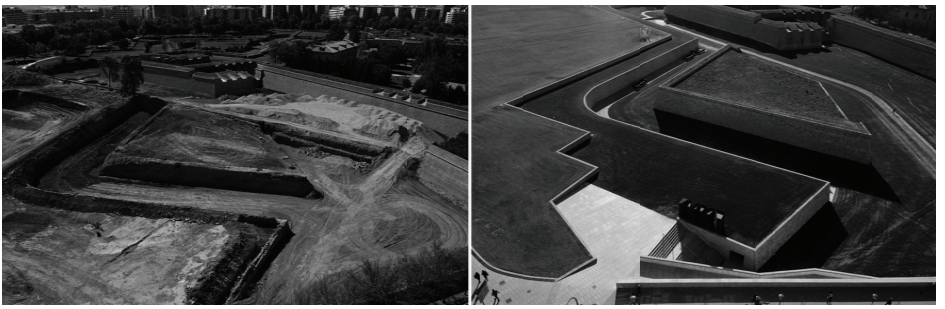

Figure 16. Santa Lucía Ravelin: state during and at the final stage of the excavation.

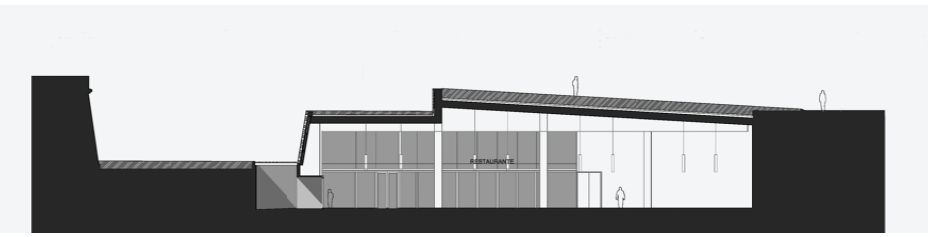

Figure 17. Cross-section of the bus station.

In this case, although the function and construction had to be compatible, they remain true to the original design. All of this derived from the need for an accurate reconstruction of the monument's surrounding area.

The restoration of other buildings, some linked to the fort itself, into public premises has allowed them to be used in a capacity that generates activity in the area surrounding the walls. This includes the renovation of the old Royal Palace as the General Archive of Navarre or the former military hospital as headquarters of the Department of Education of the Foral Government. In front of the latter and joined to the Bastion of Parma, a public space will be built that will be able to accommodate a car park and sports centre in its underground level, following a similar process to that of the bus station.

The incorporation of new public premises next to the walled area, and on occasions next to the rest of the foundations of the stretches that had been destroyed many years ago to allow the development of the city's urban weft, has become an opportunity to perform work with added value. While incorporating the relevant archaeological remains has presented complications in some actions, their inclusion has also meant that they have been returned to the fortification and are visible again after being hidden from sight for many years. In the case of the aforementioned building of the new bus station, for example, it prompted the Ravelin of Santa Lucía to once again form part of the citadel, or in the construction of the underground car park located underneath the Carlos III Avenue and Roncesvalles Avenue. The completion of these new facilities and public premises has enabled the restoration and preservation of the affected stretches of walls to be funded.

Figure 18. Incorporation of archaeological remains into the underground car park in the Carlos III Ave.

Promotional and revitalizing improvements

A city with this potential must be proud of the walls on which its history is written and that end up defining its urban development. The historical evolution of the city is largely the history of the interventions of its walls, in a continuous process of construction, improvement, transformation, and also of destruction (Barcina, 2009). It is therefore essential to promote this information in such a way as to make it an element of the cultural and tourist attraction of the city.

In this sense, one of the last projects undertaken is the restoration and renovation of the Fort of San Bartolomé, the last element of the fortification built and which stands as entity by itself, as the Interpretation Centre for the Pamplona Fortifications.

Apart from becoming known in itself, the incorporation of various audiovisual exhibition resources in its vaulted interior spaces will form the basis for the explanation of the birth, evolution and maintenance of the city's fortifications through the centuries in a way that is educational, participative and tailored to different audiences. Additionally, the aim is to bring the visitor closer not only to the fortifications as a work of military architectural with its corresponding constructive explanation, but also to give an overview of the society of the time, the human environment, the way of life, traditions and culture for the people who lived there, as well as to relate them to other Spanish, European or American fortifications of the time.

Figure 19. San Bartolomé Fort – Interpretation Centre for the Pamplona Fortifications.

Figure 20. San Bartolomé Fort – Interpretation Centre for the Pamplona Fortifications.

Figure 21. San Bartolomé Fort – Interpretation Centre for the Pamplona Fortifications.

Other actions that have been worked on in order to support the promotion of and research into the fortifications are: the installation of signage along the route around the walls as well as at its unique elements; the creation of a website dedicated to the fortifications of Pamplona

www.murallasdepamplona.com; the organisation of scientific lectures and conferences; the arrangement of guided tours of the restoration sites to see the traditional building techniques; the dissemination of information about the monument in groups (schools, families, researchers,…); and promotional tourism campaigns.

Figure 22. Santa Isabel Ravelin and Socorro Gate.

Conclusions

The urban walls form part of the everyday life of cities, making them difficult to understand without taking into account their walled enclosures. Today the patrimonial, environmental, touristic and cultural value of these fortified systems is indisputable.

As part of the policies for revitalising cities and historic centres it is essential to act decisively to equip them with the appropriate functional conditions, whilst at the same time preserving the cultural values that characterise them. It is possible to simultaneously retain the cultural heritage of cities whilst carrying out improvements to infrastructure and public spaces that prevent a loss of vitality.

Following the example of measures taken in the fortifications of Pamplona it has been shown that it is possible to make the walls, which in their day were designed as a barrier, become a link between neighbourhoods in a city capable of adapting itself to the new times and incorporating new public premises. Since the end of 2011, the almost five kilometres which Pamplona's city walls cover formed an accessible route.

There has been much discussion and planning about how to act on walled areas, but there are few cities in which this has passed from ideas to reality. Pamplona is one of these; it is a point of reference as much as in the preservation of its patrimony as in the integration of new uses for its walls, achieving a perfect balance between preservation and functionality. It has prevailed over a strategic approach oriented towards action, as opposed to in other cities where there is still debate over how to approach their monumental patrimony whilst their monuments continue to deteriorate.

The new uses are an opportunity for the renovation and enrichment of the historic urban landscape. Without the integration of new public premises and infrastructures, it is probable that the archaeological research into and renovation of some monuments would not have been possible. While other priorities exist in cities, solely restorative measures which were not accompanied by actions of greater magnitude could have at times been questioned.

Today is the day that, far from being a nuisance for the citizens, the walls of Pamplona have been able to incorporate modern public premises whilst becoming a space of recreation for its inhabitants.

Recently, this project was laureated in the 2012 edition of the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage | Europa Nostra Awards and was also the winner ot the special prize "Public Choice Award", chosen in an online poll from among the 28 overall laureates for 2012. The jury commented: "the restored fortifications are no longer a defensive wall, but a meeting place and a symbol of unity for the citizens and for the town".

Pamplona is currently working with the French town of Bayonne in "FORTIUS. Project for the improvement of tourist and cultural values of the fortified heritage in Pamplona and Bayonne". This project aims to increase the attraction of the western Pyrenees valuing the fortified heritage of Pamplona and Bayonne. These cities will increase and diversify its tourist attractions, creating a quality product

around assets. To do this, with its eyes set on 2014, various actions will be organized together as a landscape management plan, restoration of key elements of both city walls, working together on the dissemination of its value and significance, the deepening in the tourist potential of it and creating joint tourism product offerings around the interpretation, art, gastronomy and leisure. The project will promote business innovation linked to the fortified heritage enhancement and its sustainable management. This project is funding by the European Union by the European Regional Development Fund [ERDF] within the Operational Programme for Territorial Cooperation Spain-France-Andorra [POCTEFA] managed through the Comunidad de Trabajo de los Pirineos - Working Community of the Pyrenees [CTP].

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A site of tensions: negotiating access and autonomy in the Ifugao rice terraces

Kathrine Ann Cagat *School of Oriental and African Studies*
University of London, London, UK
k_cagat@soas.ac.uk

Since 2001, the Ifugao Rice Terraces has been listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in Danger. Maintaining the heritage site, while not curtailing needed infrastructure, has become a challenge. This research focuses on the link between heritage conservation efforts and development projects. The Ambangal Mini-hydro Plant, which began operation in 2010, is meant to provide alternative energy to Ifugao Province, and profit from selling the plant's generated power is invested in a heritage conservation fund. The hydro plant and ongoing conservation efforts, demonstrate the link between heritage conservation and community development. From ethnographic research done in Ifugao Province, I explore how diverse values are embodied and negotiated in the management of the heritage site and hydro plant. As this paper demonstrates, spatial relations are at the crux of tensions. Issues regarding access to resources, and autonomy over its management are entangled in people's sense of place.

Keywords: heritage, development, resource management.

Introduction

In 1995, The Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras became one of the first agricultural landscapes to be inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List. According to UNESCO's World Heritage List Operational Guidelines, the Ifugao Rice Terraces (IRT) were inscribed due to their, "outstanding examples of living cultural landscapes. They illustrate traditional techniques and a remarkable harmony between humankind and the natural environment" (1996). In 2001, the fragility of the structures was highlighted when it was added to the World Heritage in Danger List (UNESCO, 2002). Due to the cultural value institutionally ascribed to the terraces, its deteriorating state became a concern. The concern over the condition of the rice terraces have resulted in local, state, and international interventions, and efforts to manage the IRT has produced tensions. Communities are especially ambivalent of conservation efforts that will clearly come at the expense of economic activities and limit communities' access to resources.

In her study of the Angkor World Heritage Site, Miura observes that the 1972 World Heritage Convention acknowledges the relation of communities to World Heritage Sites. As Miura mentions, part of UNESCO objectives is to ensure that heritage sites contribute to the development of nearby communities, whereby community planning programs and protection of heritage are merged (Miura, 2005). Communities near heritage sites are sometimes underdeveloped, with very little infrastructure and limited education and health services. Eaton suggests that development objectives has become a component of conservation efforts, so that protected areas are not, "perceived as denying people access to their traditional subsistence resources" (Eaton, 2005). An awareness of heritage concerns may actually lead to, "substantive and meaningful activity, which, though beginning with material conservation efforts can...extend into more infrastructure development endeavours" (Giovine, 2009).

In order to bridge the need for the province's economic development and heritage concerns, development projects must now address how it will avoid impacting the landscape, or how it can

contribute to restoration of the IRT. Such was the case with the small-scale Ambangal Mini-Hydro Plant (AMHP) in the municipality of Kiangan, Ifugao. The AMHP was funded by e8, an organisation that consists of leading, global electric companies from G8 nations. The project was designed and implemented by Tokyo Electric Services Power Company (TEPSCO) a subsidiary of Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO), which was the e8 member who endorsed the project (e8, 2010). The construction and operation of the AMHP in Kiangan is linked to conservation efforts since profit from the plant's generated energy must be invested in an Ifugao Rice Terraces Fund (IRTF). As such, an annual and more regular fund for conservation projects will be available. The establishment of the fund demonstrate the way heritage conservation objectives are being affixed to development plans, particularly infrastructure projects.

My approach to this research is to highlight how people's sense of place impact decisions and actions. In this case, places produce the very relationships they are an integral part of (Gell, 1992; Ingold, 2007). This approach will better illuminate the indelible link between dynamic subjectivities and environmental conditions. In the process of balancing conservation objectives and community development in Ifugao, values and subjectivities are negotiated amidst shifting socioeconomic conditions that is very much tied to the ever-changing landscape. In his conceptualisation of environments, Ingold notes that, a place "owes its character to the experiences it affords to those who spend time there – to the sights, sounds and indeed smells that constitute specific ambience…these in turn, depend on the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage in" (Ingold, 2000). My research documents and analyzes varying actors' responses to the changing environment to illuminate the transformative nature of place, its ability to incite change as it undergoes change, and from which, social and material engagements emerge.

Varied grounds

The IRT is both a cultural legacy and an agricultural field. Its maintenance goes beyond issues of authenticity and tradition. In fact, the management of the terraces concerns access to land and resources, along with people's autonomy over their economic activities. Ifugao values regarding their environment cannot simply be thought of as a particular world view, since such philosophies underpin people's agricultural practices. What is at stake in the management of the terraces are: claims to land, resources, and the right to regulate such claims. For that reason, place is as much about autonomy and access.

For the people whose quotidian occur in this World Heritage Site, the concern is not simply about having control of a place; more importantly, it is about having control over the mode of living in that place. Understanding the saliency of landscapes is particularly significant since, "food and economic security require access to land" (Pottier, 1999). In this case however, I suggest that landscapes are not simply there to provide land, which can be tilled and ordered. Nor are landscapes simply storage for resources. Instead, they are part of the very natural and social systems that allow for humans to dwell in a place.

When proponents of heritage conservation speak of the Ifugao's agricultural practices, sustainability is often linked primarily to the continued existence of rice terraces. However, it must be noted that Ifugaos acknowledge the cyclical nature of agricultural fields. As such, the cyclical change of land use is not necessarily seen as destructive. In Conklin's seminal research on Ifugao agriculture, he notes that transformations in land use may be seasonal, annual or indefinite (Conklin, 1974). When swidden fields are abandoned and left fallow, this does not indicate the farmer's complete detachment from it. Farmers do not automatically have negative responses to abandoned terraces overtaken by vegetation nor do they prohibit conversion of terraces for other agricultural purposes.

As Ifugaos frequently proclaim, land is life, since spatial engagements are not only an integral aspect of social relationships, they also produce them. This is articulated in the way land is classified, managed and transmitted. In fact, the role of rice in kinship is maintained through the distribution of land. Since the division of rice field between siblings is seen as a potential source of conflict, a primogeniture law is upheld. In this case, the oldest child, regardless of gender, is given the lion share of inherited property. The oldest child in return, is obligated to use their inherited land to support younger siblings. Though, this tradition is no longer upheld, its adverse effect created an imbalance of wealth, and consequently generated inequities within families (Barton, 1919; Brosius, 1988; Drucker, 1977).

Actually, issues regarding property were among the tensions that emerged before construction of the hydro plant commenced. The channel needed for the mini-hydro plant was over one kilometre in distance and must pass through private properties. As a result, each property owner must be compensated for the 'right of way'. However, some properties were owned by families or clans, so multiple individuals had claims to the land and its resources. As the provincial engineer explained, due to the compensation scheme stipulated by TEPSCO, only one individual can be deemed the rightful owner and claim payment. Thus, families and relatives had to settle who would be designated as a rightful owner. This person in return, would be responsible for dividing the compensation received. Similarly, issues regarding property occurred when individual trees were claimed by owners. Therefore, besides payment for the land cleared, each tree that was cut for the construction of the channel had to also be compensated.

While the previous practice of primogeniture law resulted in inequities within families, the practice was actually rooted in a philosophy of stewardship. The establishment of primogeniture inheritance laws were for the purpose of keeping properties intact, instead of divided into smaller plots and dispersed.

Owners of properties were meant to act as stewards. In this way, agricultural resources are safeguarded for future generations, and present possession is trivial compared to the family's claim and access to such resources. The practice of stewardship continues to the maintenance of muyongs, the clan or private forests.

For instance, embedded in the maintenance of muyongs are practices that serve as unwritten rules and proper management guidelines. Regulations regarding selective cutting or permission for access serve as protective measures. Even the practice of regular cleaning in the muyong serves two purposes. Regular cleaning rids the forests of reeds and underbrush that may prevent new growth. Additionally, it allows for boundaries to be clearly visible, and thus, prevent boundary disputes, especially after a change of ownership by way of inheritance or sale (Dulawan, 2002).

Just above the muyongs are forest areas. The upper sections of mountains are important watershed areas where human activity is limited and only gathering of fruits and vegetation is permitted. These areas are integral not only to water sources, but also for the prevention of landslides. This area ensures that the trees which capture water are not destroyed and thus, impacting water sources and soil stability (SITMo, 2008). Protection of these areas is supported by a social taboo that prohibits resource exploitation in the upper forests. Anyone who exploits resources in the watershed area risks disapproval from fellow community members, or worse, they may incur bad fortune.

Interestingly, though the heritage cluster of Nagacadan and Julongan are considered primary water sources for Kiangan, neither village were considered host communities for AMHP. The host communities, as defined by TEPSCO, are only the three communities affected by the construction. Thus, Nagacadan and Julongan were not given their own percentage of funds from the IRTF. However, because they are heritage clusters, they are deemed priority villages to be funded by the LGU's share of the IRTF.

Land use below the forest areas and the muyong slightly vary between ethnolinguistic groups and therefore, municipalities, since ethnolinguistic groups are often related to geographical location. In the case of Hungduan and Kiangan, residential areas populate the area below the muyong. These residential areas are often surrounded by planted trees and gardens and are located above the rice fields. In Kiangan, building houses within rice fields is often a taboo, unless no other alternative land is available. Residential areas were traditionally built to accommodate access to rice fields, so houses were in close proximity, but not within, the rice fields.

However, Mayoyao is an exception due to the municipality's topography. Mayoyao is surrounded by steep mountains, and building within the surrounding mountains proved laborious and ineffective (Lambrecht, 1929). Mayayao cultural values adapted to this feature by not setting cultural taboos regarding construction within the terraces. In Mayaoyao, houses are dispersed within the terraces. From UNESCO's concern regarding infrastructure, they noted, "major threats to the rice terraces is extensive new housing construction along the access roads, and in some barangays, within the terraces themselves" (UNESCO, 2011). This gives the impression that building within the terraces is a modern practice. However, house settlement patterns within terraces are well documented as a traditional practice for certain ethnolinguistic groups of Ifugao. Any heritage conservation efforts concerning the terraces must take these cultural variances into account, because house settlements are not just about placement and location of houses, they are also about cultural mentality regarding what is allowable behavior.

Land zoning in fact, is guided by Ifugao spiritual values. The huuwan' di nabugbugan di page, the rice myth recited during the Ani, or harvest (Dulawan, 2005), serves as a way to transmit knowledge, to explain the logic behind cultural practices (Castro, 1983; Dulawan, 2005; Scott, 1975). In the myth, the protagonists are guided by deities instructing them on how to: till sloped-lands, smooth out terraced walls, make sacrifices, and invoke chants to keep pests away, or ensure bountiful harvest (Dulawan, 2005; Scott, 1975). Agricultural practices are done in a certain way not simply because it is ecologically sound but also, to serve the deities, in order to pacify the forces that may impact crops. In this way, people and places are deeply connected, since world views are manifested in the way people interact with their environment. Although agricultural rituals and oral traditions are no longer widely practiced, the principles featured in such cultural traditions, are implicated in how communities currently engage with their environment. As Ifugao religious values transform, the Ifugao community makes an attempt to find new meanings and motivations for continuing land management practices.

Particularly, pressures to provide tourist facilities or lack of available land have caused some residents to build in areas where they would not otherwise. In cases where it is a traditional practice to build within the terraces, an ongoing issue is the size of the house being constructed. As new economic opportunities emerge, sizes of homes become larger, sometimes in ways that impact what the surrounding environment can tolerate without being negatively affected. However, these global pressures have caused farmers to also consciously ponder and discuss motivations for the continuation of long established land use practices. Currently, farmers often talk about land management practices as paying respect to their ancestors, who taught them how to farm or who tilled the land that they now derive benefits from. Such agricultural traditions are also seen as a means to secure a dignified future for subsequent generations. Agricultural communities have also begun to strategize on how to better manage and regulate touristic activities with minimal impact and disturbances not just to the environment, but also to the lives of residents in heritage clusters.

In a conversation with Ms. Rachel Guimbatan, a technical advisor for Save the Ifugao Terraces Movement (SITMo), she stated that Ifugao culture is a culture of conservation. However, the environmental values of Ifugaos cannot be taken for granted. In the instance of Ambuwayya Lake in Kiangan, some community members have noted that barangay boundaries have resulted in the neglect of the lake. As one community member noted, there was conflict between two barangays over the position of the lake, whether it belonged to Ambabag or Pindongan. During this time, residents disregarded maintenance of the lake for fear that if they invest on its maintenance, but the other barangay is named the rightful location, then they would have invested a great deal of effort on a resource they cannot claim. Since the lake also provides easy access to water for home consumption, some residents have siphoned water from the lake, thus furthering the decline of its condition. Therefore, though traditional values may be based on conservation, we cannot ignore the way lack of infrastructure, such as water utilities, can force communities to adapt practices against established values.

Interestingly however, inadequate electric utilities in Ifugao have resulted in the community's willingness to experiment with alternative-energy technologies. The topography of Ifugao, along with house settlement patterns, has made rural electrification a constant battle for the Ifugao Electric Cooperative (IFELCO). According to the director of IFELCO, because of the province's terrain, low-energy consumption and sparse population, some neighbourhoods cannot be cost-effectively electrified. As a result, some isolated sitios have taken advantage of abundant water sources by establishing pico and micro-hydro plants for electrification. The provincial government, facing challenges regarding the development of Ifugao Province and management of the terraces, saw the potential of hydropower technology to address both issues.

Location matters

UNESCO reports on the IRT acknowledge that the "most critical issue facing the IRT is its battle with conservation and development" (SITMo, 2008). These reports show a concern for the need to provide the marginalised communities of Ifugao Province with better infrastructure and health and education services. However, there is also fear that such developments may "adversely affect the local culture" (ibid) and compromise the heritage value of the landscape. The differentiation of core and buffer zones has led to inconsistencies on the development of municipalities in Ifugao. Core zones refer to the heritage clusters, the areas in most need of safeguarding. Buffer zones are areas of compromise, where regulated development may occur. Since Kiangan's heritage cluster comprises of a distinct area, they are fortunate enough to have established residential and industrial areas outside the heritage cluster of Nagacadan and Julongan. On the other hand, the entire municipality of Hungduan is a heritage site. Thus, the entire municipality is a core zone, and development will be restricted in all areas of the municipalities. Fears on how improvements in the province's infrastructure may transform local practices, illustrate the reciprocal relationship between people and places.

Interestingly, the development of the mini-hydro plant emerged during a forum in Banaue, Ifugao, when the provincial government hosted potential NGOs and foreign agencies who could invest in conservation efforts. Initially, interest for the potential of a mini-hydropower technology was directed towards Hungduan, the neighbouring municipality of Kiangan. However, the project was later denied. The comparison between Kiangan and Hungduan reveal how the diverse landscape of the Ifugao province incited particular and inconsistent categorisation of heritage sites. Since the entire municipality of Hungduan is a heritage cluster, infrastructure projects in that municipality are much more restricted and monitored than ones in Kiangan. In this case, the landscape inspires a conservation strategy, and this conservation strategy is then translated into a municipal development plan.

In 2003, Japan Consulting Institute produced a feasibility study report indicating Hapao, Hungduan to be an ideal site for a mini-hydro plant. However, the project was later denied, and no further study was conducted. In Hungduan, electrification remains a major development concern. According to Hundugan's Ancestral Domain Sustainable Development and Protection Plan (NCIP, 2006), only the village of Ba-ang is fully energized, and its energy supply is supplemented by micro-hydro plants. All other villages are only partly energized, with one village, Maggok, not energized at all. Even with such circumstances, Hungduan was denied as a mini-hydro plant site.

In 2004, members of the Sangguniang Bayan, the municipal council, discussed the 2003 feasibility study conducted in Hapao, Hungduan. Excerpts from the meeting minutes demonstrate that community members were not oppose to further studies regarding the construction of a mini-hydro plant. The following is stated in the minutes: "The purpose is development of our natural resources for the rice terraces and the mechanics were explained on how they will make it… …not only the barangays, but also the municipality and the province as a whole to (sic) benefit from this" (2004). However, negative reactions from the community regarding the proposed mini-hydro plant cannot go unmentioned. From recent interviews with Hapao and Ba-ang community members, they expressed that many of them did not approve of the mini-hydro plant's design. The design would have required excavation through fields for the construction of the headrace. According to the feasibility study report, the design called for a tunnel to, "be excavated in one direction from the intake point to the water tank" (2003).

What must also be highlighted in the meeting's documentation is the presence of UNESCO regarding the project. The meeting minutes and my current conversations with community members

reveal that people have frustrations over certain agencies having significant influence on decisions for the municipality. As stated in the minutes of a municipal council meeting, "After the workshop, negative comments came out from JBIC, Manila and UNESCO but as direct stakeholders, we should be the one to give our comments regarding this" (2004). In the 29th session of the World Heritage Committee, the issue of hydropower plants in World Heritage Sites surfaced. In response to interests on hydropower development, the committee requested a monitoring mission to, "assess the impact of a proposed hydropower plant project on the heritage values of the property" (2005).

Hapao and Ba-ang community members have expressed their confusion and disappointment over the fact that since the community consultation meeting held in 2003, no other communication or information regarding the plant has been presented. The disappointment comes from the fact that while many of the community members opposed the tunnelling, they were nevertheless interested in alternative design schemes. Most importantly, they were willing to give mini-hydro technology a chance, in light of their electrification issues. For community members, the sudden discontinuation of hydropower study in Hapao gave the impression that the heritage concerns of external agencies were being prioritised over the interests of residents.

The need to reconcile development projects with heritage concerns has lead to compulsory Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) for all development initiatives (UNESCO, 2009). Such projects must also undergo a Heritage Impact assessment (HIA) and a Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) from the National Commission for Indigenous Peoples (NCIP). Prior to the undertaking of the AMHP, Ambassador Preciosa S. Soliven, the Sectretary General Of UNESCO National Commission of Philippines, recommended that a Cultural Impact Assesment be conducted (TEPCO, 2008). The reason the AMHP was supported by UNESCO is due to the fact that the hydro plant is constructed outside the World Heritage Property. The project also provides funding for conservation efforts, while providing the community with sustainable energy and employment opportunities (2009).

It must be noted that the initiative received support only after an extensive feasibility study was undertaken, in which members of UNESCO confirmed that the project will be able to avoid or alleviate any social and natural adverse effects (e8, 2010). From their evaluation report on the current state of the IRT, UNESCO stated, "mini-hydro plants should be permitted as long as they are mini-hydro plants and position...with minimal visual impact on the terraces and outside of the World Heritage designated areas, themselves" (2011). Before the plan was carried out, several potential sites were considered for the location of the power plant. In this way, the chosen site for the Ifugao-Ambangal Mini-hydro Project had to reconcile the tension between a development objective, such as electrification, and efforts on heritage conservation.

The matter of location for the site of the mini-hydro plant reveals a tension between concern for the state of the IRT and the need for much needed utilities. On one hand, requiring development projects to undergo EIA, CIA and FPIC is underpinned in commendable ethical and environmental concerns that endeavour to regulate potential exploitive and destructive projects. However, the root of the community's frustrations is not primarily directed at these regulatory practices. Instead, frustrations come about when restrictions occur without alternative plans or even the discussion of alternatives. This has resulted in community members feeling disconnected from decisions directed at the management and utilization of their resources.

Changes in place

While policies are ever-changing, they are still the outcomes of a particular time and place, and they are crafted by people who are under the same spatiotemporal restrictions. It is difficult to anticipate what issues may arise from policies, and even more difficult to craft policies that address future challenges. As a consequence, what result are policies which, "take as given what at the moment of their inception appears unproblematic, what appears eternally fixed and natural, but which subsequently becomes variable and problematic" (Burawoy, 1985). The same challenges exist for development projects. No matter how many impact studies or community consultations are involved, there will be some concerns left unaddressed, because they are unforeseen.

The construction of the mini-hydro plant created 180 hourly jobs, and its maintenance generated six full-time positions (e8, 2010). When possible, as the host municipality, Kiangan residents were prioritised during the recruitment of labourers. Similarly, for the six full-time positions, residents from the three host villages, Amababag, Pindongan and Mungayang were also given priority over other candidates, provided they passed the required exam. Priority access to these job opportunities was a stipulation established by the host communities. In this case, connection to a place resulted in a direct link to opportunities. However, since an exam was required for the operators, claims to employment opportunities still had to be negotiated. Actually, out of the six operators, Mungayang is the only host community not represented, since no resident of Mungayang met the exam requirement.

As a result of the hydro-plant's construction and operation, the host villages also received improvements on their civil structures. Particularly, concrete lining of community irrigation systems (CIS) canals and maintenance and repair of stonewalls has occurred. Likewise, canals being used for the hydro plant also allow water to reach fields where destroyed CIS canals cannot reach. Cemented pathways were also created during construction. Isolated power has also become available for parts of Mungayang, lower

Ibulao and Baguinge, Kiangan. As such, the aforementioned villages can get electricity during power outages. Of course, there is now also available annual funding for terrace conservation efforts.

However, these positives results come with concerns. The three host communities are disappointed that they have not received any benefits in terms of electrification. The Provincial Planning and Development Office (PPDO) has mentioned that the plant is meant to generate power for sale to IFELCO and then invested in the IRTF. PPDO cannot control how this power is distributed. This is in fact a precise description of how the plant operates. The archived minutes does show that electrification of communities was going to be addressed. Excerpts from minutes of community consultation meetings show that members of Mungayang had as a condition, "Electrification of Barangay Mungayang" (NCIP, 2008). Consultation meeting minutes from 2007, also show that, "total electrification of the province is one of the priorities...The Provincial Government is to looking at micro-hydro systems to energize said areas" (TEPCO, 2008).

The design of the whole system called for electrical lines to be placed in very specific locations. Unfortunately, the locations of the erected electric lines and its coordination with the mini-hydro plant can only serve very specific villages during a power outage. As a result, due to the communities' disappointment regarding electrification, the plant operators must now have to field complaints from their fellow community members. However, these plant operators have no jurisdiction over how the power is distributed. In this way, the plant has had some unexpected impact in the social relations of community members. In understanding the unforeseen outcomes of the AMHP, I take note of Mosse and Lewis's observation regarding the implementation of policy into practice. As Mosse and Lewis suggests, policies, and perhaps in these case plans, cannot be taken as "an instrumental or scripted translation of ideas into reality, but as a messy free-for-all in which processes are often uncontrollable and results uncertain" (2006)

In the process of latching development projects onto conservation efforts, the risk is that socio-political concerns are framed to suit technical solutions (Li, 2007). What is implied in UNESCO reports and e8's energy initiative is that the maintenance of a World Heritage Site can contribute to solutions regarding the national government's neglect of the Ifugao Province. With the Ifugao-Ambangal Mini-hydro Project, e8 proposes that the facility will, "improve the lives of the terrace rice farmers," by providing the Ifugao Province with a much needed sustainable energy source, while implementing this particular technology as a means to fund conservation programs (2010). Buried under the heavy focus on sustainability and conservation, are issues of access and autonomy that are not being properly addressed.

The construction of the hydro plant and its link to conservation objectives has magnified current issues regarding access to resources (i.e. electricity, water, job opportunities or community funds). Likewise, it has revealed the inequities between heritage cluster communities and non-heritage agricultural communities. The provincial planner of Ifugao has expressed concern over the focus on the heritage sites. She has expressed dissatisfaction that funding is most often directed towards villages within the heritage clusters. As she mentioned, and as so many agricultural communities have highlighted, Ifugao Province, as a whole, consists predominantly of terraced, rice field cultivators, and yet support for farmers flow mainly to cultivators in heritage clusters. The notion of heritage then, must be questioned, since heritage agencies often have criteria for the designation of World Heritage Property that may not be in parallel with the community members own concept of their heritage.

This unequal distribution of resources is perpetuated by the IRTF, in which a bulk of the funds must be utilized to fund projects within the heritage clusters. It must be noted that this was a stipulation of e8 and TEPSCO. Historically, previous availability of funding exclusively for heritage cluster has actually caused a breakdown of traditional values regarding community work and self-reliance. A tenet in Ifugao values is the importance of cooperation to assist each other with laborious tasks, especially agricultural tasks. Such a practice is called ubbu or baddang. Due to available funds, in some cases, communities do not make an effort to restore private stone-walls or CIS canals until they are given the funding.

Unexpectedly, non-heritage terraced communities, to cope with the lack of funding, has been able to better organize their irrigator's association and more regularly practice the tradition of community work. An irrigators association in Mungayang has developed a system of contributing a share of their rice harvest to the association; this share of rice is used as compensation for the labourers who maintain the CIS. In cases of emergencies, farmers in Pindongan also practice ubbu to repair damaged stonewalls for fellow farmers, especially if the particular paddy is crucial to the flow of water to other paddies.

Though, it must be noted that in other ways, communities in heritage clusters have been galvanized to actively develop strategies in managing their resources. The community of Nagacadan has institutionalized Ifugao values through a land use ordinance. With the crafting of the ordinance, traditional land use values have been translated as a means to regulate tourism and rapid overdevelopment. The ordinance was crafted by agricultural communities in Nagacadan, in collaboration with SITMo. The ordinance delineates the core, buffer and multi-use zones of the Nagacadan Rice Terraces and the heritage areas in Nagacadan, Kiangan. The ordinance also sets official regulations, which protects the muyongs or forests areas. Additionally, indigenous species must be the ones planted for reforestation. The ordinance demonstrates how people are translating their spatial relations into policies.

Similarly, the ordinance establishes an outline for community-based tourism. For instance, treks for tourists must be guided by locals. An environmental fee is also collected from tourists wishing to hike

within the heritage cluster. Just recently, a tourism symposium was held in Kiangan, Ifugao. During the symposium, a discussion on carrying capacity emerged. As such, the community is in the process of indicating how much visitors can the municipality receive, without resulting in disruption and negative environmental impact that the town cannot adequately manage. The barangay ordinance of Nagacadan also addresses infrastructure within their heritage cluster. The ordinance acknowledges that in cases when there are no alternative available land, property owners may build within terraces, but must follow restrictions on the extent and intensity of construction.

Informants from Nagacadan express that their land use ordinance is rooted in their ancestors' traditional practices, but now, these values are made official and legitimized through an ordinance. They however, also express that they are constantly faced with restrictions that limit their freedom to learn and experiment with solutions that address housing, development of roads or global forces such as, climate change. Community members proclaim that people who are prohibiting communities to experiment on solutions limit activities without proposing viable solutions. The benefit with allowing communities to problem solve, is that solutions are internalized. Through community-based problem solving in regards to irrigation or damaged walls, community members are forced to have a dialogue regarding their changing needs and concerns. These dialogues provide an opportunity for people to come up with ways to re-invent social values and practices.

The problem of electrification has motivated residents of Hungduan to come up with more efficient ways in getting electricity. This has resulted in community managed micro-hydro plants in the villages of Ba-ang and Maggok. The presence of such micro-hydro plants catapulted a collective, a cooperative of people who volunteer to manage the plant's operation and collect fees to ensure the hydro plant's sustainability. This demonstrates the reimagining of ubbu for the use of managing not just agricultural resources, but also technologies that address the problem of electrification. The micro-hydro plants are also a tangible materialization of the new alliances people have forged. The micro-hydro plant project in Maggok is operated in collaboration with SITMo along with Villanova University, an American institution. The Ba-ang micro-hydro plant was implemented in collaboration with Benguet State University.

In regards to management of the current IRTF, both the provincial and local government units have learned from past mistakes of funding support for heritage terrace farmers. Presently, conservation projects now operate under a counterpart system. In this case, funding will be given to a particular project, but the community receiving funding must also actively contribute to the project. For instance, the current scheme for stonewall repairs is that, if materials are bought with the IRTF, the community members will volunteer as labour for construction work. Alternatively, the community can provide materials, and funds will be available to pay the workers' wages. The aforementioned activities are proofs of the way communities may organically respond to the tension of conservation and development, and the way traditional values can be re-imagined as a means of solution.

Conclusion

Changes in Ifugao values should not be simply perceived as the breakdown of tradition, since tradition is not the preservation of the past, but rather the, "distinctive way of changing" (Sahlins, 1992). In this case, it is the framework that guides how people respond to unforeseen circumstances. In his study of Djenné's masons, Marchand reiterates that 'traditional' should not imply stasis; instead, 'traditional' should be understood as people's, "direct and un-alienated mode of production" (Marchand, 2009). The risk in how organisations address heritage conservation is that it may result in further restrictions on people's autonomy to make adjustments on their practices. Since tradition becomes an issue of livelihood, it is imperative that heritage concerns are discussed within the context of development.

The greatest frustration for community members within heritage clusters is that they are constantly faced with restrictions that limit their freedom to learn and experiment in coming up with solutions to problems impacting their environment, and thus, their livelihood. These restrictions are seen as blocks that prevent communities from accessing resources or opportunities that allow residents to better cope with their changing environment. However, one must acknowledge that conservation efforts have galvanized communities to think about their resources and how such resources are being managed and utilised. This paved the way for communities to be conscious of how their changing practices are reciprocally changing their environment in ways that may be counterproductive.

The fact that municipalities are now consciously pondering their management practices allow for strategies and dialogue that emerge from within the community. Such dialogue is necessary for internal solutions. Through on-going management of CIS, community based tourism and village-level electric cooperatives, people have been forced to discuss their changing values, and this has become a catalyst for the re-invention of traditional practices. Likewise, the aforementioned community endeavours can impact policy making and force politicians to address what is lacking in the communities they serve. The activities of Kiangan and Hungduan residents are evidence of the way communities may organically respond to the tension of conservation and development. Such activities reveal that traditional values can be re-imagined for solutions. Central to this process is that, as people adapt to their changing environment, they transform old material and social engagements or develop new ones. Integral to such engagements are people's sense of place.

The tensions that have emerged in the management of the IRT show the sometimes fraught relationship between conservation and development. This study can be part of the growing anthropological trend which connects conservation issues within wider context of food security, resource management and policy making. Since spatial relations often translate into access and rights, it is necessary to evaluate how the conceptualisation of places affects both spatial and social relations. Thus, with this research, I hope to make a case for the need to situate cultural heritage within the context of development discourse.

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The virtual Sydney Rocks: a case study of a virtual heritage environment

Kit Devine

College of Fine Arts, Universtiy of New South Wales, Australia

iCinema Centre for Interactive Cinema Research, University of New South Wales, Australia

Australian National University, Canberra, Australia

kit.devine@anu.edu.au

Many heritage objects and places are under threat of being loved to death. Visitor numbers to many popular sites are limited. Virtual heritage offers worldwide audiences the ability to interact with virtual copies of heritage objects and places. Virtual heritage resources vary widely in their range and scope, some models can be viewed at different angles, some offer reconstructions of buildings and places at various times and some offer educational games. The Virtual Sydney Rocks is designed to be an engaging and informative virtual heritage resource that allows users to explore the oldest part of Sydney over a 200-year period. Users set the time and date to determine the sun position, the weather and the buildings and vehicles that are displayed. Users have a first person view and can easily move around and explore the built environment. They can also set the time speed and view a time-lapsed animation of the changing model. The Virtual Sydney Rocks Guidebook is displayed on a second screen and dynamically linked to objects in the Virtual Sydney Rocks. The Virtual Sydney Rocks will be used to conduct research into the effect that different user engagement strategies have on the sense of 'being there'.

Keywords: virtual heritage, interactive.

Introduction

Every year six million people shuffle past the Mona Lisa in the Louvre, spending an average of fifteen seconds each looking at the painting (Gentleman, 2004). Between two and three million people a year visit the Taj Mahal, half a million go to Machu Picchu, one million go to Angkor Wat, seven million go to the Forbidden City, two million go to Pompeii, half a million go to the Acropolis and over two million go to the Alhambra. With an estimated world population of seven billion, a great public interest in heritage and easy and cheap mass transit, the pressures faced in preserving heritage items, while at the same time facilitating public access, are only going to increase.

Some sites such as Stonehenge, Machu Picchu and Angkor Wat have introduced limited access to restrict damage while others have had to completely block public access. The Lascaux caves in southwestern France were initially open to visitors but had to be closed due to the damage caused by the humidity from their breath, the presence of lighting and changes in air circulation which promoted the growth of lichens and crystals. The introduction of an air conditioning system did not solve the problem but made it worse, promoting the growth of molds and fungi. (Loubser, 2009)

There is a long tradition of using replicas and models in museums (Noordegraaf, 2004). Individual small heritage items can be replicated with a high degree of accuracy using laser scanning and 3D printing technology. The cost of 3D printing is falling and it is becoming a mainstream manufacturing technique (Newby, 2011). For many heritage sites creating a full-scale replica is either impossible or would be

prohibitively expensive. One of the few that has been done is Lascaux II, an exact replica of the Great Hall of Bulls and the Painted Gallery, two of the cave halls of the Lascaux Caves. Opened in 1983, Lascaux II was constructed 200 metres from the original at a cost of over 500 million francs (76,224,782 Euros) and is the result of 11 years of work by 20 artists and sculptors using the same methods and materials as the original cave painters (FranceForVisitors, 2012).

Film-maker Werner Herzog was allowed extremely limited access to the Chauvet caves in the south of France in 2010 to film his 3D movie Cave of Forgotten Dreams. The film crew was restricted to a two-foot wide walkway and used battery-powered lights that emitted no heat. (Olson, 2011). The resulting movie allows the worldwide public to have an immersive experience of a place that very, very few of them will ever have the opportunity to visit in person. However the cinematic experience of both 2D and 3D cinema is passive; the viewer cannot interact with the depicted objects and places.

Virtual heritage

A wide range of mapping, recording and visualisation technologies such as laser scanning, photogrammetry, geophysical mapping, remote sensing, GIS and GPS have become mainstream for field archaeology (Barceló et al., 2000; Forte & Siliotti, 1997). Similarly, interactive technologies combined with computer visualisation are increasingly finding a home in museums. (Anderson et al., 2009; Brogni et al., 2000; Pujol, 2004; Frischer, et al., 2002).

Virtual Reality most commonly refers to the creation, viewing and interaction with computer generated three-dimensional objects. Created in 1994, a computer-controlled laserdisc system showed museum visitors a 3D walk-through of Dudley Castle, England as it was in 1550 (Johnson, 2006). Technological progress now allows the relatively easy creation of 3D models, their integration with interactive systems and their dissemination via the Internet. The resulting virtual worlds run on a standard computer inside a web browser.

There are now numerous virtual models that range from Egyptian drinking vessels to Roman temples and even to entire cities (Brogni et al., 2000; Bonfigli & Guidazzoli, 2000; Jacobson, 2008; Wells et al., 2009). Virtual models offer some advantages over physical models. They can be animated to show alignments such as the midsummer sun at Stonehenge (Pasztor, E. et al. 1998) or to show the changes to an object, building or place over time (Bonfigli & Guidazzoli, 2000). Most Virtual Heritage models are bespoke, one-off builds that come in a wide variety of formats supported by different platforms and offering different levels of interaction.

Kos recognises that places are a palimpsest of information, dense with sometimes contradictory layers of meanings (Kos, 2008). Combining an interactive virtual model with a database of additional information allows users to explore more than just the physical structure of the model. (Bonfigli & Guidazzoli, 2000; Frischer, 2008; Kim et al., 2006.). The Rome Reborn project aims to model the city of Rome between 1000 BC and 550 CE. Conceived in 1974, it got its first funding in 1996. Twelve years later a rough model of Rome in 320 CE had been completed. Currently nearly 8000 buildings have been created and the resulting model can be explored in Google Earth. If a building is selected additional information is displayed via a pop-up window. The interiors of some of the buildings can be explored. (Frischer, 2008) The time of day can be varied but the physical depiction of Rome is limited to the architectural. There are none of the sounds of people and animals that assault the senses in a busy metropolis. (Nor any of the smells!) Digital Karnak also loads into Google Earth. There is an associated website with additional information, including a satellite view of the site with an overlay of the temple buildings. A slider controls the date and, depending on the date selected, the overlay of the temple buildings change. (Digital Karnak, 2012)

Games & serious games

Interactive computer games have been earning more money than the music industry since at least the mid-1990s and many 'state of the art' games have budgets that rival a Hollywood movie. The game Assassin's Creed is set during the time of the Third Crusade, CE 1189-1192. The action takes place in Jerusalem, Damascus, Acre and the fictional town of Al Mualim. The city streets are crowded with carts, stalls, piles of hay etc and there are up to sixty computer-controlled inhabitants going about their daily routines. The main streets bustle with shoppers, water carriers, soldiers and thugs while the side streets are much quieter. As can be seen from Image 1, the overall impression is of an inhabited city with distinctive dress and architecture. The graphics are supported by appropriate soundscapes and the result is very immersive. The game won multiple awards including the Best Action/Adventure Game category at the 2006 Game Critic Awards. It took two years and three hundred people to make at an estimated cost of $20 million US dollars (Video Game Sales Wiki, 2012) It was released in 2007 and has since developed into a very successful franchise. Assassin's Creed 2, released in 2009, had a budget 20% larger and was set in Italy in 1476 with much of the action taking place in Venice, Florence and Rome. A total of four games and a number of expansion packs have been released so far, with more in the pipeline.

Figure 1. Assassins Creed

The use of virtual technologies for training purposes goes back to the 1970s when the first virtual flight simulators were being developed for the military. The wider recognition of the role of game playing in learning, combined with cheap and widely available interactive technologies, has led to the development of Serious Games across a plethora of fields (Anderson et al., 2009; Chatham, 2007; Jacobson, 2008; Kelly et al., 2007; Kirriemuir, 2002; Lewis & Jacobson, 2002; Mayo, 2007; Zyda, 2007). While museums do not have the same budgets as the Games Industry it is increasingly possible to create immersive interactive Virtual Heritage worlds that can be accessed in museums and online.

The Gates of Horus is an immersive interactive game set in an ancient Egyptian temple. It was initially developed to run inside an immersive CAVE system to carry out research into differences in learning on a desktop computer versus in a visually immersive display. It has since been ported to the game development tool Unity (Unity.com, 2012) allowing the creation of a file that can be downloaded and then run in a web browser, making the game widely accessible. (Gates Of Horus, 2008)

Engagement strategies

> "The Past is a foreign country, they do things differently there."
> L.P. Hartley, 1953

The opening sentence of The Go-Between by L.P. Hartley offers a possible insight for builders of virtual heritage environments. Visitors to foreign countries can explore and learn about the country they are visiting in a number of different ways. They can take guided tours or wander freely, they can stay in hotels or with local families, they might learn a bit of the language and culture prior to visiting or they might not, or a mixture of the above. Virtual heritage environments also offer a variety of ways to interact, including virtual tours, free exploration and interactive games but, apart from Champion, there has been little systematic study of the effect that different interaction modes have on the user's experience in, and their engagement with, a virtual world. Champion's doctoral thesis used three different virtual worlds, all based on Palenque, and three different interaction modes (which he terms observation, activity and instuction), to examine the effect of different interaction strategies on cultural awareness and understanding. His test subjects were randomly assigned to different groups which visited the different worlds in different set orders. He found that 'the order in which people visited the archaeological worlds affected both task and understanding results, but only for the first world that they entered.' and concluded with a call for further research (Champion, 2006).

The virtual Sydney rocks

My own research is into the effect that a user's *preference* for a particular engagement strategy has on their engagement with a virtual heritage environment. To carry out my research I needed to be able to compare like with like so it was necessary to construct an interactive virtual heritage world that offered users the choice of a variety of interaction modes. An ideal place was revealed by an archaeological dig in Sydney in 1994. This uncovered a site rich in personal histories and which was also important in the larger history of the white settlement of Australia (Karskens, 1999). Figure 2 shows the site of the Big Dig and the extent of the Virtual Sydney Rocks.

Figure 2. Extent of the Virtual Sydney Rocks

Sydney Cove is the site of the first white settlement in Australia and remains at the heart and centre of the city of Sydney. The founding and development of Sydney is remarkably well documented (Karskens, 2009). There was great interest in the endeavour from the outset and prior to the sailing of the First Fleet a number of personnel were engaged by London publishers to write accounts of the settlement. In the period between 1788 and 1851, there are maps for April 1788, July 1788, 1792, 1802, 1807, 1822, 1836, 1843 and 1851 (Dawes, 2012; Fowkes, 2012). There are numerous drawings, paintings and written descriptions and, after the 1850s, an ever-increasing number of photographs. (Ashton et al., 2010; Cossu, 2008; Kelly, 2010; Hunt & Davison, 2007). Because of its rocky terrain, the western shore of Sydney Cove became known as The Rocks and was almost immediately settled by the convicts who built rough bark huts. Over the years the haphazard scatter of convict dwellings were replaced by cottages and houses and the dirt tracks by laneways and roads. Some grand houses were built for local shipping merchants who wished to be close to the harbour but in later years the area became an overcrowded slum. Many buildings were torn down in the early 1900s as part of a slum clearance program. Photographs were taken and plan and elevation drawings created by the office of the NSW Government Architect prior to demolition of condemned buildings. In 1994 an archaeological dig lasting 20 weeks was carried out high up in the Rocks on the block bounded by Gloucester Street and Cumberland Street. Over ¾ million artefacts were unearthed (Karskens, 1999). This data, combined with other historical records, has revealed a great deal of the history of the site.

Creating a Virtual Heritage place is more akin to world building than architectural modeling (Bartle, 2003). Assuming that the intention is to give the user an idea of what Sydney might have been like, I decided that it was important to build an experiential world. To create a richer sense of place I have included weather and ambient sounds. For the first year of settlement the weather reflects the weather as recorded in the log of HMS Sirius, one of the ships of the First Fleet. For later years the weather is driven by a probability curve. (It would be possible to use actual weather records throughout but I lack the resources to do so at present). The sky has 5 different texture maps and these are blue sky; blue sky with clouds; light overcast; dark overcast and night. In addition there are different levels of rain sounds, light rain, heavy rain or torrential rain and varying levels of lightning and thunder, distant, medium or close. The timing between a flash of lightning and the following sound of thunder is randomised. The sun position and brightness is controlled by the time of day and also the time of year. There are ambient sounds such as native Australian birds, cicadas in summer. After the arrival of the First Fleet there is also the sounds of sheep, pigs, horses, cattle, dogs and goats. By the 1850s these sounds are being replaced by the sounds of people, horses and carts and from the 1900's onwards by the sounds of cars, buses and trams.

All the buildings on the Big Dig site are modeled and textured inside and out. The doors and windows are all interactive and open and close when clicked on by the user. The user sets the date and

time of the master clock. Every object has a Birthday and a Deathday and these are used in conjunction with the master clock to determine what is displayed and active or hidden and inactive. Users can also set the speed of time. This can be set so that 1 second = 1 second, 1 second = 1 hour, 1 second = 1 day, 1 second = month, 1 second = 1 year, 1 second = 5 years and 1 second = 10 years. For any speeds greater than real-time (ie 1 second = 1 second) the sound and weather is disabled. Users can stand at the site of the Sydney Opera House, set the date to 1788 and the speed to 1 second = 1 year. Then by looking over to the Rocks they can see a time-lapse of 200 years of urban change compressed into just over 3 minutes.

During construction of the Big Dig models it became obvious that I was going to have to model some of the surrounding buildings to correctly give an impression of what it might have been like. Sydney is a harbour city and all of the early houses in the Rocks had views of the harbour from at least one room in the house. The comings and goings of ships were part and parcel of daily life for most of Sydney's history and Sydney Cove is still at the centre of a busy network of commuter ferries. I did not have the resources to build the surrounding area in high detail but I have constructed low resolution versions of over 200 surrounding buildings, many of them dating back to the 1850s. All of these buildings, and some objects such as ships, have associated web pages in the Virtual Sydney Rocks Guidebook (http://virtualsydneyrocks.com/). Selecting an object causes the associated webpage to open on a secondary screen. Each building on the Big Dig site has an associated webpage with information including old photographs and architectural drawings. The webpages for surrounding lower resolution buildings contain a very brief description of the selected object and links to authoritative information on sites that include the Dictionary of Sydney, the Australian Dictionary of Biography, the Heritage and Conservation Register, the Heritage Council of NSW, the Historic Houses Trust and The State Library of NSW. There is also a Day by Day Journal for 1788 which details the weather information and significant events that took place on that day.

The models have been built in Autodesk® Maya® and then exported into the 3DVIA Virtools development engine where the system clock, weather, sounds and different behaviours were added. The Virtual Sydney Rocks plays in a web browser and offers users the option of Exploring, taking a Tour or playing a Game. The Virtual Sydney Rocks can load into the iCinema AVIE system (http://icinema.edu.au/technologies/avie/project-overview/) for an immersive experience (McGinity, 2007). In the Exploration mode users have complete control over when and where they explore. They can teleport quickly around the Virtual Sydney Rocks to the following key locations - The Big Dig site, the Observatory, Dawes Point (site of the southern pylon of the Sydney Harbour Bridge) and Bennelong Point (site of the Sydney Opera House). In the Tour mode users see a pre-recorded walk though of the Big Dig site and surrounds with an instructive voice-over. This is analogous to the walking tours currently available in the Sydney Rocks and relates some of the history of the Big Dig site. The Game is currently in very early development but as part of the game, players will have to travel to different parts of the Virtual Sydney at different times.

Summary & future directions

The Virtual Sydney Rocks is designed to be an engaging and informative Virtual Heritage resource. The first round of user testing is scheduled to take place in April 2012 at the Rocks Discovery Museum. A second round of testing is planned for late 2012 which will include the addition of the Game option, enhancements of the model and revisions based on the feedback from the first round of testing. As well as a questionnaire users will also wear an eye-tracker that will record what users are focusing on. Further testing is planned inside the iCinema's AVIE. The Rocks Discovery Museum and the Big Dig Archaeological Centre have both expressed interest in having copies of the Virtual Sydney Rocks on permanent display. I am considering doing a port to Unity, a version for Google Earth and making the model available to the community for further research. Ideally I would like to continue to develop it as an interactive learning tool.

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The Labrador Metis and the politics of identity: understanding the archaeological past to negotiate a sustainable future

Lisa Rankin *Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada* lrankin@mun.ca

Amanda Crompton *Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada* ajcrompton@mun.ca

The Labrador Metis are a people of mixed European and Inuit ancestry who live along the coast of central and southern Labrador, Canada. Our research project, Understanding the Past to Build the Future, is a multidisciplinary project that interprets the history of the Labrador Metis. This project produces research of value to the Labrador Metis, and provides a foundation for further initiatives on the part of the Metis in the areas of heritage research and conservation, education, political action, and economic development. The Labrador Metis have undergone transformative changes in the last 20 years, particularly regarding their own developing sense of cultural identity and shared history, and have become increasingly politically active and economically directed. This paper will provide a background to the ways in which our project has been able to explore Labrador Metis identity in the past and in the present, particularly drawing off of archaeological research.

Introduction

Our research project, *Understanding the Past to Build the Future*, documents and interprets the history of the Labrador Metis. The Labrador Metis are a people of mixed European and Inuit ancestry, who live in the small communities along the coast of central and southern Labrador, Canada (Figure 1). This is a multidisciplinary collaborative research project involving both university-based academic researchers and community-based Metis researchers. Our project explores the archaeology, history, ethnography, and genealogy of the Labrador Metis. We are also working to develop practices that promote Labrador Metis interests in education and sustainable development. In this paper, we shall focus specifically the ways in which archaeological research has re-framed and re-invigorated our knowledge of Labrador Metis history, in order to situate Metis heritage as they plan for the future.

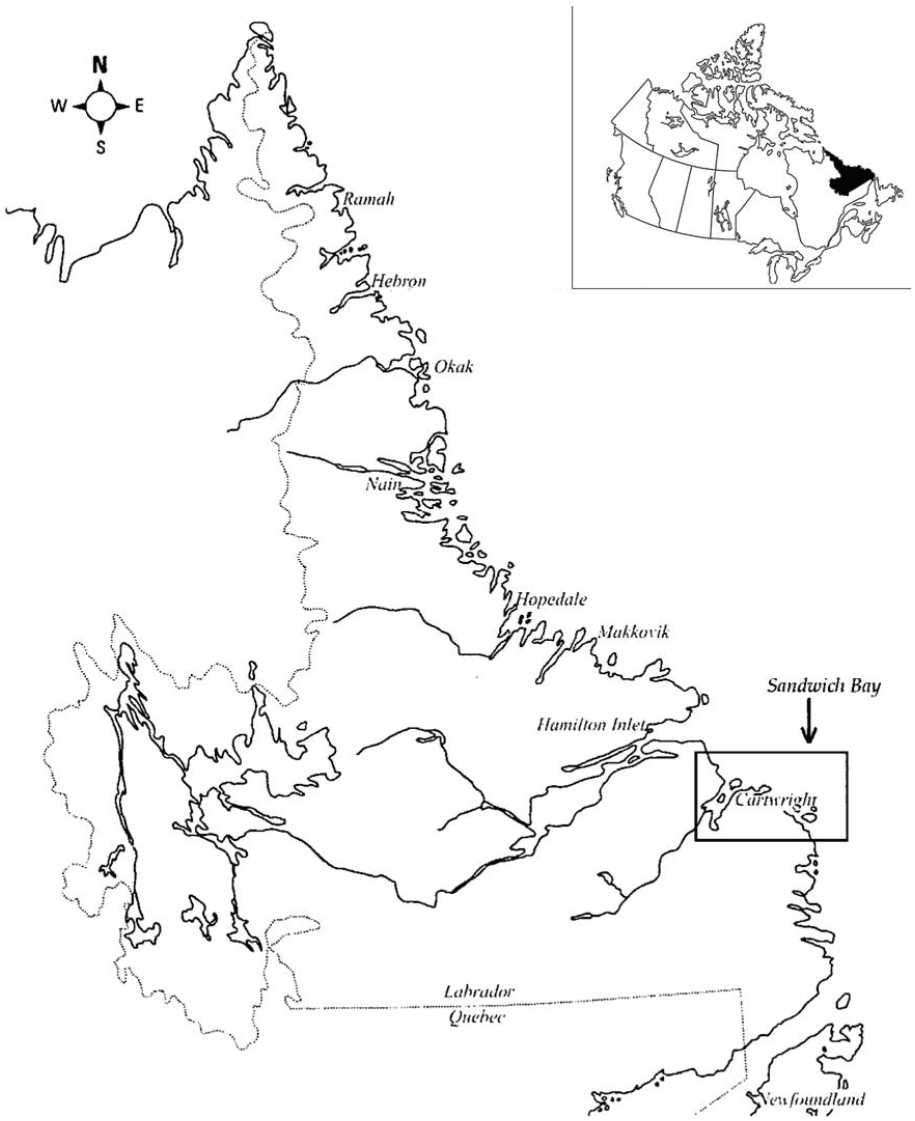

Figure 1. Map of Labrador (after Murphy, 2011). Archaeological sites discussed in the text are located in Sandwich Bay (indicated). Inset map shows the location of Labrador in Canada.

History of the Labrador Metis

The Labrador Metis are a people of mixed European and Inuit heritage, and exploring their origins requires an understanding of the history of European and Inuit interactions in southern Labrador. The Labrador Inuit are descendants of the pre-contact Thule Inuit, who entered northern Labrador in the late 15th century A.D. The Thule people continued to move southward, and their descendants, the historic Inuit, reached southern Labrador by the late 16th century. By this time, the Inuit were occasionally described by visiting Europeans with whom they traded each summer (Delanglez, 1948; Études/Inuit/Studies 1980).

Europeans had frequented the southern Labrador coast since the 16th century. Initially, Basque and French crews came to southern Labrador for the purposes of fishing and whaling, and established seasonally occupied stations along the coast. During this time, the Europeans engaged in occasional trade

with the Inuit now resident in southern Labrador. French permanent settlement along the south Labrador coast began in the early eighteenth century, for the purposes of fishing, sealing, furring, and trading with the Inuit. European settlement along the southern coast changed after 1763, when the Treaty of Paris excluded the French from this area. Fishermen and merchants from Britain and from the island of Newfoundland began to populate the south coast from this point onwards. From the late 18th century, European men who came to Labrador to work in the fishery married Inuit women, forming the ancestral population of today's Labrador Metis (Jackson, 1982; Kennedy, 1995, 1997; Plaice, 1990).

Labrador Metis ethnogenesis

By contrast to other Aboriginal groups in Labrador, the Metis have only recently begun to publicly acknowledge their Aboriginal identity, mobilize politically, and lobby to have their Aboriginality recognized by others (Kennedy, 1996; 1997; Plaice, 1996). Within the broader political context, the Labrador Metis find themselves sandwiched between other, sometimes competing Aboriginal nations. Two Labrador Aboriginal groups—the Inuit and the Innu—have a much longer history of asserting their Aboriginal identity than the Metis. Both the Innu and the Inuit have negotiated with the federal and provincial governments since the 1950s to secure fiscal agreements, recognition of their Aboriginality, and (in the case of the Inuit) a formalized land claim agreement (Alcantara, 2008; Kennedy, 1997). In 2005, the Inuit achieved self-government with the formation of the Nunatsiavut Government, which is a regional Inuit political entity within the province of Newfoundland and Labrador (LIA, 2005). The Innu and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador have recently signed the New Dawn Agreement, which consists of an Agreement-in-Principal regarding Innu land claims, as well as an agreement on a hydroelectric project in their traditional lands (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2011).

By contrast to the Inuit and the Innu, Labrador Metis ethnogenesis developed comparatively late. This was due in part to the assumption that southern Labrador was not considered to be a traditional Inuit homeland. Rather, the Inuit have typically been thought to live only in northern Labrador. Any Inuit presence in the regions south of Hamilton Inlet (Figure 1) were thought to be short-term visits made to trade with Europeans, at which point the Inuit returned north. This portrayal of the Inuit as northern residents only is a long-standing narrative, which has circulated in published literature since the early twentieth century (Rankin et al., 2012). By the mid-twentieth century, provincial and federal government agencies officially codified this 'natural' ethnic landscape. Both Inuit and the descendants of early European-Inuit unions living north of Hamilton Inlet would be considered 'native' (and now Inuit), while persons of similar mixed Inuit-European ancestries living further south were not (Kennedy, 1997; LIA, 2005; Plaice, 1996). The residents of southern Labrador were assumed to be of European and not Aboriginal ancestry.

Social pressures meant that residents of southern Labrador with Inuit ancestry downplayed their heritage until comparatively recent times. Prevailing notions of social stigma meant that prior to the 1980s, persons appearing 'dark' or 'native' were negatively evaluated. Acknowledging one's Aboriginal ancestry was tacitly discouraged (Kennedy, 1996, 1997). Though elements of Inuit culture were maintained (in the persistence of Inuit material culture, for example), and families were aware of Aboriginal members in their family histories, group consciousness was tacit, unacknowledged, and unsupported by social or administrative institutions (Kennedy, 1997). As a result, the political mobilization of the Labrador Metis only began in 1985, with the establishment of the Labrador Metis Association (now the NunatuKavut Community Council or NCC).

Thus, a combination of external and internal factors meant that the Labrador Metis have only recently begun to explicitly acknowledge their own heritage and to argue for their political recognition. In the last 20 years, the Labrador Metis have undergone transformative changes, particularly regarding their own developing sense of cultural identity and shared history. With the rise of substantial resource development projects in their traditional lands, and the negotiation of land claims agreements with neighbouring First Nations and Inuit groups in Labrador, the Labrador Metis have become increasingly politically active and economically directed.

Understanding the past to build the future

Much of the history of the Metis people remains buried in archaeological sites or hidden in faraway archives. Until recently, the Metis and their southern Labrador homeland has seen comparatively little research. This is a profound issue for the Metis in their struggle for political acceptance of their Aborignality. Aboriginal groups in Canada who have not yet signed a treaty with federal and provincial governments can negotiate a land claim as part of the Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement process. Comprehensive Land Claim Agreements provide Aboriginal groups with greater control over economic development and self government, as well as financial compensation and legal title to selected lands (Saku and Bone, 2000). Under the Comprehesive Land Claims process, an Aboriginal group must demonstrate that they are an identifiable and recognizable group, that they have a demonstrable history of occupying their lands, that these lands were occupied to the exclusion of other peoples, and that their rights to claimed lands have never been extinguished (Alcantara, 2007a,b). When these requirements are met, negotiations for land claims can begin. Thus, Aboriginal groups seeking to negotiate a formal relationship

with federal and provincial governments need to construct a detailed history of their people and the lands they traditionally occupied.

Our research project was developed jointly in partnership with the NunatuKavut Community Council (NCC). In addition to developing a better understanding of their history for their own socio-political purposes, the Metis also wanted greater support for student skills training and education, adult skills training and literacy support, and heritage-based tourism development as part of their economic planning process. Our researchers agreed to provide project research results to the NCC to use as they would like in their quest for official governmental recognition, as well as to provide material for educational and sustainable development initiatives. Funds were obtained for this multi-year and multi-disciplinary project from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), under the Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) program.

Our research project, *Understanding the Past to Build the Future*, documents and interprets the history of the Labrador Metis from their beginnings some 500 years ago up to the present. The research design of this CURA project was, from the outset, developed collaboratively between university and community researchers. The co-investigators on the project are four university scholars and four community researchers, who have had and continue to have equal input into all of the decision-making and planning of the project. Our project researchers investigate the origins and development of the Labrador Metis people through archaeology, history, ethnography and genealogy. Furthermore, we are also engaging the current needs of the Labrador Metis through the development of initiatives in education and sustainable development by specialists in those fields.

The archaeology of the Labrador Metis

Labrador Metis, being of mixed Inuit-European descent, are understandably curious about their Inuit ancestors. Since archaeology is the only way to gather information about a people's history and lifestyle in the absence of written records, our project has two researchers focusing on the archaeology of the Labrador Metis. Specifically, the researchers are particularly interested in investigating the Inuit ancestors of the Metis in southern Labrador during the pre-contact and early contact period. We have also focused on the development of a distinct Labrador Metis identity, as reflected in Metis archaeological sites dating from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.

Because of the importance of European commodities to Inuit economy and society, academics have long debated whether Europeans and trade lured Inuit southward or whether southern Labrador was in fact a traditional Inuit land-use and settlement area (Taylor, 1980; Kaplan, 1983; Richling, 1993; Études/ Inuit/Studies, 1980). Recent archaeological evidence, including that uncovered by our project researchers, suggests that Inuit occupation along the south coast of Labrador occurred earlier than previously thought, was widespread along the coast, and was of a permanent nature.

The traditional narrative that archaeologists have long adhered to held that the Inuit did not permanently reside south of Hamilton Inlet in central Labrador (Figure 1). This perspective has only been challenged in recent years. Archaeological work by the primary author (Rankin) in Sandwich Bay has demonstrated that previously held notions about Inuit settlement in Southern Labrador can no longer stand. The depth and breadth of Inuit occupation in Sandwich Bay means that this region must be regarded as a traditional use-area of the Inuit. Thus far, most of the Inuit sites that have been located in Sandwich Bay are found on outer coastal islands. One of the most productive of these islands is Huntingdon Island, which has been the focus of research by Rankin and her students for several years.

Huntingdon Island bears the remains of a number of Inuit sites which represent both summer and winter occupations. One site alone (Huntington Island 5 [FkBg-03]), contains at least 5 Inuit sod-walled winter houses. Sod houses were semi-subterranean structures, ideally suited for Labrador's cold winter months. These structures were framed with driftwood, and covered with sod and/or skins. A sunken entrance passage with a cold trap served to prevent cold air from entering the living space (Rankin, 2009). Summer occupations are also present at Huntingdon Island 5, indicated by the discovery of 6 or more house tent rings. Tent rings are composed of a circle of rocks, where the edges of a skin tent were weighted down or secured with rocks. The presence of tent rings clearly indicates a warm-weather occupation at this site. Collectively, the Huntingdon Island 5 sites date from the early- to mid-16th century, up through to the eighteenth century, and were clearly occupied year-round (Murphy, 2011; Rankin, 2010).

Another pervasive narrative that has long framed our perception of Inuit history in southern Labrador is that any reference to the Inuit in southern Labrador only reflects their infrequent use of the region. Historic documents certainly contain references to an Inuit presence in southern Labrador. Scholars have traditionally interpreted these references as an indication of the seasonal presence of itinerant Inuit traders, who ventured south in small numbers to access European trade goods (Stopp, 2002).

Clearly, the Inuit living in Sandwich Bay were trading with Europeans, because European artifacts are found on Inuit sites with regularity. French artifacts are common finds on Sandwich Bay Inuit sites from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century (Murphy, 2011; Rankin, 2010, 2011, 2012). The artifacts include numerous fragments of early modern French pottery, typically Normandy stoneware.

Occasional rare finds have been made, including a ceramic ware manufactured in Dieppe in the late sixteenth century, which has not until now been found outside of Dieppe. British ceramic types common to the later eighteenth century, including pearlware and creamware, are also common finds on later-dating houses. These artifacts were obtained from Europeans either by direct trade or by scavenging abandoned European sites.

Iron artifacts are also common finds, and were often re-worked by the Inuit to shape them into a more desirable form (Murphy, 2011; Rankin, 2010, 2011, 2012). For example, iron nails were re-worked by removing the nail head and cold-hammering the shaft until it was flat. Some intentionally flattened iron was turned into blades for traditionally shaped Inuit knives. Sword hilts were also recovered from one of the houses at Huntingdon Island 5; they had been modified to permit them to be hung as pendants from leather thongs. Likewise, British coins have been found with intentional drill holes; the recovery of one coin with a leather thong and a decorative bead strung through one of the holes suggests its use as a pendant. Clearly, substantial quantities of European material was being obtained through trade, and repurposed in uniquely Inuit ways.

However, the material remains from the Huntingdon Island sites also demonstrate that the Inuit living in Sandwich Bay were more than just itinerant traders. The sod houses found at these archaeological sites are communal houses, meaning that a single structure was built to house multiple families. Indeed, one of the sod houses from the Huntingdon Island 5 site is very large—measuring 8 by 11 meters—which is, at the time of writing, one of the largest Inuit communal houses on record. We can estimate the number of families who would have lived in sod houses, based on the number of soapstone lamp stands found within the house. Each family would have had its own soapstone lamp (used as a source of heat and light), which stood upon its own lamp stand. Based on the number of lamp stands found in this sod house at the Huntingdon Island 5 site, as many as 5-6 families may have lived there.

Likewise, the artifacts too indicate the presence of families. Knives known as *ulus*, which were traditionally used by women, have been found at many of the sites. Men's knives have also been recovered. Children were also present at Huntingdon Island 5, as indicated by the discovery of miniature artifacts (such as very small soapstone lamps). These are small versions made to imitate larger tools, and were traditionally the property of Inuit children. Thus, the presence of miniature artifacts at Huntingdon Island 5 is an excellent indication that children lived at the site too. Archaeologically, we can demonstrate that the Inuit presence in Sandwich Bay was not just limited to itinerant Inuit male traders. Clearly, entire families lived in southern Labrador. They had lived there for much longer than previously thought, and were living in the area year-round.

Furthermore, our researchers have been able to demonstrate that the Labrador Metis developed a distinct identity along the southern Labrador coast. Our genealogist has been able to trace entire family lineages back to the arrival of the earliest British settlers in the region. Permanent British settlement—consisting almost exclusively of men—grew steadily in the region between 1830 and 1870. These residents contracted with merchants for the necessary supplies for fishing, trapping, and sealing (Kennedy, 1995). Very few English women accompanied these initial settlers, and as a result, the men generally married Inuit or Inuit-Metis women (Rankin et al., 2012). The new generations that these unions produced were ethnically and culturally mixed. The Metis considered themselves to be neither European nor Inuit, and were perceived to be a distinct group by non-Metis peoples (Kelvin, 2011).

Archaeologically, we have undertaken surveys and excavations of known Metis houses to try and differentiate Metis dwellings from those belonging to European settlers or seasonal fishermen (Pritchard, 2010). The location of these sites, and their architectural features share similarities with both Inuit and European sites (Kelvin, 2011). Another researcher (not affiliated with our project) has re-analysed an existing zooarchaeological assemblage, and has determined that the Seal Island site, which had previously attributed to the Inuit, is almost certainly of Metis origin (Gaudreau, 2011).

Extensive archaeological excavations at one documented Metis house site (FkBg-24) have demonstrated the hybrid nature of these dwellings (Beaudoin, 2008). The dwelling was built sometime in the third quarter of the nineteenth century by Charles Williams, an English trader who had settled in Labrador some years previously. Charles married a local Metis woman named Mary, who was of Inuit and Scottish ancestry. The site may have been occupied into the twentieth century, and was certainly abandoned by 1915. The house was built of sod, which was an Inuit construction style that had quickly been adopted by European settlers for its practicality and environmental suitability. However, the house had been constructed (probably by Charles Williams) in a largely European style, with timber framing and floors, an interior cellar, and latched, ground-level doorways (Beaudoin, 2008; Rankin et al., 2012).

Interestingly, the artifacts found inside the house, and the arrangement of interior space (which would have been the preserve of Williams' Metis wife, Mary) is not as typically European. The house lacked interior partitions, which is characteristic of Inuit houses from the period. At the entrance to the home, just outside the doorway, lay a substantial midden (or refuse disposal area). This is not a typical location for refuse disposal on European sites in Labrador, but it is commonly observed at Inuit sites.

Inside the house, European domestic commodities (like ceramic tableware) were found in number. However, the frequencies of tableware types tell a different story. The dominance of hollowware vessels (like bowls and pots) is consistent with Inuit foodways and reflects the importance of stews and soups in the diet. Ceramic bowls and pots acted as an analogue for soapstone bowls, which were used on

contemporary Inuit sites for food preparation and consumption. Flatwares (like plates) were not nearly as numerous at the Williams site, as these vessel forms had no analogue in traditional Inuit households. Furthermore, the faunal evidence from the site shows a similar adherence to Inuit foodways, in that the animal bone assemblage indicates a heavy reliance on seal. Unlike contemporary European sites, the Williams house faunal collection shows a very limited consumption of pig, cow, or other domesticates (Beaudoin et al., 2010; Rankin et al., 2012). Taken together, this site demonstrates that Metis families had adopted, adapted, and altered both European and Inuit lifeways, becoming a distinct and definable cultural entity.

Turning academic research into community knowledge

An important part of our project is to provide information about the development of the Metis people to their community. We want the Metis to be able to access their newly-revealed heritage, and be able to use it in their communities however they wish. We believe that this information should be spread as widely through the community as possible, and thus we use a number of approaches to disseminate our research results. We reach a wide public audience by involving local community members in our research, helping us gather archaeological, historical, and ethnographic evidence. We hire local students, including those who are Labrador Inuit-Metis, and work closely with the NunatuKavut Community Council to help source candidates. We welcome the community to our research projects. We sponsor Community Day activities that actively encourage local visitors to come and observe our research results as they unfold in the field. Prolonged interaction with community members through a committed approach to locally-hired individuals, and strong public involvement, is an efficient way of funneling our immediate research results back into the community.

We recognise that not everyone can work for us, or visit us as we collect our research data. Thus, we try to reach out beyond the boundaries of the local communities where we work to reach a wider audience. To accomplish this, we have adopted a number of approaches to broadcast our research results. We give media interviews to local journalists, and write articles for local newspapers and popular magazines. We also give public lectures in our research communities, either in person or via webcam. We held our last Project Annual General Meeting as a travelling workshop, in which we visited a number of south Labrador communities with our project researchers.

We maintain a project website (www.mun.ca/labmetis), which is becoming increasingly popular. We update our website often, and document our research results in accessible, non-technical language. We use the website as a way to disseminate research news quickly. We also use the website to allow visitors to download files of our popular publications and interviews, as far as copyright permission allows us to. The website also provides photo archives of our research projects in progress, so that we can communicate immediate and visible results of our research to both academic audiences and the general public. We also publish images of the research we conduct in museums and archives outside of the province, to allow community members to see discoveries that would otherwise remain difficult for them to access.

We also try to bring our research alive in creative work, and to encourage public interest with creative works of film and print. We have hosted two film-making workshops in our research communities, and have a third planned. We are currently producing a movie (The People of NunatuKavut) in which we portray what we have learned in an engaging, visual way. Two of our researchers are also working on books set in southern Labrador- one is a novel and the other is a children's book.

Educational outreach is another way that we try to disseminate our research in the communities where we work. Wherever possible, we hire local students to help collect our research. We have sponsored workshops in local schools, and are developing digital environments to allow students to interact with our research results in novel ways. We have contributed to public-school curriculum development in the areas touched by our research.

We also target community groups and governmental bodies for research dissemination. We have written advisory documents for heritage groups and for the NunatuKavut Community Council. In the process of generating research data, we provide relevant databases, datasets and image archives to provincial institutions, such as the Provincial Archaeology Office (PAO). They can use this data for planning and administrative purposes, or share data with other researchers.

The socio-political realities ahead

Our project has been able to demonstrate that the time depth of the Inuit presence in southern Labrador has been previously underappreciated, and we have also been able to recognise and characterize the nature of European-Inuit interaction in this area. We have been able to identify through material culture and written records the ways in which the Inuit and Europeans became culturally entangled. And most importantly, we make efforts to ensure that this information is quickly fed back into the communities that we work in. However, the Labrador Metis have a long struggle ahead to turn the products of our research project into tangible political gains.

The Labrador Metis are still struggling to achieve socio-political acceptance of their Aboriginal status. A 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples report accepts that the Labrador Metis are in the position to accept the rights and powers of nationhood, and have all the features of a distinct Aboriginal group (Sawchuk, 2001). However, this has not yet come to pass for the Labrador Metis, and they are not yet recognized as an official Aboriginal group by the federal government. By contrast, the Inuit have made (and the Innu are in the process of making) land claim agreements with federal and provincial governments. Land claims provide Aboriginal groups with some socio-political autonomy, control over traditional lands, and a mandated role in the approvals process for natural resource development (among many other rights).

However, thus far the Labrador Metis have been unable to convince governmental authorities of their Aboriginal status. This affects their ability to be involved in the planning process surrounding development projects that have an impact on their traditional lands. For example, a hydroelectric project at Muskrat Falls is currently in the planning and impact assessment stages. The Labrador Metis have been unable to legally force the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador to negotiate an impact benefits agreement with them, because they are not yet officially recognized as an Aboriginal group by the Federal government of Canada (Bartlett, 2011). The province did, however, negotiate an impacts benefits agreement for the Muskrat Falls development with the neighbouring Innu.

Furthermore, the Metis traditional territory is home to mineral resources, particularly iron. Despite the fact that the Labrador Metis have been asserting their Aboriginality since the mid-1980s, they have not been consulted or considered in the planning and approvals process in the same way that the Inuit or the Innu have. Indeed, the very first agreement between a mining company and the Labrador Metis, in which agreements on environmental and cultural protection and aboriginal employment were negotiated, was only signed in early 2012 (Labrador Iron Mines, 2012).

The Metis have at least been consulted in other land use projects, including the proposed Mealy Mountains National Park (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2010). Together with the Inuit and the Innu, the Labrador Metis have lobbied to ensure that their traditional land use practices can still be upheld in the newly created park. Trapping, fishing, wood cutting and some hunting permissions have been retained for Aboriginal peoples, including the Metis. The Mealy Mountains National Park is several years away from being established, but the inclusion of the Metis in the negotiating process is a promising step towards their inclusion in other negotiations for projects that affect land use in their traditional territory.

Indeed, an increase in large-scale natural resource development projects may in fact provide an opportunity for the Metis to further press their claims for recognition. In the 1990s, significant mineral deposits were discovered at Voisey's Bay in Labrador. The subsequent rapid development of a large-scale mining project forced government authorities to fast-track land claim negotiations with the Labrador Inuit Association, which had been ongoing without much success since 1975 (Hood and Baikie 1998). Likewise, increasing activity by mining companies in Labrador meant that the Innu were finally being engaged in negotiations over projects that occurred in their traditional lands (Armitage and Ashini 1998). In 2011, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador and the Innu signed an Agreement-in-Principal regarding Innu land claims and resource development on traditional Innu lands.

This is not to say that economic development is a necessary precursor to the satisfactory resolution of land claims issues. However, for the Inuit and the Innu, such projects certainly affected the speed with which these negotiations were concluded. Such large-scale resource development projects are in the planning stages for the Labrador Metis traditional lands, though they have not been always included in the planning process. Here, the Labrador Metis are in a situation which differs from the experiences of the Innu or the Inuit, in that the Aboriginal status of the Labrador Metis is not yet uniformly accepted or acknowledged.

Conclusion

The Labrador Metis are a people of mixed European and Inuit ancestry, who live in the small communities along the coast of central and southern Labrador, Canada. Our research project, *Understanding the Past to Build the Future*, is concerned with multiple aspects of the Labrador Metis, including understanding their origins and development as a distinct Aboriginal group. We involve the Metis community in our research in as many ways as we can, including involving Metis members directly in the research and by conducting community outreach whenever we can. We also try to communicate our research results to the larger community many ways, including several non-traditional (non-academic) formats. The Labrador Metis are thus able to access our research, and use it in many ways, including educational initiatives, policy and planning purposes, and socio-political action.

We have been able to demonstrate that the Labrador Metis have a past that is knowable, definable and distinct. Their past is, without question, an Aboriginal past. The origins of the Labrador Metis began with a sustained Inuit occupation of southern Labrador. Until our project began, the Inuit presence in Southern Labrador had been previously presumed to be entirely sporadic and not extensive. We have demonstrated through archaeological excavation that the Inuit had a sustained and lengthy presence along Labrador's south coast. The Inuit were living on the coast year-round, in large multi-family dwellings, and had been doing so since the sixteenth century. As the Inuit and Europeans became

culturally entangled, a unique and identifiable Metis culture emerged. We have been able to identify and document the emergence of the Metis in southern Labrador. The Metis can now demonstrate their past and their history.

The comparatively late ethnogenesis of the Labrador Metis means that they still struggle to achieve socio-political recognition of their Aboriginality. This stands in contrast to the other two Aboriginal groups in Labrador, the Inuit and the Innu. The Inuit, through a long process that lasted decades, have been able to negotiate land claims and self-government, and the Innu have made significant progress towards this end as well. The degree to which the Metis will be able to resolve their negotiations with governmental agencies as the Inuit and the Innu have remains to be seen. In the process of negotiating their own relationships with government bodies and resource companies, the Labrador Metis have been able to draw upon the research results provided by our project. The question remains whether there is enough time for our research to have real impact before major resource projects are initiated on their traditional lands.

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Relating the state of authenticity and integrity and the factors affecting World Heritage properties: Island of Mozambique as case study

Sander Gerrit Damen	*University of Technology, Eindhoven The Netherlands*	s.g.damen@student.tue.nl
Rob Derks	*University of Technology, Eindhoven, The Netherlands*	
Teun Metgod	*University of Technology, Eindhoven The Netherlands*	tmetgod@hotmail.com
Loes Veldpaus	*University of Technology, Eindhoven The Netherlands*	loesvelpdpaus@gmail.com
Ana Manuela Tarrafa Silva	*University of Technology, Eindhoven The Netherlands*	anatarfa@gmail.com
Ana Rita Pereira Roders	*University of Technology, Eindhoven The Netherlands*	a.s.pereira@bwk.tue.nl

Management deficiencies and aggressive development are the two major threats to cultural World Heritage properties. The Island of Mozambique is among the properties affected by these threats, as well as, by general degradation. International guidelines and theories have already been defined on what should be done to mitigate or even prevent threats from affecting cultural heritage properties. Though, there is still a lack of methods and tools, verified on their effectiveness, to assist governments determining heritage impact assessments and raise informed decision-making.

This article presents and discusses the results of applying an evidence-based research method to reveal the impact of factors affecting the attributes conveying the outstanding universal value, by relating their patterns of change in time. It is a contribution to the growth of knowledge in the field of cultural heritage management, and to the exploration of evidence-based methods in relational research. National and local governments involved in the cultural heritage management in general and in cultural heritage management of the Island of Mozambique in particular can use the discussed results to evaluate their current management practices and work towards improvement of their effectiveness.

Keywords: Authenticity/integrity, cultural heritage management, Island of Mozambique, outstanding universal value, threats, UNESCO.

Introduction

The protection of cultural heritage has for long been primarily about the physical conservation of monuments, even when managing larger urban areas (Whitehand and Gu, 2010). This object-based approach was more focused on the conservation of the tangible dimension of cultural heritage assets, which helped maintaining many historic buildings and sites, but often neglected the more intangible, larger scale, process or production-oriented attributes conveying cultural significance. Such approach has also contributed to an escalation of conflicts between heritage and development needs, ranked as being the issue of greatest concern among practitioners, both from the field of conservation and urban management (Getty, 2010). Over the last decades, management deficiencies and aggressive development have become the two major threats to cultural World Heritage properties (ICOMOS, 2005).

Conservation is now moving towards a landscape-based approach, which addresses the intangible, setting and context, and urban and sustainable development, accompanied by a greater consideration for the social and economic function of (historic) cities (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012). The recommendation by UNESCO on Historic Urban Landscapes, short titled as HUL (UNESCO, 2011) is the new standard-setting instrument, aiming to provide guidance on implementing this landscape-based approach. However, it is now up to the national and local governments to adapt, disseminate and facilitate the implementation of the HUL approach, as well as, to monitor its impact on the conservation and management of historic cities under their safeguard (UNESCO, 2011).

Two tools available to trace progress in reaching global targets towards protected areas are impact and effectiveness assessments. Impact assessments relate change agents and protected areas and effectiveness assessments relate the impact assessment to the management practices applied in protected areas. The latter is seldom being used for cultural protected areas, but much could be learned from the experiences in natural protected areas (Leverington, 2010).

Instead, heritage impact assessments are more commonly used in protected urban areas. They are a codification of a basic analysis undertaken by conservation advisers. Though, there is a lack of objectivity and completeness in impact assessments, even if they are part of an Environmental Impact Assessments - EIA (Teller & Bond, 2002). Moreover, EIA is considered to neglect the interaction between attributes and "cumulative impacts and incremental changes" (ICOMOS (2011). Thus, there is a unanimous plea for a more global and objective assessment approach for cultural protected areas, directly linked to their cultural significance.

ICOMOS Australia (1999) set forward a more holistic approach with a central position for cultural significance, the "why" society has chosen to protect certain areas. Over the last years, classifications of values defining cultural significance have been growing in number, detail and interdisciplinarity (Labadi, 2007). Though, the step to introduce them in monitoring systems is being halted by more traditional approaches that regarded cultural significance as fixed and inherent to the properties themselves rather than constructed by those who used or contemplated them. Research confirmed that cultural significance varies, not as much in attributes or cultural values, but on the importance given to certain attributes and values by the assessors (Pereira Roders, 2007). Thus, there is a great need for assessment frameworks with sustained processes, categories and criteria, to enable a better understanding on the status and trends of these protected urban areas.

The aim of this article is to discuss the application of an evidence-based method, targeting to reveal the impact of factors affecting the attributes conveying the outstanding universal value, by relating their evolution in time.

Background

Island of Mozambique is located at the entrance of Mossuril Bay, in northern Mozambique. It is divided in two urban areas of distinct morphology: "Stone Town" in the northern part and "Macuti Town" in the southern part of the island (see Figure 1). A planning bye-law determined that a line would be drawn over the middle of the island, peripheral to the hospital: "in 1868 it was decreed that huts could only be built outside the line which bounded the Arrabalde. (…) The line ran from the fish market to Bairro alto de Marangonha, and forms the present distinction between the Macuti town and the stone built town" (Aarhus, 1985).

Figure 1. Map of Island of Mozambique, Mozambique (Pereira Roders et al., 2012).

Curiously, these urban areas gained their name from their generally used building materials: "Stone Town" and "Macuti Town". Both materials are to be found in both urban areas, but not in a balanced proportion. "Stone Town" is characterized by the use of coral lime stone, flat terrace roofs, uniform decorative principles and a closed urban block structure. Instead, "Macuti Town" is characterized by the use of bamboo supported walls, pitched roofs covered by macuti and the isolated huts.

Being listed as World Heritage means that a property is considered to be of outstanding universal value (OUV). Its cultural and/or natural significance is "so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity" (UNESCO, 2008). Island of Mozambique (Mozambique) is inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List since 1991, under criteria (iv) and (vi). This means that the World Heritage Committee has agreed with its OUV for being:

> (iv) "an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history" and
>
> (vi) "directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance".

By 1991, the official decision texts that underpin nominations did not always include a justification of significance, currently known as the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value. However, the ICOMOS Advisory Body Evaluation (ABE) report does indicate justifications for its inscription on the World Heritage List (1991) by mentioning the criteria:

> "Criterion (iv) The town and fortification on the Island of Mozambique, and the smaller Island of St Laurent, are an outstanding example of an architecture in which local traditions, Portuguese influences and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Indian and Arab influences are all interwoven.
>
> Criterion (vi) The Island of Mozambique bears important witness to the establishment and development of the Portuguese maritime routes between Western Europe and the Indian sub-continent and thence all of Asia."

Problem field

Historic urban landscapes evolve in time (UNESCO, 2011), and so did the Island of Mozambique ever since its nomination. This evolution, caused by either natural or human influence, should be kept under control, in order to prevent that such evolution causes irreversible damages to the attributes conveying cultural significance. This control is carried out on all cultural heritage properties worldwide, done by the World Heritage Committee on a global level, but more specifically, by the national and local governments. After all, "the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole" (UNESCO, 2008). However, such protection efforts are often perceived as an obstruction of the (socio-economic) development of urban settlements, and at the same time development pressures and management deficits are commonly found factors affecting cultural heritage (ICOMOS, 2005; Pereira Roders, 2010).

The reporting trend, former threat intensity coefficient (Patry, 2005), denounces that the frequency in which the World Heritage Committee has deliberated during the sessions on the Island of Mozambique was declining till 2005. From 2005 until 2010 it grew steadily, with a decline in 2011 (See Figure 2).

Those deliberations addressed threats such as natural disasters e.g. cyclone Nadia (1994), general degradation and a lack of/or insufficient infrastructure e.g. lack of sewage and water systems, particularly in "Macuti Town". An example is the 2009 deliberation on the fact that "the Island of Mozambique

continues to be threatened by serious degradation of its historical monuments and urban structure and is in danger of losing part of its authenticity" (UNESCO, 2009).

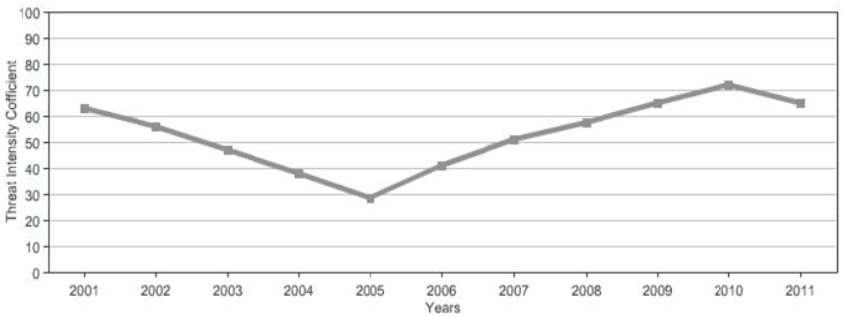

Figure 2. Reporting trend for the Island of Mozambique, Mozambique (UNESCO, 2012)

Not only these threats, but also the causes affecting the island, are discussed by the World Heritage Committee. Along the years, the causes related to the development of the Island of Mozambique are varied. Follows a categorical list of the causes found referenced in relation to the Island of Mozambique (Turner et al, 2011):

- Lack of/or insufficient regulatory framework (including management plan, conservation plan, zoning laws, urban plan, etc.);
- Lack of corrective measures and their timely implementation;
- Insufficient implementation or enforcement of regulatory framework (including management plan, conservation plan, zoning laws, urban plan, etc.);
- Insufficient coordination of stakeholders or integration of respective initiatives;
- Lack of/or insufficient human, financial and technical resources, and insufficient understanding of heritage value and conditions of integrity.

All these causes have affected, and do affect the World Heritage Property. The goal is to solve these causes and create a situation in which the Island can develop sustainably. In order to achieve this sustainable development, change is needed in relation to executive and regulative processes on the island.

Methodology

The research aims to contribute to the monitoring and decision making processes related to urban development on Island of Mozambique. The main goal was to research the ownership issues on the island and their expected impact on the OUV, as requested by the local stakeholders. Priority was given to "Stone Town", as this urban area was the most affected by the changes on the governance strategies concerning property rights. Therefore, fieldwork was undertaken only in the "Stone Town" area of the island.

The main research question was: "What is the relation between the state of authenticity and integrity and the factors affecting the property?" The methods used to evidence the relations between the state of authenticity and integrity and the factors affecting the property, will be explained and illustrated by elaborating them on a smaller selection of attributes and factors.

As such, the main research question was divided in two sub questions: "What is the state of authenticity/integrity of the property?" and "What are the factors affecting the property?" Authenticity is defined as "the degree to which information sources about this value may be understood as credible or truthful" (UNESCO, 2008). Instead integrity "is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes" (UNESCO, 2008).

In order to accomplish the research goal, the list of attributes identified conveying the OUV of the Island of Mozambique and their main values was identified; together with the threats/causes affecting the island. Following, the results will be presented on locating and assessing the state of authenticity/integrity of three attributes considered to contribute to "the incredible architectural unity of the island". They will be related to some of the factors found affecting the island.

The attributes are respectively, "the same building techniques", "the same materials" and "the same decorative principles" ceaselessly used over the last centuries. The threats "general degradation" and "new development" will be further elaborated as well as the cause "lack of or insufficient regulatory framework". As the fieldwork took place exclusively in "Stone Town", further research is needed to present

overall conclusions on the entire island. Though, as distinct urban areas, this sub-division is not expected to alter the results, nor their reliability.

This research had two clear stages: the desk research and fieldwork. For the desk research, content analysis methods were used to identify the attributes, values, threats and causes affecting the property. Particular to the attributes and values, a coding method was used to classify all identified attributes according to eight categories of cultural values. These are respectively the social, economic, political, historic, aesthetical, scientific, age and ecological values (Pereira Roders, 2007; Tarrafa Silva & Pereira Roders, 2012).

The documents used as data source were all official documents resultant from the nomination and protection process such as the ABE (ICOMOS, 1991), the Nomination file (Mozambique, 1991), the decision texts (UNESCO, 1991-2011) and the Periodic report (Macamo, 2000). When classified, this list of attributes and corresponding values provided an overview of the reasons why Island of Mozambique was listed as World Heritage. In order to classify the threats and causes, they were sorted into respectively twenty four and nineteen categories (Turner et al, 2011). The categories presented were considered to be the most important threats or causes, ranked by their level of references in the documents.

The fieldwork in "Stone Town", was conditioned by the availability of data from previous surveys, as one of the main goals was to determine the evolution of this urban area. This comparative analysis over time required comparable data from earlier stages. For this reason, the "Island of Mozambique: Report 1982-1985" (Aarhus, 1985), generally known as the "Blue Book", was used as main reference to this research, together with its methods and tools.

For the comparative analysis three sets of data were collected. First, photographs were taken of all buildings in "Stone Town". One set of photographs was made to enable a categorization into themes such as main facade, roofs, doors, windows, decorative elements, etc. A second set was taken following the same perspectives as those taken in the eighties. The purpose was to compare the buildings condition in 1985 and 2011. Condition was classified in four categories: 1-in ruins, 2-poor, 3-deteriorating and 4-good condition (Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2008). The condition rates from 1985 were converted into this classification.

Second, a set of floor plan drawings from the eighties has been used as a base to identify changes, by means of drawing the differences while visiting the buildings, using the "red and yellows" method, where additions are colored in red and subtractions are colored in yellow. Additions and subtractions included walls and elements, but also roofs. Though, in that case, crosses would be drawn in the map.

Third, interviews were conducted to identify the status of ownership issues and user properties. Questions ranged from closed questions on information such as ownership, household, infrastructure, etc.; to open-ended questions when asking questions such as the inhabitant's favorite spaces in the building and on the island and the changes they would make to the buildings and island, if they would have the resources.

All information has been structured in a Geographic Information System (GIS), enabling a quick illustration of the varied tables into maps, as well as, the comparison of tables and variables. MapInfo 10 was the program used to export the graphical representations of the collected data into the report. The database was created in Access (Windows Office) to enable the local authorities to keep on using and updating it.

Results

The attributes conveying the OUV of Island of Mozambique

The attributes conveying the OUV on the Island of Mozambique were found by using the coding method on the official documents. In brief, what would be referenced as having significance has been considered as attribute, the arguments to justify its significance would help determine the value(s).

Table 1. Attributes of the Island of Mozambique conveying its OUV

	Cultural Values								
Attributes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Architectural elements
Principal port		X		X					Harbour, warehouses, hospital
St. Gabriel				X					St. Gabriel
National capital		X							Slave houses, 18th century development
Unequal development				X					Different urban structures
Same building techniques					X				Roof type, plan type, opening type
Same materials					X				Roof material, wall material
Same decorative principles					X				Cornices, pilasters, borders, colors
St. Sebastian							X		St. Sebastian
Defensive buildings							X		Fortifications
Numerous religious buildings							X		Churches, mosques, Hindu temple
The architecture of the town on the Island of Mozambique		X				X			Portuguese, Arab and Indian local features
The architecture of the fortifications on the Island of Mozambique		X				X			Portuguese, Arab and Indian local features
The architecture of the small island of St. Laurent		X				X			Portuguese, Arab and Indian local features
Island of Mozambique		X	X	X					Portuguese vs. Indian Ocean Culture

Table 1 lists the attributes found in the Advisory Body Evaluation (ABE) concerning the whole island, the values conveyed in these attributes, and the architectural elements related to the attributes. These last were not all found referenced in the ABE, but in the "Blue Book" (Aarhus 1985), a publication which sustained the nomination of Island of Mozambique to the World Heritage List.

This article will further elaborate on the attributes contributing to "the incredible architectural unity of the island" which according to the ABE derived "from the uninterrupted use of the same building techniques with the same materials and the same decorative principles" (ICOMOS, 1991). These attributes were chosen due to four main reasons. First, they are measurable, thus making it possible to explore both quantitatively and qualitatively. Second, the area of "Stone Town" has its own architectural unity, making it possible to research these attributes completely. Third, these attributes are categorized as "aesthetical", which the ABE (see Figure 3), revealed as being one of the most prominent values. Fourth, there is information on these attributes available dating 1982-1985 (Aarhus, 1985). Thus, when comparing this information with the current situation (2011-2012) the impact of the varied factors affecting the cultural significance conveyed in "Stone Town" could be determined.

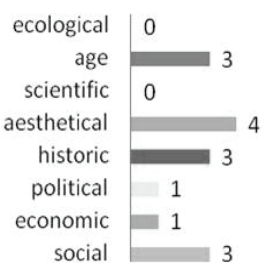

Figure 3. The values of the attributes, mentioned in the ABE (Pereira Roders et al, 2012)

The consistent use of the same building techniques

There are three architectural elements which were chosen to illustrate the use of the same building techniques (table 1) being roof type, plan type and opening type. The results on roof and opening type will be elaborated further. There are two roof types distinguished: flat roof and pitched roof. When analyzing the roofs only the main building was taken in consideration, not the annexes. About 52% of the buildings of "Stone Town" have a flat roof; 46% have a pitched roof and 2% have both types. The opening type is distinguished in vertical openings, horizontal openings and rounded openings. The facades facing the streets have been analyzed and all the openings are categorized according to the type in majority. In 92% of the buildings the majority of the openings are vertical, in 7% horizontal and in 1% rounded openings.

The consistent use of the same materials

For the use of materials, wall materials have been distinguished into coral limestone masonry; cement blocks masonry and other materials. These other materials are in most cases bamboo sticks with stones and or mud, which are more common in "Macuti Town". Again, the main wall material type would be considered. In 96% of the buildings the walls are made of coral limestone masonry, in 2% of cement block masonry and 2% of other materials.

Beside the wall materials, also the roof materials have been analyzed. As mentioned before, 52% of the buildings have flat roofs. Flat roofs are traditional constructed in a consistent way: "the beams which are about 20 x 20 cm in section span between 4 and 6 meters from wall to wall. (…) Secondary joist, about 10 x 10 cm are fixed on top of the beams. The joist are spaced about 10-15 cm apart so that they can act as a bearing for coral limestone blocks. (…) Thick rough screed of lime mortar and limestone gravel is laid on top of the stone bed (…) The wearing surface is a 1.5 – 2 cm render layer consisting of a fine lime mortar" (Aarhus, 1985).

Besides this tradition flat terrace roof also flat reinforced concrete roofs are present in the "Stone Town". However, this type is only present on a few buildings and is not categorized separately. The pitched roofs are divided into industrial processed roofing sheets (45%); tiles (3%) and Macuti (2%). The other buildings have multiple dominant roofing materials.

The consistent use of the same decorative principles

For the consistent use of the same decorative principles only the facades facing streets have been taken into consideration. Three kinds of decorative principles are analyzed. The first is color scheme. The facades and the opening borders have often different colors, creating different color schemes. There are four kinds of color scheme distinguished: colored facade with white opening borders (51%), white facade with colored opening borders (9%), white facade with white opening borders (38%) and colored facade with colored opening borders (2%).

The second decorative principle is the opening border. The kind of opening border most present in "Stone Town" is a border with relief in relation to the facade and surrounds the whole opening. About 54% of the buildings have this 'full 3D opening border' around the majority of its openings; 14% have partial 3D borders, 1% has 2D borders and 31% have no borders around the majority of its openings.

Table 2. Table 2. Integrity of the Architectural elements in "Stone Town"

Architectural elements	Buildings (%)	Integrity
Coral lime stone walls	96%	Very high
Flat roofs	52%	Reasonable
Vertical openings	92%	Very high
3D opening borders	68%*	High
Colored facade with white opening borders	51%	Reasonable
Pilaster, cornice or facade borders	89%**	Very high

*54% complete borders, 14% partial borders
**With an average of 1.9 decorative principle per building

For the last, decorative principles concerned three kinds of architectural elements: the pilaster, the cornice and the facade border (in most cases only a plinth). About 89% of the buildings have one or more of these principles on their facade(s); the other 11% have none. Of those buildings which have these decorative principles, 20% have one kind, 37% have two kind and 32% have all three kinds of principles on their facade(s). This is an average of 1.9 decoration principle (pilaster, cornice or facade border) per building in "Stone Town".

The factors affecting the "Stone Town"

Not only the attributes of OUV in Island of Mozambique are to be found mentioned in the official documents. Also their main threats, identified in UNESCO documents are new development, general degradation, natural disasters and some unidentified threats. The first two threats are the only ones which possibly have an apparent reason related to verifiable issues or causes. According to the analyzed documents "the lack of or insufficient regulatory framework" is the most important cause for the threats prevailing on the island.

The local Conservation Office (GACIM) is since 2006 the responsible body to control and correct the tendencies of rebuilding buildings different from what they originally were and/or from what is allowed according to the laws and legislations. As GACIM lacks the manpower and capabilities to monitor, these tendencies are not being reversed and will probably continue to affect the architectural unity of "Stone Town".

The factors which were found directly affecting the architectural unity are mainly "new development" and "general degradation". New development normally does not comply with the traditional building methods, materials and decorative principles. New development occurs in the type of additions, interior changes, layout changes and complete new buildings.

The OUV of the island mainly emerges in the built environment of "Stone Town". These tangible objects are subject to deterioration. The comparing results from 1982-1985 to 2011-2012 have proven the increase of deterioration. In thirty years the general condition score of 3.74 dropped to 3.17 (table 3). About 41% of the buildings in "Stone Town" are generally in good condition and 39% are deteriorating. The other buildings have structural problems: 17% of the buildings are in poor condition and 3% are in ruins. Speculation already stated that the general condition was getting worse, but now figures exist to prove it.

Table 3. Table 3. The state of degradation of the "Stone Town"

Building element	1982-85	2011-12	Comparison
Walls	3.87	3.65	-0.22
Wall surfaces	3.63	2.73	-0.90
Roofs and floors	3.60	2.71	-0.89
Doors and windows	3.83	3.43	-0.40
General	3.74	3.18	-0.56

Discussion and conclusion

In sum, the consistent use of the same building techniques, the same building materials and the same decorative principles contribute to the outstanding universal value of the Island of Mozambique. These tangible attributes are still to be found in the built environment of "Stone Town". This consistency in architecture over the years has resulted in a homogeneous historic urban landscape. Elements such as traditional flat terrace roofs, limestone walls and facade decorations are key attributes of its homogeneousness. Unfortunately, the gathered data evidences a trend in which their authenticity and integrity is slowly declining.

ABE does refer to the use of the same building techniques, materials and decorative principles, but does not discriminate their nature. The "Blue Book" does, but without percentages or locations, which limits an overview on what is being valued and why. It also disables heritage impact assessments of new developments. Even though the pitched iron sheet roof for example has been introduced in the 19th century, the flat roof is the only one being considered as the authentic one. Further research could allow an identification of the building techniques, building materials and same decorative principles conveying OUV and their integrity.

These consistent use of building techniques, materials and decoration principles are tangible immovable attributes. That is why they are subject to both new development and general degradation. As such, they are very much related as general degradation affects its condition and eventually leads into its dilapidation. Follow new developments who tend to replace the traditions in building techniques, materials and decoration principles.

Threats and causes, such as "general degradation", "lack of regulatory framework" and "new development" had never been proved to be directly affecting the OUV of the island. By means of this evidence-based research, evidence now exists for the direct relation between these threats and the destruction of OUV. The same use of materials and same use of building techniques resulted in a certain typology for the floor plans of the island. This yet needs to be defined and further elaborated in what way this typology is the result of this consistent use of same materials and same building techniques.

Future research could also aim to define the current state of integrity of this traditional floor plan and the importance of this aspect. Moreover, since this research focused on "Stone Town", "Macuti Town" remains unexamined. As the whole island is inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List, future research should continue in order to reveal and locate the OUV of "Macuti Town", as well as, how it is being affected.

To conclude, this research has given a clear overview of the current state of integrity of part of the attributes conveying the OUV of Island of Mozambique, as well as, to what extent these attributes are being affected. Clearer planning policies, a raise of GACIM technical capacity and halt of new developments with negative impact on its cultural significance could be the way forward to halt the dilapidation of its cultural significance which has proven to be progressively growing in Island of Mozambique.

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Landscapes as ancient heritage in Béziers area: from appreciation to enhancement, the role of the Cultural Park of Biterrois

Sidonie Marchal *University of Maine, Le Mans, France* sidonie_marchal@yahoo.fr

This abstract questions in a historical perspective the way the ancient heritage of the Béziers area called the "Biterrois" has been perceived, appreciated and classified since the Renaissance up to now so as to highlight how it has been enhanced. The awareness of local heritage in the Biterrois emerged in the 1640s. At that time, it was seen in architecture but throughout the 18th century, it has fallen into oblivion. What is perceived nowadays as Heritage in the Biterrois is more related to landscapes and agrarian structures than to ancient monuments. Since the early 2000s, heritage enhancement actions have taken place within the framework of the European Union and that of a Cultural Park in the Biterrois, the "Parc Culturel du Biterrois".

Keywords: landscape, heritage, enhancement, Cultural Park.

Introduction

The Regional Council of Languedoc-Roussillon (South of France) has recently launched a tourist promotion campaign focusing on the theme of water. A series of posters has been published, each presenting a toponym, a brief comment, and an aerial photograph. One of those posters called "the Ensérune Oppidum" is focused on the western Biterrois, the area situated around the town of Beziers in France (Figure 1). Our attention is immediately attracted to the mid-section of the poster where we can see a sun-shaped area below the following comment: "Oppidum d'Ensérune (Hérault) : l'irrigation façonne le paysage depuis l'époque gallo-romaine, comme à Ensérune.", meaning that the Ensérune Oppidum is a good illustration of the fact that irrigation has designed landscapes since the Gallo-Roman area.

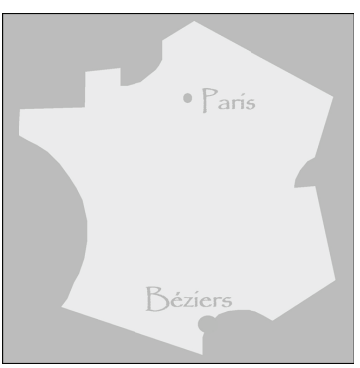

Figure 1. Location of Béziers.

I think such a poster clearly highlights how the heritage of the Biterrois has been treated through many years, that is, very paradoxically, leading to a situation that questions its long term viability. Indeed, the natural and historical heritage of that region is extensive enough but it has been seldom or wrongly identified, seldom or wrongly recognized as such. As a matter of fact, the text refers to an *oppidum* but shows a land division. Likewise, it refers to irrigation but shows a drained pond. It mentions the Gallo-Roman area but shows a proto-historical site and another site that was developed in the middle ages, that is to say, as you may have identified it, the famous sun-shaped land division of the Montady pond that was drained during the 13th century (Abbé, 2006). Irrigation is actually used here as a cultural referent in the landscaping of the Mediterranean areas which enables to create a convenient focus on the role of man's work's influence on his environment.

Beyond that paradox, the choice that was officially made to promote the tourist development of the Languedoc-Roussillon Region significantly reveals that the heritage of the Biterrois is not properly appreciated and has been too often underrated. The discrepancy between what that heritage really is and how it is perceived has been constructing a snapshot of reality and a lack of visibility throughout many centuries.

Heritage in that area is indeed rich, varied and extensive, even when restricted to its most common definition, that is to say, what has been built according to an elaborate architecture or to archeology (Choay, 2007), in other words, what can be plainly labeled as "historic monuments". The Ensérune *oppidum*, for instance, or the remains of an amphitheater in Béziers, a Gallo-roman *villa* in Vendres called "the Temple of Venus" and the *Via Domitia* are just some of the many examples of those historic monuments dating from the proto-historic and the ancient periods. The religious heritage which had reached a great extent during the Counter Reformation under the influence of Italian Archbishops, was already noticeable through the Blue Penitents Chapel, the Magdelene Church, Saint Nazarus Cathedral, and St Aphrodise Abbey, among others (Sagnes, 2000). In the realm of Civil engineering, the Biterrois area has been profoundly molded by the works of Riquet who created the Royal Canal of Languedoc in 1666 -known as the "Canal du midi"-, and the tunnel of Malpas, or also the bridge of Colombiers, and the 9 successive sluices of Fonsérannes in Béziers (Clavel-Lévêque, 2009). Finally, in the 19th century, a prosperous winegrowing sector boosted the economic development of the Biterrois through the construction of the canal over the Orb river, of many "pinardiers" castles imitating the Bordeaux region style and Haussmann-like approach of urban planning through the theater, the fruit and vegetable market, known as "les Halles", the Poets' Garden for example (Sagues, 2000).

Some of those monuments have gained well-renowned and prestigious or international classifications. For instance, the Ensérune *Oppidum* has been classified as a Historic Monument since 1935, and the Canal du Midi has been part of Unesco World Heritage since 1996. What's more, the Biterrois not only includes architectural heritage but also abounds in natural heritage with many different landscapes ranging from dunes to garigues through waterlands with protected fauna and flora like "the petite Camargue" around the lake of Vendres managed by the French coastline conservation authority.

Consequently, the discrepancy between what that heritage really is and how it is perceived raises issues questioning the long-lasting process of construction of the very concept of Heritage in the Biterrois area. Far from being a self-assured reality, heritage depends indeed rather on the image constructed by who observes it (Chape, 2010). It is necessarily to be appreciated through a combination of past and present values in order to give authority to what some experts call "the future of its past".

For example, Ancient sites in the South of France had been re-discovered, appreciated and fully acknowledged at the Renaissance, constructing the imagined basis of common cultural references in Europe. The Biterrois corresponds to the territory of the Roman colony funded by Octavio in 36/35 AD for the veterans of the 7th Roman Legion. However, even though it had been the most vivid in language or in toponymy, its heritage was utterly acknowledged only many centuries later until the 18th century when it stopped being fully appreciated. How come? How has the heritage of the Biterrois suffered from a lack of visibility for so long? To answer those questions, I shall focus first on the 17th century perspectives when heritage had been considered for the first time. Then I shall examine how it fell into oblivion in the 18th century, so as to assess the way the ancient Biterrois landscapes have been deemed so far. Finally, the way that heritage is being enhanced and promoted nowadays shall be pondered upon.

Becoming aware of ancient heritage

From a historical perspective, I shall try now to put down clear markers about the progressive construction of the very concept of Heritage which enabled the awareness of the local heritage of the Biterrois to emerge.

Following the example of their peers from the 15th century Italy, many humanist scholars -artists, doctors, professors, students, ambassadors, and engineers from all the nationalities- traveled through Europe in the 16th; 17th and 18th centuries and they made a quite thorough inventory of ancient ruins (Lemerle, 2005). In that context, the Biterrois -as a city and then as heritage itself- was re-discovered rather belatedly, given its localization in the ancient Provincia between Italy and Spain.

A belated acknowledgment in the 1640s

Heritage of the Biterrois was not mentioned once in the first cosmographies identifying and listing ancient sites. The case of Béziers had only appeared for the first time in 1575 in the text published by the French André Thevet in which no information was given. Moreover, in his *Cosmographie*, François de Belleforest only alluded to the destroyed monuments of Béziers. In his *Description contenant les antiquités, fondations et singularités des plus célèbres villes* published in 1611, François Des Rues mentioned Béziers without describing it. In 1614 only, André Duschêne published the first description of the city in his thorough inventory of the ancient monuments in the French Kingdom. He qualified Béziers as an "episcopal" and "ancient" city but he only used the Jesuit College as an example.

Louis Coulon was the first scholar to label and acknowledge Béziers as an ancient city in the 1640s. In *Ulysse françois,* he was the first to describe the city heritage that he developed in details in his two following publications *Les Rivières de France,* in 1644, and *Le Fidèle conducteur pour les voyages de France*, in 1654. In that text, Béziers was described for the first time as both a landscape and ancient heritage.

Indeed, for him, that heritage was to be associated with a bridge -not to be seen as such-, a church, the ruins of an amphitheater – the *"ruines d'un amphitheatre"*, a citadel and the Jesuit College. In *Les Rivières de France,* he mentioned a new element in1644 referring to another bridge made by the Romans (*"ouvrage des Romains")* on the Capestang lake. It was said to be in ruins and partially silted up. It was by implication the trace of the famous *Via Domitia* he was referring to, a trace which was materialized by the Capestang viaduct and the bridge of Béziers.

Likewise, we can infer that Louis Coulon had been able to make the first written description of the ancient ruins of Béziers because he most likely benefited from his reading of the *Mémoires de l'Histoire du Languedoc* published by Guillaume Catel in 1633, that is, 10 years earlier. Therefore, that successive multi-layered construction of what was heritage in the Biterrois seems to be quite essential for its very definition.

"Biterrois" heritage perceived and conveyed by a local ancient historian

Guillaume Catel was a member of the Parliament of Toulouse (South West of France). In the 1620s, he wrote a major piece of work entitled the *Mémoires de l'Histoire du Languedoc* from a genuine historical perspective (Delprat, 2001). He referred to many monuments that he perceived as being part of heritage since he regarded them as traces of the Biterrois ancient past. Among them were an amphitheater -or its ruins-, a monument in Vendres called the "le temple de Vénus" or the temple of Venus, and a bridge in Capestang called "Pontserme". According to him, Béziers and the Biterrois clearly encompassed the characteristic monuments that defined a Roman city. In the following extract, the city of Béziers was even quoted next to that of Toulouse, and most especially along with Nîmes which appeared as the typical Roman city with its numerous remaining ancient monuments.

> « (…) la Gaule Narbonnaise a été régie et gouvernée par des Prêteurs, quelques fois par des Proconsuls, et d'autres fois par des Présidents de Provinces(…). Le grand nombre d'inscriptions que nous trouvons tant en la ville de Narbonne, que de Nîmes, outre le témoignage que les anciens nous ont laissé, nous font assez voir combien les Romains ont aimé et fréquenté ce pays, n'y ayant nulle ville célèbre du Languedoc où ils n'aient laissé pour une éternelle mémoire plusieurs grands et magnifiques temples, édifices, capitoles, amphithéâtres, ponts, aqueducs et château : comme Nîmes le temple de Diane, à Toulouse le temple de Pallas, à Vendres le temple de Vénus, les Capitoles de Narbonne, Toulouse, Nîmes. L'amphithéâtre qui se voit encore quasi entier à Nîmes, celui de Béziers duquel on voit les caves dans le logis de la Croix blanche, celui de Toulouse qui est près du Château Saint Michel, le pont bâti par eux sur la Rivière Gardon, appelé communément le pont du Gard, le pont Septimius, appelé aujourd'hui Pontserme, entre Narbonne et Béziers ; L'aqueduc qui se rend à Nîmes et passe sur le pont du Gard, celui de Toulouse qui (…) passait au château de Peyrolade, et après venait dans Toulouse ; L'aqueduc qu'on voit à la porte Saint Etienne de la ville de Toulouse, et passait bien près de la ville, au lieu appelé à Terre Cavade, et allait non dans Toulouse, mais du côté de Guillemeri, duquel on voit encore les masures et canal fait de briques et pierres brisées ensembles avec un excellent ciment ; Le Château de Lates près de Montpellier, le Château Narbonnais de Toulouse, le canal tiré du Rhône par le commandement de Marius, et une infinité d'autres masures, reflets des bâtiments faits par les Romains, desquelles j'ai fait particulière mention en parlant des villes de Languedoc(…). »

It was quite an impressive list, indeed, focusing on very accurate landmarks, all the more so that many of those monuments were not to be re-discovered until the 20th century or even the 21st century in Lattes, Narbonne or Toulouse. Some are yet to be re-discovered, like the *Septimius* bridge.

The issues of imparting knowledge at stake

The awareness of local heritage in the Biterrois only emerged in the 1640s. Actually, the method used by humanists and scholars and for locating monuments can be a key element in understanding that slow process.

In the 16th century, indeed, humanists gave more credit to what was written about the monuments

than to the monuments themselves. The reality perceived through ancient writings prevailed on the reality given by the ancient monuments which only asserted the prevalent value of the pre-existing reality of texts (Choay, 2010). As humanists could only locate the monuments that had been previously written about, they did not look for ruins in the Biterrois which was sometimes mentioned in Ancient literature. For example, the case of Narbonne is quite revealing. Humanists most probably used the texts by Cicero, like *Pro Fonteio,* to look for Roman ruins. So they went to Narbonne but they did not go to Béziers, which is only distant from 20 kilometers.

Anne de Rulman's manuscript: a missed opportunity

The Biterrois was however mentioned in a manuscript by Anne de Rulman studying the ancient monuments of Béziers while Guillaume Catel was writing his *Mémoires de l'Histoire du Languedoc.*

Anne de Rulman was a notorious lawyer who came from, and worked in Nîmes, a city full of ancient monuments which are still famous worldwide today, such as "la maison carrée" -a temple- or "le Pont du Gard", a few kilometers away. In addition to his profession, and his passion for grammar and archeology, he was also locally known as being an "antiquarian", a man who was passionate about Antiquity and its ancient monuments (Sauzet, 1993). In *Récit des anciens monuments qui paroissent encore dans le département de la 1° et 2° Gaule Narbonnaise,* he published a thorough and well-researched report not only on the ancient monuments of Nîmes but also on what he found in Béziers where he must have stayed for a while in 1628.

Then, he wrote a short report on Béziers with many drawings attached under the title *La représentation des plans et perspectives des anciens édifices publiques que les Romains ont laissés dans Béziers, et le profil des statues, colosses, figures, trophées d'armes, pièces de triomphe, mausolées, colonne, sacrifices, épitaphes et inscriptions.* He must have planned to get his manuscript published as he wrote a preface to his King Louis XIIIth but, unfortunately, he failed to do so. Today, you can find a copy of his manuscripts in the National Library of France.

From in situ heritage to displaced and relocated heritage

In the second half of the 17th century, Anne de Rulman, Guillaume Catel and Louis Coulon studied and referred to ancient monuments which had already been deteriorated through time. However, those scholars could identify without a doubt the monuments as ancient because they relied on the writings by ancient authors. The monuments could be defined so, at that time, because they were made with columns. The column was the vertical element that symbolized what was, in essence, antique. In his manuscript, Folio 147, for example, Rulman included drawings that made visible how the monuments used to look like with columns (Figure 2). With that sort of ahead of time *anastylosis*, he made the symbolic importance of the landscape stand out quite significantly for in situ heritage. In his drawing of the *temple of Venus*, the monument was taken as a part of the landscape situated between the lake of Vendres and the Mediterranean Sea. At that time, Béziers colony was indeed not far from the sea which was in contact with the lake. Therefore, through his drawing, Rulman did manage to enhance the close link between the sea and the Biterrois that ancient authors had established much earlier (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Ruins of the Temple of Venus (Vendres) and the lake of Vendres.

What stands out from Rulman's work is the fact that many of the ancient objects he could see were already more or less displaced from the countryside around Béziers -the villages of Maureilhan, Vendres, Montady, or the road to Pézenas- and relocated to Béziers. The Roman statues Rulman may have come across were the properties of rich inhabitants of Béziers like Mr. Marion, Mr. Portes or Dr Dortouls... Throughout the 17th century, heritage of the Biterrois had been displaced from in situ and relocated in town, in the antique collections of a happy few. What's more, in 1844, ten statues of the heads of the Imperial family were discovered in the center of Béziers, under the ancient Forum. These Augustan sculptures, major pieces of art of that period in Béziers are still being part of the collection of the Museum of Toulouse, despite the conservation policies set up by Prosper Mérimée in the 19th century (Balty and Cazes, 1995).

In that sense, the innovative and visionary approach that Anne de Rulman adopted in *La représentation des plans et perspectives des anciens édifices publiques que les Romains ont laissés dans Béziers* gave a very graphic dimension to his representations of ancient monuments. In -what is called today- his "reconstructions" of what ancient monuments used to be, he induced the representation of landscapes a core issue in the way heritage was perceived. Such a work could have been a watershed in the way the Biterrois heritage was acknowledged. Actually, in the Renaissance period, drawings, sketches or any visual representation gave credit to the very existence of ancient monuments as such. With the publication of Rulman's manuscript, the Biterrois heritage could have been fully acknowledged. As it had never been published, that heritage tended to remain unknown and it seemed to have fallen into oblivion during the 18th century.

Significantly absent from ancient heritage in the 18th century

It is quite telling, indeed, that the Biterrois heritage was not mentioned even once in the journey diaries of the numerous European aristocrats who traveled around Europe and especially in the South of France. What was called "*the Grand Tour*" was the opportunity for them to get in touch with the monuments and landscapes and to deliver their perception of them in their writings.

In that literature, Béziers ancient monuments got to be all the more noticeable that they repeatedly seemed to be unnoticed by travelers. For instance, in 1740, in *Nouveau Voyage de France,* Piganiol de la Force described the bridge, the church, Saint Nazarus Cathedral and the citadel ancient site and the Jesuit College. Furthermore, he did mention the ruins of the two temples that were destroyed in the Gothic period, but he never alluded to the presence of the Roman amphitheater. In 1777, in *Voyage de Londres à Gênes*, Guiseppe Baretti reported that nothing was worth seeing in Béziers just like Gauthier de Simpré did, in 1778 in *Voyage en France de M. Le Comte de Falckenstein.* At the end of the 18th century, in *Voyages en France pendant les années 1787, 88, 89 et 90,* what was nonetheless worth seeing for Arthur Young was the Canal built by Ricquet.

The sort of invisibility characterizing the Biterrois heritage perception -except for the Canal- seemed to be part of a larger global phenomenon connected to the discovery of ancient sites in Italy such as Herculanum in 1713, Paestum in 1746 and Pompeii in 1748. In that context, French antiquarians rather turned their attention to another kind of heritage, the Christian monuments built between the 5th and the 15th century labeled as "Antiquités nationales".

However and paradoxically, as Rulman might have sensed, most of the ancient heritage in the Biterrois was not to be found in monuments but in landscapes. That specific heritage can be appreciated and acknowledged directly in and on the soil.

Ancient landscapes as heritage and the new challenge of preservation

What is perceived nowadays as Heritage in the Biterrois is more related to landscapes than to ancient monuments or architectural remains. That change of perspective in the very definition of that Heritage has been enabled by the progressive displacement of focus from the Roman column in the 16th to the landscape a few decades ago. And the Biterrois landscapes have been recently acknowledged as many traces of the way the Romans used to cultivate the land through agricultural landmarks, agrarian structures or farm localizations... Just like those landscapes which have evolved over time as human activity has changed, heritage has acquired many layers of meaning. It can be plainly seen -and it is widely accepted as such- as a historical and cultural construct (Leveau, 2000).

Those historical landscapes are now as legitimate and ancient as architecture, which used to be the only valid evidence of Roman power in the colonies. They are yet to be plainly identified and appreciated in the scientific community as well as in the policies implemented by the local authorities to be properly promoted as Heritage and protected as such. Indeed, from their very essence, they are likely to undergo quick degradation and to face to the risk of disappearing. That sort of new past Heritage raises many issues related to its preservation and its enhancement. How can these landscapes and agrarian structures leave a legacy and continue to be "passeurs de mémoire" (Lévêque et al, 2009)? How can this heritage be safely preserved over time?

Identification and appreciation of these historical heritage landscapes

Historical landscapes as Heritage have been identified as the combined works of nature and man over time

and as archeological documents since the 1970s.

They have been the subject of research at the University of Besançon (France) through the works led by Monique Clavel-Lévêque about ancient agrarian structures in the Biterrois (Clavel, 1970, Clavel-Lévêque, 1995a, Clavel-Lévêque, 1995b, Clavel-Lévêque, 1998, Mauné, 1998, Evelpidou, 2003) which have been also developed by two European scientific Actions called COST (European cooperation in the field of Scientific and Technical Research).

They both highlighted the fossilization of Roman cadastral surveys and they put forward the keys to understand the evolution of the present-day landscape through diachronic readings showing how ancient roads, lands or fields left their marks until today. The ancient agrarian structures in the Biterrois characterized by vineyards have imprinted the landscapes as well as the people's memories. In that sense, those historical landscapes are also cultural landscapes, and Roman country planning is still reflected in nowadays rural areas (Figure 3). Vineyards have constructed and structured the Biterrois landscapes for nearly more than two thousand centuries. With the other ancient lanes like the famous *Via Domitia*, they are considered as essential parts of ancient heritage (Clavel-Lévêque, 2008).

Figure 3. Ancient cadastration surveys and villas in Vendres.

The issue of preservation at stake

However, despite the development of conservation policies in the 1990s and despite the European Convention on Landscapes signed in 2000 and enacted on March, 1st 2004, protecting those rural cultural landscapes revealed to be difficult (Negri and Odiot, 1990, Chiva, 1994, Chiva 1995, Molinas, 2008).

The growing number of housing schemes around villages and the current techniques used in agriculture are as many obstacles to the protection of landscapes which fail to be preserved like the castle, the abbey or the "masets" that are small wine growers huts in the Biterrois (Vitaux, 2009). Even waterlands can be hardly preserved. For example, the Montady pond, which has been classified by the French Ministry of Ecology as "site pittoresque" since 1974 for its picturesque circular shape, has been yet at the heart of many conflicts between farmers and cultural institutions trying to protect that part of heritage being deteriorated.

A lack of classification?

I think that the preservation of those fragile historical landscapes and more generally, that of rural heritage needs to be achieved through official awareness and enhancement campaigns in France and in Europe.

For example, the Biterrois heritage has been partially but nationally acknowledged with the classification as Historic Monument of the Ensérune *Oppidum* and of the underpass drainage gallery of the Montady pond. Nevertheless, and contrary to many other cities in the Languedoc-Roussillon Region such as Mende, Uzès, Villeneuve-les-Avignon, Nîmes, Pézenas or Narbonne[1], Béziers has not been recognized as a City of Art and History ("Ville d'Art et d'Histoire"). Likewise, as long as the Biterrois as a whole is not classified by the French Ministry of Culture as Country of Art and History ("Pays d'Art et d'Histoire"), how can territorial policies be implemented? How can that specific heritage be enhanced and rendered visible to public opinion without a national framework?

The role of Cultural Parks

Indeed, since the early 2000s, heritage enhancement actions have taken place within the framework of the European Union through the two COST Actions called G2 *Paysages anciens et structures rurales* and A27 *Understanding pre-industrial structures in rural and mining landscapes,* LANDMARKS, which were aimed at improving the understanding, the appreciation and the enhancement of rural and historical landscapes throughout the 1990s-2000s (Clavel-Lévêque et al, 2002).This first action, G2 *Paysages anciens et structures rurales,* has dealt with ancient landscapes and rural structures from 1995 to 2001. Its main purpose was to contribute to *"a better understanding of the relationship between the natural environment and human activities in ancient geosystem".* The objectives of the second action COST A 27 were the identification and evaluation of pre-industrial elements and structures in the European landscape that were threatened by the abandonment of traditional agricultural and mining activities, and its enhancement.

The COST Actions aim to support the creation of an international network for the interpretation and enhancement of cultural European landscapes (Orejas et al,2002). Today, 18 parks belong to this network[2] including 3 that are especially dedicated to Cultural Landscpes: the Archeological and Natural Park of Las Medulas in Spain, World Cultural Heritage Park of Wachau in Austria, and the Biterrois Cultural Park in France.

Creation of a cultural park in 2000

These COST actions led to the creation of a Cultural Park in the Biterrois[3] ("Parc Culturel du Biterrois") thanks to the financial support of the General Council of Hérault and "La Domitienne", which is the name of the local "Communauté de Communes" authority, an association of municipalities (Figure. 4).

The Biterrois Cultural Park is a non – profit organization founded in 2000 by researchers, economic and cultural leaders and members of municipalities. Its reason to be is to contribute to a better understanding of the Biettrois landscapes ("*Le parc culturel du Biterrois a pour objectif principal de contribuer à la connaissance des paysages, authentique patrimoine culturel, et de sensibiliser chacun à la nécessité de protéger cette ressource, non renouvelable et essentielle au développement du territoire* "). In that matter, it is sought :

- to develop research projects about that territory, via a scientific council,
- to enhance that local heritage,
- to produce some brochures, map discovery and guide-lines for the visits,
- to contribute to a qualitative cultural development of the area.

The scientific council of the Park would like to state quite clearly that a scientific and diachronic approach is necessary to make decisions regarding landscapes protection.

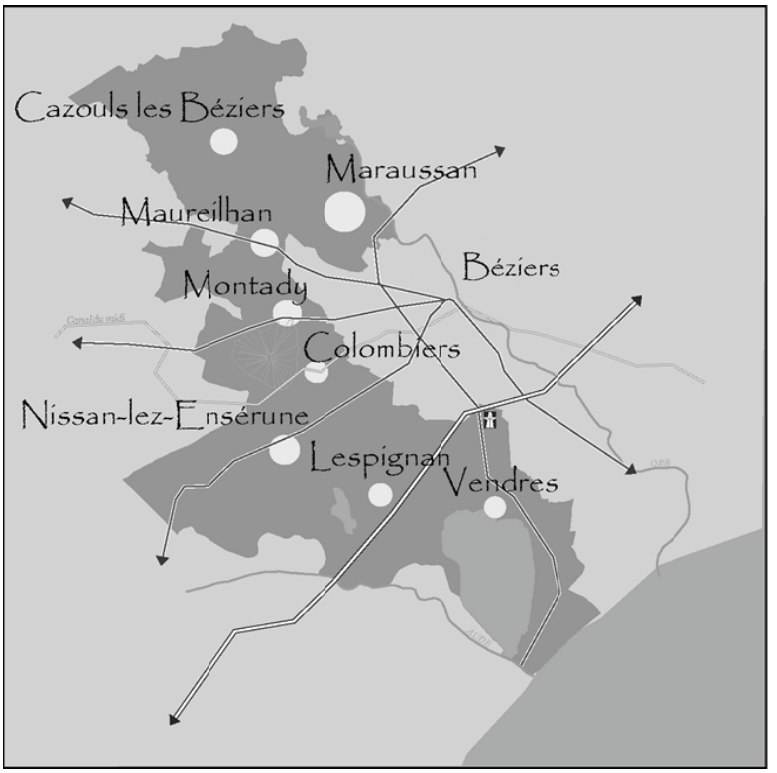

Figure 4. Location of the Cultural Park, the "Parc Culturel du Biterrois".

A cultural tourism of quality

The Park contributes to publish some scientific papers and books. The publications of the members of the scientific council focus on the first goal of the Cultural Park, that is to say to contribute to a better understanding of the cultural landscapes. They show an increasing interest in understanding the evolution of the present-day landscapes through diachronic readings and in recovering landscapes as an essential part of Cultural Heritage. Indeed, ancient rural landmarks are now considered as both a historical and a cultural heritage.

So as to contribute to a better acknowledgement of that local heritage, the Park has been editing some brochures and discovery maps, like the discovery map entitled "*from dunes to garrigues*", which reviews different ecosystems from the coastline to the hinterland, or the discovery map called "*From villages to vineyards, a journey to the heart of a terroir*"(Figure 5). That discovery map invites people to explore the rich heritage in the Biterrois area, discovering interest castles, wine estates, wine cellars, traditional small wine growers huts called the *masets*, winemaker homes and villages. History of vine-growing in the area is actually over 2,000 years old, even though there have been many ups and downs over the centuries with shifting balances in the Mediterranean trilogy of wheat, vineyards and olive groves. The vine-growing and wine-making tradition has fashioned the landscape and the architecture, shaping the cultural identity of the area. The journey includes archaeology, elaborate or vernacular architecture, from Antiquity to nowadays, from Roman villas to the 19th century "pinardiers" castles imitating the Bordeaux region style, and the today wine cellars. So the scientific activities of the Park efficiently provide with proficient documentation so as to offer a cultural tourism of quality.

Figure 5. Discovery map "From villages to vineyards, a journey to the heart of a terroir ("Parc culturel du Biterrois")

Enhancement of the results of research on landscapes around the "Temple of Venus" in Vendres

For instance, the Cultural Park has lead some scientific actions for many years around the lake of Vendres and the site called "le Temple de Vénus", the Temple of Venus, which is a Gallo-roman villa.

I explained that that archeological site has been identified and acknowledged quite early: the villa was mentioned for the first time in 1628 by Anne de Rulman when he was writing a report on Béziers, and he even included a drawing (At that time, Anne de Rulman though that monument was a temple). The temple of Venus was also identified in 1633 by Guillaume Catel, a member of the Parliament of Toulouse in his *Mémoires de l'Histoire du Languedoc.* But the site seemed to have fallen into oblivion until nowadays…

however in the 20th century, other archeological sites very similar to the Temple of Venus, and discovered by excavations, were classified as historic monuments : a Gallo-roman villa in Vendres, the Primuliac Villa, has been classified in 1935, and another Gallo-roman villa in Lespignan in 1971! The Temple of Venus, which is an archeological site but also a clear landmark, has never been classified as an historic monument.

To contribute to a better understanding of this archeological site, the Park conducted some excavations, and the array of archeology remains revealed that the site was a rich and extensive villa from the second century BC to the fifth century AC. Actually the site contains some thermal baths.

Furthermore, and in seeking better acknowledgement of this archeological site, and in collaboration with the French coastline conservation authority, the scientific team fit up a memory path ("un chemin de mémoire") around the villa and the lake. They also published a brochure with guidelines for the visit including archeological information and explanations (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Brochure from the Biterrois Cultural Park with guidelines for the visit of the Temple of Venus (Vendres)

In that matter, the Biterrois Cultural Park was state-approved and declared of public utility in 2011. Actually, by definition, like any Cultural Park, it has been designed to make public opinion and authorities realize that landscapes are cultural Heritage which needs to be protected as a non-renewable resource as it is nonetheless essential to local economic development (Orejas et al, 2002). The Biterrois Cultural Park can therefore constitute strong foundations for the strategy of sustainable development implemented locally. It shall also serve to ensure that the Biterrois landscapes are identified and acknowledged as Heritage so as to be better preserved.

Conclusion

So, the choices made in favor of the enhancement of the local heritage in the Biterrois are in the process of being clearly identified and promoted today. They are an integral part of the European network under construction which shall ensure that the European historical landscapes are enhanced in a proficient way.

The issues of cultural development which need to be considered in a sustainable perspective are huge and they represent challenges we shall face in the future, keeping in mind the opportunity Béziers and its antique heritage had already missed in the 17th century, in the hope it will not happen again.

Endnotes

[1]www.vpah.culture.fr

[2] Associated Reseach Groups Cultural Parks and Cultural landscapes in Europe are : Archeological Park of Cruachan Ai and Archeological Park of Hill of Tara in Ireland, Archeological Park of Gisacum and the Cultural Park of the Biterrois in France, Archeological and Natural Park of Las Medulas in Spain, Agricultural museum of Riachos and Environmental and Archeological Park of Medio Tejo in Portugal, Consortium Museum of Liri Valley, Archeological Park of Fregellae and Archeological, mineralogical and natural Park of Val di Cornia in Italy, Archeological Park of Lindholm Hoj in Denmark, World Cultural Heritage Wachau and Archeological Park of Carnuntum in Austria, Open Air Mining Museum of Banska Stiavnica in Slovakia, Mining Museum of Roznava in Slovakia, Rebala Heritage Reserve in Estonia, Mgarr ix-Xini Valley Regional Par in Malta, Geocultural Park of Esatern Aegean in Greece (Samos).

[3] www.parc-culturel-biterrois.fr

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A tale of two theatres: can the localism bill provide a sustainable future for 'local' heritage in England?

Stella Anne Jackson *Department of Archaeology, University of York, UK* saj504@york.ac.uk

Sustainability in the context of cultural heritage is about finding ways in which it can continue into the present. In fact, many of the applications received for sites to be statutorily designated in England are done so in an attempt to keep the site open and in use, thus providing a meaningful and sustainable contribution to the present. Definitions of cultural heritage, however, often relate only to iconic and special places, and in particular to the materiality of these sites. The social significance of heritage is not, therefore, recognized in the legislation, despite a strong participatory rhetoric from the current government focused on community engagement. This paper discusses these issues in relation to two theatres which have recently been assessed for listing in North West England, and asks whether the new Localism Bill for England could help to provide a sustainable future for buildings such as these.

Keywords: designation, social significance, localism, community, government, Big Society.

Introduction

One of the most significant changes in environmental policy in recent decades has been the introduction of the idea of sustainable development (Clarke, 2006). Sustainability in the context of cultural heritage is about finding ways in which the past can continue to contribute to the present, resulting in a heritage which forms part of social and economic change rather than one which is protected outside mainstream society (Fairclough, 2009). The Faro Convention, for example, emphasizes the value and potential of cultural heritage as a resource for sustainable development and quality of life (Council of Europe, 2005). Any sustainable future for historic towns and cities, however, must not be concerned only with the continuity of sites and buildings, but also the continuity of living culture, the genius loci that characterizes heritage places and creates a sense of place (Nasser, 2003). In fact, many of the applications received for sites to be added to the National Heritage List for England by members of the public are done so in an attempt to keep the site open and in use, thus providing a meaningful and sustainable contribution to the present. Definitions of cultural heritage in the UK, however, often relate only to iconic and special places, and in particular to the materiality of these places, with the criteria for listing in England being intimately entwined with the value systems of early, nineteenth century conservators such as John Ruskin and William Morris.

Traditionally, therefore, conservation has been heavily focused on the physical architectural and historical significance of sites, rather than accommodating the perceptions and reactions of everyday users of the historic environment (Hubbard, 1993; Poulios, 2011). However, we are now beginning to recognize that heritage is as much about people in the present as it is about the structures and 'monuments' of the past, with communities often arguing for 'local' sites to be 'saved'; not just for their architectural or historic interest, but also because of the social significance of the site to that particular community. Although the argument is often made that heritage is what we wish to pass on to future generations, in fact it is intrinsically what we find significant now, and what we would miss if it was no longer there (Gibson 2009). Sustainability adopts a holistic view of heritage (Mason, 2008), seeing it as an essential component of cultural identity, sense of community, belonging, social inclusion and participation; and as Giddens (1990)

and Grenville (2007) have argued, the historic environment is valued because familiarity of the surrounding social and material environment can anchor societies and thus provide social cohesion (Magdin, 2009). People do, of course, want new buildings and good new architecture, but they also want their cultural landscapes to have connections with the past (Fairclough, 2009). Heritage is therefore a deliberate act of selection, being what we decide to preserve, not an entity in its own right (Ashworth, 2002; Blake, 2000; Fairclough, 2009). It is thus the result of an intentional choice to create, maintain and preserve selected places (Phelps *et al*, 2002; Lowenthal, 1998; Russell, 2010).

This paper will discuss these issues in relation to two theatres which have recently been assessed for designation in North West England, the Palace Theatre in Nelson, and the Tameside Hippodrome in Ashton-under-Lyne; both of which do not conform to what might traditionally be considered as heritage sites, and both of which had a local community who fought hard in their attempts to retain them. Having considered these it then asks whether the proposals set out in the new Localism Act for lists of 'assets of community value', could help to provide a sustainable future for buildings such as these.

Statutory designation

Most countries have heritage management systems that include legislative protection for heritage assets, and there is often a fundamental acceptance within state-run agencies that the heritage they protect will be of benefit to future generations, and to quality of life (Cowell, 2004; Schofield, 2008). In England, sites which are considered to have 'special interest' are designated as such by the Department for Culture Media and Sport, and are therefore added to the National Heritage List for England. This is carried out on the advice of English Heritage, the government's non-departmental statutory adviser. As part of current PhD research, five-hundred applications for Statutory designation have been analyzed, and through this it is clear that many of the applications are made in an attempt to keep the site open and in use, especially those sites which are community assets/resources, for example libraries, churches, theatres and so on. These sites are often very important to the local community, often for their social and cultural value rather than for traditional conservation values.

The statutory protection of heritage in England, however, has historically been restricted to the preservation of isolated sites and monuments which are considered to be of national importance (Hunter, 1996). This ideology still flows through much of the legislation and policy in England, despite a gradual shift in emphasis over the past one hundred and fifty years from seeing heritage as a physical entity passed down from one generation to the next, to a much wider definition which includes anything from the past which is valued in the present (Schofield, 2008). This definition of heritage as iconic, national monuments, is defined by Smith (2006) as the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD), which places an emphasis on decision-making by heritage experts in a professional, objective environment (Hobson, 2004). Smith argues that the AHD naturalizes a range of assumptions about the nature and meaning of heritage, placing primary attention on the physical objects of heritage, which are often linked to ideas of the nation.

However, it is becoming increasingly clear that people are now less likely to accept the 'authorized' view, preferring instead to choose for themselves what kind of past to believe in (Thomas, 2008). From the 1990s onwards, therefore, the social value of heritage and 'lived' interpretation have become key concepts in academic debate (Kristiansen, 1998), and recent planning policy in England, as well as English Heritage documents such as Conservation Principles (English Heritage, 2008), does seem to demonstrate an awareness of the multivocality of heritage. At the designation level, however, and even within these documents, the expert view and the primacy of historic fabric is still dominant; with many in the heritage sector being reluctant to acknowledge that the values ascribed by local communities are as valid as their own 'expert' opinion (Byrne, 2008). Social and cultural significance, therefore, is still not widely accepted in practice, with fabric-focused, professionally defined assessments remaining the dominant paradigm of significance (Carman, 1996; Gibson, 2009). Despite growing emphasis on the value of local communities, therefore, concern for the involvement of the public remains to be converted into inclusive public debate (Poulios, 2011). Therefore, of the three interrelated objectives of conservation - physical, spatial and social - the most neglected aspect is social, which although difficult to define, is arguably the most important as effective conservation and sustainable development relies on the support of residents, property owners and those who depend on the area for their livelihoods (Nasser, 2003).

National designation applications

The places people tend to feel most attached to, are often the mundane and everyday places that are not deemed to be special enough to be offered statutory protection in the form of designation (Atkinson, 2008; Fairclough 2009; Schofield & Szymanski, 2011). They are the 'everyday' heritage sites that form our cultural landscapes, the seemingly ordinary and mundane houses, shops and offices that we live and work in, and which make up the local street scene (Ross, 1991). However, despite a strong participatory rhetoric from the current and previous governments in relation to community engagement, the social value which is attached to seemingly mundane and 'everyday' sites is often considered to be of less importance, or in fact not relevant.

Applications for statutory designation in England can be made by anyone, and 49.2% of the applications analyzed were submitted by members of the public. In addition, almost half (42.8%) refer to

the local significance of the site. The application form itself does suggest in one of the final sections that applicants may wish to 'add some comments about the significance of the heritage asset to the local area or community' (English Heritage, 2011a). However, over 89% of applicants referred to local significance in earlier stages of the form before having seen this. In fact, the guidance for completing the form states quite clearly that social factors cannot be taken into account during the assessment process (English Heritage 2011c, p.7), suggesting that applicants are aware that the site will not be designated due to its local interest, but that they want this significance to be recognized and understood by the decision-makers. One applicant, for example, stated that 'I understand that this building is not an exemplar, but I believe it to be a good example and important to the local history' (no. 199). Although 56.2% of the applications do not make reference to local significance, therefore, this may be because the guidance has been read and taken into consideration. Thus, most of the sites applied for are likely to be valued by the local community, often because they will form part of their everyday heritage.

The identity and personality of most towns is derived from the way in which sites and buildings come together to create a recognizable local townscape (Nasser, 2003). Local distinctiveness is, therefore, the value most referred to in the applications assessed, at 26.94%.

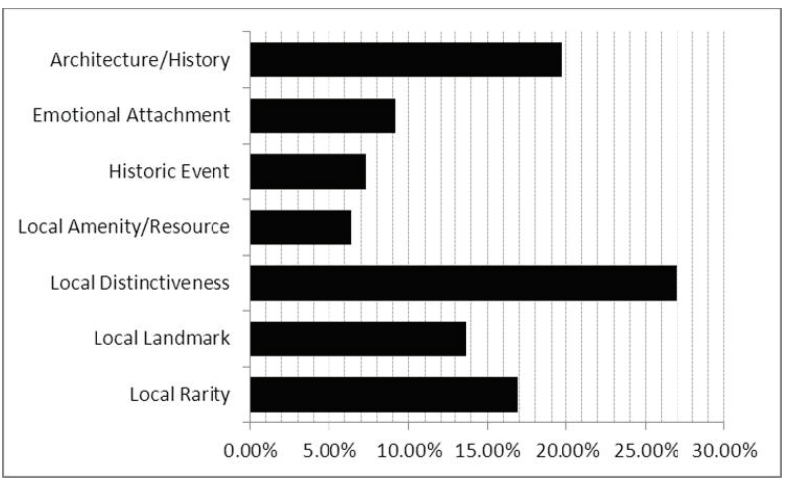

Figure 1. Type of local significance referred to in designation applications.

The term 'local distinctiveness' was developed by the organization Common Ground in the early 1990s (Clifford & King, 1993). It relates to the relationships between people and the places that are important to them; the things which are valued locally, the social memory, detail and patina of the street scene, which characterizes the local area and provides a sense of place (Common Ground, 1993; Clifford, 2001; Schofield & Szymanski, 2011). The demolition of a familiar building, therefore, removes an element of security, often provoking a sense of fear and disorientation (Magdin, 2009), and can thus have a profound effect on inhabitants, often resulting in hostility from the local community (Hubbard, 1993; Schofield & Szymanski, 2011). Just over half the applications, therefore, were made as an attempt to 'save' a piece of heritage from the threat of demolition or alteration, as is the case with the two case studies below.

However, applications are not always made simply to ensure that the structure is retained. Of those assessed, nearly 10% express an explicit assumption, or hope, that if the site is designated, this will ensure continued or future use. This is especially the case for buildings with community value, such as libraries, churches, and theatres. In addition, 81.25% of these are applications for buildings which are threatened by planning, demolition or sale. The majority of them assume that the building will continue to be used, with applicants stating for example that 'the library … has an active users' group campaigning for its retention' (no. 92); 'there are literally dozens of customers, commuters & locals here who are appalled & infuriated at the prospective loss of a thriving small business with a unique atmosphere' (no.108); 'the prospective purchaser is not a publican and has no intention of continuing with its current use' (no. 135); and that 'we would like to ensure the building is protected and still used as community space' (no. 180).

Other applicants, though, refer to the possible future use of the buildings should they be listed and thus retained as part of the local landscape. Many of these suggest, for example, that the building 'should be made into a museum' (no.123), or that 'it could be put to variety of uses within the local community.' (no.209). A final group of applicants also hope that listing will mean that the building is maintained, repaired and, often, restored, stating for example that 'I wish to see it restored and saved' (no. 248), or

that designation 'will ensure that a viable and sustainable future is found for the site' (no.14). However, listing in itself does not necessarily ensure that the building is maintained, and as Brady (2011) has found, buildings are often left to decay, even where they are in the ownership of the local council.

The Palace Theatre, Nelson, Lancashire

Figure 2. The Palace Theatre, Nelson, 1960.

The Palace Theatre in Nelson was designed specifically as a variety theatre by the architectural practice of Matthew, Watson, Landless & Pearse (Figure 2). It opened in December 1909, and provided variety shows, theatrical and operatic productions and Saturday picture matinees for the local community (English Heritage, 2009a). During the 1920s the building began to be used predominantly as a cinema, being formally transformed as such in 1937 when the foyer was altered and the building was redecorated, although it was still used for theatrical performances until 1958. From 1960 onwards it was then transformed into a bingo hall, and remained in use as such until its closure in 2009. However, the building underwent significant modification in 1977 (Figure 3) when the main entrance and a dominant corner tower were demolished due to a road widening scheme, along with the foyer and front-of-house area (English Heritage, 2009a).

Figure 3. The Place Theatre, Nelson, 2009.

English Heritage was asked to consider the theatre for designation in 2009 following the announcement of plans to demolish the building and clear the site for the provision of a car park. Over 200 letters and e-mails of support were sent to English Heritage in relation to this, all of which supported the listing on the assumption that should the building be designated it could then be restored and used either as a theatre, or as a community resource. Applicants stated, for example, that 'the building should be retained and refurbished' (Applicant 5), and that it is a 'ready-made venue for community activities' (Applicant 56). In addition to this, a significant number of correspondents referred to re-use of the building in terms of social and economic regeneration and sustainability, suggesting for example that 'the Nelson Palace Theatre could form the heart of the regeneration of the town' (Applicant 27); that 'it could provide the people of Nelson with an opportunity for future development' (Applicant 102); and that 'this fine building, in very good condition, could revitalize arts and entertainment within the area and serve a wide community.' (Applicant 87).

Theatres of this date are the surviving examples of a boom in the construction of variety theatres in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries in Britain, and often make a strong impression on the streetscape. In terms of designation, however, the selection criteria favor those theatres which have completeness of design, retaining a palpable sense of internal space, and the survival of the proscenium arch; and thus the degree of alteration, especially to foyers, is carefully considered in any assessment (English Heritage, 2011b). Given the level of alteration to this theatre, therefore, it was not considered to meet the criteria for designation. The main reason for this being that it had lost its original entrance, foyer and front of house facilities. The assessment did acknowledge the survival of high quality decorative features in the auditorium though.

In 2010 the theatre was therefore demolished, and the site has now been converted to car-parking use (Figure 4). Would listing it have 'saved' the building and ensured its continued use though? The local community, as well as a large number of theatre groups and national organizations, were in favor of restoring and using the building, but often with buildings such as these that are designated, if an economically viable use cannot be found, the building is left to decay and is not used sustainably, as was the case with the Tameside Hippodrome below.

Figure 4. Site of the former Palace Theatre, June 2012.

Tameside hippodrome, Ashton-Under-Lyne, Greater Manchester

The Tameside Hippodrome in Ashton-under-Lyne, Greater Manchester (Figure 5), was also assessed for listing in 2009, and had a similarly active and vociferous local community who wished to see it protected from demolition, and re-opened. The Hippodrome is slightly earlier than the Palace Theatre in Nelson, having been opened in 1904. It was built for William Henry Broadhead, who had a number of similar theatres in the North West of England; and many famous music hall stars performed there, including Stan Laurel, Gracie Fields, and Harry Houdini (English Heritage, 2009b). In 1933 the theatre was sold to the Union Cinema Group and the auditorium was completely reconstructed in an Art Deco style by Drury and Gomersall, who removed the gallery in the former three-tier auditorium and installed a single 600 seat circle. Following this, it was re-opened as the New Empire Theatre and was used for films and variety shows. In 1935, Drury and Gomersall were invited back, this time to redesign the façade. However, in the late 1930s the theatre was sold to what became Associated British Cinemas (ABC), who ran it until 1974

when the decline in audiences led to plans for the building to be converted to a bingo hall. On the announcement of this, the Friends of Tameside Theatre formed and successfully petitioned for the retention of the building as a theatre, and it was instead purchased by the borough council, who ran it as both a cinema and a theatre/concert venue until 2008, when Live Nation, who had been managing the site, did not renew their operating contract (English Heritage, 2009b).

Figure 5. Tameside Hippodrome, 2012.

The closure of the theatre prompted numerous requests to English Heritage asking for it to be listed in the hope that this would mean the theatre would have to re-open, and in fact on their website the council themselves said that 'Tameside people have made it clear that they would like the building as a theatre' (Tameside MBC, 2008). Those who wrote to English Heritage all expressed an emotional attachment to the theatre, stating for example that the theatre 'is a living member of our social and cultural heritage that cannot be replaced' (Applicant 3). Therefore, despite the building still being extant, the rhetoric of the applications was one of loss, with many of them stating, for example, that 'I miss the theatre & so do all my family' (Applicant 5), and that 'the heart has been ripped out of our town.' (Applicant 8). This is because the theatre is significant to the local community not for the traditional, tangible, value of the physical fabric of the building, but due to its role within the community and its more intangible, social significance. One applicant, for example, described how they felt that it was 'extremely sad to walk past what was once a lively and bright venue and to see a desolate boarded up building', with all applicants asking in their letters for English Heritage to help them re-open it, stating for example that 'I write to you in desperation for this theatre to be re-opened.' (Applicant 6).

In contrast to the Palace Theatre in Nelson, and much to the joy of the applicants, the Hippodrome was listed at Grade II in September 2009 due to the quality and survival of the 1930s Art Deco scheme, which remained complete in the auditorium and public spaces, along with original 1904 fixtures in the backstage area (English Heritage, 2009b). The building has remained closed and boarded up since its designation though, and it has not yet been reopened as the applicants hoped. However, the recently formed Tameside Heritage and Arts Trust, are now working with the Council to acquire, refurbish and reopen the theatre (Dalby-Oldham, 2012); and the Hippodrome looks likely to be one of the first and the largest asset transfers under the 2011 Localism Act, which is outlined below.

The 'Big Society' and the 2011 localism act

It is widely acknowledged that decision-making in the UK has become too centralised, often failing to respond to the needs and expectations of local communities (Burgess *et al*, 2001). Unlike other European countries, the UK is made up of a number of regions and districts which are largely self-governing, but which are subordinate to, and united under, a central government (Wilson & Game, 2006). Therefore, local government in the UK can be defined more as delegated governance than decentralisation, with all major policy issues continuing to be made centrally, and the service then being delivered and administered locally (Wilson & Game, 2001). This often results in a lack of community engagement at both national and local levels, and the continuance of rigid bureaucratic structures (Burgess *et al*, 2001), with local government simply putting into practice decisions made by central government in Westminster. Local Authorities too are often criticised for failing to meet the needs of local communities (Burgess *et al*, 2001),

with lack of consultation often being the main objection, especially in relation to planning decisions which affect local heritage landmarks.

As the two case studies have shown, the need felt by local communities to protect sites which are significant to them has become much more vocalized in recent years. However, local attachment and social significance is often not understood or taken into account in both designation and planning decisions, with demolition and new development often being promoted based on a definition of heritage which is divorced from any detailed understanding of local issues and needs (Magdin, 2009). So-called 'bottom-up' solutions, though, can enable local distinctiveness to be safeguarded through common ownership by the local community (Rodwell, 2007), and this has been the focus of recent government policy.

Following elections in May 2010, a new Coalition Government came into power in the UK, with a manifesto focused on what they have called the 'Big Society'. This is in essence a localism agenda, aimed at decentralization and the devolvement of power from central to local government; and so in November 2011 the new Localism Bill was enacted. One of the main aims of the Big Society, is to enable local communities to become more self-sufficient and less reliant on state provision, as well as encouraging them to take local action. Thus, there are a number of measures aimed at empowering local communities to enable them to take a much more active role in local decision-making, particularly in relation to planning and development (DCLG, n.d). The 2011 Localism Act, therefore, represents a profound shift in the way that the English planning system will now work, with local communities much more directly engaged with development (Chitty, 2012).

Community empowerment

The Act presents a number of opportunities for local communities to protect, or have recognized, aspects of their cultural landscapes which they find significant and which can have a sustainable future. The Community Empowerment section, for example, includes a policy which will require local authorities to maintain a list of assets of community value, with sites nominated for inclusion by the local community. Community groups will also have a right to bid for the purchase of assets on the lists should they come up for sale, or to take over their use through asset transfer, and the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) states that 'this will help local communities keep much-loved sites in public use and part of local life.' (DCLG, n.d.). The definition of an asset of community value within the Act is a building or land whose actual current or future use furthers social well-being and the interests of the local community, and a site for which it is realistic to believe that there will continue to be a use which furthers the social well-being of the community, whether or not this is the same use (DCLG, 2011). These lists are not intended, therefore, to be lists of locally significant heritage assets. However, as noted above, designation requests are often made in an attempt to 'save' a local community asset from being closed and/or demolished, with statutory designation often being considered as the only way to do this. The reason the community wish for the building to be retained in these cases is not principally for its architectural or historic interest, but to ensure its continued use as a community asset; and as Rodwell (2007, p.207) has stated, establishing continuity of function is the *sin qua non* of successful conservation and sustainable development.

New Neighbourhood planning powers also suggest that local people will be able to protect the things that matter to them (Chitty, 2012), as general planning policies for the development and use of land in an area can be established through a neighbourhood plan. These will be taken forward by Parish or Town councils, or in non-parished areas (mainly cities), by new Neighbourhood Development Forums, and they will provide communities with a greater say over how their local area changes over time. Plans will outline the characteristics of a place, the elements which communities may wish to preserve, and the areas which can be subject to change, and once ratified by the District council, will be consulted before any planning decisions are taken (English Heritage, n.d.). This may therefore provide an opportunity for communities to 'save' what matters to them without the need for formal designation. In fact, one of the designation applications assessed as part of the analysis outlined above, all of which were submitted while the Act was being developed, stated that 'New Coalition Government proposals would not allow this lack of consultation to happen: these old buildings would be saved if this policy was in law now.' (no. 72).

Concerns

However, there are a number of areas of concern with these tools in relation to heritage and sustainable development. Consideration of the historic environment in the development of Neighbourhood Plans, for example, can ensure that they are sustainable, and if heritage is included within the plan, this should mean that development is properly integrated with what already exists, thus ensuring the continuance of local distinctiveness (English Heritage, n.d.). However, this necessitates communities to include heritage within the plan, without any specific requirement to do so, meaning that in areas where the plan is drawn up by a predominantly business community, it may not be included. In addition, although they are drafted by the community, they must be agreed with the District council before being formally ratified, which may result in the plan being somewhat different to what was originally envisaged at the start.

The planning policy which underpins the Act has also been the subject of concern. This takes the form of the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), which was published in Spring 2012 (DCLG, 2012). This framework has as its over-arching policy a presumption in favor of sustainable development (DCLG, 2011). However, it has been suggested that the definition of sustainable development used within the document is perhaps better described as sustained development (Burges, 2012; Youngson, 2012), with a focus on economic development rather than the definition of sustainable development contained within the 1987 Bruntland Report, with which we are much more familiar. However, the Framework does state that identified heritage assets, whether nationally designated or not, are a material consideration in the planning process, and in paragraph 131 states that when considering planning applications, local authorities should take account of 'the desirability of sustaining and enhancing the significance of heritage assets and putting them to viable uses consistent with their conservation' (DCLG, 2012, 31).

In addition, the concept of 'community' that is used in the Big Society literature follows the normative ideal of something which is "good', 'safe' and 'comfortable" (Smith & Waterton, 2009). It should not be assumed, though, that everyone within a community will necessarily agree with each other. Throughout the Act and the supporting guidance, there is also a clear emphasis on the 'traditional' Parish Council, and when looking a little closer at the lists of assets of community value, a community nomination is defined as being a nomination from a parish council, or if there isn't one, then from a voluntary or community body with a local connection. However, the District Council in each area will specify what it considers to be a 'community body', so it could therefore be different in each area. The localism agenda would therefore seem to have an essentialised view of 'local', focussed mainly on village life. For example, in relation to assets of community value, DCLG (n.d.) state that communities will be able to save the last village post-office or the local pub, with the idea of local importance at city level not being considered. How will it work in an urban context, therefore, where the 'traditional' community or neighbourhood is perhaps less well-defined? There are, for example, other communities of interest in addition to that which is geographically local, not least the business community, as well as tourists and regular visitors.

Conclusions

It is now recognized that there is a plurality of views and perceptions in relation to heritage (Schofield, 2009; Gibson & Pendlebury, 2009), and that everyone will have their own special places which hold meanings for a variety of different reasons (Davis, 2005). This means that there are multiple stakeholders, each with their own idea of what is significant about a site/place (Benton, 2010). However, designation decisions and the conservation of the historic environment in England favors the physical, material aspects of heritage, despite an increasingly strong desire from local communities for the protection of sites due to their socio-cultural significance. Thus, although the academic community has now recognized that there is a multivocality of significance at heritage sites, this is not yet recognized by those involved in the decision-making process (Belford, 2011; Gibson, 2009; Smith, 2004).

This analysis, however, has shown that individuals and local communities no longer simply support conservation; they are now becoming actively involved in seeking to have their own sense of heritage acknowledged and legitimized (Smith & Waterton, 2009, p.36), with nearly half the requests made for statutory designation in England referring to the local significance of the site. Any sustainable future for historic towns and cities, therefore, must not be concerned with just the continuity of iconic and 'nationally' significant sites and buildings, but also with the continuity of living culture (Nasser, 2003), the *genius loci* that characterises what might seem to an outsider to be a mundane or 'everyday' cityscape. The national designation criteria exclude large numbers of locally significant buildings, with these sites often considered to be simply less significant and not important. However, this 'everyday' heritage is part of the local distinctiveness of our cities, being an essential component of cultural identity, sense of place, community and belonging.

The national lists cannot easily deal with the need to recognise the social significance of these sites, but the localism bill does seem to offer a number of opportunities for local communities to protect or 'save' these sites, and to provide a sustainable future for them. As English Heritage (n.d.) has stated in guidance on Neighbourhood Plans, for example, the value of local heritage is to its local community, and it is therefore important for it to be protected at the local level by those who treasure it most. This could potentially be achieved either through the involvement of the community in the decision-making process as part of neighbourhood planning, or by the nomination of sites for inclusion on lists of assets of community value. However, given it's essentialist notion of the 'local', and focus on village life, it is unclear how it will work in an urban context where there may be competing local, national and international communities of interest.

At the Tameside Hippodrome in particular, there would certainly seem to be support for using the building as a community asset, and it would therefore fit the definition of an asset of community value as outlined in the Act, and it seems that the Council agrees, with an asset transfer already progressing. However, these tools are relatively new and thus there is only very limited empirical evidence for the successful use of the Act in the context of heritage and sustainable development, especially in relation to Neighbourhood Planning, which is not yet fully implemented. Therefore, it is unclear whether other assets across the country would necessarily be transferred to local community groups and re-opened, or if the community would actually want to be involved with this. In addition, although communities would be able to nominate sites for inclusion on the lists, it is the District Council who ultimately decides what is added to

it, and once a building is added, there are no restrictions on what the owner of the site can do with it, although it will be considered to be a material consideration in the planning process. Further analysis is therefore required to fully asses the success of the new legislation in providing a sustainable future for local heritage assets, and this will form the basis of future research by this author.

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Rehab 2014 – International Conference on Preservation, Maintenance and Rehabilitation of Historical Buildings and Structures is organised by Green Lines Institute and will be held in Tomar, Portugal, from March 19 to 21, 2014.

Please, visit the Conference Website for detailed information at:

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Contents

Volume 3 - Number 1 - 2013

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03 >

9 772182 275002