

57

ARKEOS

perspetivas em diálogo

Heritage: *Transforming landscapes* **through the arts** *and technology*

Editor: Luiz Oosterbeek



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perspetivas em diálogo

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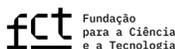
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Heritage:

*Transforming landscapes
through the arts
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Editor: Luiz Oosterbeek

Published by:



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Introduction

BY LUIZ OOSTERBEEK

Introduction

LUIZ OOSTERBEEK¹

This volume results from the contributions to the seminars in 2020 and 2022 of APHELEIA (the International Association for Cultural Integrated Landscape Management), in partnership with the UNESCO-IPT Chair in Humanities and Cultural Integrated Landscape Management, and the project FÔLEGO, an artistic intervention program structured around challenges related to climate change in Mação, Sertã, Oleiros, Proença-a-Nova and Vila de Rei and establishing a discussion with Iceland, anchored in two extreme phenomena: fires in the South of Europe and melting of glaciers in the North of Europe.

The programme, as in previous editions of APHELEIA seminars, was organized also in collaboration with UNESCO-MOST, the Management of Social Transformations program of UNESCO. It also builds from the Erasmus+ Master networks DYCLAM+ (on the management of cultural landscapes and conflicts) and IMQP (on quaternary and prehistory).

The seminars were part of the program of the 40th anniversary of the Polytechnic Institute of Tomar and included several workshops embedded in the ANDAKATU Archaeosocial Park of Mação.

A major articulation was established with the UNESCO-BRIDGES coalition and with the project HAS – Humanities, Arts and Society.

The events were supported by the Municipality of Mação, and benefited from contributions of EEA grants, FCT-CGEO and POISE programs.

¹ Professor at the Polytechnic Institute of Tomar. President of the International Council for Philosophy and Human Sciences and UNESCO-IPT chair holder “Humanities and Cultural Integrated Landscape management”.

The focus of the seminars were to assess how the discourse of the Arts, but also of Technology, interacting with Humanities research, contributes not only for disruptive thinking and questioning of society, but also to foresight and social cohesion. The seminars brought together researchers, artists, policy makers and students, for five days.

Sociocultural dynamics are simultaneously conditioned (by available material resources, other humans, logistics, inherited techniques, social structure), informed (by cultural traditions, research and innovation, including technology) and motivated (by perceived needs, insights and foresight).

While the arts are often understood as an ultimate expression of human genius or as a leisure/entertainment, it is worth acknowledging that, since the invention of the notion of symmetry over 1.5 million years ago, humans have devoted growing durations of their time and behaviour to the production, appreciation, and sharing of creative expressions, bringing together imagination, reflection, non-immediate usability, performance, communication, mastering of techniques and, sometimes, criticism of artistic output. By doing so, the arts embed intangible dimensions into objects, rituals and other material expressions.

The interests of societies in such human expressions are well documented from prehistory through contemporary times. But what role, or roles, do the arts have in society? Being a non-academic kind of inquiry, art may offer insights on meaning, values, challenges or needs, but how do these relate to community governance, understanding and foresight?

The seminars explored these themes taking a cross-cultural approach, through time and across space. They brought together artists and human sciences researchers, focusing, in particular, on the role of the arts in structuring cultural landscapes.

As in previous years, the Seminars were organized by the UNESCO Chair in Humanities and Cultural Integrated Landscape Management at the Polytechnic Institute of Tomar, in partnership with the UNESCO programme MOST

(Management of Social Transformations) and the Cgeo research centre. They were also part of the BRIDGES pilot-project on Low Density Territories.

The 2022 Seminar ran in partnership with the Project “FÔLEGO” (Breath), funded by the EEA & Norway Fund, and co-led by Academia de Produtores Culturais, Mapa das Ideias - Edições de Publicações, Lda, and the University of Iceland in partnership with the project Bifrost and the BRIDGES Coalition. The school included many activities that were part of a Summer School entitled “Fire and Ice”, which reflected upon the human responses to climate change in the North and South of Europe, and their interplay with arts and humanities reflections and interventions. In particular, this project explored the social impact of the arts on the communities of the municipalities of Mação, Oleiros, Proença-A-Nova, Sertã and Vila de Rei in Portugal, as well as partner communities in Iceland and Norway.

Robert Belot questions contemporary approaches to heritage as a source of resilience, moving away from naïve notions of reconciliation after disruptive events, even if admitting potential role for heritage in this respect. Maurizio Quagliuolo addresses cultural disruptions, fostering the notion that they may be the cradle for creating culture, also discussing resilience in this context.

Hsiung Ping-chen illustrates how the advances on science-related technologies are intertwined with values and cultural transformations, while Renaldas Gudauskas and Saulė Jokūbauskienė focus their attention on the impacts of digital innovation and associated risks.

Zoltán Somhegyi reflects on how the transformation of the landscape can trigger a sense of loss, what would be called “saudade” in Portuguese, even for those who remain living in the same place; a process that would occur in the past in slow transformative contexts (as in one’s lifetime) but can now occur in a much greater speediness.

The transformative role of the arts is the focus of several articles, by Dragos Gheorghiu, Cătălin Trandafir, Claudia Popescu,

Mihaela Moțăianu, Dan Popovici and Clondir Răzvan. They offer different approaches to the phenomenon, from the impact of single major artists to the relevance of artistic movements and, also, the social interaction triggered by collateral processes, such as crowdsourcing.

The last two articles discuss the dimension of heritage education (André Luis Ramos Soares et al.) and the material dimension of heritage and how it relates to heritage significance as a whole (Luiz Oosterbeek).

1.

**L'agir patrimonial
comme processus
de résilience :**
un mythe et ses limites

BY ROBERT BELOT

L'agir patrimonial comme processus de résilience : *un mythe et ses limites*

ROBERT BELOT¹

Résumé

Contemporaine du développement de l'éthique de la sollicitude (du « care ») et de l'avènement de la « victime » dans l'histoire dans les années 1970, la notion de « résilience » a envahi peu à peu les sciences humaines et sociales. Elle a intégré récemment le discours sur le Patrimoine et ses vertus supposées. L'opinion commune et les institutions culturelles (comme l'UNESCO) prêtent volontiers à la démarche patrimoniale un potentiel de consolation, de réconciliation, de « resynchronisation ». Les mémoires « dominées » y voient aujourd'hui une source de *réparation*, à la fois mémorielle et matérielle. Elle inspire les acteurs sociaux et politiques des territoires victimes de transformations brutales. Après un événement disruptif, *l'agir patrimonial* permettrait de retisser des liens pour guérir et prévenir du pire, pour conjurer la souffrance ou la perte, finalement pour résister à la fatalité de l'histoire afin de mieux appréhender l'avenir. C'est ce mythe réconciliatoire de la résilience que nous souhaiter examiner.

Mots-clés

héritage – résilience – mémoire – restitution – réconciliation – victime

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Abstract

Contemporary with the development of the ethics of care and the advent of the “victim” in history in the 1970s, the notion of “resilience” gradually invaded the social sciences. It recently integrated the discourse on Heritage and its supposed virtues. Public opinion and cultural institutions (such as UNESCO) readily attribute to the Heritage approach a potential for consolation, reconciliation, “resynchronization”. “Dominated” memories today see it as a source of reparation, both moral and material. It inspires social and political actors in territories victims of brutal transformations. After a disruptive event, the heritage acting would make it possible to reweave links to heal and prevent the worst, to ward off suffering or loss, and finally to resist the fatality of history in order to better understand the future. It is this myth of reconciling that we propose to examine throughout some examples.

Keywords

heritage – resilience – memory – restitution – reconciliation – victim

La « résilience » est une notion multiréférentielle née dans la science mécanique qui a envahi peu à peu les sciences humaines et sociales (Nillus, 2018). Contemporain du développement de l'éthique de la sollicitude (du « care », Gilian, 1982) et de l'avènement de la « victime » dans l'histoire, le mot est entré récemment dans le langage courant. La notion de « résilience » a intégré récemment le discours sur le Patrimoine et ses vertus supposées. En effet, l'opinion commune prête volontiers à la démarche patrimoniale un pouvoir social quasiment analgésique ou thaumaturgique : résilience sociale, psychologique, territoriale, géopolitique, économique... L'UNESCO l'a adopté, opérant ainsi une mutation dans la philosophie même de la distinction patrimoniale : il s'agit non plus seulement de signaler les prouesses de la créativité humaine ou de célébrer les beautés de la nature, mais aussi de prendre en compte ce que l'homme a fait de pire et de protéger des éco-systèmes mis en danger par l'homme.

Il y a l'idée sous-jacente que le patrimoine, comme la psychanalyse, aurait la faculté de réconcilier, de soigner, de neutraliser le conflit, de compenser le manque ou de dépasser la division grâce à la magie réparatrice de la remémoration. Tout se passe comme si la réactivation, la récupération et la préservation du passé était un facteur de palingénésie et une promesse d'avenir et de renouveau. L'exemple le plus frappant actuellement est le mouvement en faveur de la restitution des biens culturels mal acquis pendant la période de colonisation. Le phénomène n'est pas nouveau et il s'inscrit dans la longue histoire des « archives trophées ». La récupération des biens du passé aurait un effet de rédemption et de réparation qui permettrait aux anciens pays colonisés de réinvestir leur identité et de se réconcilier avec eux-mêmes et avec les anciens colonisateurs. On pourrait rapprocher cette actualité d'une autre actualité : la mort tragique de George Floyd (juin 2020) à Minneapolis. Cet événement a suscité une vague d'indignation qui, dans le monde entier qui s'est cristallisée sur les monuments de l'espace public qui témoignaient de l'histoire de la domination des Blancs sur les Noirs. Les « héros » d'hier devaient

être débouloonnés au profit des « victimes » qui sont toujours privées d'une reconnaissance patrimoniale et morale dans l'espace public. C'est dire *a contrario* l'importance que l'opinion accorde au patrimoine, c'est-à-dire, au-delà du monumental ou du mémorial, à l'histoire des victimes et à la revendication de leur juste place dans l'histoire, avec en ligne d'horizon l'idée que le recours à la mémoire et au patrimoine peuvent se transmuier en un agir pour le présent. La notion de résilience est généralement sollicitée lorsqu'il y a eu événement bouleversant, disruptif, voire traumatisant, que ce soit lors d'une catastrophe historique (e.g. conflit, génocide), technologique ou naturelle, ou que ce soit à la suite d'un processus plus ou moins lent qui provoque un changement radical de l'environnement social, économique ou politique (e.g. décolonisation, désindustrialisation).

Nous proposons de questionner cette idée-reçue à travers une double perspective. D'abord, en quoi cette notion sur-sollicitée peut-elle être considérée moins comme un concept que comme un « marqueur » de l'évolution du rapport des sociétés contemporaines à l'enjeu de la mémoire, de ses objets et de ses points de cristallisation ? Ensuite, en quoi la notion de « résilience » (née dans le monde anglo-saxon au début des années 1970 et popularisée au début des années 2000) est-elle opératoire pour analyser les effets supposés de la patrimonialisation du conflit, de la souffrance, de l'absence, de la perte ? La question ultime étant de savoir s'il s'agit d'une réalité sociale ou d'une doxa d'époque, une fiction instituante, un mythe ?

Ce papier a été nourri par l'expérience de quatre années d'enseignement, de séminaires et de recherche du master Erasmus mundus DYCLAM+, consacré aux enjeux géopolitiques du patrimoine culturel, qui a fait l'objet d'une publication collective (Belot, Martin, 2022).

1. La « résilience » comme marqueur d'une évolution du rapport à la mémoire

1.1. La notion transdisciplinaire de résilience

Il convient d'abord de cerner ce que la notion de résilience recouvre, car elle relève de plusieurs registres disciplinaires et se révèle être très polysémique et très ductile du fait qu'elle n'a pas accédé (encore) à la stabilité qu'offre un véritable statut scientifique (Manciaux, 2001). Si son étymologie est mal connue, on sait que le mot a été employé dans la culture anglo-saxonne, qu'il a surgi à l'orée des années 1970 pour se répandre dans les années 2000. Les recherches en psychologie et psychiatrie ont été les plus consommatrices de la notion et son agent principal de diffusion (Luthar et al., 2000).

Il est difficile de dégager une formule unique qui permette de rendre compte de cette diversité des emplois de la notion de résilience. Une définition pourtant est susceptible de fédérer les approches et d'ouvrir sur des perspectives heuristiques intéressantes : la résilience serait la « capacité d'une personne ou d'un groupe à se développer bien, à continuer à se projeter dans l'avenir en dépit d'événements déstabilisants, de conditions de vie difficiles, de traumatismes sévères » (Manciaux et al. 2001).

Cette définition provient de chercheurs en santé publique. Elle est tirée d'un livre dont le titre est tout un programme : *La résilience : résister et se construire*. Deux autres notions interviennent : la « résistance », c'est-à-dire une force qui s'oppose à une autre force ; et la « construction », c'est-à-dire une action positive qui confère de la stabilité et de l'identité. Ces deux notions s'inscrivent dans une dialectique du dépassement de forces antagoniques entre le négatif et le positif, le subi et le construit.

1.2. Le tournant des années 1970 et l'entrée dans l'ère victimaire

Au cœur de la notion, on trouve le rapport à la violence. Pourquoi ? C'est dans le domaine psychiatrique que la notion a été le plus massivement sollicitée et diffusée auprès du grand public. Tout est parti des Etats-Unis où le terme émerge au tout début des années 1970 dans les études sur les enfants (Werner et al., 1971). En France, le docteur Boris Cyrulnik a été l'agent majeur de cette diffusion médiatique. Et c'est pourquoi la résilience est presque systématiquement associée à la violence psychologique. Schématiquement et pour l'opinion commune, on pourrait dire que la résilience est un processus de dépassement d'un acte de violence subi. Cette définition fait intervenir une autre notion : celle de « victime ». Victime d'un acte de violence subi. C'est ainsi que l'entend le neuropsychiatre Boris Cyrulnik quand il répond à la question de savoir pourquoi ce concept n'a-t-il pas été étudié plus tôt : « Parce qu'on a longtemps méprisé les victimes. »

Au cœur de la configuration résiliente, on trouve le couple Victime / Violence qui résulte d'un événement de haute intensité, qui peut provoquer des réactions traumatiques. On associe généralement cet événement à une violence inter-individuelle (la violence faite aux enfants, par exemple Manciaux, 2015). L'importance actuelle dans les sociétés occidentales de l'enjeu du « développement personnel » multiplie études et livres sur la manière de se « déconditionner de son passé » (Hahusseau, 2018) et de « guérir de ses traumatismes et de ses blessures » (Boris Cyrulnik).

Mais ce peut être des événements collectifs, comme les conflits et les guerres. Le processus résilient commence par la volonté de résister à cet enfermement diabolique pour neutraliser l'impact déstabilisant de la violence et pouvoir accéder à un état soutenable. La démarche de réappropriation/dépassement de ce passé douloureux permet alors de déclencher le processus résilient qui ouvrira une phase vertueuse et re-créatrice : consolation, guérison, réparation, réconciliation, protection, valorisation, dynamisation.

La Grande Guerre européenne (1914-1918), la guerre la plus meurtrière et la plus brutale de l'histoire d'humanité, est à l'origine de l'avènement de la médecine de guerre. Outre les innombrables blessés et amputés qu'il fallait soigner et réinsérer, certains survivants ont été marqués par le syndrome du stress post-traumatique. La psychologie avait un nouveau champ à explorer. Freud a été interpellé par cette question, comme en témoigne son livre *Considérations sur la guerre et sur la mort*. Plusieurs centaines de milliers de Français et d'Allemands ont été atteints de troubles psychiques (Crocq, 2014). Il a fallu traiter ce qu'on commençait à appeler les « névroses de guerre (Bogousslavsky & Tatut, 2012). La guerre du Vietnam a provoqué une accélération de la prise en compte du traumatisme psychique de guerre. Emerge alors le concept de "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder". Ce n'est pas un hasard si la notion de « résilience » s'est affirmée aux Etats-Unis.

Des études américaines récentes ont tenté d'appliquer la métaphore de la résilience aux survivants de la Shoah (Greene et al, 2012). Car les années 1970 sont aussi un tournant pour la recherche historique, portée par les tendances de la mémoire collective et affective. La recherche se polarise sur la question de la violence de masse. C'est l'entrée dans « l'ère de la victime (Roder, 2019) » et de « l'empire du traumatisme (Fassin & Rechtman, 2011) ». En France, on constate cette évolution dans la mémoire et l'historiographie du Second Conflit mondial et de l'occupation allemande : une phase primitive, polarisée autour de la glorification du Résistant (héros du combat antinazi et symbole du renouveau politique), portant ombrage aux victimes (la déportation des juifs, par exemple (Belot, 2005)) et à la résistance civile, a fait place peu à peu à la prise en compte de la nocivité du régime de Vichy (dans la déportation des juifs, dans la collaboration franco-allemande), des « bourreaux » (les collaborateurs, les traîtres, les supplétifs de la police allemande). Aujourd'hui, la mémoire nationale est centrée sur la question de la spoliation des juifs et la mise en valeur des Justes (qui ont sauvé des juifs) (Belot, 2013).

La Shoah est ainsi devenue un élément nodal de la remémoration de la Seconde Guerre mondiale en Europe.

La Première Guerre mondiale n'est pas restée à l'écart de cette tendance lourde. Elle est réinterprétée aujourd'hui à travers le prisme de la « brutalisation (Mosse, 1990) » et de la souffrance des Poilus. Après une longue phase mémorielle où l'héroïsme et le patriotisme sont mis en avance, les historiens s'intéressent aujourd'hui au vécu intime et quotidien des Poilus (Cazals & Loez, 2012) ou à la « communauté européenne de la souffrance » qui a réuni les combattants de tous les camps (Rousseau, 1999-2003). On observe une dialectique et une interaction entre la mémoire et l'histoire savante, et la revendication des groupes concernés.

Cette dynamique compassionnelle permet à d'autres pans de la mémoire souffrante de l'humanité de ré-émerger (colonisation, esclavage...) et de réclamer leur droit à intégrer le patrimoine mondial.

Le projet européen, qui prend forme au sein même des luttes de la Résistance contre le nazisme pendant la Seconde Guerre et qui aboutira à l'Union européenne, participe de cette volonté de mettre fin à un cycle de violence commencé en 1870. Il est une manifestation de la *résilience géopolitique* : penser les causes des conflits (le nationalisme et le racisme) pour dépasser la souffrance et la division afin d'accéder à la paix et à la réconciliation. Dans ses *Considérations sur la guerre et sur la mort*, Freud avait bien analysé ce processus de désagrégation du lien européen que la Grande Guerre, la « plus sanglante et plus meurtrière qu'aucune des guerres du passé », avait provoqué : « Elle renverse tout ce qu'elle trouve sur son chemin, et cela dans une rage aveugle, comme si après elle il ne devait plus y avoir d'avenir ni de paix entre les hommes. Elle fait éclater tous les liens de communauté qui rattachent encore les uns aux autres les peuples en lutte et menace de laisser après elle des rancunes qui rendront impossible pendant de longues années la reconstitution de ces liens. » La résilience est justement une tentative pour « reconstituer » du lien. Cette reconstitution est au fondement de l'agir patrimonial qui est un processus de réappropriation dynamique d'un événement

passé en vue de son dépassement créateur. Dans le cas de l'Europe, cette dynamique a été opérée principalement par la création institutionnelle, le rôle des peuples étant resté modeste.

Ce qui n'a pas encore été remarqué c'est qu'il y a concomitance chronologique entre le surgissement de la notion de « résilience » et le regain d'intérêt pour le patrimoine, qui traduit aussi la recherche d'une autre temporalité et d'autres valeurs après le cycle des Trente Glorieuses. C'est aussi le moment où l'écologisme prend son envol.

Pierre Nora, l'inventeur des « lieux de mémoire », parle d'explosion : « On assiste à une inflation brutale et désordonnée de tous les objets du patrimoine. Par pans entiers, de nouveaux champs sont entrés dans le domaine du patrimoine (Nora, 2011). » Il prend pour exemple la création en 1972 du musée des Arts et Traditions populaires. On pourrait y ajouter, à la fin des années 1970, les recherches menées par l'historien Maurice Daumas, dans le cadre du CNAM (Conservatoire national des Arts et Métiers), sur la naissance de « l'archéologie industrielle » comme champ d'investigation, ou la décision du président de la République française, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, en 1977, de transformer la gare d'Orsay en musée et d'instaurer en 1980 l'année dite du Patrimoine. Les signes annonciateurs du monde post-industriel étaient déjà perceptibles. Tout un modèle de développement allait devenir « victime » d'une nouvelle modernité. Il fallait s'intéresser à ce qui allait mourir et à ce qui pouvait être sauvé. On assiste alors à une dilatation et à une « extension métaphorique » (P. Nora) de la notion qui était réservée jusque-là au monumental, au majestueux et au spectaculaire. A la source de ce phénomène d'hypermnésie, il y aurait, selon Pierre Nora, « l'accélération de l'histoire » qui aurait provoqué un « sentiment de perte » face à l'imprévisibilité de l'avenir (Nora, 2011). La mondialisation a renforcé ce sentiment et à participer de ce besoin de ressourcement identitaire, voire communautaire. La diffusion du numérique dans nos vies représente une révolution dans notre rapport à la trace et au souvenir, mais aussi dans la naissance d'un patrimoine virtuel doué d'une capacité de dissémination infinie.

1.3. Patrimonialiser la violence, l'injustice et la perte pour conjurer la douleur

Depuis peu, l'UNESCO affiche la « résilience » comme l'une de ses ambitions car la résilience est devenue l'un des attributs du patrimoine. Pourtant, le mot apparaît très peu dans les textes unesquiens et désignent d'abord le patrimoine naturel. Si l'on se reporte aux *Textes fondamentaux de la Convention du patrimoine mondial de 1972* (UNESCO, édition 2019), on trouve un texte daté du 10 juillet 2019 qui s'intitule : *Orientations devant guider la mise en œuvre de la Convention du patrimoine mondial* (comité intergouvernemental pour la protection du patrimoine mondial, culturel et naturel). Deux articles en font mention. L'article 15 : « Intégrer la protection de ce patrimoine dans les programmes de planification générale et dans les mécanismes de coordination, en prêtant particulièrement attention à *la résilience des systèmes socio-écologiques des biens* ». Le patrimoine apparaît comme une victime potentielle car on entend « combattre les périls qui menacent le patrimoine ». L'article 118 bis qui évoque l'évaluation de l'impact environnemental : « Cela garantira la sauvegarde à long terme de la valeur universelle exceptionnelle et *le renforcement de la résilience du patrimoine face aux catastrophes et au changement climatique* ».

Le paradoxe cruel est que l'UNESCO a eu à faire face à une autre forme de menace subie par les sites qu'elle a classés pour les protéger : le terrorisme anti-patrimoine, où le patrimoine en tant que tel devenait la cible à détruire par des mouvements culturicide.

Depuis une dizaine d'années, l'actualité a mis en évidence l'enjeu géopolitique que représente le patrimoine et les biens culturels (Belot, 2018). Des événements tragiques ont révélé à l'opinion la puissance symbolique du patrimoine culturel : des mausolées protégés à Tombouctou à l'incendie de Notre-Dame-de-Paris en passant par la destruction de l'Arche de Palmyre. La Communauté internationale a enfin pris en compte cet enjeu. Un signal fort a été donné par la Cour pénale internationale qui a rendu le 27

septembre 2016 un jugement historique contre le djihadiste malien qui a reconnu avoir détruit une partie du patrimoine religieux de Tombouctou ; pour la première fois est reconnu le crime contre le patrimoine. S'il faut réprimer, il est nécessaire de réparer et prévenir. C'est pourquoi le 20 mars 2017, à Abou Dhabi, en collaboration avec l'UNESCO, une nouvelle fondation a été créée (*Aliph*) dont l'objet est « la protection du patrimoine en péril ». Mais le péril ne prend pas toujours une dimension spectaculaire. Le développement du trafic de biens culturels, suite notamment au désordre qui règne au Moyen-Orient, constitue une menace importante car c'est une manière de priver les peuples de leur patrimoine. C'est pourquoi le Conseil de sécurité des Nations unies a voté une résolution (12 février 2015) qui appelle à protéger et à défendre le patrimoine culturel contre le pillage, le trafic et les destructions dans toutes les zones de conflit.

L'Europe s'est pleinement engagée dans cette politique. Les 47 ministres en charge du patrimoine au Conseil de l'Europe ont lancé un appel à Namur (avril 2015) pour une meilleure « solidarité internationale ». La Commission Européenne entend renforcer la coopération intra-européenne et s'est engagée (juillet 2017) à protéger le « patrimoine mondial ». Elle a décidé de modifier l'environnement réglementaire en proposant une incrimination spécifique aux biens culturels (en lien avec la lutte contre le financement du terrorisme) et un règlement européen permettant de lutter de manière globale contre l'importation illicite de biens culturels dans l'UE, en lien avec les pays en développement.

Il y a le patrimoine victime à protéger et il y a les victimes de l'histoire à protéger en les patrimonialisant. Les inscriptions sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO marquent une évolution qui fait écho à cette tendance victimaire et lui offre de nouveaux horizons. Le patrimoine majestueux et spectaculaire, qui valorise la capacité de l'homme à se dépasser, laisse la place au patrimoine de la désolation qui se veut à la fois hommage aux victimes et message de prévention. Citons quelques exemples emblématiques de trois types de violence historique qui ont reçu

la reconnaissance unesquienne : île de Gorée (1978) ; Auschwitz (1979) ; Dôme de Genbaku à Hiroshima (1996). Si l'on analyse la liste des biens culturels qui ont reçu le label « Patrimoine européen » (attribué par l'Union européenne depuis 2005), on observe que 6 sites sont des lieux qui symbolisent le patrimoine tragique de l'Europe. La sélection de 2020 fait apparaître deux classements (sur 10) qui ont un rapport direct avec l'Europe en guerre (Le site de Commémoration Łambinowice (Pologne) et le lieu de Mémoire au Chambon-sur-Lignon (France) consacré à la mémoire des Justes (ceux qui ont aidé des juifs pendant la période nazie), et un classement lié à la bienveillance faite aux victimes : Les Colonies de Bienveillance (Belgique et Pays-Bas). On notera le Mémorial de Sighet (Roumanie), classé en 2018, qui est le premier consacré (dans le cadre de ce label) à la mémoire des victimes du communisme. Mais la philosophie de cette labellisation vise à mettre en valeur la dimension européenne de biens culturels, monuments, sites culturels, lieux de mémoire, etc., en tant que témoins d'une histoire partagée et d'une culture commune pour aboutir à la construction européenne.

La patrimonialisation de la mémoire du pire se présente alors comme une forme de résilience : la remémoration d'un souvenir violent (la résistance à l'oubli) est une manière de prendre en compte les victimes et leur souffrance dans une démarche de dépassement de cette histoire tragique qui vise *in fine* deux objectifs : la réparation et la prévention (Belot, 2017).

La résilience ne se limiterait donc pas à la « consolation », au repli dans une identité imaginaire et nostalgique. Il s'agit de tenter de se réconcilier avec soi et avec ceux qui ont commis violence ou injustice. Il s'agit de tenter d'assumer une perte (perte d'une personne, d'un paysage, d'une tradition, d'une activité...) pour quelque chose (un mieux-être, etc...) (Juffé, 2013/4). Tout est dans la différence entre « l'inconsolé » (qui admet une perte, une privation intolérable, mais qui veut transformer sa souffrance en revendication ou en action) et « l'inconsolable » (qui est impuissant à opérer cette transformation et à se remettre de la perte ou du traumatisme) (Fouessel,

2015). Freud avait bien vu que la consolation ne devait pas être un refuge de la détresse dans la religion, le repli sur soi ou la métaphysique, ce qui conduirait à une guérison illusoire.

Le processus de patrimonialisation est intrinsèquement lié à l'idée selon laquelle la distinction mémoriale (le souvenir matérialisé, entretenu, valorisé durablement) doit servir à entretenir la mémoire pour que le futur n'oublie pas le passé. Cette opération de survie de la mémoire (et c'est le deuxième attribut de la patrimonialisation) est réputée être douée d'une vertu de prophylaxie : la mémoire doit servir à forger un futur meilleur car elle aurait la capacité de protéger et de transformer. D'où la notion (contestable) de « devoir de mémoire ».

Une définition de la résilience doit prendre en compte la dialectique de la résistance et du rebond. Le mot « résilience » serait un dérivé du verbe latin *salire* (Cresti, 2014) (sauter, le préfixe « re » indiquant un mouvement arrière (Tisseron, 2009)) et le mot « résistance » viendrait du verbe *stare* (rester stable, debout, « se tenir en faisant face »). Appliqué au patrimoine, cela donne : se souvenir pour aller de l'avant et pour que le pire « ne se reproduise plus ». Le patrimoine ouvrirait alors la possibilité magnifique de pouvoir guérir du pire et de résister à la fatalité de l'histoire. L'Union européenne pourrait être regardée comme l'exemple le plus abouti de la validité de cet axiome. Mais le souvenir du génocide arménien ou de la Shoah, entre autres exemples, n'a pas empêché d'autres génocides contemporains, comme le Rwanda. On peut se mettre d'accord sur le fait qu'au cœur de la définition du patrimoine, il y a l'idée de mouvement, de dynamique. Cela contredit une opinion très répandue selon laquelle le patrimoine serait le synonyme de conservatoire passéiste et de contemplation onanistique.

2. La mémoire et ses vertus socialement réconciliatoires

2.1. Les vertus analgésiques de l'agir patrimonial

Le patrimoine est considéré généralement comme un facteur de résilience en raison de son potentiel de réconciliation, de raccommodement, de « resynchronisation ». Après un événement qui fait rupture, il retisse des liens pour produire plus d'harmonie, pour conjurer la violence et apaiser la souffrance. De quels liens s'agit-il ? Les liens entre le passé et le présent ; les liens entre les individus ; les liens entre les communautés ; les liens entre les nations. L'histoire (au sens de la discipline historique) est souvent présentée comme l'opérateur cardinal de cette métamorphose réconciliatoire : elle permettrait de se réconcilier avec le passé et le temps, avec soi et avec les autres.

L'agir patrimonial, qui participe de la démarche historique en tant que vecteur et médiateur, dépend bien sûr de l'événement qui est à l'origine de la rupture et du désir de patrimoine et de résilience. L'événement qui provoque le choc, la peur ou la souffrance peut être très diversifié, mais on pourrait distinguer deux grandes catégories d'événement-rupture : l'événement historique (lié à l'homme) et l'événement naturel (échappant au pouvoir de l'homme). Chaque type d'événement peut relever de deux régimes de temporalité : courte et longue.

L'événement « disruptif » (ou brutal) se situe dans un temps court et dans un espace limité et une certaine soudaineté : ce peut être une révolte, une guerre (civile et étrangère), une crise sanitaire (Covid 19), un affrontement violent entre communautés, une catastrophe (climatique, sanitaire, technologique). L'événement « évolutif » (ou durable) peut être qualifié de « basse intensité » car il se déploie sur un temps moyen (la colonisation, l'apartheid, la désindustrialisation, la modernité, la mondialisation) ou sur un temps long (le changement climatique, le rapport hommes/femmes). Nous allons ici nous en tenir aux événements de type historique.

La patrimonialisation-réconciliation exige un protocole spécifique qui doit assurer la connaissance et la reconnaissance du conflit. Le processus de résilience présuppose une prise de conscience par les deux parties en conflit et donc un partage. La démarche est différente de l'option judiciaire qui aboutira à la désignation d'un coupable et l'établissement d'une peine. La patrimonialisation-réconciliation doit s'inscrire dans une coproduction de la prise de conscience et de la recherche de la « vérité » selon les précautions méthodologiques et les protocoles de l'histoire des historiens.

Les massacres de masse du XXe siècle ont permis la mise au point de modèles d'analyse sur la mémoire et l'histoire du pire (Sémelin, 2005).

Le procès de Nuremberg avait une dimension judiciaire avérée, mais il servait en même temps (et même surtout) un enjeu patrimonial : il fallait écouter les témoins et consigner les faits pour construire une connaissance du nazisme et de ses méfaits, pour en conserver la mémoire dans l'avenir. Les nombreux volumes du procès constituent une sorte de monument de papier de nature historico-mémoriale qui témoigne du drame subi par les populations européennes et se présente comme un avertissement. Ce procès a permis de réunir les Européens autour du rejet des idéologies liberticides et hégémoniques et d'imaginer un nouvel horizon. Beaucoup déplorent que la chute de l'empire soviétique n'ait pas donné lieu à un « Nuremberg du communisme », c'est-à-dire un moment symboliquement fort qui permet d'ouvrir le chemin d'une catharsis collective à partir de la connaissance du phénomène historique et de la reconnaissance de la souffrance subie.

D'autres expériences plus proches de nous ont eu lieu, qui ont montré l'intérêt du patrimoine comme source de résilience et de recréation du lien social et national. La réappropriation éclairée du passé (proche ou lointain) crée la possibilité d'une réconciliation/réparation de soi avec soi et de soi avec les autres. C'est le cas de la Commission de la vérité et de la réconciliation en Afrique du Sud (1996-1998) qui a été créée par le *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act* du 19 juillet 1995, peu de temps après l'accession

de Nelson Mandela au pouvoir. La mission principale était de recenser les violations des droits de l'Homme depuis 1960 pour constituer un patrimoine de la discrimination. C'est aussi le cas de la *National Unity and Reconciliation Commission* mise en place au Rwanda (1999) après l'horrible génocide des Tutsis (1994), le dernier massacre de masse du XXe siècle. Le site officiel indique : "The NUR was created in March 1999 by a parliamentary law to promote Unity and Reconciliation among Rwandans in the aftermath of the devastating 1994 genocide against Tutsis to mark a major milestone in changing, fundamentally, effects of bad governance based on discrimination and exclusion. NURC has been a pivotal institution in the process of unity and reconciliation policy implementation, social trust and social cohesion towards the main goal achievement of building a united country." Une *Commission nationale de lutte contre le génocide* a été chargée de constituer la mémoire du génocide. De nombreux historiens ont été associés à cette démarche qui amorce un processus de patrimonialisation. Leur présence témoigne de la volonté de mettre en perspective cet événement pour l'inscrire dans une dynamique patrimoniale. Un mémorial a été édifié. C'est par cette dynamique que le travail de mémoire et de deuil peut se développer et éviter l'ornière de l'oubli, de la vengeance, de la « contagion émotionnelle (Dingeon, 2011) » ou du déni. Cette politique de mémoire, mobilisant la société civile, sert une ambition de reconstruction des institutions, de réconciliation nationale et de prévention par la promotion des droits fondamentaux de la personne, la réhabilitation des survivants et, bien sûr, à « éradiquer l'idéologie divisionniste et génocidaire » (Kanimba Misago, 2009). Le cas rwandais illustre la validité de ce que je pourrais appeler *la quadrature patrimoniale* : Mémorialisation-Réparation-Réconciliation-Prévention.

Des méthodes assez proches ont été mobilisées à la suite des attentats du 13 novembre 2015. Une équipe de scientifiques et d'historiens ont aussitôt lancé une campagne d'enregistrement des témoignages (des victimes et des parents des victimes, des témoins directs ou indirects) et d'études interdisciplinaires pour

constituer un patrimoine de cet événement tragique pour dépasser le traumatisme. A l'occasion de la première *Journée nationale d'hommage aux victimes du terrorisme* qui a lieu le 11 mars 2020, à laquelle le président Macron a participé, l'historien Denis Peschanski, un des initiateurs du projet, déclarait que les études mises en place visaient à comprendre les mécanismes de résilience. « La résilience doit permettre de renvoyer le passé à sa place, c'est-à-dire dans le passé », déclare-t-il dans l'hebdomadaire *Télérama* (11 mars 2020), et la commémoration est justement une manière d'accomplir cette délicate transmutation. En comparant avec la manière dont les Américains ont patrimonialisé le 11 septembre 2001, il observe que « les États-Unis ont construit leur résilience collective autour de la figure du héros » alors que la France a choisi celle de la victime.

On pourrait donc dire que la patrimonialisation-résilience est *mise en présence du passé*, mais du passé en tant que passé conscientisé et assumé. C'est le passé dominé et non pas le passé qui domine le sujet par la nostalgie, l'intrusion incontrôlée, l'évitement, la peur, la névrose. Cette transmutation exige une mise en narration (témoignage, monument, livre, musée, exposition...). « Tous les chagrins sont supportables si on en fait un récit » ce qui n'est pas toujours le cas pour certains (Primo Levi, par exemple) » (Cyrulnik, 1999).

En effet, le récit, en mettant à distance l'événement subi, objectivise l'acte patrimonial et ouvre la voie à l'accomplissement du travail de deuil favorisé par la réappropriation du passé et la promesse d'une inscription dans l'avenir.

Le « cadre de narration (Crocq, 1999) » peut prendre des formes diverses, et à titre principal : témoignages, musée (réel ou virtuel), labellisation (Patrimoine européen), distinction (UNESCO, les Justes), mémorial, monument (réel ou virtuel comme le monument aux Parisiens morts en 1914-18), nom de rues.

2.2. Comment échapper au patrimoine alibi et placebo ?

Nous considérons que la patrimonialisation (en tant que *mise en présence du passé en tant que passé pour l'avenir*) peut être un facteur de résilience (de reviviscence et de réconciliation) après un événement douloureux.

Tout dépend bien sûr de l'événement subi et du type de souffrance ou de peur qu'il a engendrée et du type de revendication qu'il peut enclencher.

La distinction patrimoniale, pour atteindre une efficacité résiliante, exige de satisfaire à certaines conditions. Cinq conditions *sine qua non* :

- mise en perspective grâce à un « cadre de narration » contextualisant et problématisant (pas seulement une collection d'artefacts ou de témoignages)
- respect de l'histoire et de sa complexité (histoire savante)
- démarche rationnelle et non-émotionnelle (l'acte de mémoire doit être, comme l'a écrit Marc Bloch, « remis à la raison (Bloch 1969) »)
- accessibilité assurée par une stratégie didactique adéquate impliquant la prise en compte du groupe social concerné en l'associant au processus
- volonté politique d'opérer des choix.

L'écueil habituel est le patrimoine-alibi, le patrimoine de la « bonne conscience » qui ne permet que des « guérisons illusoire » et des effets placebo. Prenons l'exemple de la patrimonialisation du pasteur Martin Luther King et de son combat anti-raciste. Certes, il était commémoré depuis longtemps dans le quartier de sa ville natale, à Atlanta. Mais un pas supplémentaire dans son intégration dans la mémoire collective a été réalisé lorsque le 2 novembre 1983, malgré l'opposition du président Reagan, est institué comme jour férié fédéral le *Martin Luther King Day* autour du 15 janvier (sa date-anniversaire). Le stade ultime de la

reconnaissance patrimoniale a été l'érection d'un mémorial à sa mémoire, en 2011, dans l'espace consacré qu'est le National Mall à Washington DC. Luther King est le premier afro-américain à recevoir un tel hommage de la Nation. Pour autant, est-ce que ce geste a permis l'atténuation de la discrimination « réelle » à l'égard des Noirs aux Etats-Unis ? La mort de George Floyd, le 25 mai 2020, à Minneapolis, et l'émoi qu'elle a provoqué soulignent combien les Afro-Américains se sentent encore insuffisamment intégrés dans la communauté nationale. En témoigne le fait que dans l'Etat du Mississippi, par exemple, le King Day soit associé avec l'anniversaire de Robert E. Lee, un général symbole de la cause confédérée, esclavagiste et suprématiste blanc. Sa statue a failli être déboulonnée à Charlottesville, en 2017, ce qui a provoqué manifestations et contre-manifestations qui ont abouti à la mort d'une jeune femme. Une vague de débouloonnages et de vandalismes a eu lieu à ce moment, aux Etats-Unis mais dans tout l'Occident.

On voit que la patrimonialisation n'est pas toujours susceptible de remplir la mission de pacification qu'on lui prête si une dynamique de consensus n'est pas enclenchée et si le politique ne prend pas le relais. Michael Lapsley considère que la Commission *Vérité et Réconciliation* mise en place avec l'avènement de Mandela n'a pas tenu les promesses qu'elle a suscitées : « L'erreur, en Afrique du Sud, a été de croire que la Commission était une fin, alors qu'en réalité, c'était juste le commencement (Lapsley, 2015). » On pourrait prendre pour exemple le pont de Mostar en Bosnie-Herzégovine, détruit en 1993 par les Croates pour bloquer les Bosniaques. Malgré sa reconstruction (2004) et sa labellisation par l'UNESCO, ce pont n'a pas réussi à recréer du lien entre les deux parties de la ville et les communautés (catholiques et musulmanes) séparées par la rivière. La patrimonialisation peut tout autant réunir que diviser et entretenir la conflictualité des mémoires. La patrimonialisation peut même être un point de cristallisation des conflits, comme c'est toujours le cas à Hébron, en Palestine. La mémoire peut guérir, mais elle peut aussi désunir et meurtrir.

Pour illustrer notre propos, deux exemples contemporains peuvent être analysés brièvement. Les deux relèvent d'un événement se situant dans le moyen terme : décolonisation et désindustrialisation. Le premier concerne une revendication essentiellement morale et politique (même si elle passe par le truchement d'un objet), le deuxième concerne la manière de gérer (socialement, économiquement et urbanistiquement) le phénomène très concret de la déprise industrielle, que nous abordons à travers la transformation d'un lieu minier emblématique.

2.3. La Restitution des biens culturels comme réparation

Depuis quelques années, le patrimoine est devenu un enjeu géopolitique : source de conflictualité (entre des communautés, des pays et des religions) ; cible de la violence terroriste ; instrument de rééquilibrage culturel international ; outil de réappropriation identitaire et de réparation historique. L'historien Pierre Nora, inventeur des « lieux de mémoire », avait eu l'intuition de l'émergence de cette sorte de « circularité » entre Patrimoine, Mémoire et Identité qui traduit une ambition revendicative : « On est passé d'un patrimoine hérité à un patrimoine revendiqué, et au besoin fabriqué (Nora, 2011). » L'exemple hyper-médiatisé et mondialisé de la restitution des biens culturels mal acquis pendant la période coloniale illustre cette intuition.

Le phénomène n'est pas nouveau et il s'inscrit dans la longue histoire des « archives trophées », à laquelle le nom de Napoléon 1^{er} est attaché. Tous les pays du monde ont été plus ou moins victimes ou acteurs de ce genre de pratiques de spoliation et de privation. Plus près de nous, on peut signaler le contentieux diplomatique qui existe aujourd'hui entre la France et la Russie concernant le vol des archives françaises commis par l'occupant nazi en 1940, puis par l'URSS en 1945. C'est un capital historique et mémoriel qui a été dérobé à la France et dont elle réclame le retour, mais c'est aussi le témoignage d'un événement tragique (la défaite de 1940, l'occupation, le régime liberticide de Vichy), où se

mêlent la souffrance et la honte, qui est entré, « après des années de secret, de refoulement et de deuil imparfait (Cœuré, 2007-2013) », dans la phase d'historisation et de patrimonialisation.

Concernant l'actuel mouvement de revendication de restitution des biens culturels mal acquis, il s'agit d'objets (objets d'art, objets de culte, corps humains...) qui ont été prélevés (selon des modalités très diverses qui ne relèvent pas toujours du « pillage ») dans le passé par l'Europe sur les peuples qu'elle dominait. Bien sûr, l'enjeu dépasse la question de la « restitution » physique. La dimension symbolique l'emporte. La restitution est regardée comme un moyen de combler la perte (la perte matérielle et identitaire), mais aussi et surtout d'assumer le passé pour envisager un nouvel avenir entre les ex-colonisés et les ex-colonisateurs. L'agir patrimonial jouerait ici pleinement sa mission de résilience.

Nous sommes en présence d'un *désir mondial de patrimoine*, en lien avec la montée en puissance du tourisme, de la mondialisation des comportements et de la revendication identitaire. Le patrimoine peut diviser, mais il peut aussi constituer un élément symbolique de rapprochement, de réconciliation, voire de réparation morale. Ainsi, en 2010, le gouvernement français a rétrocédé 297 manuscrits saisis en Corée par la flotte française, en 1866, et des têtes Maori réclamées par la Nouvelle-Zélande, ce qui a soulevé la protestation des acteurs de la culture et du patrimoine qui brandissent l'arme de l'inaliénabilité et craignent pour la préservation de l'intégralité des collections. Le grand risque serait la multiplication des réclamations et des restitutions « politiques ». La restitution du patrimoine « spolié » est une revendication ancienne, traversée par des enjeux à la fois moraux, juridiques, historiques et diplomatiques comme en témoignent les affaires, toujours en cours, des biens juifs volés par les nazis.

Mais le problème prend de l'ampleur aujourd'hui et interpelle la communauté internationale, et singulièrement l'Europe qui a largement puisé dans le patrimoine des pays colonisés. C'est dire que la restitution d'œuvres d'art, au-delà de la question strictement patrimoniale, est traversée par l'enjeu plus complexe et plus

sensible de la *réparation* d'un passé basé sur un rapport de forces. C'est ce qu'annonçait, il y a fort longtemps, Victor Hugo, en interpellant les Européens sur le cas de la Chine, au moment où, en 1860, les Anglais et les Français envahissaient la résidence d'été de l'Empereur Xianfeng :

« Un jour, deux bandits sont entrés dans le Palais d'été. L'un a pillé, l'autre a incendié. (...) Nous, Européens, nous sommes les civilisés, et pour nous, les Chinois sont les barbares. Voilà ce que la civilisation a fait à la barbarie. Devant l'histoire, l'un des deux bandits s'appellera la France, l'autre s'appellera l'Angleterre. (...) J'espère qu'un jour viendra où la France, délivrée et nettoyée, renverra ce butin à la Chine spoliée ».

Lui a fait écho Aimé Césaire, dans son *Discours sur le colonialisme* en 1950 :

« Eh quoi ? Les Indiens massacrés, le monde musulman vidé de lui-même, le monde chinois pendant un bon siècle, souillé et dénaturé, le monde nègre disqualifié, d'immenses voix à jamais éteintes, des foyers dispersés au vent, tout ce bousillage, l'Humanité réduite au monologue, et vous croyez que tout cela *ne se paie pas* ? »

La restitution rime donc souvent avec réparation, voire indemnisation s'il y a eu spoliation. C'est sur cette base que la France, dans les années 1990, a lancé une vaste opération de reprise historique et mémorielle sur la question des biens juifs spoliés pendant l'occupation nazie, de 1940 à 1944. Cette dynamique est en phase avec un contexte éditorial favorable : en 1995, deux livres à fort retentissement jette une lumière nouvelle sur cette problématique

(Lynn, 1995 ; Feliciano, 1995) et encourage le mouvement. En 1997, gouvernement français prend l'affaire en main et demande à Jean Matteoli, ancien résistant et alors Président du Conseil Economique et Social, de monter une équipe pour « étudier le mode de spoliation des biens juifs qui avaient été saisis tant par l'occupant que par les autorités de Vichy entre 1940 et 1944, d'en évaluer l'ampleur et de localiser ces biens ». En 1999 est mise en place une Commission pour l'indemnisation des victimes de spoliations intervenues du fait des législations antisémites en vigueur pendant l'Occupation. Malgré les études historiques approfondies qui ont marqué ce processus de réappropriation d'une histoire douloureuse longtemps déniée, le gouvernement montre une certaine pro-activité. En juin 2017, par exemple, il publie un *vade mecum* intitulé : *Le traitement des biens culturels spoliés* (<https://www.conseildesventes.fr/flipbooks/2017/vademecum-biens-spolies/index.html#p=16>). En 2018, le ministre français de la Culture met en place une nouvelle mission de restitution des biens juifs spoliés. Un rapport important est publié dans la foulée sous la direction de David Zivie (fonctionnaire du ministère de la Culture) : *Biens culturels spoliés pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale : une ambition pour rechercher, retrouver, restituer et expliquer* (Zivie, 2018).

C'est dire que le patrimoine culturel est devenu un enjeu à la fois historique, moral, juridique et matériel. Mais il revêt également une dimension géopolitique, provoquant parfois de nouvelles revendications, voire de nouveaux conflits auxquels il convient de trouver une réponse appropriée.

Dans son discours prononcé le mardi 28 novembre 2017 à l'Université de Ouagadougou au Burkina Faso, le président de la République française a relancé cette idée de la culture comme « remède ». Après avoir stigmatisé « les crimes de la colonisation européenne », il s'est engagé en faveur de « restitution du patrimoine africain », considérant qu'« il n'y a pas de justification valable, durable et inconditionnelle » au fait que le patrimoine africain se trouve majoritairement dans « des collections privées et

des musées européens ». Il faut se préparer à cette perspective. Un début de processus a été enclenché avec la restitution par le musée du Quai Branly de 26 œuvres au Bénin.

Si la première ligne de réactions et de revendications se place sous le signe de l'apparente simplicité de l'éthique et de la politique, une salve de questions se présente lorsqu'on s'aventure au-delà du discours et des postures.

Le surgissement de cette revendication laisse parfois à penser que le phénomène est récent. Une question a son importance mais qui est aussi peu traitée que connue : quelle est l'histoire du mouvement revendicatif des peuples colonisés ? Ce mouvement est-il circonscrit à l'Afrique ? Faut-il restituer ? Définitivement ou temporairement ? Que peut-on/doit-on restituer ? Connait-on les itinéraires des objets, les processus par lesquels ils ont été extraits de leur lieu d'origine et leurs modalités d'acquisition ? Comment restituer et à qui, sachant que le système tribal ne coïncide pas forcément avec la structure stato-nationale des pays revendiquant, d'ailleurs héritée de la culture des pays ex-colonisés ? Peut-on envisager un nouveau type de coopération culturelle et muséographie entre l'Europe et les ex-pays colonisés qui ne passe pas forcément par une restitution physique ? Le recours au numérique peut-il permettre des restitutions virtuelles par le biais, par exemple, de musées numériques ? Quelles sont les conditions juridiques, diplomatiques, techniques de ce mouvement de restitution ? Comment former les acteurs culturels des pays à qui les œuvres seront restituées pour préserver l'intégrité des œuvres ? N'y a-t-il pas un risque de dés-universalisation des biens culturels et de nationalisation du patrimoine à des fins identitaristes ?

La non-prise en compte d'une démarche véritablement historique dans ces processus de re-patrimonialisation peut aboutir à des formes de culpabilisation et de moralisation qui desservent la recherche de la « vérité » et entretiennent la conflictualité mémorielle. Nous l'avons montré pour Hiroshima (Belot, 2017) et pour la restitution des biens culturels avec le « syndrome Champollion » (Belot, 2020).

2.4 Le devenir patrimonial des territoires « victimes » de la désindustrialisation

Le deuxième exemple relève d'un tout autre domaine : les territoires victimes de la désindustrialisation et la réinscription du patrimoine industriel dans l'espace urbain et l'imaginaire collectif (Belot & Lamard, 2011).

Les géographes et les urbanistes ont beaucoup travaillé sur les processus de rénovation urbaine. Ils ont été des propagateurs de la notion de « résilience » (Toubin et al., 2012), appliquée tout particulièrement aux territoires *victimes* de la désindustrialisation. La problématique s'est déployée autour de la question de la pollution des sols dans des territoires (dés)industrialisés (Morel Journel et al., 2018) mais aussi à travers l'enjeu de la transformation culturelle de l'héritage bâtiminaire de l'ère industrielle : comment transformer un territoire frappé de déshérence en lieu créatif et comment marier modernité et mémoire ? C'est l'expérience que la ville de Saint-Etienne (Loire, France) a vécue et vit encore (Belot & Rojas, 2018).

Une chanson a fait connaître Saint-Etienne. Elle appartient à son patrimoine et a fait « patrimoine », si l'on peut dire. C'est un enfant du pays, parti à Paris, qui se souvient de la ville de son enfance. Bernard Lavilliers a écrit et chanté « Saint-Etienne »,

*« On n'est pas d'un pays mais on est d'une ville
Où la rue artérielle limite le décor
Les cheminées d'usine hululent à la mort
La lampe du gardien rigole de mon style

La misère écrasant son mégot sur mon cœur
A laissé dans mon sang la trace indélébile
Qui a le même son et la même couleur
Que la suie des crassiers du charbon inutile »*

Cette chanson date de 1974. On sent une révolte contre la domination de l'industrie sur une ville et ses habitants.

Paradoxalement, au même moment, la ville amorce un processus de déprise industrielle. La troisième révolution industrielle est en marche et s'apprête à détruire l'ancien monde. La fermeture des mines et des usines provoque une grande misère sociale. Bernard Lavilliers voyait la souffrance des hommes victimes de l'industrie. Quelques années après sa chanson, ces mêmes hommes sont victimes de la désindustrialisation (chômage, déclassement social, dévitalisation commerciale, bâtiments à l'abandon). La ville doit se réinventer, ou mourir. Une vraie souffrance sociale et identitaire affecte une ville et ses habitants, mais aussi sa région.

Bernard Lavilliers disait à peu près ce que disait l'écrivain Ellysée Reclus (1830-1905) : Saint Etienne est une ville « dont les monuments sont ses usines ». Saint-Etienne (département de la Loire, France) a été, en effet, un haut lieu de l'aventure industrielle et technologique française : premier train à vapeur de l'Europe continentale (conséquence de l'activité minière et de la nécessité d'un désenclavement) ; première exploitation d'une turbine hydraulique (inventé par Benoit Fourneyron, un Stéphanois, ancien de l'École des Mines de Saint-Etienne) ; première bicyclette française est fabriquée à Saint-Étienne, acte fondateur d'une industrie ; invention du « Fusil sans chien idéal » en 1887, car Saint-Etienne fut manufacture royale d'armes... Saint-Etienne est une terre d'invention et d'inventeurs et son identité se confondait avec l'histoire industrielle du monde. C'est à Saint-Etienne qu'est fondée, en 1892, la Fédération des bourses du travail.

L'architecture est imprégnée de cette culture industrielle qui a fait l'objet, très tôt, d'une valorisation patrimoniale à but édificateur et identificatoire. Dès 1861, les industriels de la région créent le Musée de la fabrique qui deviendra Musée des Arts et de l'Industrie en 1889. La désindustrialisation sera vécue comme la négation de cette culture. La rupture a lieu en 1973 quand, le Puits Couriot ferme ses portes. Le symbole de cette identité au cœur de la ville minière est atteint.

Mais sa destruction est évitée. Car un noyau dur d'historiens et de géographes vient de créer un Centre interdisciplinaire d'études

et de recherche sur les structures régionales (1974) à l'université de Saint-Etienne, décide de se mobiliser. Une conjoncture a favorisé la prise de conscience de la nécessité de protéger ce qu'on commence à appeler le « patrimoine industriel ». L'éco-musée du Creusot est créé en 1973. Au CNAM, Maurice Daumas lance dès 1972 un projet de recherche sur la « géographie industrielle de Paris et sa banlieue au 19^e siècle » qu'il va étendre sur toute la France. Préparant la première étude d'ensemble sur « l'archéologie industrielle » (Daumas, 1980), il se rend à Saint-Etienne et dans la Loire pour commencer un travail d'identification des sites et bâtiments à préserver. Dès 1976, une étude est engagée pour orienter le site vers la muséographie. En 1977, le CNRS commence à s'intéresser au patrimoine minier de la Région. En 1989, les travaux débutent, et le musée de la mine ouvre en 1991. L'agir patrimonial est en marche. On voit dans ce cas que la mobilisation de l'expertise académique a joué un rôle fondamental pour transformer en valeur culturelle ce qui n'avait plus de valeur d'usage. Aujourd'hui, le Puits Couriot est le monument le plus emblématique de cette ville. Illuminé la nuit, il est devenu le phosphène de cette ville qui a failli être emportée la vague de désindustrialisation. De la déprise industrielle à la patrimonialisation, de la fermeture du site à l'ouverture du musée), il a fallu 18 ans.

Il faut noter que, dans les années 1960-70, les autorités locales considèrent que l'effacement rapide des traces de l'activité minière est une condition à la redynamisation de l'économie locale. Au début des années 1980, aucun édifice n'est classé, et seulement cinq, tous antérieurs à la Révolution française, sont inscrits à l'inventaire supplémentaire des monuments historiques.

L'université de Saint-Etienne a joué un rôle important dans la reconsidération de cet héritage industriel. Notamment le professeur François Thomas, selon lequel Saint-Etienne a littéralement « inventé son patrimoine ».

A partir de 1974 se structure au sein de l'Université un axe de recherche interdisciplinaire qui porte sur un inventaire descriptif des installations minières et son archivage : inventaire

photographique, recension des archives minières, collecte d'entretiens destinés à compléter les sources écrites. Les sociologues, historiens et géographes s'interrogent sur la manière dont les groupes sociaux et les sociétés locales appréhendent les traces de leur passé et comment s'opère leur transmission, ou leur non transmission.

On observe parallèlement une intense activité associative qui vise au maintien de ce patrimoine industriel, autour de la Maison de la Culture (site Le Corbusier) de la ville minière de Firminy (proche de Saint-Etienne). L'échelon politique local va peu à peu s'inscrire dans cette tendance et l'Etat va encourager le mouvement de prise en compte de ce patrimoine. Ainsi, en 1994, une convention est signée entre la Ville et le ministère de la culture.

Une attention est portée non pas seulement au potentiel de réutilisation des bâtiments mais aussi à leur valeur symbolique. C'est le cas de la Teinturerie Gillet, qui est acquise en 1981 par la ville de Saint Etienne, sans projet de réutilisation. Mais on assiste à une vague de réhabilitations en vue d'un ré-usage :

Le lien entre modernité et mémoire est symbolisé par « Le Fil » (2009), salle des musiques actuelles dont le nom et son architecture se réfère à l'identité passée de la ville : la façade côté bar évoque la rubanerie, et le métier à tisser est figuré par la parure métallique extérieure

Ce travail de résilience territorial et social a fait que Saint-Étienne, aujourd'hui, est la seule ville française désignée *Ville créative pour le design* par l'Unesco. Elle est aussi labellisée French Tech / Design Tech. La ville est labellisée *Ville d'art et Histoire*, et 34 monuments sont protégés au titre de monuments historiques. L'université reste plus que jamais fidèle à son passé. Dans ce cas, on peut constater que la prise en compte du patrimoine industriel (d'une partie au moins) a permis la mise en place d'une dynamique urbanistique qui a eu des effets restructurant sur l'identité d'une ville.

3. Conclusion

Si le patrimoine a une vertu de résilience, il faut se demander de quelle souffrance peut-il être le libérateur et de quelle manière il peut l'être ? La souffrance de ce qui a disparu ou ce qui va disparaître ; la souffrance de la mort, de la perte, de la destruction ; la souffrance de l'abandon, de l'indifférence, du mépris. Cette souffrance peut concerner les hommes, les nations, l'environnement (matériel et immatériel), les modes de vie. Elle peut être vécue à l'échelle individuelle ou collective. On peut aussi évoquer la souffrance de la non-reconnaissance de la souffrance passée (la discrimination, la domination coloniale, la perte de territoire ou d'identité, la mort des siens, l'absence...). Sa source principale est le traumatisme dénié non-patrimonialisé et non-assumé. La force résiliente de l'agir patrimonial est justement cette capacité à re-connaître ce qui a fait souffrance pour la dépasser, pour dépasser le passé, pour resynchroniser le temps d'avant et le temps d'après. Le patrimoine est donc un processus de remémoration de la souffrance liée à la disparition, à l'oubli, au mépris, au déni. Il y aurait donc une relation entre la résilience et la « reliance », c'est-à-dire cette possibilité « chronophanique » de relier le passé et le présent pour un avenir meilleur. Renouer avec le passé pour dénouer la souffrance et réinventer l'avenir.

Pour que la patrimonialisation de la mémoire collective de la douleur ou de la perte puisse avoir un effet de « résilience », au sens où on l'a entendu ici, il faut satisfaire à un ensemble de conditions pour que le retour au passé ne soit pas un alibi, une manipulation ou un placebo. Il convient en même temps de ne pas surestimer la capacité de réconciliation et de réparation du patrimoine en lui attribuant des pouvoirs thaumaturgiques. La mise en garde de Jacques Lacan est toujours actuelle : « On ne guérit pas parce qu'on se remémore, mais on se remémore parce que l'on guérit ».

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2.

The disruption *of Cultural Heritage Value*

BY MAURIZIO QUAGLIUOLO

The disruption of *Cultural Heritage Value*

MAURIZIO QUAGLIUOLO¹

Abstract

The assumption of this article is that “a Cultural Disruption may destroy previous perceptions and attributions as well as lead to a new vision and new ways to create Culture. The *ex post* results are known and measurable in comparison with Resilience and/or Adaptation by individuals and communities”. On this basis, the attribution of “Labels” by National and International bodies rather than actions such as the attacks recently made by activists against the Cultural Heritage to provoke awareness by the general public are considered from a different, anthropological, perspective which takes in account several ways of Value attribution to the Human Culture in its declinations (Value as Negation, Value as Social Pact, Value as Revolution, Value as Innovation). As a consequence, we should find tools to understand the different cultural points of view that enrich our present and will design our future.

Keywords

Cultural Heritage, Value, Diversity, Variability, Resilience, Adaptation

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Resumo

O pressuposto deste artigo é que “uma Ruptura Cultural pode destruir percepções e atribuições anteriores, bem como levar a uma nova visão e novas formas de criar Cultura. Os resultados ex post são conhecidos e mensuráveis em comparação com a Resiliência e/ou Adaptação de indivíduos e comunidades”. Nesta base, a atribuição de “Labels” por organismos Nacionais e Internacionais, ou ações como os ataques recentemente feitos por ativistas contra o Património Cultural para provocar a sensibilização do público em geral, são consideradas a partir de uma perspectiva diferente, antropológica, que tem em conta diversas formas de atribuição de Valor à Cultura Humana nas suas declinações (Valor como Negação, Valor como Pacto Social, Valor como Revolução, Valor como Inovação). Como consequência, devemos encontrar ferramentas para compreender os diferentes pontos de vista culturais que enriquecem o nosso presente e irão desenhar o nosso futuro.

Palavras-chave

Património Cultural, Valor, Diversidade, Variabilidade, Resiliência, Adaptação

The Multiverse Theory² introduce us to the possibility that our Universe is just one of the possible Universes. We live just one of these, the unique possible. So, we are conscious of our existence, but not of the whole conditions which regulate it.

According to the quantum theory, this implies that several results can derive from different decisions and perceptions in one of the branching timeline. Following this interpretation, various versions of an individual would be living the many possible lives that the same individual could have lived IF he had taken different decisions. However, the only reality he can perceive is the one in which he lives.

Well: What is “real”? What is “virtual”? What is a Metaverse, an Avatar? Which (Cultural) Heritage we deal with in these different “Worlds”?

In the last Century:

- Milan Zeleny (1985), in the framework of the Complexity Theory, introduced the concept of *superior technology*, that is a technology which is able to favour transformations, i.e. *Innovation*. This is possible thanks to a supporting network in which Culture has a role. Technology is in fact a complex mix of *Hardware*, *Software* and *Brainware*.
- Bruno Munari (1981) affirmed the role of *Creativity* in the context of productive process as a mean to shape solutions for problem solving and as an essential component to design products capable to answer human needs, as well as human sense of aesthetic, according to the technology we have at disposal.

² This introduction refers to suggestions from the Doctoral Thesis of Hugh Everett III (cfr. “The Theory of the Universal Wave Function”, in B. De Witt and N. Graham (eds.), *The Many-Worlds Interpretation of Quantum Mechanics*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1973). Anyway, Philosophers were already ahead of the time, from the Ancient Greek Atomistic until contribution in the XIX century by William James, who suggested the word, (W. James, *The Will to Believe*, 1895; and earlier in 1895, as cited in the Oxford English Dictionary new 2003 entry for “multiverse”: William James, *Is Life Worth Living?*, in *Internat. J. Ethics*, vol. 6, October 1895, p. 10).

- Edward De Bono (1967) valorizes creativity as an answer when you have no answers. A way to front dilemmas by an unusual tool, different from logic, that is the *Lateral Thinking*.
- The author, Maurizio Quagliuolo (2002), published in 2002 the so called *30-40-30 theory* where the skills to front unknown situations is given by a 30% of your background, a 40% from the capability to apply it, and a 30% from creativity.

In all of these visions the capability to DREAM, to have foresight, shapes the future. This is strategic in order to transform social reality and day by day life according to the mutual understanding of the culture and related approaches of each human being.

It means that the interaction among persons and their point of view is essential for the results, good or bad they are.

The attributed (our) and perceived (other's) Cultural Value is the key.

This is why HERITY³ since 1994 proposed a model in which *Shared Value* is the basic requirement for Conservation, Communication and Services building at Cultural Sites.

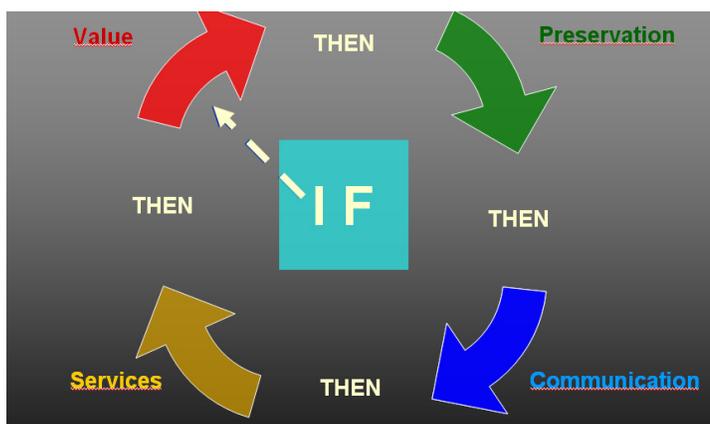


Figure 1 – The HERITY Model

³ International Organization for Quality Management of Cultural Heritage (cf. M. Quagliuolo, 2014).

On the other hand, a community can create new scenarios on the basis of culture (Quagliuolo, 2021), shaping transformations through creativity and self/collective identification.

This is a *Cultural Disruption*.

A Cultural Disruption may destroy previous perceptions and attributions as well as lead to a new vision and new ways to create Culture. The ex post results are known and measurable in comparison with Resilience and/or Adaptation by individuals and communities.

Let's consider a point of view:

"I am not interested in a 'European Heritage', it seems a projection that doesn't exist. I am interested in local, regional differences, I am interested in the history that led to these differences. Maybe I am not interested in relations between the USA and Italy, when they try to build the basis for recognizing a 'EU Identity' aimed to build a 'EU allied'. This is why I feel the EU as an *artificial*, eventually (temporarily) functioning as an economic or strategic space, rather than a reality built by history".

Federico is a nineteen year old guy, learned and studying at the University. His age means, also, that he can vote, and influence, to some extent, the future of his Country/territory from the political point of view.

If we compare his feeling with the '70s *Outstanding Universal Value* of the UNESCO 1972 Convention, or with the *European Heritage Label* campaign, we'll discover the fragility of these concepts, due to a large extent to their anachronism.

The *UNESCO Outstanding Universal Value* is defined in the Convention (as actualized in the Paragraph 49 of the *Operational Guidelines for Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, UNESCO, 2005), as the "*Cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity*".

The *European Heritage Label*, which attribution is submitted to the criterium that the "*Candidate sites for the label must have a symbolic European value and must have played a significant role in the history and culture of Europe and/or the building of the Union*", among

those the fact that “*their place and role in the development and promotion of the common values that underpin European integration*”, shows all its limits since the beginning of the *selection* of the beneficiaries (2013), if it is true that at the same time (2014) critical studies and researches were started on this initiative (e.g. KAISER, 2014).

As Kaiser highlights, “The EHL will be a way to raise awareness of European values and culture, but this depends largely on the reception of the public”; “The EHL is a bureaucratic tool and process to accommodate the EU’s cultural-political goals, namely the building of a common heritage and identity. The EU’s discourse is authoritative in the sense that it spills over to and is adopted and reproduced by the candidate sites, since the qualification criteria require them to emphasize the European value and symbolism in order to be considered potential candidates. Sites (in other words, their managers) are required to change their discourse on their heritage, to re-invent or at least reframe their heritage and by that, give the EU authority, if not ownership over their heritage”; “Especially in regards to UNESCO, it will be interesting to pursue how European countries deal with their heritage and how they want to frame it, since UNESCO stands for outstanding universal value and the EHL promotes a narrower, symbolic European value. Is the branding as a European heritage attractive and desirable for a site compared to the global appeal of UNESCO?”.

In effect, in a changing world, where fake news are trusted as true information, virtual reality perception and consequences are surpassing the real one, psychological and physical violence is becoming a spectacle, the recognizing of differences means fear for ‘the other’, history is –again– becoming an unpleasant witness to be destroyed in order to affirm a ‘new status’, it seems difficult to maintain (both in the cases of UNESCO and the EU) a Eurocentric, old fashioned –after all colonialist– vision alive.

And it is.

If we assume an anthropological point of view, we are always, each other, ‘the other’. Also inside the ‘same culture’ we can

distinguish a *dominant culture* (which becomes the official point of view of the history) and a *subaltern* one, which is *at its command* like in the Army, until the next (visible or invisible) revolution. Aliens are among us. Poverty is spreading, roots are changing place but not their logical, *tribal*, significance.

Is Federico right? Can we ‘save’ culture (not the cultural remains but their message), by policing? If so, which meaning will represent the worldwide, common, *RECOGNITION* of an Outstanding Universal Value?

On the other hand, we should take in account that the spans of time in which a large territory had a sort of unification, with big differences among territories, (e.g. at the time of the Roman Empire) it was thanks to an imperialist approach, and that, also in this context, the winning policies were those that were tolerant of local costumes.

Considering the above mentioned situation, we should work to build tools and instruments that let people to improve their critical perception capability. In fact, the reception or the refusing of a cultural element, in ancient times as well as nowadays, is strictly linked to its understanding and valuing in the context of the scale of importance that we put in place in our day by day life (Quagliuolo, 2017).

Value as negation

Since ancient times, the destruction of cultural remains celebrating uses, customs, religions, regimes, philosophies and ideas has been a common practice by the ‘conquerors’ (although in many cases, as the Latin author Orazio observed, *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*⁴).

Be it the Romans of antiquity, ISIS or invasions and wars such as those underway at the time of writing this article (2022), the destruction of statues, iconoclasm, the replacement of effigies and images on previous supports, that of the language of the invaders instead of the language of the invaded and, persistent over time,

⁴ Cfr. The verse 156 of the initial composition of the second book of Horace’s Epistles.

the Burning of the books, remain, strange as it may seem, a recognition of value: those goods are destroyed not because a value is not attributed to them, but precisely because that value is such, for someone else, that it is absolutely necessary to destroy it.



Fig. 2 – Value as Negation: examples from History

Of course, there is not only substitution (inculturation): anthropology and ethnography demonstrate that the clash/ encounter of cultures, “acculturation”, also produces hybrid results. But that’s another story.

Value as a Social Pact

More often the value is accepted by those who come into contact with a cultural asset, but their degree of appreciation is (necessarily) different.

Here we are in the presence of a (unconscious, almost ‘Hobbs-like’, point of view; no coincidence that the philosopher took a bachelor in Arts in 1608) pact with ourselves, with the community, and between communities; depending on the prevailing appreciation, the Preservation of Cultural Heritage, even within the same society, can vary synchronically and diachronically.

We don’t need to go so far or in search of examples extraneous to us: just think that, in the 1930s, the search by a cultural élite

for “pure Romanesque” led to the destruction of many Baroque “superfetations” in the churches of Italy.

And what about the reconstructive Restoration à la Violet Leduc rather than the romantic one of Ruskin (both later superseded by an approach more based on scientific rigour, but who knows in the future by what else)?



Fig. 3 – Culture as a Social Pact: differences in restoration

Which value retribute the different interventions to the common people and to society as a whole?

In the end, is Value a matter of empathy? Do we love what we see, visit, meet every day, the legacy we agree to protect?

Value as revolution

Since May, 2022 we have seen more than one episode where activists aimed to capture attention on the critic climate situation in the World attacked Masterpieces of Art in some famous museums as a demonstrative action.



Fig. 4 – Value as Revolution: activists at work

Most of the people cried foul, and museum officials asked to stop these actions. But, according to the Lateral Thinking, these episodes, more and more frequent thanks to the diffusion of screams that hysterically cry out to the scandal creating fertile ground for their continuation, should make us reflect on the real usefulness of training efforts, from the Higher School of Cultural Heritage to the last university *brothel*, in the creation of a class of managers of the places of culture capable of real ‘conservation’ and ‘protection’ of Heritage. On the other hand, they should invite us to critically think about the concept of Value, so Western, to which we are accustomed: there would have been so much diffusion and *horror* if a jar of ketchup was it thrown against an African *mound shell*?

Value as innovation

Sometimes, technology brings innovation. Not only the last, new model.

This is the case in which new approaches to Cultural Heritage create new perceptions of the Value of a piece of Art.

Let’s examine the case of the *Tondo Doni* at the Uffizi Museum in Florence, Italy.



Fig. 5 – Value as Innovation: Digital Heritage

We are speaking about digital works of art that are high quality reproductions identified thanks to a NFT (not fungible token) made unique by registration in a digital public register, structured as a blockchain as in the case of crypto money.

The *Tondo Doni* was in fact digitally reproduced and sold as a stand-alone piece of Art.

Now, What is ‘authentic’ (in the sense of the UNESCO Convention)? What is a reproduction, what is a copy, and their Value in this new market?

Which target is interested in? Which material and immaterial value has the work? Is this a way for the future of Art?

A new market arises, new approaches by collectors, a new role for foundations and museums, as well as for experts, connoisseurs and art advisors.

May be it will be the time to measure the “technological value”; in any case, these are new scenarios, and this is innovation.

Conclusion

The activists are right: the time in which we can act to manage our future is *now*. The space in which we can act to change our future is the *territory* (on a large or small-scale). A territory (our garden or the entire Earth) reflects the interaction among a plurality of forces: anthropic-anthropic, anthropic-natural, natural-natural actions.

Today, the most part of the territories of the World represent a condition (and an image) which is the result of an anthropized landscape. Human beings leave their fingerprints through Culture.

According to the Value, that we attribute to our *Cultural Preferences*, we recognize to our *Cultural Imprinting*, and we can shape our actions.

Culture is then the most important strategic element for a balanced future development, which makes possible to survive, possibly with a good quality of life. On the other hand, Culture is the key-element for persons and groups to confront each other. As such, culture and its products must be:

- valorized;
- passed to future generations;
- properly communicated to contemporary generations;
- made accessible.

In ways which respect the cultural variability (not cultural diversity).

We should prefer to speak about cultural *diversity* rather than cultural *variability*. In fact, the first implies that different Cultures exist, to be put in comparison; the latter, that a *unique* culture, the *Human Culture*, can express itself in different ways. As a consequence, the first is a more dividing concept.

This is why the global approach doesn't exclude the local one, and we should invest more and more efforts in a *glocal* vision⁵.

What can be done for this? Which is the instrument?

⁵ Personal thanks to Ingelore Scheunemann for the stimulating exchange on this topic.

A tool for *disruption of value* and its re-shaping is needed in a changing world. After some experience that the author has made at MIT – Massachusetts Institute of Technology we are working on this.

But an appropriate, holistic and technologically speaking advanced teaching and training⁶ must be put in place to create and manage it according to a tailored approach. Which is the real challenge.

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Note

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3.

Technology of the Body: *Male Medicine and Reproduction in Early Modern China*

BY HSIUNG PING-CHEN

Technology of the Body: *Male Medicine and Reproduction in Early Modern China*

HSIUNG PING-CHEN¹

Abstract

In speaking of “technology,” we usually refer to a set of skills, the knowledge of such a set of techniques that helps people to conduct specific activities, achieving particular goals. Technology so broadly understood and identified surely allow those who possess these technical “know-how” to manage lives better, via well-developed human manipulations. The discovery, transmission, and spread of these specialized knowledge oftentimes becomes a craft, a trade, a vocation.

The following essay is to make use of textual studies to uncover during early modern China the emergence of a branch of medical knowledge and advice literature that instruct man on the art of sexual intercourse with their domestic partner or female consorts, for the purpose of enhancing the probability of successful fertilization and human reproduction.² By the 16 and 17 centuries when printed textual evidence became available, such advice or service pertaining the enhancement of fertility counselling along with meticulous details and voluminous pharmacopeia prescriptions formed a clinical activity which had won for itself the labeling as “male medicine (nanke 男科).”

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² This is distinctly different from the “art erotica” that R. H. Van Gulik wrote about and Charlott Furth critiqued. See R. van Gulik, 1961; Charlott Furth, 1994.

An investigation and examination of the leading texts of this body of knowledge may be viewed as one example in the evolution of the “technology of body,” of whose conceptual bases and technical content reveals a part of human behaviour that is significant as it was concealed, in defining the landscape of demography, gender, ethics, and emotion.

Keywords

Male medicine, Technology, China

Resumo

Quando falamos de “tecnologia”, costumamos referir-nos a um conjunto de habilidades, ao conhecimento de um certo conjunto de técnicas que ajudam as pessoas a realizar atividades específicas, alcançando determinados objetivos. A tecnologia, tão amplamente compreendida e identificada, certamente permite que aqueles que possuem esses “saberes” técnicos gerenciem melhor as vidas, por meio de manipulações humanas bem desenvolvidas. A descoberta, transmissão e difusão destes conhecimentos especializados torna-se muitas vezes um ofício, um ofício, uma vocação.

O ensaio que se segue fez uso de estudos textuais para descobrir, durante o início da China moderna, o surgimento de um ramo do conhecimento médico e da literatura de aconselhamento, que instrui o homem sobre a arte da relação sexual com sua parceira doméstica ou consortes femininas, com o objetivo de aumentar a probabilidade de fertilização bem-sucedida e de reprodução humana.³ Nos séculos 16 e 17, quando as evidências textuais impressas se tornaram disponíveis, tais conselhos ou serviços relativos ao aprimoramento do aconselhamento sobre fertilidade, juntamente com detalhes meticulosos e volumosas prescrições de

³ Isto é distintamente diferente da “arte erótica” sobre a qual R. H. Van Gulik escreveu e Charlott Furth criticou. Ver R. van Gulik, 1961; Charlott Furth, 1994.

farmacopeia, formaram uma atividade clínica que ganhou para si a rotulagem de “medicina masculina”(nanke 男科).”

A investigação e o exame dos principais textos deste corpo de conhecimento podem ser vistos como um exemplo na evolução da “tecnologia do corpo”, cujas bases conceptuais e conteúdo técnico revelam uma parte do comportamento humano em que é significativo como foi ocultada, na definição do panorama da demografia, do género, da ética e da emoção.

Palavras-chave

Medicina masculina, Tecnologia, China

Discovering Male Medicine

As a first scholarly investigation into the emergence of male-medicine (nanke 男科) in late imperial China, it collected and examined the seven key texts of male-medicine from the 16th to the 19th centuries, for a detailed philological and textual study, to elucidate the conceptual as well as contextual bases for the growth and development of male medicine in medical theory, clinical practices, and market demands. This finding then was cross-examined with the primary sources of and against current understanding on the related but earlier developments in paediatric medicine (youke 幼科 – Hsiung, 2005) together with gynaecology and obstetrics (fuke 婦科 – Furth, 1999), in order to produce a comprehensive, multi-faceted, and rounded understanding in reproductive medicine for this period from the respective angles of men, children, and women. Further analysis into its working relations within the framework of family, gender relations, religion, materiality, and daily life reveals the enduring economics and socio-cultural circumstances that nurtured, demanded, consumed thus sustained this literature, profession, and expertise.

This discovery provides an indispensable missing link for proper understanding of traditional Chinese reproductive medicine. Distinct nature of the textual evidence of male medicine

requires specialized training and academic familiarity with its counterpart in Chinese gynaecology and paediatrics. The sensitive nature of the subject plus its close association with the Taoist pursuits of “life preservation,” longevity, and alchemy generated a semi-secretive and obscure language within which this subspecialty operated. It frequently mixed with religious practices and ritual activities, and with medical-technical knowledge and herbal pharmaceutical recipes, demands careful interpretation.

Additionally the current Chinese policy allowing the birthing of a second child per household adds practical significance of this historical understanding of Chinese reproductive mentality and behavior.

By researching restoring first hand understanding of male medicine as the critical missing piece in our scholarly knowledge of reproductive medicine, we gain a more comprehensive and balanced view on sexuality, gender culture, materiality and daily life for early modern China. This is a crucial follow-up on the current grasp of the two sided picture, namely that of infants and children from paediatrics and that of women from gynaecology, for the completion of an inseparable socio-cultural “trinity” (which included men as husbands and fathers) in the original early modern Chinese reproductive culture.

Patching-up or “restoring” this long neglected lost piece brings both an immediate and long term impact in revising the gender skewed view of traditional Chinese physical management and domestic relations. Conceptually, it provides a timely correction to the representation in gender studies, profiling the world of early modern Chinese women as shouldering the burdens of production and reproduction in gender relations and domesticity. Medical advices and clinical recipes in male medicine revealed that men were as anxious in receiving assistance in their pursuit of successful breeding. In so doing, they were advised and supported by professional service for a balanced positioning in appreciating female sexuality philosophically, emotionally, and physically. This same discovery of the “market aspect” of male medicine also complements the popular cultural and daily life aspect of

socio- cultural reproduction as represented by paediatric medicine and gynaecology, and as nurtured and enabled by an active, vivacious popular religion and priest culture.

The Factor of Man

One specific objective is to bring back the “factor of men”, along with the normative aspect of “family procreation” in our multi-faceted understanding of sexuality and gender, so as to ensure that there be no overly emphasized or excessively playing-up of the “subjectivity of women” during this same period, even though it remains significant to recognize the world of “talented women (才女)” and female agency. The world of men as the counter narrative should not continue to be neglected as the “knowledge vacuum of the accepted ignorance.” As the anticipated “revisionist” literature on gender, sexuality, materiality, and reproduction, the intellectual input of this study provides a timely updated understanding on gender, sexuality, and daily life, to patch up for the structural mainstream on domesticity from the corner and perspectives of early modern Chinese men.

The Confucian values of family ethics and ancestral worship prepared the ground for pro-natal state policies and evolving social practices related to procreation from early imperial times. By the early modern period, medical consultation, both literary and clinical, had joined forces to provide professional advice and pharmaceutical recipes to meet with popular demand in enhancing fertility, which left rich, diverse, and detailed literary documentation since the Song dynasty (960-1279). Whereas the fields of female medicine (i.e. gynaecology, nuke 女科 or fuke 婦科), and child medicine (i.e. paediatrics, erke 兒科 or youke 幼科) have received due attention in scholarly research on the centuries’ of development in their theories, practices, and case records, related activities and evolution in the third party, namely the study of male medicine (nanke 男科) has received almost no academic investigation in this regard.

Accumulated study into sex culture of imperial China, my own research included (Hsiung, 2011), informed us that the relationship between conception, human fecundity and the physical activity of vital encounter between man and woman was not a secret in traditional Chinese knowledge, medical or otherwise. In fact the ancient Chinese practice of “locking up the precious fluid (i.e. semen) (閉精 or 鎖精)” in sexual intercourse, pursuing longevity yet with contraceptive effects, indicated such a physiological understanding. The prevalent medieval notion of “semen from man and blood from woman (男精女血)” as standing at the core of human reproduction explicitly pointed out that the principle of joining of male and female elements during sex was at the root of procreation.

The emergence of gynaecology and paediatrics roughly at the same time, in the 12th century during the Song, marked a first phase of the medical and technical attention Chinese society paid to enhance successful reproduction. Gynaecological texts from the Song to the Ming provided ample literature documenting the appreciation of the women’s body as the vital vessel for the conceiving and nurturing of fetal development until birth and thereafter (for nursing). Traditional Chinese paediatrics at this same period actually represented the patriarchal and patrilineal interests to look after the well-being of the newborns as they met the challenges of physical survival growing up; attended with professional care, which meant the contribution and investments of husbands and fathers until they themselves became the focused subject. Historically and at the macro-level, therefore, the emergence of male-medicine represented the next stage in this continuous endeavour of enhancing and facilitating successful breeding in late imperial China. At which point further consideration, deliberation, and fashioning of the actual make-up, design, and behavioural implications of the male body as well as its daily activities became the pre-occupation of professional attention in the discussion and efforts to improve the practice of reproductive medicine.

Preliminary examination of existing textual evidence of the male medicine aspect of this reproductive medicine confirmed the intellectual importance and bibliographic feasibility for conducting a focused research on the subject. Current revision of The People's Republic of China's One Child Policy to allow for the birth of a second child provides a contemporary relevance for historians to re-examine and reflect seriously on the social bedrock of its "body technology" and reproductive culture in its many nuanced details when historically Chinese demographics hit its last peak.

It becomes clear upon careful review that the reproduction that this advice literature and technical expertise aimed at serving was not merely producing bio-physical outcomes with the conception and birthing of offsprings, but also at yielding a "successful" reproduction that could promise for them healthy, bright, loyal, and filial children (and though unspoken, usually sons).

Evolving Male Sexuality and Reproduction

A critical task in undertaking this research project then is to delineate important phases over the long and sprawling Chinese history of changing concepts, practices of male sexuality and reproduction, along with their respective specific characteristics. For our purposes here, it is important to demonstrate how the Chinese interest in longevity and physical as well as spiritual well-being as represented in the Taoist rituals from the early imperial times then evolved to become the well-recognized art of the inner-chamber" (房中術) which incorporated an old idea of "collecting and complementing (採補, as in gathering yin to complement the yang 採陰補陽), acknowledging the value of "great pleasure" (大樂, as in "great pleasure in the coitus between man and woman 男女交歡大樂"), known in the post-Tang sex culture. Further periodization of both textual evidence and everyday practices indicated that this medieval Chinese carnal control embodied in Sun Simiao's 孫思邈 (581-682) *Recipes Worth a Thousand Gold*《千金方》 and evident

in Tanba Yasunori's 丹波康賴(912-995) *Yixinfang*《醫心方》 once considered enviable by puritanical (Protestant) European intellectuals such as Robert Hans van Gulik in his *Sexual Life in Ancient China* had indeed given carnal activities a relative “positive” cultural niche, with explicit discussion, on the physical positioning of both sexes during intercourse, and unabashed explanation on the meticulous acts so as to ensure the effect of “high sex” for health and pleasure (Hsiung, 2003).

There then came the famed Sung-Yuan transition when we witnessed the Neo-Confucian advocacy in “self-cultivation” that resulted in parallel emphases on bodily control and physical managements. Zhu Zhenheng's 朱震亨(1281-1385) “Cautions for Carnal Desires (色欲箴)” and Li Pengfei's 李鵬飛(?-?, Yuan Dynasty) *Advice to Promote a Long Life in Three Parts* (三元參贊延壽書) were examples of this newly developed focus on modesty, thrifty, and self-management as seen from both medical texts and wisdom literature on the daily practice of ritual and religion. Such emphatic statements on the kind of sex that though should never be “refrained” (欲不可絕), nonetheless was neither to be acted upon “prematurely” (欲不可早), to be “forced (or compelled) upon others” (欲不可強), or to be “over-indulged” (欲不可縱). Namely, carnal desires of the advisable kind should have its boundaries know its limits and “avoidance” (欲有所避). With these words ranting cautions from moral philosophers, clinical practitioners, and religious leaders, the stage was set for the Ming-Qing turn toward an even more focused, positive sex for the readers of procreation, no longer simply for longevity or personal gratification. As far as fertility consultation in history goes, it should be pointed out that situated in and serving for a patriarchal society, this is a particular reproductive medicine that ultimately aimed at “the successful breeding of men (sons) by men as husbands and fathers.” Recognizing the importance of conception and impregnation, thereby the role of fecundity in general, the “offspring (嗣)” that this expertise and advice literature was hoping to “broaden (廣)” meant really the male offspring and

auspicious sons (宜麟), the gender specific “boys (子)” that people wished to produce for which they were carefully and wishfully “planting (種)” their “seeds (also 子)” in the very beginning. Following the suits of and working closely with the fuke (gynaecology) and youke (paediatrics), medical sub-specialties that came before them, the nanke (male medicine) presented clients with a much thinner literature and fewer texts, even though judging from the popular demand and continuous impact, the market or the socio-culture embeddedness could not have been smaller or lesser by any means. Yet mixing with philosophical advice for the self-cultivation and physical management of men, inherited and embedded within the traditional Taoist practices of “life preservation (攝生)” and alchemy, it is far more complicated, difficult, though also more critical and valuable to delineate the clinical and technical elements in this many-sided development.

In terms of the cultural production of this particular branch of reproductive medicine, the high tides of post-Ming commercial press and print culture, a number of the most influential texts in this category, not unlike other medical booklets, appeared as a mixture of compilations of famed medical authors, hand copied treatises and prescriptions, as well as case records “attributed” to them. Painstaking philological examination on their various editions, hand copied versions, estimated circulation, editing of specific items or sections in context dating from the earliest known editions since the second half of the 16th century to the first half of the 19th century are therefore indispensable. Close textual analysis comparing the technical medical languages, terminologies used, the additions, subtractions and subtle alternations in pharmaceutical prescriptions and philosophical instruction were also useful, challenging but essential to the restoration of the exact changing historical character of these propositions and practices. Familiarity with the medical literature in the parallel fields of fuke and youke is an assumed prerequisite to the execution of this research. So is the general knowledge and understanding of the circulation of daily home lies such as the

“riyong leishu (Encyclopaedias for daily use 日用類書)” or popular religious tracts (such as the “The Ledge of Merit and Demerit” 功過格 – Brokaw, 1991) in relation to the contemporary market of knowledge production and daily life at the ordinary level in the late imperial societies of China proper.

Deciphering the key texts related to the emergence of male medicine and reproduction produced by or attributed to seven authors. Namely:

1. Important Principles for the Increase of Offspring (Guangsi jiyao 廣嗣紀要), by Wan Quan 萬全 (1499-1582)
2. Proposals for Successful Breeding (Yilince 宜麟策), by Zhang Jiebin 張介賓 (1536-1640)
3. Correct Medical Treatise on How to Plant the Seeds from the Miaoyi Studio (Miaoyi Zhai Yixue Zhengyin zhongzi pian 妙一齋醫學正印種子篇, by Yue Fujia 岳甫嘉 in 2 juan (1636)
4. Important Words for Increasing the Offspring (Guangsi yaoyu 廣嗣要語, by Yu Qiao 俞橋 (?-?, Ming Dynasty)
5. Secrete Revelation on Life Preservation and Planting Seeds (Shesheng zhongzi mipou 攝生種子秘剖), and Revelation on Recipes of Planting the Seeds (Zhongzifang pou 種子方剖), by Hong Ji 洪基 (?-?, Ming Dynasty) on 1678
6. The Genuine Insights to Pray for Offsprings (Qisi zhenquan 祈嗣真詮), by Yuan Huang 袁黃 (1533-1606)
7. Medicine for Men by Fu Qingzhu (Fu Qingzhu nanke 傅青主男科), by Fu Shan 傅山 (1607-1684).

Exhaustive investigation has been made on the various editions. Philological work reveals on the composition, authorship, authenticity as well as publication, circulation, and copying of these texts to interpret the make-up of their respective contents, the putting together of their printed versions, and the processes of attributing particular substance to some of these famed medical authors.

For the more medically informed scholar they include close reading and textual analyses for an appreciation of the clinically oriented or technically fashioned texts such as those by Wan Quan, Zhang Jiebin, and Yeu Fujia, on the one hand, and their adopted popular productions such as those by Yu Qiao and Yuan Huang for ordinary consumption, on the other. The emergence, of their combined people have integrated category of practical advice product with the branding of “nanke” on the title in Fu Shan’s text attested to the evolution of this expertise on male reproductive medicine to another important phrase.

Putting together this then newly gained professional and vocational understanding of reproductive medicine for the male nanke, together with, and parallel to, its counterparts of the same engagement: namely the knowledge people have learned thus far on paediatrics (youke) and gynaecology (fuke) in contrast and by comparison remains critical. It is exercised by a close reading of primary materials from similar periods on all three sides, by looking into the language, and terminology, of these three sub-specialized fields (nanke, youke, fuke) the respective notions, knowledge, skills, advices, and recipes they each arrived at. So for the first time we will finally come to a more comprehensive scholarly grasp at the late imperial Chinese idea and practice of reproductive medicine.

Further examinations into the differences as well as the overlapping common ground in the philosophy, religious elements, medical concepts and clinical practices of paediatrics and gynaecology on the one hand, and the emerging male medicine on the other, is a critical contribution of this project. Specifically it will delineate paediatric medicine’s focus on saving infants,

caring, and protecting the young, so as to safeguard the survival of children, though representing a shared cause with male medicine, although the latter was imbued with a distinct mission. The post-Ming male reproduction as explained was not simply concerned with successful conception, impregnation and birthing, but a kind of fine procreation that would lead to the creation and breeding of intelligent, noble, filial sons (有子有壽). For its shared but separate task with gynaecology, male medicine took away fuke's traditional blaming of infertility (不孕) on women and shifted the burden of “difficulty in reproduction (艱嗣)” to men, and presumably also to emphasize their need to attend to the emotional gratification of their spouses under the glorified commitments of monogamy.

Textual evidence and clinical practices in reproductive medicine for male medicine complemented by and together with gynaecology and paediatrics when considered together with non-medical sources and non-technical elements, such as literary evidence from writings such as private poems, family letters, diaries and personal notes (biji筆記), as well as chronological biographies (nianpu年譜), autobiographies (zizhuan自傳) and personally compiled chronological biographies (ziding nianpu自訂年譜) can be cross-examined with and read against information gained from the medical advices (yilun醫論), pharmaceutical recipes (yifang醫方), and clinical case records (yian醫案) from the newly emerged male-medicine, to gauge the over-all pattern of reproductive behaviour and inter-sexual reproductive culture, especially from the mid-Ming (early 16th century) on. Through this investigation, a clearer picture of historical evolution based on China's older yangsheng (養生) culture, the medieval interest in Taoist alchemy emerges as a dominant concern over domestic procreation, aided by the post-Sung Neo-Confucian emphasis on physical control and self-cultivation. Contemporary market and popular culture can then be documented to show the added effects of private literature, personal letters, biographical and family records.

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4.

**Consequences
of *Next Generation
of Technologies*
for *Competitive
Advantage of Nations*
in the **Context of
Global Risks 2020****

BY RENALDAS GUDAUSKAS & SAULĖ JOKŪBAUSKIENĖ

Consequences of Next Generation of Technologies for Competitive Advantage of Nations in the Context of Global Risks 2020

MOTTO:

*“To expect the unexpected
shows a thoroughly modern intellect.”*

Oscar Wilde.

RENALDAS GUDAUSKAS¹ & SAULĖ JOKŪBAUSKIENĖ²

Abstract

The world is changing very rapidly. National competitiveness has become one of the central priorities in every nation. Why do some nations succeed and others fail in international competition? The article discusses competitiveness of the nations in a world of increasingly global competition. According M.E. Porter a nation's competitiveness depends on the capacity of its industry to innovate and upgrade. The strategic risks stem from uncertainty in global, technological, market and competitive environments. Advances in Information and Communication Technology have created new opportunities and challenges, boosted global development. But it has also made greater risks and new threats on their own. The dangers of digital innovation are associated with

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Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR), Emerging Technologies, Big Data and Artificial Intelligence, Fifth Generation, Quantum Computing, Cloud Computing, Vulnerable Data. As it is stated in the Global Risks Report 2020, the digital nature of 4IR technologies makes them intrinsically vulnerable to cyberattacks that can take a multitude of forms – from data theft and ransomware to the overtaking of systems with potentially large-scale harmful consequence. You can never be entirely safe. The general purpose of the article – integrated evaluation of global tendencies in the field of emerging technologies and their connection to competitive advantage helping organizations to navigate this extremely challenging, interdependent business environment. In this article we will analyse the big strategic picture starting from determinants of national competitive advantage, today's global risks landscape, the huge economic potential of the emerging technologies and 4IR, the strategic lack of global technology governance and finishing with the global health crisis precipitated by the Covid-19 pandemic impact to the global economic recession: financial markets, workforce, trade, travel etc..

Keywords

Competitive advantage, emerging technologies, fourth industrial revolution, risk management.

Résumé

Le monde change rapidement. La compétitivité nationale est devenue l'une des priorités de chaque nation. Pourquoi certains pays réussissent mieux que d'autres dans la compétition internationale? Cet article présente la compétitivité des nations dans une concurrence mondiale. Selon M.E. Porter, la compétitivité des pays dépend de la capacité à innover et à moderniser des ses entreprises. Les risques stratégiques sont associés à l'incertitude dans l'environnement mondial, technologique, concurrentiel et du marché. Le progrès des technologies de l'information et de

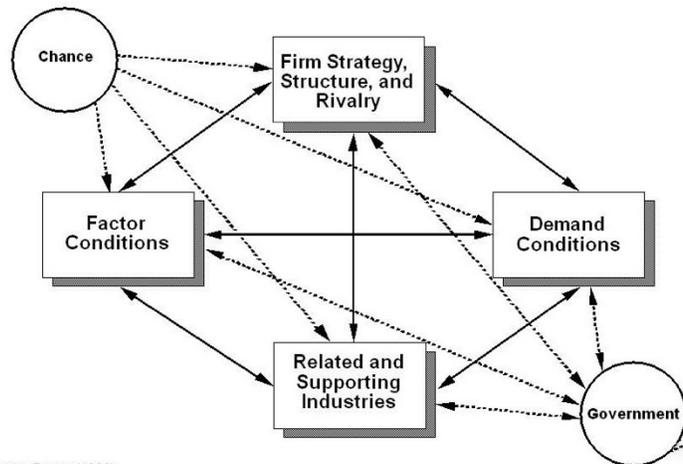
la communication a créé de nouveaux défis et nouvelles opportunités, a stimulé le développement mondial. Mais il également engendre des grands risques et de nouveaux défis. Les dangers de l'innovation numérique sont associés à la quatrième révolution industrielle (4IR), aux technologies émergentes, à le Big Data et à l'intelligence artificielle, à la cinquième génération, à l'informatique quantique, à le cloud computing, aux données vulnérables. Comme il est indiqué dans le Global Risks Report 2020, la nature numérique des technologies 4IR les rend intrinsèquement vulnérables aux cyberattaques qui peuvent prendre une multitude de formes - du vol de données et du rançongiciel au dépassement de systèmes avec des conséquences potentiellement néfastes à grande échelle. Vous ne pouvez jamais être entièrement sûr que votre application web ne sera pas attaquée. L'objectif général de l'article - évaluation intégrée des tendances mondiales dans le domaine des technologies émergentes et leur lien avec l'avantage concurrentiel aide les organisations à naviguer dans cet environnement commercial extrêmement difficile et interdépendant. Dans cet article, nous analyserons le grand tableau stratégique à partir des déterminants de l'avantage concurrentiel national, du paysage mondial des risques actuels, de l'énorme potentiel économique des technologies émergentes et de 4IR, du manque stratégique de gouvernance technologique mondiale et de la crise sanitaire mondiale précipité par l'impact de la pandémie de Covid-19 sur la récession économique mondiale: marchés financiers, main-d'œuvre, commerce, voyages, etc.

Mots clés

Avantage compétitif, technologies émergentes, quatrième révolution industrielle, gestion des risques.

Competitive advantage and strategy

M.E. Porter has started the new thinking, according which competitiveness arises from increasing productivity in the use of resources. It's important to state, that in his major study on the competitive advantage of the nations a final variable is the role of government, which is prominently discussed in treatments of international competitiveness. Many see it as a vital, if not the most important, influence on modern international competition. This is illustrated schematically in.



Source: Porter (1990)

Figure 1. The Complete System (in Porter, 1990, p. 127)

The influence of government can be positive or negative. Though governments role is partial. „Governments policy will fail if it remains the only source of national competitive advantage... Government, it seems, can hasten or raise the odds of gaining competitive advantage (and vice versa) but lacks the power to create advantage itself“ (Porter, Michael E. (1990), p. 128). General understanding the process by which a national industry is formed and achieves international competitive success has strategic importance

also for governments decision makers. In the histories of most of the succesfull industries chance events also played a role.

Information is more abundant today than even before. Emerging information technologies makes our lives better in many ways, but it also introduces new challenges. The main question: how will advances in modern information and communication technologies affect competition and the sources of competitive advantage? According to M. E. Porter (1998, p.76) the information revolution is affecting competition in three vital ways: it changes industry structure and alters the rules of competition; it creates competitive advantage by giving companies new ways to outperform their rivals; it spawns whole new business, often from within a company's existing operations. In 2001 Financial times. Mastering risk has been stated, that ...failure to outsource IT will permanently impair the future competitiveness of business (Financial Times (2001), p.136).

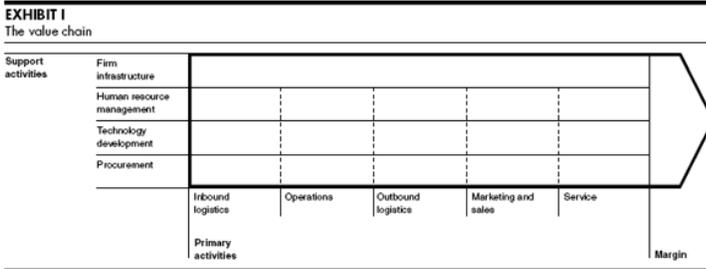


Figure 2. The Value Chain (in Porter, 1998, p. 77).

A company's value activities fall into the system of nine generic interdependent categories (see Figure 2) which are connected by linkages. In our case technology development (IT, digitisation etc) is a powerfull source of competitive advantage across all organizational lines: every value activity creates and uses information of some kind.

To explore the role of factors in the competitive advantage of a nation they can be grouped into a number of broad categories: human resources; physical resources; knowledge resources;

capital resources; infrastructure. Competitive advantage of factors depends on *how efficiently and effectively they are deployed*. (Porter, 1998, p. 76). And a final point is that human resources, knowledge and capital factors can be mobile among nations, the point is where they can be most productively deployed.

Technology development linkage requires to be strategically coordinated, because it connects value activities not only inside company, but also creates interdependencies between its value chain and those of its suppliers and channels (see Figure 3). Information technology is also transforming the physical processing and the product and has a powerful effect on competitive scope. Information intensity in organizations, companies and products is evident. In general, information technology is not only transforming products and processes but also the nature of competition itself.

In today's information-driven world the global community is ill-positioned to address vulnerabilities that have come alongside the advancements of the 20th century, whether they be the widening application of artificial intelligence, big data, cyber security or quantum computing. The global consequences of information and communication technology risks will be slightly positioned later.

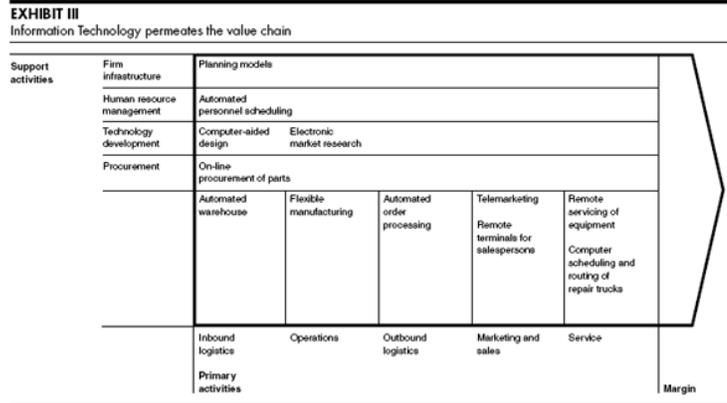


Figure 3. Information Technology Permeates the Value Chain (in Porter 1998, p. 82).

M.E. Porter in his famous study „On Competition“ (1998, p. 98) just before the beginning of 21st century has made strategic forecast. „The importance of the information revolution is not in dispute. The question is not whether information technology will have a significant impact on a company’s competitive position, rather the question is when and how this impact will strike. Companies that anticipate the power of information technology will be in control of events. Companies that do not respond will be forced to accept changes that others initiate and will find themselves at a competitive disadvantage“.

In the 21st century across many sectors emerging information technology change is already transformative. More than 50% of the world’s population is now online, one million more people join the internet each day, two-thirds of humanity own a mobile device. Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) technologies are already bringing tremendous economic and societal benefits to the global population (World Economic Forum, 2020, p.62).

Emerging technologies and consequences of digital fragmentation

There is also strategic need to step out of the product development trenches and look at the broader picture – a systematic, comprehensive, holistic approach to structuring information so that information can be easier not only to find but also to understand. The new term – information architecture can be used in order to gain this perspective (see Figure 4). Information architecture is not only about high level theoretical models. In general it’s emerging discipline, structural design of shared information environments focused on bringing principles on information design and architecture to the digital landscape (Rosenfeld *et al.*, 2015, p. 24).

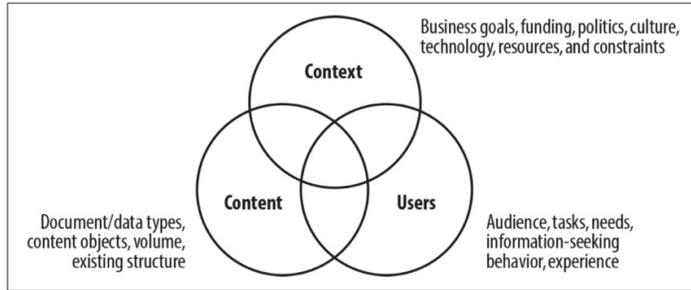


Figure 4. The infamous three circles of information architecture (in Rosenfeld et al., 2015, p.32).

According to Global Risk 2020. Digital innovation also amplifies the possibility for risk and minimizes the chances for cooperation. Global tech companies have leveraged open digital borders to integrate global supply chains and connect people worldwide—but ..“ these companies are also challenging some core competencies of nation states, such as standard-setting and monetary policies. Technological predominance and future national competitiveness go hand in hand. The lack of a global tech governance framework increases business influence on standard-setting, the foreign participation in national critical infrastructure, foreign acquisition of domestic technology, the offshoring of data, and technology transfer as a price to access foreign markets, influencing societal risks as well (see below).

Technological	Adverse consequences of technological advances	Intended or unintended adverse consequences of technological advances such as artificial intelligence, geo-engineering and synthetic biology causing human, environmental and economic damage
	Breakdown of critical information infrastructure and networks	Cyber dependency that increases vulnerability to outage of critical information infrastructure (e.g. internet, satellites) and networks, causing widespread disruption
	Large-scale cyberattacks	Large-scale cyberattacks or malware causing large economic damage, geopolitical tensions or widespread loss of trust in the internet
	Massive incident of data fraud or theft	Wrongful exploitation of private or official data that takes place on an unprecedented scale

Figure 5. Global Risks 2020. Technological (in World Economic Forum, 2020, p.87)

Additional risks for states include: parallel cyberspace, cyber-attacks on critical infrastructure, vulnerable data, unsolved problems of artificial intelligence, big data, cloud computing, data security and fifth generation technologies, quantum computing, digital divide and wealth gaps, a human dystopia, gradual erosion of trust in media, social networks, even governments and international organisations. There is urgent strategic need for comprehensive, inclusive and agile global information policy and governance architecture in the „age of digital interdependence“.

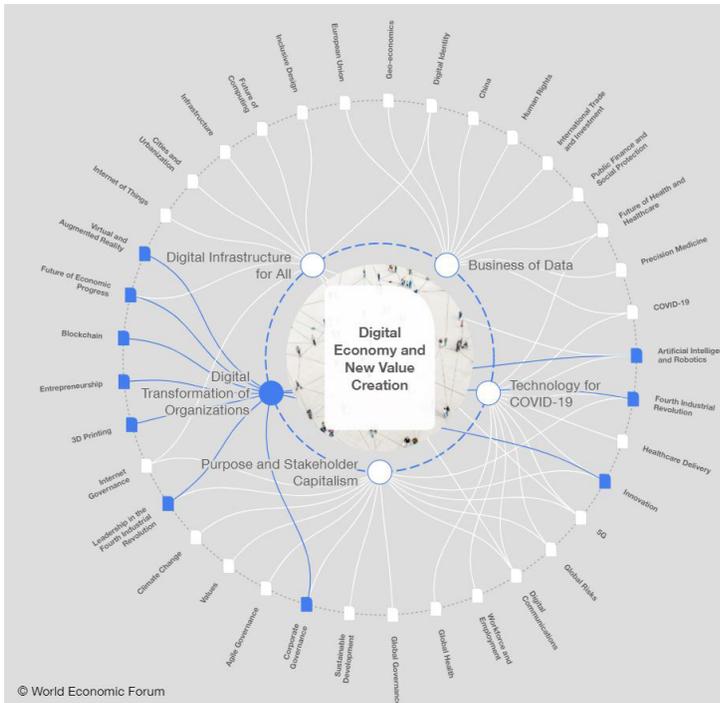


Figure 7. Digital Economy and New Value Creation (in World Economic Forum, <https://intelligence.weforum.org/topics/a1Gb0000001SH21EAG?tab=publications>)

The Digital Economy and new Value creation depends from global Business of Data, digital Infrastructure for All and mostly from Digital Transformation of organisations (see Figure 7).

Conclusions

1. The strategic risks that nations face stem from uncertainty in their competitive, technology and strategic risks environments. Our approach is to minimize the damage of negative outcome of global events, try to influence uncertainty itself and manage local risks directly. But, let's be clear, it is impossible to foresee every potential risk around us;
2. The rapid spread of Covid-19 across the world has weakened the global growth outlook with unprecedented speed. At the same time the economic fallout from Covid-19 concerns all governments and international organizations. There are significant national and international contributions to the economic recoveries of the nations, focussed to countries' policy responses;
3. At a time when COVID-19 is dominating our life, a strong multi-stakeholder approach – through international organizations, global and national initiatives is crucial for upcoming economic, political, and social consequences;
4. Better strategic risks focus facilitates better local risk reduction or elimination. This can create competitive advantages that allow nations to progress. Global risks management adds value to the organizations and ensures future economic progress of the nations;
5. Major global economic drivers of the prosperity of the nations in 21st century

are: Economics of the Fourth Industrial revolution; Productivity and Competitiveness; Inclusive Growth; Taxation and Sustainable Growth; Globalization; Economics of Environmental Sustainability.

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5.

From Nostalgia to Solastalgia

*On the relevance of
mourning and longing
in understanding
the environmental crisis*

BY ZOLTÁN SOMHEGYI

From Nostalgia to Solastalgia

On the relevance of mourning and longing in understanding the environmental crisis

ZOLTÁN SOMHEGYI¹

Abstract

My departure point is the analyses of nostalgia and another, more recent neologism from 2003 by Glenn Albrecht: “solastalgia”, the latter describing such places and landscapes towards which people feel nostalgic, but without ever having left that particular space. This uneasy feeling of solastalgia often arises due to heavy industrial activity and/or environmental change. The comparative investigation of the two phenomena will be directed to special cases, i.e. when nostalgic longing and solastalgic feelings arise during the encounter with our environments either directly or through representations. The examination of the particularities of these emotional reactions will help us to better understand not only the environmental crisis, but also such artworks that directly or indirectly survey psychological effects of these global issues.

Keywords

nostalgia, solastalgia, landscape, environmental change and arts, Glenn Albrecht, Olafur Eliasson

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Riassunto

Il mio punto di partenza è l'analisi del concetto di nostalgia e di un altro neologismo, più recente, di Glenn Albrecht, del 2003: la “solastalgia”, che descrive posti e paesaggi per cui persone sentono nostalgia, senza però aver mai lasciato quello spazio particolare. Questo scomodo sentimento di solastalgia nasce spesso a causa di una forte attività industriale e/o di cambiamenti ambientali. L'investigazione comparativa di questi due fenomeni sarà orientata verso casi speciali, ovvero quando la brama nostalgica ed i sentimenti solastalgici nascono durante l'incontro diretto con i nostri ambienti o tramite rappresentazioni. L'esame delle particolarità di queste reazioni emozionali ci aiuterà a capire meglio non solo la crisi ambientale, ma anche quelle opere d'arte che direttamente o indirettamente indagano effetti psicologici di questi problemi globali.

Parole Chiave

nostalgia, solastalgia, paesaggio, cambiamento ambientale e le arti, Glenn Albrecht, Olafur Eliasson

For many observers there has often been and still is some kind of “kitschy” overtone when it comes to nostalgia, especially when it is affecting the actual subject matter or the original source of inspiration or even the creation process of works of art. This could be understandable if we considered only that group of artworks that truly have these sort of flaws, i.e. referring to or evoking cheap nostalgic sentiments, in order to, for example, arriving to quick financial success by alluring to the melancholic daydreaming of those members of the public who are particularly receptive to these approaches. True, some elements of nostalgia-inspired works may have such superficial references, alluding to a (seemingly) perfect previous era or territory, that is now lost or unreachable. Despite this however, we have to do justice to the true strength of nostalgia, and acknowledge not only its emotional but also aesthetic powers. We shall, for this, also remember the fact that originally nostalgia was considered, analysed and cured as a medical condition, not merely as a sentiment. Therefore, when an encounter of a place, space or artwork triggers feelings of nostalgia, it seems right to analyse what this strong emotion may make us understand, naturally not only about the subject of encounter, but through that also about our own selves too. We can pursue this investigation even if we are aware of the fact that – as we will soon see – nostalgia can also be biased and deceptive.

To this we shall also add that when opportunities of encountering something (still) authentic, unharmed or undestroyed seem to rapidly get more and more scarce, we need to take whatever is offered. Even if nowadays we are constantly reminded of what we are about to lose – and everyday something more – and it looks we can only face the destroyed, decaying, or, on the other hand fake and artificial environments, we can nevertheless still find ways of gaining some insights and to learn from this. It may seem an overtly sentimental way – or, worse, perhaps kitschy mode – of consoling ourselves, but to understand the characteristics and appreciate the values of the not-anymore-available or decaying original, we can turn our attention to the insights gained from the

forms of mourning itself: what do we miss, how and why? This will then – hopefully – lead to a further level of the enquiry, that does not merely ask what can we understand about the forms of mourning, but also what are the means left to turn this experience into actual, tangible actions for the safeguarding of the shrinking amount of the still-remaining original and authentic. Actually, this latter can even be taken literally, when thinking of the shrinking of the icecap of the poles and glaciers, as we will see towards the end of this paper.

As it can be anticipated from the introductory lines above, here I would like to see a curious transition that we can trace regarding various approaches to encounters with our environment, both our natural and built surroundings, encountered both directly and in mediated forms, e.g. in and through artworks. In brief, this transition can be described as from nostalgia to solastalgia. It may sound surprising to apply these concepts to the examination of the aesthetic effect of different types of landscapes and environments, both “natural” and those underwent artificial changes and human interventions, as well as attempting to apply the effects of this experience in the service of safeguarding valuable aspects in these territories. It is perhaps surprising because regarding natural sites, cityscapes, landscape interventions and urban contexts the discourse is more often around questions of aesthetics and the safeguarding of the original beauty, heritage values, conservation and threats to the authenticity due to industrialisation, tourism and other forms of exploiting. While these are naturally essential aspects of the considerations, nevertheless it seems useful to examine what else can we learn from the interest of nostalgic and solastalgic visions and representations.

In another way, it may also be surprising to talk about the application of insights gained from nostalgia on landscape and the environment because for many nostalgia sounds like an emotional state, a feeling, a wistful longing or even regretful affection, i.e. in any case a rather psychological phenomena and not something that may bring any “useful” input in the investigation

of landscapes and issues of our contemporary environment. Nevertheless, even if due to the aforementioned strong psychological effect that originally made nostalgia to be categorised as a medical condition, right from the beginning it was inextricably connected to landscapes too, broadly construed – for example in the case of soldiers serving abroad longing for the home environment and country of origin. In order to understand this particular feature, let's recall the beginnings and spread of the term and the investigation of the phenomena:

As it is well known, despite the Greek elements of this compound word, the term was coined only in the Modern Age by the Swiss physician Johannes Hofer in 1688, by combining *nostos* (to return to home) and *algos* (pain). The phenomenon was investigated as a medical condition, and various methods of its treatment were introduced. Among the cures we can remember some that are merely taking its medical features as a starting point and inventing physiological solutions as a remedy, while others considered the emotional aspects and its psychological options of treatment. We shall however also remember – and this will be essential in our present discussion too – that the cure of this strong desire can be extremely difficult due to fact that the home where the nostalgic spirit aims to return may either not be reachable anymore or may not at all be accessible because it existed only in the individual's imagination. Or, as also Svetlana Boym reminds us in her 2001 book titled "The Future of Nostalgia":

"Nostalgia is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy."

(BOYM, 2001, P. XIII.)

It is exactly this romance with our own fantasy that leads us to the first focus area in this paper, i.e. nostalgia's connection to both pieces of art representing landscapes and to actual encounters with real environments: we can recall numerous instances

and proofs to the claim that nostalgic approaches of the perception of a place can be idealising and biased, hence instead of the actual and objective appreciation it leads to an imaginary land. Throughout the centuries around the early medical and scholarly investigations of the concept, we have a great many locations and their depictions that were considered as something what we may, today, label as “nostalgic”, naturally also due to their idealised mythological atmospheres and references, that made them interpretable as Arcadian locations or depictions of Arcadia. This has not only triggered a series of depictions of mythological subjects, but also actual travels pursued by the – typically “Northern” and “Nordic” – artists and enthusiasts to visit such locations, mainly in Mediterranean lands, particularly in Italy. Hence the fashion of depiction and collection of these sort of landscapes in the decades of the so-called Grand Tour. What’s more, this fashion also explains some fascinating practices that we can see in neighbouring areas of art and design, including for example garden design and landscape architecture, where the addition of fake ruins in the Arcadian settings of Northern parks can be interpreted as attempts of artificially evoking nostalgic feelings, something that I earlier labelled as “shortcuts to nostalgia”. (Somhegyi 2018a)

This idealisation and biased perception however also clearly illustrates that the relationship between certain surroundings, environmental connections or actual landscapes and nostalgia is never entirely “pure”, or, in other words, we never really find “general” nostalgia. It is more like a nostalgia towards certain aspects and features that we discovered or at least think to have re-discovered in the actual place or through its depiction. In the beginning it was in line with – and, in certain cases even put in the service of – the era’s cultural inclination towards different forms of Antique revivals, that is naturally observable from Renaissance onwards, although with different accents and intensity. This had also made Antiquity not merely an era and subject-matter of longing – just like the locations themselves that due to their natural characteristics and appearances, as well as the mythological allusions were

considered reminders of Arcadia – but also an often referred-to ideal that was used as a decisive canon with authority.

At a later stage, in Romanticism both the focus of interest and the overtones of nostalgia had changed, when instead of cultural and theoretical inclinations towards Antiquity artists and other intellectuals got thrilled by the Middle Ages. Hence again, nostalgia was not “pure”, since its manifestations around 1800 had more political components; a longing for a national past and the inspiration from the new nation states’ origins. Needless to say, besides the political motivations it was also triggered by a great amount of dissatisfaction with the interpretation, function and infrastructure of arts, as well as a refusal of previous eras’ classic and classicist ideals. Already the early forms of industrialisation, mass production and standardisation – this last obviously was and still is required for higher efficiency of production in the factories – made sensitive critics in the 19th century understand the drawbacks these all cause not only on the aesthetic quality of the final products but also on practically all aspects of everyday life. This “coloured” the 19th-century romanticising, idealising and nostalgia of the Middle Ages, and inevitably has also led to certain biases. Perhaps the best example is the idealisation of the mediæval state, society and culture compared to the (19th century) present, and the “forgetting” of the earlier period’s inequalities, feudal structure and various forms of oppression.

Not only the rapid industrialisation but also the just as speedy urbanisation resulted in similar “biased” nostalgia. The cities of the Industrial Revolution became frightening, dirty and polluted, especially due to the large factories often placed in the middle of the urban centre. Hence, while the myriad of positive shifts that the Industrial Revolution had triggered in social structure – e.g. steady income in the form of wages for the new, urbanite factory workers, instead of the unpredictability of agricultural production – the working conditions and the urban environment were less enviable. Again, this has not gone unnoticed by the critical eyes of sensitive observers, and resulted in well-known criticism from for

example John Ruskin, but we could also quote A. W. N. Pugin's well-known comparative print between a mediaeval townscape and the view of a modern city that again idealises the everyday life and its environment of the Gothic period as opposed to the city of his own time.

Here, just for curiosity, we can mention how certain aspects and also subjects of nostalgia itself may mutilate, to which the most characteristic example is the case of the 19th-century city itself. Pugin and many of his contemporaries were, as we have seen above, nostalgic towards the pre-industrial cityscapes in a rapidly industrialising period. However, the same cities in which they were active have themselves become subjects of later, 20-21st century nostalgias, on various levels and forms:

On the one hand, the way how through the 19th-century technical and technological innovations – both the actual ones and those imaginary ones, a bit in the style of Jules Verne's novels – the world looked like and/or may have looked like are subjects of longing for different movements interested in alternative histories and forms of uchronia, for example “steampunk” and “clockpunk” that have recently resulted in proper sub-cultures with extensive literature, graphic novels, images of different aesthetic qualities, films and even a lucrative production of gadgets, objects, furniture and dresses for cosplays.

On the other hand, certain other aspects of the 19th century cities are still – and perhaps even increasingly more – alluring for many contemporary observers. As it is again well known, after the realising of the several serious and harmful consequences of the industrial centres, as well as the outdated structure of the cities – e.g. the sometimes picturesque but often unpractical and dangerous zig-zagging of narrow streets of mediaeval town centres – in the second half of the 19th century many metropolises were modernised or “haussmannised” (the name coming from Baron Haussmann, the coordinator of Paris' restructuring under Napoleon III). The results have coincided with the birth of several artistic movements, especially Impressionism,

Neo-Impressionism and Post-Impressionism that are among the most popular styles of Western painting up until now. Therefore, the cityscapes immortalised in these paintings are sort of connected to the new and modernised outlook of these towns, that is strongly contributing to the idealisation of their atmospheres. We can add to this that it is not only due to the style of the painting itself that, as mentioned above, may be alluring for many, but even for such characteristics as these were the last decades in the life of the major cities without automobiles. Nevertheless, just as Pugin's idealisation and nostalgia towards the mediaeval cities seems to be a bit uncritical, in a similar way also these modern nostalgias towards the cities observable on Impressionist paintings tend to forget certain aspects that belonged to the ambiguities that the urbanites have experienced in the era. Among these we can mention that duality that modernisation had triggered in the structure of the social cohesion of the city and in the experience of the city life itself: many inhabitants, though naturally welcoming numerous elements of modernisation, including clean and safe streets, gaslight, sewage system etc. also felt uncomfortable due to rapid increase of population through migration from the countryside. Instead of remaining in smaller clusters of the city with familiar neighbourhoods, people – at least initially – had difficulties in accepting the constant encounter with the unfamiliar, and this exposure lead to the uncanny feeling of on the one hand constantly observing and having to observe the other, on the other hand also being continuously observed by these “others”, a duality that Édouard Manet captured in many of his paintings. All this has also lead to a certain form of ambiguous sensing in and of the city, i.e. feeling oneself comfortable – enjoying the modernity of city and its facilities – but at the same time also uneasy and distressed – due to certain forms of self-imposed isolation and individuation as a form of self-defence – that again had fascinating representations in art too, of which the most often referred-to example is Gustave Caillebotte's painting from 1877 titled “Paris

Street, Rainy Day” (see some further analyses on this work in: Somhegyi 2018b, p. 261).

From these representations and/or encounters we can thus trace a special form of nostalgia – perhaps more precise to call it as “nostalgic longing” – that is oriented towards an imaginary past and state. Very often in such cases the encounter with certain types of locations – both physical encounters through actual visits or observing them on landscape and cityscape representations, or even learning about them in literary sources – have triggered such nostalgic feelings, for which melancholy and depressing feeling we mainly blame the fact that it is impossible to reach that desired genuine state or wished original condition. In other words, the melancholy in this nostalgia is explainable by the irreversibility of time, i.e. the fact that going back is not feasible: we cannot be in the Antiquity again, and even if we physically reach our childhood environment, we cannot retrieve our childhood itself – and the realisation of this largely contributes to the melancholy of nostalgia, as also Jean Starobinski reminded us: “what a person wishes to recover is not so much the actual *place* where he passed his childhood but his youth itself. He is not straining toward something which he can repossess, but toward an age which is forever beyond his reach.” (Starobinski, 1966, p 94.)

At the same time however, we shall also note – and this will explain the deceiving character of the emotion – that in the above special cases of nostalgia we only have *indirect* relationship to the desired period, state and condition that is triggered by the visual representation of – or physical encounter with – a landscape or any sort of natural or built environment, through which or where we may only imagine how it may have been. This is what we have seen in the above examples: through the Arcadian paintings we dream of Antiquity, through the idealised images we long for the Middle Ages, through Impressionist paintings we wish to live in Paris of the 1870s-1880s etc. As with all forms of idealisation, it contains a large amount of self-deception, that may even be manifested once one actually gets to such a location – it is sufficient to recall the

numerous delusions that visitors of Italy during their 18th century Grand Tour reported of, or even the so-called Paris syndrome, a condition caused by the experiencing of the difference between expectations and reality that may result in even psychiatric symptoms. (see more on this in Benenti and Giombini, 2020).

Compared to all this, the other concept investigated in this paper, *solastalgia* is different. The term was coined by Glenn Albrecht in 2003, and since then became an often referred-to concept describing a modern disruption experienced by many in our contemporary world. In the beginning the term was dedicated to explain a certain form of distress of several members of an actual community in New South Wales, in Australia, where the open-cut coal mining has brought to extreme changes in the environment over the years. The residents have started to feel estranged in their own (physical) home, and longing for the previous state of their surroundings. This is why Albrecht defined it as “an enplaced or existential melancholia experience with the negative transformation (desolation) of a loved home environment. (...) Hence, solastalgia is a form of ‘homesickness’ like that experience with traditionally defined nostalgia, except that the victim has not left their home or home environment. Solastalgia, simply put, is ‘the homesickness you have when you are still at home.’” (Albrecht, 2012) This naturally also explains the compound word that has its roots in “solace”, “desolation” and “nostalgia”. In a later text, Albrecht explained the term more in detail:

“I define “solastalgia” as the pain or distress caused by the ongoing loss of solace and the sense of desolation connected to the present state of one’s home and territory. It is the existential and lived experience of negative environmental change, manifest as an attack on one’s sense of place. It is characteristically a chronic condition, tied to the gradual erosion of identity created by the sense of belonging to a particular loved place and a feeling of distress, or psychological desolation, about its unwanted

transformation. In direct contrast to the dislocated spatial dimensions of traditionally defined nostalgia, solastalgia is the homesickness you have when you are still located within your home environment.”

(ALBRECHT, 2019, PP. 38-39.)

The complexity and curiosity of the phenomenon and its conceptualisation is in certain cases also applicable to not merely “natural” landscapes, but to built environment, cities and industrial areas too – this latter almost seems a bit paradoxical, nevertheless this is how we can explain the sorrowful nostalgia and distress of inhabitants of decaying cityscapes for example in the rust-belt cities and Detroit, of which inhabitants have direct personal and emotional attachment to these changing and decaying industrial contexts. (Somhegyi, 2020, p. 122)

This summary of the concept of solastalgia also helps us to understand its fundamental difference from nostalgia: here we have a proper, *direct* connection to the wished original state and condition. Hence it is not simply a longing for an imaginary and thus biased and idealised or romanticised previous condition, but our desire is directed to an earlier stage and state that we have actually experienced, and of which we have solid memories, not simply unreliable fantasies.

The important consequences of the investigation of the differences in the two concepts however do not end here. What’s more, these consequences are not merely “aesthetic-related” but can have immediate connections to questions and issues of, as well as initiatives against, environmental change and the attempts of stopping or slowing down its effects through various means and actions. And exactly this also helps us understand why many of the contemporary artworks connected to questions and issues of environmental disasters are closely related to and thus also interpretable through the concept of solastalgia. This importance, or perhaps we could even call it as “responsibility”, of artist was also highlighted by Albrecht:

“Art and artists have a hugely important role in helping others understand what is going on in their surroundings. Art and craft help us see and react to what is often almost invisible and unspeakable. They bring it all to the surface and force us to interact with it. Artists can offer us a degree of solace with their creations, but they can also heighten our psychic discomfort in the confrontation with environmental disturbance. Contemporary environmental art portrays the loss of species and ecosystems as something more than a loss of biodiversity. It also depicts the loss of something vital within us, the negation of the very possibility of deriving happiness from our relationship to the environment. That can be very unnerving.”

(ALBRECHT, 2019, P. 45.)

To illustrate all this, from the many possible examples, here I chose a recent one by the Icelandic-Danish artist Olafur Eliasson, an artwork and project that has perhaps received less exposure than others of his spectacular creations and definitely less than what it deserves both due to its aesthetic quality and social-environmental importance. My choice is also motivated by the fact that the project is not only a sorrowfully spectacular demonstration of the effect of climate change and that it can also be a critical call for action, but it is also a clear manifestation of solastalgia.

The project, titled *“The Glacier Melt Series 1999/2019”*, consists of a series of photographs that Eliasson took of different glaciers in Iceland. However, instead of merely showing them in their actual state of a particular time, they were presented in pairs: one how the impressive natural phenomena looked like in 1999, and one how the artist had found them, two decades later, photographed from more or less exactly the same location (the artist took the shots from a small plane, attempting to find the same position). The result is definitely shocking, and not only for the artist himself, experiencing it directly on the spot and then documenting it in the project, but also for us who can only encounter

the tremendous shrinking of the glaciers through these pairs of photographs. It seems worth quoting the considerations of the artist a bit longer:

“In 1999 I travelled to Iceland to document a number of the country’s glaciers from the air. Back then, I thought of the glaciers as beyond human influence. They were awe-inspiring and exhilaratingly beautiful. They seemed immobile, eternal. I was struck at the time by the difference between the human scale and the scale of geo-history. For me a glacier or a rock seem solid, but on the geological scale, rocks and glaciers are constantly in motion. This summer, twenty years later, I went back to photograph the same glaciers from the same angle and at the same distance. Flying over the glaciers again, I was shocked to see the difference. Of course, I know that global heating means melting ice and I expected the glaciers to have changed, but I simply could not imagine the extent of change. All have shrunk considerably and some are even difficult to find again. Clearly this should not be the case, since glacial ice does not melt and reform each year, like sea ice. Once a glacier melts, it is gone. Forever. It was only in seeing the difference between then and now – a mere twenty years later – that I came to fully understand what is happening. The photos make the consequences of human actions on the environment vividly real. They make the consequences felt.”

(ELIASSON, 2019)

Eliasson’s descriptions of his feelings and considerations are very much “matching” the components and definition of solastalgia, hence it seems quite useful to “apply” the concept for the interpretation of both the experience of the artist and of the project that developed under the influence of this very experience. What we thus see here is the realising that a familiar environment is not the

same anymore, a feeling of being estranged in a home surrounding due to changes in the geography, and a wish to reverse it back to a previous state. To this we shall also add that it is a longing for an earlier environmental condition of which the artist does have direct and personal experience. He thus started to mourn the irreversible transformation and sometimes complete disappearance of a natural phenomenon and a surrounding well known to him. This is what makes it a solastalgic mourning, because the previous state of the environment in general and the impressive size of the glaciers in particular are not from his imaginations or something he knew indirectly from descriptions or visual representations; he knew them, saw them, and even documented them.

As anticipated above, I chose this example because I think this is definitely one of the clearest manifestations and illustrations of solastalgia, that at the same time is artistically definitely powerful enough to work not only on an “aesthetic” level, but also urges the observer to re-consider his stance on the current state of our world. In other words, it is exactly this opening up of this solastalgic mourning that can be brought to a higher level, and elevated from being a personal consideration into something more universal, shared by a large part of the world population today. We are more and more often faced with the stressful feeling that although we are still here, at home, on our Earth, but it is not what is used to be and how we have been used to what it was. Eliasson’s work highlights this distress that we all have, and makes it manifest. We want to go back, to turn back – and it is perhaps not even too far that we would need to go back to. But how much time is left for us to attempt to find a solution for this?

Actually, the time factor is really crucial in all these considerations – in the case of classical nostalgia one may suffer deception because the ideal and idealised state is so far back in time that the illusion connected to this imaginary world is inevitable. The shocking aspect in solastalgia, on the other hand, can exactly be how little time is enough to have a familiar place and space to undergo significant alteration and even complete destruction. The

artist experienced the dramatical grade of the modification of the glaciers upon his return in only after 20 years. One is simply not prepared for the fact that in so short of a time such drastic change can happen. One of the most horrifying aspects of Eliasson's project is exactly this quick approaching of the scale of human and geological timeframes and this narrowing of the difference of these two perspectives, as it was also briefly mentioned by the artist above: although we know that a human life is almost incomparably shorter than the geological temporal perspectives, the difference between these two are rapidly shrinking – just as the glaciers themselves.

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FIGURE 1

Olafur Eliasson

The glacier melt series 1999/2019, 2019

30 C-prints, each 31 x 91 x 2.4 cm

Courtesy of the artist; neugerriemschneider, Berlin; Tanya Bonakdar Gallery, New York / Los Angeles

© 2019 Olafur Eliasson

Photo: Michael Waldrep/Studio Olafur Eliasson



FIGURE 2

Olafur Eliasson

The glacier melt series 1999/2019, 2019, DETAIL (KROSSÁRJÖKULL)

30 C-prints, each 31 x 91 x 2.4 cm

Courtesy of the artist; neugerriemschneider, Berlin; Tanya Bonakdar Gallery, New York / Los Angeles

© 2019 Olafur Eliasson

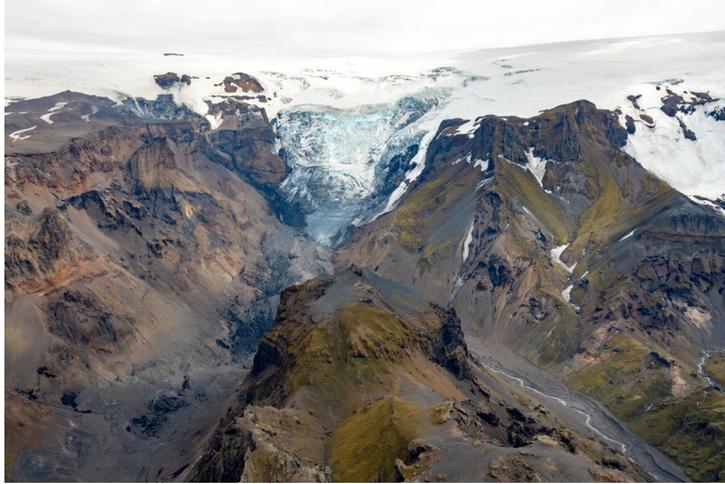


FIGURE 3

Olafur Eliasson

The glacier melt series 1999/2019, 2019, DETAIL (KROSSÁRJÖKULL)

30 C-prints, each 31 x 91 x 2.4 cm

Courtesy of the artist; neugerriemschneider, Berlin; Tanya Bonakdar Gallery, New York / Los Angeles

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6.

**Brancusi's
sculptural ensemble**
*from Târgu Jiu and
its reception in time*

BY DRAGOS GHEORGHIU

Brancusi's sculptural ensemble *from Târgu Jiu and its reception in time*

DRAGOS GHEORGHIU¹

Abstract

The sculptural monumental ensemble offered by Brancusi to Romania has had different meanings in high and folk local cultures, as well as in different epochs, when it was perceived as a religious object, banned as a worthless object, and re-worshipped as a national identity object. The present study tries to describe the most important moments of the use of the ensemble by different communities.

Keywords

Brancusi, Târgu Jiu, community

Résumé

L'ensemble monumental sculptural offert par Brancusi à la Roumanie a eu des diverses significations dans les cultures locales hautes et folkloriques, ainsi qu'à différentes époques, quand il fut perçu comme un objet religieux, interdit comme objet sans valeur, et puis ré-adoré comme objet d'identité nationale. La présente étude tente de décrire les moments les plus importants de l'utilisation de l'ensemble par différentes communautés.

Mots clés

Brancusi, Târgu Jiu, communauté

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The importance of Brancusi's art

Constantin Brancusi (1876-1957) is one of the greatest artists of the 20th century who revolutionized the art of sculpture (see Geist 1964; Bach 1987; Gheorghiu 1996a). Born in the village of Hobita in Gorj County, Romania he left for Paris, at the beginning of the last century, after finishing his art studies in Bucharest, working for a while in Rodin's studio. His synthetic work (Bach 1995) inspired by Romanian folk art, Antiquity, and primitive art, which reached a high degree of spirituality, has profoundly influenced the sculpture of the 20th century and is present in the great museums of the world. Less known is the sculptural-architectural ensemble from Târgu Jiu in Oltenia County, southwestern Romania, whose changes in meaning and connections with the Romanian community in different historical periods are the subject of this paper.

The history of the creation of the Ensemble: The need of a national monument to commemorate the World War I Heroes

In Romania in the 1930s, the idea of building the monuments of the heroes of the First World War initiated by the association "Asociația Cultul Patriei" mobilized the energies of various local organizations, this project becoming a competition between different counties and political parties.

Brancusi was invited in 1935 by Arethia Tatarescu, the prime minister's wife, from the National League of Women in Gorj, to build a funerary monument, respectively a metal column of 16 modules, "The column of endless gratitude" (Figure 1). Later, Brancusi added a monumental gate (Figure 2) and then a round table and a group of chairs made of travertine (Figure 3). All these pieces existed in his workshop in Paris and are all in a symbolic relationship (Gheorghiu 1996b), they being an ensemble with religious-funerary symbolism for the local folk and urban

community. Thus, the Table (which previously had many religious names; see Gorjan 1988) is the place of the offering of funeral alms, and of the funeral banquet; the Gate and the Column are also symbols of the funerary rites of passage. Here the Gate symbolizes the eroto-thanatic “Wedding of the Dead”, and the Column symbolizes the funerary pillar placed at the head of the deceased (Vulcanescu 1972), a custom found in the region until the middle of the 20th century.

The Column is positioned in a straight line with the other sculptures and with the Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul; this alignment was named by Brancusi “The Way of the Souls of Heroes” (see Paleolog 1970), thus emphasizing the rites of passage of the Ensemble.

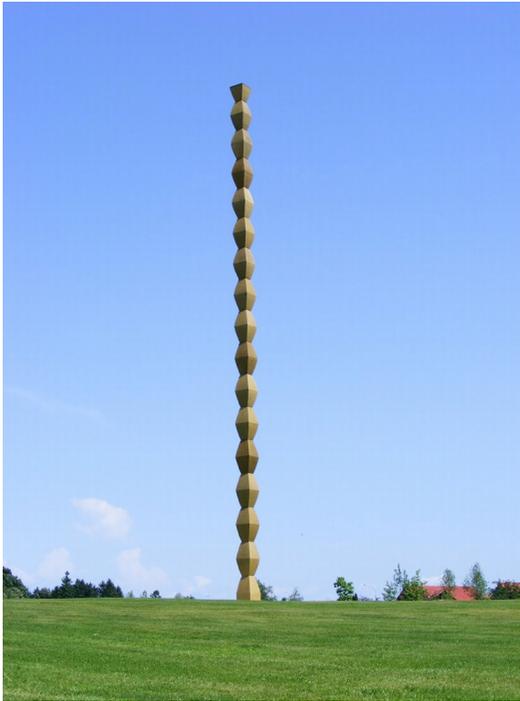


Figure 1: *The Endless Column* (<https://royaltyfreephotos.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/dscf0010.jpg>)



Figure 2: The Gate of the Kiss (Photo: M. Moțăianu)



Figure 3: The Table of Silence (Photo: M. Moțăianu)

The interwar reception of the Ensemble

At the urban level in the European post-World War I program designed to glorify the heroes, the sculptural ensemble symbolized the “National Cathedral” in a modern version, because the “Pillar of Endless Gratitude” had been commissioned in memory of Romanian soldiers killed in World War I.

Petre Comarnescu noticed long ago (1979) the resemblance between the lintel of the Gate and “a Roman sarcophagus”, insisting on the thanatic aspect of the Ensemble, in the eroto-thanatic context of a part of Brancusi’s work, and in the local ethnological perspective of the funeral rites, such as “The Wedding of the Dead”, a kind of folk Brautmystik. Ion Pogorilovschi (1976) and Dragos Gheorghiu (1995) analyzed this eroto-thanatic perspective in folk culture, which refers to the symbolic post-mortem wedding of unmarried young people. Before the restoration of the Gate began, the present author discovered that the lintel had originally been built as a sarcophagus (Gheorghiu 2002a; Gheorghiu 2002b; Gheorghiu 2003), a fact confirmed when the lead layer of the lintel was uncovered.

The Gate was inaugurated on November 7, 1937, together with the Church of Saints Peter and Paul (Brezianu 1998: 47) and the Column on October 27, 1938, when the entire Ensemble was inaugurated and consecrated. Brancusi’s gesture of donating the most representative works can be decoded both in folklore and in local urban culture as representing a “life-time alms”, respectively the offering for the afterlife of objects representing a symbolic household (Gheorghiu 1995), a custom frequent in Oltenia.

The reception of the ensemble in the Popular Republic of Romania (RPR)

Brancusi’s second donation to the Romanian (now communist) state was that of his Paris workshop, in 1951. The offer was rejected at the February 28, 1951 meeting of the Section of Language

Science, Literature, and Art within the R.P.R. Academy (see *Minutes of the meetings of the Department of Language Science, Literature and Art of the R.P.R. Academy*, February 28 and March 7, 1951, volume P.4 / 1951 - 1948, p.268; see also Brezianu, 1998).

As a result, in the same month an address was drafted “requesting the demolition of the column”, which “arrives on March 20, 1951 at the Committee for Art, which sends it to the Romanian Academy of the RPR, to the Scientific Commission of Museums, Historical and Artistic Monuments, on June 30. The Academy sent back the address of the Committee for Art, which issued a response on January 5, 1952, stating that the work could be considered “a decorative work inspired by the forms of folk art in the region” and “could be maintained as such.” “The Romanian Academy [...] sends on January 18 another document requesting that it be communicated to Târgu-Jiu that “this column should not be destroyed, but preserved.” (<https://www.gorjnews.ro/cultura/povara-brancusi/radu-varia-elogiat-la-academia-romana-in-prezenta-lui-ovidiu-popescu.html>)

Informed of the first action of the Academy, «at March 7, 1951, the People’s Council of Târgu-Jiu sends an address to the Department of Communal Household and Local Industry (the Ministry of Internal Affairs at that time) requesting approval to demolish the Column, called “A metal column inserted in a concrete foundation without any aesthetics”». (<https://theologia.wordpress.com/2009/11/25/omul-care-a-incercat-sa-darame-coloana-lui-brancusi/>)

A second attempt to dismantle the Column with a tractor took place in 1953, at the initiative of the “Youth Organization of Târgu-Jiu District” in order to obtain funds from the sale of materials for participation in the World Youth Festival.

The inclusion of the Column on the list of cultural monuments on June 23, 1955, by Decision no. 1160 of the Council of Ministers, tries to cover these monumental blunders, moral reparations begin after the “thaw” of 1965, with the organization of an international

colloquium in Târgu Jiu, which is the beginning of the use of the Ensemble to achieve a national-communist identity.

The physical repairs of the Column will be made only in 1965-1966 and then in 1976, by cleaning the metal surface and re-plating it, and by replacing some lithic pieces at the Gate.

The reception after 1990

In popular and folk cultures, in the first decade after the fall of the communist regime, a whole series of patterns derived from the Column were suddenly used as decoration. Cast in concrete or tin foil they decorate gates or entrances especially to village houses, or are simply used as a decorative element with reference to a folk symbolism.

The Gate of the Kiss, although an eroto-thanatic symbol, continues to be, as during the communist regime, the place where couples in love or newlyweds go to take pictures, being considered an auspicious place. When the present author participated in the dismantling of the lead foil that covered the upper part, he discovered coins thrown there for good luck. In 2020 The Gate of the Kiss was ranked by the World Record Academy as being “the largest monument to the kiss”. (<https://www.worldrecordacademy.org/architecture/largest-monument-to-the-kiss-the-gate-of-the-kiss-by-constantin-brancusi-sets-world-record-219517>)

In high culture the sculptural ensemble had a rather troubled reception.

In 1992, the Romanian Branch of “The Constantin Brancusi Foundation, Inc.” was established, with the aim of restoring, arranging, enhancing, conserving the monumental ensemble “Constantin Brancusi” from Târgu Jiu and creating a museum and library complex dedicated to the life and the work of Constantin Brancusi, and to history, philosophy and art in general.” (*Monitorul Oficial* 1992)

Founded by Mr. Radu Varia, the “Branch carries out activities not aimed at obtaining profits, acting disinterestedly, not

pursuing its own economic goals, but facilitating activities for heritage purposes.”

Through the International Brancusi Foundations, Mr. Radu Varia proposed in 1991 to the Romanian government the restoration of the Târgu Jiu Ensemble, which was approved in 1996 (Richards 2003). The proposals to replace the central pillar that followed the dismantling of the Column generated in time a scandal of proportions between the Romanian government and the local community on one hand, and the Brancusi International Foundations on the other.

At the same time, in 1996, the present author proposed the celebration of 120 years since the birth of Brancusi at the Triennale di Milano, XIX Esposizione Internazionale (28 February-10 May 1996) in the form of an international colloquium, on this occasion inviting a group of European historians of art. At the end of the same year, this group of art historians, to which other European art historians were added, was invited by the Romanian Academy to repeat the Milan event in Bucharest. On this occasion the present author had the opportunity to lead the experts to Târgu Jiu where they found that the column was dismantled, and that a disk of about 20 cm diameter had been cut out of one of the modules “for analysis”.

The reaction of the Romanian communities (governmental and local)

In 1999 “the World Monuments Fund and the Romanian Government established a partnership with the World Bank to finance the restoration of all three sculptures. [...] WMF brought together 32 leading architects, engineers, conservators, and Romanian cultural officials to determine the best methods to restore the column. Collectively, they decided to conserve rather than replace the existing spine, and to refinish the modules.” (Newton 2006, 37)

On April 23, 2001, Bonnie Burnham, President of the World Monuments Fund wrote in *The New York Times*: “Radu Varia’s restoration plan for Brancusi’s “Endless Column That Holds Up the Sky” was rejected by the Romanian minister of culture, Ion Caramitru, and by numerous international experts. Mr. Varia’s approach would have destroyed the column’s original material and its artistic integrity. [the new restoration] preserves the original elements, which were in sound condition, and replicates exactly the artist’s metal finish. It has ensured the future of a great 20th-century artwork.” (Burnham 2001)

In Târgu Jiu, partly due to the conflict created by the proposal to replace the core of the Column, a Brancusi-mania was launched in the form of numerous series of conferences and publications. Unfortunately, very few professional art historians have continued to cover these events. For example, the documents sent to ICOMOS to put the Ensemble on the World Heritage List were not convincing enough, so ICOMOS rejected the idea of ensembles and considered that only the Column qualified as an “individual work and monumental sculpture”. (http://patrimoni.ro/images/Dosar-BRANCUSI/Evaluarea%20ofinala%20ICOMOS%202015_Engleza.pdf)

After the first decade of the present century, various activities of management and promotion of the Ensemble can be observed, under the patronage of the Târgu Jiu Local Council and of the newly founded Constantin Brancusi Municipal Cultural Center, especially for a future development of cultural tourism. And yet there is a criticism of the non-involvement of local authorities in maintaining the integrity of the work, reporting the presence of “stains, scratches and inscriptions” (<https://www.gorjnews.ro/cultura/povara-brancusi/radu-varia-elogiat-la-academia-romana-in-prezenta-lui-ovidiu-popescu.html>) on the Column.

Thus, one can lately observe a stronger involvement of the state in the promotion of the artist and of the ensemble: for example the applications to UNESCO to include the Ensemble on the list of its monuments. In 2019 the Romanian Cultural Institute

(ICR), celebrated “Brancusi Day”, and in 2020 it will celebrate 144 years [sic!] from birth with the “National Museum of Art of Romania (MNAR) and “the National Museum Constantin Brancusi inaugurated in Târgu Jiu.” (<https://theworldnews.net/ro-news/brancusi-day-marked-by-a-series-of-premieres-in-bucharest-and-targu-jiu>)

Critics of the Brancusi-mania

After WWII and especially in the last three decades, the erotic-thanatic symbolism in folk culture of the Ensemble was replaced by a consumerist image, and the religious symbolism was completely lost. All the agitation created around Brancusi and the Ensemble and the intense takeover of its elements in pop culture created a critical perception, the latter being associated with a type of superficial nationalism, which was however able to put the community of Târgu Jiu on the world map.

I consider that the most representative critical image of this phenomenon of exploitation of the image of the Ensemble is a large graffiti from Bucharest, on Grivitei Street, representing a jester who climbs the Column, which appears along with other identity symbols of the city (Figure 4). This symbol is very complex, referring to the struggle to monopolize the Column between the various organizations mentioned, as well as to the frenzy of Brancusi-mania at all cultural levels.



Figure: Contemporary art street in Bucharest (Photo D. Gheorghiu)

Conclusions

The Ensemble (Brancusi's second donation), as well as his first donation (that of his workshop), which initially had a symbolic-religious value ("life-time alms"), was perceived from the perspective of the ideology of the political regimes that followed. The idea of a National Cathedral, made with elements of modern art, undermined in time the idea of the sacredness of the monument, it being accepted both in communism and afterwards as a sum of three objects of modern art. As can be seen, UNESCO too could not perceive the Ensemble as a whole of sacred value, but only as a sum of parts (<https://balkaninsight.com/2017/11/23/romania-to-see-unesco-recognition-of-brancusi-ensemble-11-22-2017/>), thus rejecting the religious idea that formed the basis of the Ensemble.

And yet, without any attribute of sacredness, the local and national community accepted the Ensemble as a work that would represent the identity of a town and of an entire people. The Târgu Jiu Ensemble demonstrates how a work of art can function

simultaneously as a community and national identity symbol, and how the state can use it for its purposes.

Analyzing the history of the symbolism of the Ensemble, one can observe the change of meaning in different historical moments, and its rediscovery by the community, as well as its influence on the contemporary culture.

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7.

**The Balchik Art
School emerging
from Landscapes of
Two Cultures.
*Beginning from the
20th Century***

BY CĂTĂLIN TRANDAFIR

The Balchik Art School emerging from Landscapes of Two Cultures. *Beginning from the 20th Century*

CĂTĂLIN TRANDAFIR¹

Abstract

This paper intends to synthesize the cultural phenomenon of Balchik, Romania (at that time) which was prevailing in the beginning of the 20th century. In this way two cultures got interconnected in a deeper way keeping their own individuality at the same time. The Romanian artists developed a specific cultural landscape which also impacted the local community. The cultural phenomenon created many events and even today they are certainly growing with the future.

Keywords

Balchik Art School, Queen Marie, Nicolae Tonitza, Henrieta Delavrancea-Gibory

Résumé

Cet article vise à synthétiser le phénomène culturel de Balchik, en Roumanie (à cette époque) qui prévalait au début du XXe siècle. De cette façon, deux cultures se sont interconnectées de manière plus profonde en gardant leur propre individualité en même temps. Les artistes roumains ont développé un paysage culturel

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spécifique qui a également eu un impact sur la communauté locale. Le phénomène culturel a créé de nombreux événements et, même aujourd'hui, ils grandissent certainement avec l'avenir.

Mots clés

École d'art de Balchik, La Reine Marie, Nicolae Tonitza, Henrieta Delavrancea-Gibory

Introduction

The modern cultural story of Balchik started building up after the eruption of the of the Second Balcan War in 1913 when two counties – located in south of Dobroudja – the land by the Black Sea, after defeat of Bulgaria were retained by Romania until 1940 when they were sold back to Bulgaria. Balchik is a port-town protected by a bay, an oasis of Mediterranean climate where the temperature never falls below 0° C during the winter and exerts a fascination for the painters.

The Balchik Painting School is a good example of the situation when an art community creates an impact upon a local community and changes its life. It's as if a person is in relation with the art. The art has the quality of transforming humans to into better humans. Thus, when it can change one human, it can do *the same* for the group. And reciprocally, the community can also do it for the art and artists and certainly if it was intended or not. How can it be?

Through the works of the artists who found inspiration there, the community conveyed its cultural heritage to the world with complete harmony among the elements of physical space, forms of the landscapes, geological colors, climate, and the vegetation. Also, architectural lines of the houses and their distribution originating with the shapes of human settlements – all these and more. The Romanian artists were fascinated by this location, more so as the light there was similar to the South of France' which they truly remembered as many of painted there. The impressionism had brought the painting in *plein-air*. So, roughly after half a

century of the landscapes of Balchik it became a paradise for the new generations of painters.

After The First World War historical conditions were the best for Romania in those times. The community of artists were attracted to Balchik by the climate, landscape, light, and their own artistic entourage. It is well known, that the only presence of an artist can also be perceived as a work of art. And also academicians, politicians, business men were also attracted in their turn by the artistic atmosphere and they came to Balchik.

Now locals were benefitted by the lobbying of the elites. Broadly between 1924-1927 Queen Marie of Romania (1875-1938) built a modern royal castle there. This way the cultural phenomenon in Balchik achieved the Queen's endorsement. The power of state shaped their city.

The influence of Queen Marie of Romania

The Queen Marie was also an artist. She wrote books (Queen Marie, 1916) painted and made interior designs which capture the people's attention even today.

As heiress princess had the position of being honorary president of 'The Artistic Youth' society founded in 1901 which opposed academicism in painting. 'Many of painters who initiated or encouraged 'The Artistic Youth' became part of the Balchik movement.' (Digi24, 2017)

In 1915 the painter Alexandru Satmari convinced Queen Marie to visit Balchik. On August 3, the Queen arrived in Balchik, accompanied by Crown Prince Carol and Princess Elizabeth. They stopped only for one hour, and then they left for Bazargic, the residence of Caliacra county. She didn't take any decision on status of Balchik at that time. In 1915 the war in Europe was ongoing.

The artistic community of Balchik became more resilient, consistent and united after the Great War. It grew year after year and it reached 150 painters at its peak. After them came writers, actors, directors, architects, politicians, philosophers, art collectors and

academicians. The Balchik city became a resort where the cultural elite lived and had their holidays, where they met and worked.

In the autumn of 1924, Queen Marie accompanied by her son [Prince] Nicolae travelled to Constanța, and from there to Balchik, on this occasion, the Queen located the place where later began the construction of the royal palace.' (Ciubotaru, no date) In the same year the Queen decided to build an urban complex in Balchik. She along with Alexandru Satmari sketched her residence on February 9, 1925. Works began in the same year. Architect Emil Guneș was assigned to accomplish the project.

Since the Queen had built a castle in Balchik (mostly a villa complex), the cultural community of Balchik gained 'the highest official recognition' which could be accorded. (Fig. 1)

The presence of the Queen also influenced the quality of administration. Mayors of Balchik had been outstanding personalities who were professors, academicians and war heroes who were connected to the artistic community. The candidates for this position benefited more from the lobbying of political leaders. Balchik became more important and a city of high prominence.

The Art School

The Romanian painters knew about the old town having excellent landscapes, colours and light since 1913 (Păuleanu, 2007) (Fig. 2). Iosif Iser, at the end of the year, on December 14, displayed his works in a personal painting exhibition in Bucharest.

We regret to refer here only *very few* of the great artists who were painting in Balchik due to a long list of them. Nicolae Tonitza (Fig. 3) (1886–1940), Ștefan Dimitrescu (1886–1933), Francisc Șirato (1877–1953), Theodor Pallady, (1871–1956), and Iosif Iser (1881–1958) are some of them.

The painters rendered a fragment of Oriental culture using the means of modern Western art. The two cultures had met at one connecting point.

We can talk about Balchik Art School, as its nucleus is Balchik Painting School. The representatives of all arts later joined the group of painters who had arrived here earlier. So, the cultural phenomenon was not limited to the visual arts.



Fig. 1 Queen Marie's Palace in Balchik – photo D. Gheorghiu



Fig. 2 The Backik's coast – photo D. Gheorghiu

The personal diaries featured some of the events from Balchik, so that we can rebuild the atmosphere once more. This way one can remember, joys and dramas, words of spirit, love stories, and historical meetings of those times.

Also, the writers could not be insensitive to seeing the landscapes bathed in the sun, the sound and colours of the sea, and the wind connecting the sea with the land. Although the literary phenomenon was not so extensive and impactful as that of painting. There are novels and short stories whose action takes place in Balchik. We must necessarily remember Anton Holban (1902–1937) with his novel 'Ioana' (Holban, 1934), Cella Serghi 'The Spider's Web' (Serghi, 1938), Emanoil Bucuța (1887–1945) writing a poetic description of Balchik (Bucuța, 1931). Balcica Măciucă (1930–2017) was born there and she had the name of the city in her name. She wrote her first book about Balchik in 1945 when she was 15 (Măciucă, 1945). Her father Octavian Moșescu (1894–1982) was also a passionate writer. He wrote volumes of memoirs, literary and historical works (Moșescu, 2017).

In 1927 Octavian Moșescu established The Free University 'Silver Coast'. Many academicians, politicians and artists were invited for conferences.

The Painters and the City

The painters had the skills of the postimpressionist school and the avant-garde. They discovered in Balchik the light they had encountered in the South of France. And also, an authentic culture, with archaic roots within a cosmopolitan, multicultural exoticism and multiconfessional space. This unique composition of light, landscape and culture met the uniqueness of the Romanian historical time. And from this osmosis arose the phenomenon called the Balchik Painting School and its extension Balchik Art School.

The sensitivity and accuracy of an artist's perception are universal, whether we look at it in spatial or temporal coordinates and certainly regardless of its artistic expression. Within this

intercultural contact, the language of postimpressionist Western painting met an archaic society with its beauty and sensitivity. Thus we came to know about a local culture that has remained unaltered through time. The art bestowed upon the public its presence and value.

The theme of Balchik has spread throughout the Romanian culture. The paintings depicting landscapes and exotic locales have become very popular even today and would certainly remain in the future. They are now a part of Romanian cultural heritage. So Balchik offered this all. The natural environment, the architecture, comfort of contemporary life, presence of the elites and above all the royal castle.

And how do we quantify the impact of the cultural phenomenon? We may do this by indirectly assessing the interest given to the city. The communication routes have been modernized. A credit union appeared in Balchik in 1924. In 1934 began the modernization of the Port of Balchik. The traffic to and from Balchik was intensified by all modes of transport, by sea, by bus, by rail and by plane. The airport was built in 1932 and its runway is oriented towards Bucharest, the capital of Romania. The railroad traffic between Balchik and the capital of the county (37 km) totalled 53.000 passengers in 1937. During the Romanian administration were built the town hall, the museum, public bath, the casino, army barracks and some streets were entirely paved with stone slabs. The power network and public lighting were also extended.

There were 50 private villas in Balchik at the end of the decade.

The city of Balchik had prospered due to the presence of the artistic nucleus there. Gradually, the city expanded and acquired a better infrastructure. It is connected to the modern world.

In our time, in 2018, the number of visitors to the royal palace in Balchik was estimated at 300,000, '20 times more than the number of inhabitants of Balchik. The Palace of Queen Marie of Romania in Balchik received at the end of December 2018 the Award for the best promoter of a tourist destination in Bulgaria for 2018 awarded by an international consortium of travel

agencies. The success of this Landmark proved that the features of the perennial and millennial authenticity of the local culture, intense and alive, had been well understood, respected and continued by the Romanian cultural phenomenon from the beginning of the 20th century. The old and new cultural landscapes found their harmony. The memory of the land remained unattained and is heading further to for the future.



Fig. 3 Nicolae Tonitza, *Landscape in Balchik*, <https://www.wikiart.org/en/nicolae-tonitza/geamie-la-balcic>



Fig. 4 Villa Stork by Henrieta Delavrancea-Gybory – photo D. Gheorghiu

Henrieta Delavrancea–Gibory

One of the most remarkable personalities linked to Balchik was Henrieta Delavrancea–Gibory (Sion, 2009). The descendant of another personality of the Romanian culture, writer, academician and politician – Barbu Ștefănescu Delavrancea – she was one of the first women architect in Romania.

The cultural phenomenon in Balchik has been growing. More and more distinguished members of society arrived there. So, they brought along with them their demands and standard of living.

One of the policies of the administration was to allocate plots of land to the artists for building houses or villas.

And so Henrieta Delavrancea-Gibory received design orders and she designed and constructed 22 villas in Balchik. Some of them exists even today, (Fig. 4) others collapsed due to not being on very firm ground, some are derelict, others were demolished. Time is the only one that chooses its own memory.

The architectural art of the villas in Balchik designed by Henrieta Delavrancea–Gibory is a synthesis of Art Nouveau, Mediterranean and Romanian traditional style. The construction is in perfect harmony with sea, land, vegetation colours, and shapes of the landscape. Long horizontal lines signify the sea's tranquility, buildings that are remaining are mingling with the shapes with the seafront signify the heat and so on. The architect mediates a dialogue between the landscape, the area, the personality of the employer, the history of the place.

Henrieta's continuous innovation proffer each construction its distinct aesthetic destiny.

Building villas at Balchik that Henrieta Delavrancea–Gibory created had their unique style. So her contribution extended the cultural cover of Balchik Art School.

Conclusions

Balchik School Art comprises of paintings, architecture, literature, journalism, philosophy, aesthetics, poetry and other influences in arts. It is a living landmark in the Romanian culture.

Evoking the land, climate, visions of great painters, and how the cultural phenomenon grew I have endeavoured to provide an image of Balchik Art School. How the atmosphere was created by visual artists who were attracted to Balchik, novelists, poets, play writers, musicians, actors, directors, politicians, professors, academicians, philosophers, art dealers, and many more. Balchik had polarized the entire cultural elite of Romania. As mentioned earlier, soon enough after the establishment of the Romanian administration the small port at the Black Sea got developed and became Romanians' equivalent of French Riviera.

An impressionist image of Balchik has been presented of that time through the artist's brushstrokes of memory and other personalities' and historical events' reflections of light.

The other view of Balchik is the image composed by the multitude of artists' visions each one seeing some other feature of the

beauty in the landscapes, people and sea. So, through the painters' works, emerges a fascinating holographic image.

The Balchik Art School has expanded the boundaries of the European visual culture and united culturally "The Old Continent" on the threshold of the trials that history was about to bring.

Acknowledgements

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Photo D. Gheorghiu

8.

**Shaping
a National Identity
through Art
and Architecture:**

*The Neo-
Romanian Style*

BY CLAUDIA POPESCU

Shaping a National Identity through Art and Architecture: *The Neo-Romanian Style*

CLAUDIA POPESCU¹

Abstract

European modern museums framed time as an odyssey of the nation. Instead of chapters, they displayed transformations of the national spirit and told a story of continuity or of historical progress. In the nineteenth century Romanian museums were absent, just as a Romanian style architecture was absent. Romanian culture was a culture of translations: from Byzantine, Slavonic and Turkish to Western European sources of inspiration. The new Romanian nation (independent since 1877) had few monumental buildings and even fewer collectors. As such, neither the museums nor the architecture could display the idea of national continuity. The (neo)classical and eclectic-style buildings together with the personal collections of the period were not representative. There was still a form of cultural continuity in traditional art and vernacular architecture that both Romanian museums and the Romanian-style architecture would later try to capitalize on. The starting point of this national identity struggle was the Romanian General Exhibition of 1906, inspired by the universal exhibitions in Western Europe; this was the beginning of both Romanian national architecture and the Romanian national museums. After the 1918 unification of the country, these endeavors were pursued by the National Art Museum, itself built in the Neo-Romanian Style and housing folk art and ethnographical items.

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Keywords

vernacular architecture, national identity, national style, social cohesion, Bucharest, city identity.

Résumé

Les musées modernes européens ont conçu le temps comme une odysée de la nation. Au lieu de chapitres, ils ont montré les transformations de l'esprit national. Ils ont raconté une histoire de continuité ou de progrès historique. Au 19^{ème} siècle, les musées roumains étaient absents, tout comme une architecture de style roumain était absente. La culture roumaine était une culture de traductions : du byzantin, du slave et du turc aux sources d'inspiration d'Europe occidentale. La nouvelle nation roumaine (indépendante depuis 1877), avait peu de bâtiments monumentaux et encore moins de collectionneurs. En tant que tels, ni les musées, ni l'architecture ne pouvaient afficher l'idée de continuité nationale. Les bâtiments (néo) classiques et éclectiques et les collections personnelles de l'époque n'étaient pas représentatifs. Il y avait encore une forme de continuité culturelle dans l'art paysan et l'architecture vernaculaire que les musées roumains et l'architecture de style roumain tenteront de capitaliser. Le point de départ de cette lutte identitaire nationale a été l'Exposition générale roumaine de 1906, inspirée des expositions universelles en Europe occidentale. On y voit les débuts de l'architecture nationale roumaine et des musées nationaux. Après l'Union de 1918, ces tentatives seront accomplies par le Musée National d'Art, créé dans le nouveau style roumain et présentant des objets d'art populaire et des objets ethnographiques.

Mots clés

architecture vernaculaire, identité nationale, style national, cohésion sociale, identité de la ville de Bucarest.

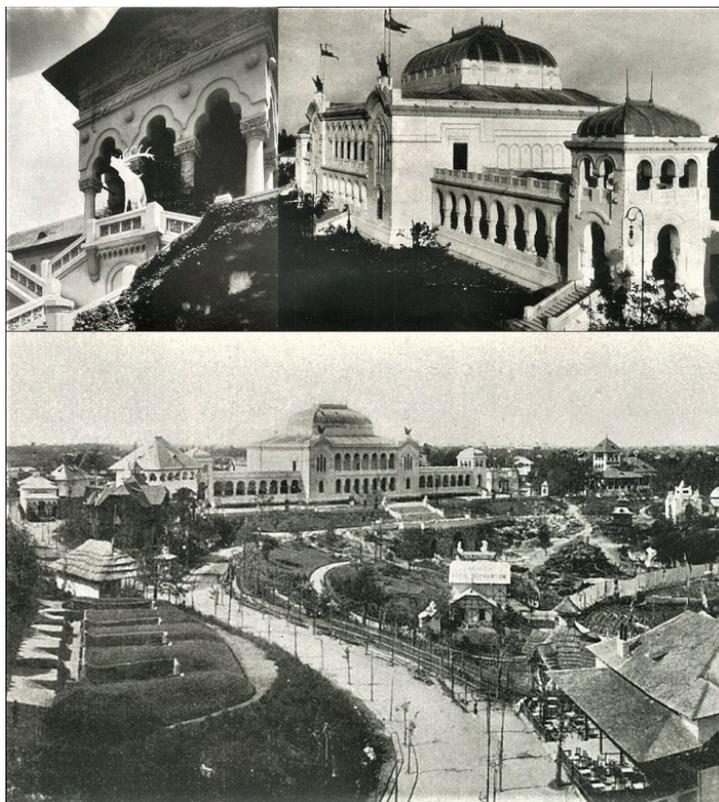
1. Introduction

The National Museum was a 'part of the checklist for being a nation, a means of disparate groups to present and claim their histories and values in the public sphere while simultaneously being an arena and a means of constituting community identities' (Karp, Kratz, 2006, p. 3). Aiming to construct a national identity, certain Romanian groups used both architecture and museums to achieve this end. Romania had to wait until its National Museum was created (1930). In the meantime architecture proposed a coherent story of the nation through the development of a national architecture style (the Romanian Style).

2. Historical Background

Following the proclamation of Romania's independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878, there appeared the intention of emancipating the country from Eastern cultural influence; there was 'a vast activity of redefining its own artistic and cultural parameters' (Cina, 2010, p. 64).

In 1906 Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcaş, art historian, ethnographer and museum theorist, held the opinion that the Museum of Antiquities (the National Museum of Romania) was in the same situation as when it was founded in 1864: namely 'a Babylon'. He mostly deplored the lack of an exhibition that evoked the medieval and modern eras of the earthly rulers (frescoes, liturgical objects, furniture, icons, etc., collected from monasteries) (Tzigara-Samurcaş, 1906, pp. 102-116).



*Fig. 1: Urban landmarks created by the 1906 Exhibition Royal Pavilion, 1906 Exhibition, Arts Palace, 1906 Exhibition, Panoramic view of the 1906 Exhibition*²

Tzigara-Samurçaş' evaluation was caused by an event organized in 1906: the Romanian General Exhibition. Inspired by the universal exhibitions from Paris, the 1906 exhibition was 'an event designed to consolidate and showcase modern Romania on an international stage' (Kallestrup, 2002, p. 148). The 1906 exhibition provided the opportunity to envision a true national museum (with the educational role that Tzigara-Samurçaş desired) referring back to the Romanian medieval rulers (Tzigara-Samurçaş,

² All images are from *Arhitectura* magazine, 1941.

1906). Such references were introduced through national architecture (of the pavilions and other buildings) rather through than museum artifacts.

Both the Romanian national state and the Romanian architects needed to create and communicate a tradition to affirm their uniqueness. In order to both affirm their lineage and to build such a tradition, the local architecture was adapted to the needs and loyalties of an imagined community (the Romanian people); these needs and loyalties were different from those of the medieval period (which lasted until the eighteenth century in the Romanian provinces).

The place chosen for the creation of the Exhibition in Bucharest in 1906 was later transformed into the Carol Park (named after Carol / Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, 1866-1914, Romania's first King). Until the 1930s (the coronation of Carol II), the Carol Park was of particular importance due to the exhibitions that were organized there, some of which were even targeted towards the population of the suburbs (Potra, 1942, p. 23).

For the new social class of the bourgeoisie (Scobey, 1992) the promenade, as a place of seeing and being seen, contributed to the popularity of the 1906 Exhibition but also to its educational impact; the promenade anchors national identity architecture and transforms it into urban landmarks (Potra, 1942).

The importance of the Carol Park declined after the creation of the National Park, on the right hand-side of the Kiseleff Road in the North part of Bucharest (Potra, 1942, p. 23). The creation of a new promenade area ensured the success of the museums close to the Kiseleff (Road) Park, such as the National Art Museum (known also as the Roadside Museum).

See here a simplified map of Bucharest with all the referenced locations:

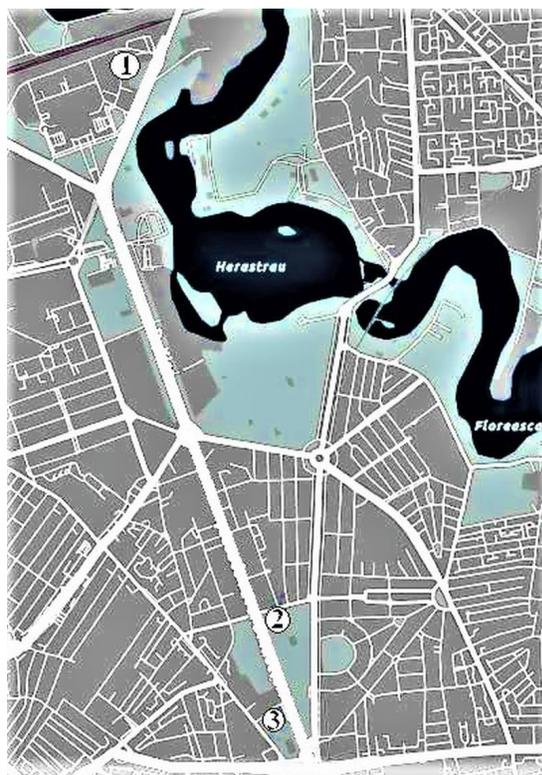


Fig. 2. Bucharest map with Kiseleff area and landmarks of the Neo Romanian Style:

1-Minovici Villa

2-Roadside Buffet

3-Romanian Peasant Museum

The creation of public spaces was also useful for the reconciliation of different identities (Cernescu, 2004). Interwar Bucharest was notorious for the cohabitation of peasant merchants and city folk.

The most important buildings of the 1906 Exhibition (the Palace of Arts, and the *Cula*³) were designed by two Beaux-Arts graduates that were also graduates of the Romanian School of Architecture (Ștefan Burcuș and Victor Ștefănescu) but other pavilions were designed by graduates of the Romanian School of Architecture alone (and students under Ion Mincu⁴) (Moise, 1991, p. 74).

The most important buildings in the Carol Park Exhibition were: the Palace of Arts and a fortified boyar (Romanian medieval title for a nobleman) house (a *Cula*), inspired by Romanian vernacular architecture (Kallestrup, 2002).

Romanian vernacular architecture at the turn of the century had two branches: folk architecture (cheaper and simpler) and a cultivated one (richer and more complex), subject to neighboring influences (Byzantine, Ottoman, Slavic) and Western sources (Hungarian, Venetian). The Romanian style was no different from other national styles in the Balkans. But the Romanian principalities were never a part of the Ottoman Empire and this was boldly asserted by the Brancoveanu⁵ style. Due to this inheritance, the Romanian style was also bolder than other national styles from the Balkans.

Initially the Neo-Romanian Style blended the two kinds of vernacular architecture into the works of the architect Ion Mincu but later it was mostly influenced by the monumental architecture of the Brancoveanu style and Western sources (Beaux-Arts, Art Deco, etc.).

The creator of the Neo-Romanian Style (architect Ion Mincu) was inspired by the harmonious forms of the urban vernacular

³ *Cula* is the Turkish name for a tower, a type of fortified residence, encountered also in other countries from the Balkans (eg. Albania).

⁴ Ion Mincu (1852 – 1912) was an important figure of the Romanian School of Architecture, a graduate of both engineering and architecture. He believed in the need for a national Romanian style and succeeded in convincing his students of both its artistic value and cultural importance.

⁵ Constantin Brancoveanu was a late medieval prince of Walachia and one of the last Romanian princes. He was murdered and replaced by Ottoman officials with princes of Greek origin raised in Istanbul. The Brancoveanu style was a (successful) attempt to reconcile the Byzantine tradition with Western (Venetian) inspiration in architecture and decorative arts.

with Oriental influences. He refined certain traditional forms that were both beautiful and useful such as the transitional spaces (porch, veranda, covered entryway, portico, loggia) (Ioan, 1999) to better match the Beaux-Arts architecture of Bucharest.

The aesthetics created for the interior of the central hall of the Palace of Arts (1906 exhibition) were multiplied in other projects carried out in the national style, especially those of Petre Antonescu. The Cula building of the 1906 exhibition influenced a number of residential projects (the Minovici Villa by Cristofi Cerkez) but also iconic buildings (such as the Bucharest School of Architecture). The Brancoveanu style was a (successful) attempt to reconcile Byzantine tradition with the modern age (of Western inspiration in architecture and decorative arts). The Brancoveanu style, used in other buildings in the Exhibition, such as the Royal Pavilion, influenced the architecture of the capital city: the Bucharest City Hall, or the Cotroceni Palace extension. Many buildings still display the influence of the Cula building and the Brancoveanu style: the Patriarchal Palace in Bucharest, the Minovici Villa or the Bucharest School of Architecture. The building of the present-day Romanian Peasant Museum (the former National Arts Museum from the thirties) blends the Brancoveanu style with Western and Moldavian influences.

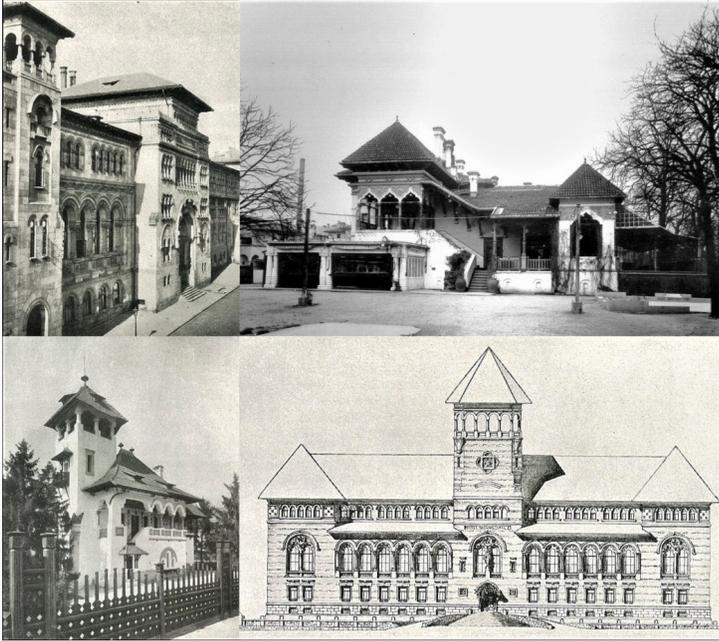


Fig. 3 Four icons of the Romanian Style: School of Architecture, Ion Mincu, Roadside Buffet, 1892, UAUIM Museum Archive, Cristofi Cerchez, Minovici Villa, Project for the National Arts Museum / Romanian Peasant Museum

3. Argument of the paper

The Neo-Romanian Style was promoted through the promenade and the entertainment provided by the 1906 Exhibition and placed in the Carol Park. The style was also a partial substitute for a national museum (created only in 1930). The style's affinity with natural space is inspired by traditional buildings surrounded by nature and also by the character of the old Bucharest. The vegetation-inspired ornaments (inspired by the Brancoveanu style) merely mirror the surroundings of the buildings and integrate them into nature.

The fact that the Neo-Romanian style is related to the prevalent style of the fabric of historical Bucharest (the Beaux-Arts style) makes it able to harmonize with it and also with the

Art Nouveau and Art Deco styles (though it does not go well together with later functionalism nor with standardized communist architecture).

The Romanian style had an identity role, developing an imaginary history museum at the facade level. As such, it was a tool for the creation of a historical and heritage tradition.

4. Development of the argument

The value of vernacular influences decreased in time as Romania became richer and the administration expressed itself through buildings designed in style of Stripped Classicism, an international style used worldwide. Stripped (Starved) Classicism was a response to various conflicting styles in a modernizing world (Bryant, 2011). The style was less original than both Modernism and the Neo-Romanian Style. This influence determined the reshaping of the Triumphal Arch in Bucharest in 1936.

This context explains the evolution of the designs of two symbolic Neo-Romanian monuments: the elimination of French influences in the building of the School of Architecture and the replacement of Romanian influences with French ones at the Triumphal Arch. The School of Architecture was one of the main producers of the Neo-Romanian Style. The Triumphal Arch was modified following its initial version in 1922; the arch had been infused with vernacular references in its former 1922 form iteration. After the restyling of 1936, it came to resemble the Arc de Triomphe in Paris (Târșoagă, 2017).

The Romanian modernization during the interwar period led to a disappearance of identity objects (including architectural objects) and their subsequent replacement with 'rented stories' which replaced the personal story (of individuals, families and small communities) with the story of a (national) brand. (Crăciun, 2010, 24-25) thus evolving the architectural expression of the Romanian imagined community. The official post-1878 expression, the year when the country gained its independence

from the Ottoman Empire, was asserted through Beaux-Arts and Neo-Romanian buildings. However, after 1930 the expression came to be rendered through more Stripped Classicism works and fewer Neo-Romanian buildings and thus was conducive to the tendency of the Neo-Romanian Style to eliminate ornaments.

The National Museum of Arts that was first opened in 1930 and inaugurated in 1941 is a good example of the vernacular character of the Neo-Romanian architecture. Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcas played an important role in the debate about both the purpose of a National Museum and the subject of national art and architecture. He also influenced the design of the architect Ghika-Budești⁶ for the National Museum of Arts. For the museum building, Ghika-Budești did not resort to national out-of-scale ornaments (as seen in the design of the Bucharest City Hall, by architect Petre Antonescu⁷) but rather to subtle contrasts between the apparent brick and white stone ornaments (columns, window frames, ornaments) (Constantin, 1972, 69).

The building of the National Museum is a synthesis of two branches of the Romanian style: it drew its inspiration from the regional architecture of Moldavia and Walachia, the two traditional Romanian provinces, and from secular and religious architecture from the XVIII-the century, respectively. The mutual influence between the architecture of the two Romanian provinces, Walachia and Moldavia, was described in the 'Bulletin of the Historical Monuments Commission' (Ghika-Budești, 1936). In a succinct list of successes of the Neo-Romanian architecture, the Romanian Peasant Museum (the former National Museum of Arts) was recorded along with other designs as '[having joined in] through decency, simplicity, modesty, and the science of proportions' (Ioan, 1999, p. 108).

⁶ Nicolae Ghika-Budești (1869-1943) was a restaurateur and researcher of medieval Romanian architecture, a teacher of the Romanian School of Architecture and an architect.

⁷ Petre Antonescu (1873 -1965) was another teacher of the Romanian School of Architecture that researched Romanian medieval architecture in order to find inspiration and legitimacy for his designs.

The fractures produced at the level of social cohesion by the demolition campaign of the communist period and by functional constructions with monotonous facades and with minimal green spaces further changed the appearance of Bucharest. The recovery of the demolished buildings and the re-consideration of the Neo-Romanian buildings have been parts of a healing process of the city. In this process, the opening of the Romanian Peasant Museum (in 1992) played an important identity role.

Initially the Neo-Romanian style was not only opposed to the international eclectic styles but to the very idea that architecture should be 'declarative' rather than pragmatic and grounded to observation. As it evolved into a means of expression for the Romanian administration and the Romanian State, the style became less pragmatic (tied to a 'genius' of the place) and more 'declarative'.

Mincu as well as Ghika-Budești was interested in the craft and materials of traditional architecture. Through the use of traditional craft and materials (along with construction techniques) they gave their buildings a handmade quality. This craft was connected to the old architecture and the old city of Bucharest. At a certain point (in the thirties), the Romanian Style was no longer a sign of modernity. The search (begun by Mincu) for harmony, value and national spirit in the vernacular architecture was mostly over. The building of the Romanian Peasant Museum was one of the last large projects accomplished in this style.

At its best the Neo-Romanian Style was a search of the spirit and harmony of the vernacular architecture, not merely a reproduction of its shapes. It was, in fact, a multi-national style (it drew upon forms taken from other cultures: Italian, Turkish, French, etc.) that proposed a universal search for order and harmony that Christopher Alexander (1979) spoke of in 'The Timeless Way of Building' and became part of the experience and local identity of the people of Bucharest.

Identity and naturalness are difficult to reconcile because identity tends to propose a reductionist, nationalist perspective on art and architecture (art serves the nation, not man) (Harari, 2018).

The purpose of a Romanian-identity architecture was to suppress otherness and local and regional identities (Ioan, 1999) even though they fueled it. The regional roots of the national style (present in some designs belonging to Ion Mincu) were sometimes forgotten and the buildings were no longer site-specific (with few exceptions like Ghika-Budești).

Bucharest was (and still is) a city of contrasts and diversity in the middle of which the New-Romanian architecture prospered along with the historical fabric (oriental and Beaux-arts inspiration) and modern styles.

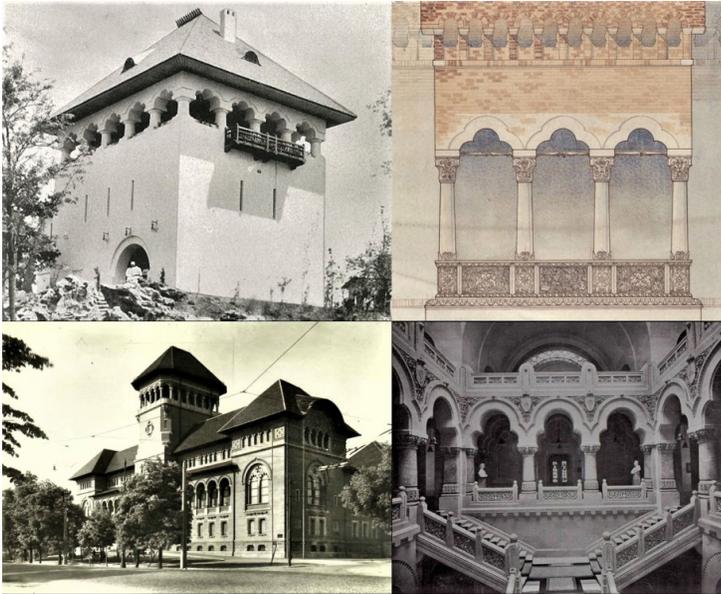


Fig. 4. Sources of the Neo-Romanian Style: Cula, 1906 Exhibition, Mogoșoaia Palace Loggia, Brâncoveanu Style⁸, Romanian Peasant Museum⁹, Bucharest City Hall, 1910¹⁰

⁸ Available at: <https://relevec.uauim.ro/534/>

⁹ Available at: http://ghika-budesti.ro/html/Arhitectul_Nicolae_Ghika_Budesti.html.

¹⁰ Petre Antonescu. 1913. Clădiri. Studii. Case. Biserici. Monumente. Palate. Încercări de arhitectură românească și clasică.

Even the historian Nicolae Iorga (one of the traditionalist voices) noticed that the Romanian style became cumbersome (Iorga, 1926, 28). Iorga's suggestions for an 'adapted French style' and a 'garden city' were in tune with the city of Bucharest called at the time the Little Paris of the age. These styles were also useful in terms of social cohesion.

Neo-Romanian architecture had an integrative role in the urban metabolism because it provided identity cues and it adapted to the local context more effectively than the international styles (like Beaux-Arts). It contributed, by the complexity of the facades, to the quality of the urban space. The use of traditional elements such as cornices contributes to a sense of concavity and the feeling of protection that the urban space seems to offer in the case of buildings placed in front of one another (Salingaros, 2017, 25).

The vernacular references to intermediary spaces (between the inside and the outside) (Ioan, 1999) contributed to the creation of harmonious environments based on the experience of traditional builders to create living environments (Salingaros, 2017). This experience, in its proportion and usage, though forgotten in certain designs, was to be found again in many other instances. The vernacular influence was preserved due to two factors: Ion Mincu's influence in the Romanian School of Architecture and the involvement of many architects of this style in restorations which enhanced their knowledge of traditional architecture (to quote Nicolae Ghika-Budești, Grigore Cerkez, Petre Antonescu and many others).

This vernacular quality allowed for a reinterpretation of the design of the National Museum of Arts. For the post-communist director of the museum, Horia Bernea¹¹, the elements of the building were completely foreign to the traditional civilization and to its simplicity¹² (Bernea, 2001, p. 19). However, Bernea managed to create a contrast between the display of objects and

¹¹ Horia Bernea, (1938-2000), painter, director and curator of the Romanian Peasant Museum.

¹² 'architectural building elements that are completely foreign to the traditional civilization'.

the building (thus highlighting the more or less common nature of the display objects).

The display within the Peasant Museum was coordinated in nineties by a team lead by Horia Bernea. What they proposed was not an ethnographically based make-believe image of the rural world, but rather an esthetic view of the objects, shedding light on their symbolic and identitiary quality. A kinship was created between the visitor and the creators of these objects, and thus their (national) identity was no longer an exterior but rather an interior one (Gheorghiu, 2014, p. 245).

Conclusion

Building a national story involves not only the cooperation of the members of small communities but also the creation of a coherent story. A mass level educational process regarding Romanian history and heritage began with the 1906 Exhibition (Târnă, 2005). The study of Romanian history and heritage was encouraged by the coherent story proposed by the Romanian Style in art and architecture. The Romanian Style was also 'designed to consolidate and showcase modern Romania on an international stage' (Kallestrup, 2002, p. 148).

The synthesis already undertaken by the Brancoveanu style combining Eastern, Romanian and Western influences allowed the Romanian Style to outgrow its Eastern influences, still visible in Mincu's designs. The Neo-Romanian style managed to harmonize various influences and to create spaces for social cohesion where communal values are created and exchanged.

The National Style and the National Arts Museum were interested in collecting and producing various forms of vernacular architecture and folk art. They created a collective identity by pondering over external signs and also over the spirit of the Past and its architecture.

The connection between the people and its memory can be preserved through *external* signs such as the spaces of museums

and memorials. But this connection can also be organic, interior, inspired by the traditional world. This is the case of the Romanian Peasant Museum in which a building with vernacular influences meets a particular mode of display.

During the Second World War, the Romanian Style was replaced by Stripped Classicism, the new expression of the country's modernity. The Romanian Style was the expression of a country that no longer wanted to be 'small' politically and culturally. The growth of Romania's ambitions during the communist regime of the eighties will determine a lack of appreciation both for heritage and for the Romanian Style art and architecture. This was expressed through demolitions and urban remodeling of heritage areas.

After the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, Neo-Romanian Style buildings were reconsidered as parts of the Bucharest urban scenery and identity and were capitalized on by museum and urban tours. In Bucharest there are three icons of the Romanian Style functioning as museums: the Minovici Villa (Dr. Nicolae Minovici Folk Art Museum), the Romanian Peasant Museum and the Museum of the School of Architecture. They educate generations in the spirit of respect for both the movable and the built Romanian heritage.

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9.

**The Virtual
Reconstruction
of a Demolished
Museum:**
*The Reconstruction
of a Town's Memory*

BY CLAUDIA POPESCU

The Virtual Reconstruction of a Demolished Museum: *The Reconstruction of a Town's Memory*

CLAUDIA POPESCU¹

Abstract

The city of Bucharest was changed by communism in many ways: for example, museums were turned into propaganda instruments and parts of the historic texture of the town disappeared, leading to a loss of identity. The Documentary Exhibition Center of the Ion Mincu University of Architecture and Urbanism is trying today to recover one of these demolished historical buildings, the Simu Museum, by means of a VR application. The Simu Museum was one of Bucharest's main museums until the beginning of communism. The digital reconstruction will not only restore its form but also its function. Several choices had to be made in order for the reconstruction to work, for example reducing the number of objects could actually be an advantage since the initial display was considered too crowded. The reconstruction of the Simu Museum could be used for the interdisciplinary study of art and history, just as the initial museum was, but also as a means of recovering the history of the city. The techniques used to reconstruct the museum will be presented together with the challenges created by the documentation and the technical process.

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Keywords

3D reconstruction; art education; cultural memory.

Résumé

La ville de Bucarest a été transformée par le communisme à bien des égards, par exemple les musées ont été transformés en instruments de propagande et des parties du tissu historique de la ville ont été démolies, entraînant une perte d'identité. Le Centre Documentaire et d'Exposition de l'Université d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme Ion Mincu tente aujourd'hui de récupérer l'un des bâtiments historiques démolis, le Musée Simu, au moyen d'une application VR. Ce musée était un des musées les plus importants de Bucarest jusqu'à l'avènement du communisme. La reconstruction numérique ne restituera pas seulement sa forme mais aussi sa fonction. Plusieurs choix ont dû être faits pour que la reconstruction fonctionne, par exemple diminuer le nombre d'objets pourrait en fait être un avantage puisque l'affichage initial était considéré comme trop encombré. La reconstruction du musée Simu pourrait être utilisée pour l'étude interdisciplinaire de l'art et de l'histoire, tout comme le fut le musée initial, mais aussi comme une récupération de l'histoire de la ville. Les techniques utilisées pour reconstruire le musée seront présentées, ainsi que les défis créés par la documentation et le processus technique.

Mots clés

Reconstruction 3D; éducation artistique; mémoire culturelle.

Introduction

The Simu Museum, one of the first private art museums of Bucharest, was among the few Romanian institutions of its kind. Before the beginning of the communist regime, there was no Romanian museum hosting universal art collections (except for the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu² and the Kalinderu Museum³ in Bucharest). The museum created by the art collector Anastase Simu (1854-1935) played an important role in the artistic education of Romanians.

The demolition of the Simu Museum (in 1962⁴) was among the first traumatic experiences of Bucharest during the communist period. The Simu Museum was a symbolic building and an educational institution connected to a European image of Bucharest (known at the time as Little Paris).

The virtual reconstruction of the Simu Museum was meant to reunite a collection scattered across several museums: The Museum of the Municipality of Bucharest, the National Museum of Art, the National Museum of History, the Furnică Minovici Museum, the Documentary Exhibition Center of the Ion Mincu University of Architecture and Urbanism, Bucharest (DEC, <https://centruxpo.uauim.ro/ro/>).

Since the beginning of the project (May, 2019), the project team, including the present author, have carried out three-dimensional scanning and photogrammetry of 30 exhibits from the collections of DEC of UAUIM, the Museum of the Municipality of Bucharest and the National Museum of Art - the Museum of Art Collections, as well as the reconstruction of the exterior of the building and the first room. The results were uploaded on the Sketchfab platform (<https://sketchfab.com/muzeulscoliidearhitectura>).

² www.brukenthalmuseum.ro

³ The building of the Kalinderu Museum was not demolished but its collection was taken over by other museums (as with the Simu Museum collection). It is closed to the public.

⁴ The fact that the demolition date is not known with precision is eloquent for the deletion of memory that came along with communist demolitions.

Methodology - The Simu Museum Virtual Reconstruction

After structured light 3D scanning, the captured images were digitally recomposed and viewed on a tablet at 360 degrees. Structured light scanning was selected because of its reduced cost and because it is more suitable for smaller objects. Light patterns are projected on an object and surface shapes are deduced from their distortions on the surface of the object. Reflecting surfaces pose a problem to this kind of scanning which lead to a replacement of several objects that were supposed to be scanned. The scan was performed manually moving the scanner around heritage objects while 3D images are taken with a frequency of a several frames per second. The scan was fast and the texture was rendered in color and with great precision. The scanner is portable, lightweight and does not require calibration. All scanned sequences were merged into a 3D model. The gaps were filled and surfaces smoothed but texture and colors were not applied immediately since the 3D model was processed in Sculpttris in order to achieve photographic realism by the architect in charge of the reconstruction (Andrea Iosif).

Photogrammetry was used for two objects which had reflecting surfaces. After several attempts at scanning, they were photographed from various angles, depending on their shape.

A third object (the desk of collector Anastase Simu, placed in the first room of the museum) was modeled digitally, using the photographs taken by a museum worker.

Simu created an encyclopedic art museum with the purpose of art education. It had theme rooms, the first one consisting mainly of reproductions. A number of 3D models from the public domain, made after plaster casts or original sculptures were downloaded and adapted (size, texture, etc.): the Victory of Samothrace, Mascarón, the Bust of Venus of Arles, Apollo Piombino, the head of Venus de Milo, a wooden leather chair, a lamp, a wall-light. One object was particularly important because it created a necessary symmetry. Unfortunately it was placed high up on a

wall of the School Museum (a location similar to that from the Simu Museum), and the team was unable to scan it. Fortunately, this specific ornament was copied on a building facade in Rue de Sévigné, Paris, where it was scanned and uploaded on the Sketchfab platform. This model (a Mascarón) was downloaded and added to the reconstruction.



Fig. 1. Drawing and 3D scan of a plaster cast from the Simu Museum, now in the Ion Mincu University of Architecture and Urbanism

The scanned (or reconstructed objects) objects were later placed in a virtual reality model of the museum. For the modeling of the museum, the architect tried to reflect reality as faithfully as possible using, however, a level of simplification and idealization. A number of architectural ornaments from the exterior and the interior of the building were simplified after an initially detailed version, since they were too large for the application to run properly. A number of functional details of the building were omitted (radiators, chimneys). The natural lighting (through skylights) was enhanced by adding the extra-light of two lamps.

There were various sources of information for the reconstruction and, since it was a classical building, we used the proportions and a number of ornaments from the Erechtheion Temple in Athens. The architect used the construction plans which were found in the National Archives. The plans did not have all the necessary details but they offered a solid starting point.

Using the building plans, the architect Andrea Iosif created a scale plan representing the building. A raw model was created by adding stairs, perimeter walls, openings and the roof. As scale is paramount in these projects, the model had to be compared

constantly with the photographs through perspective restitution. The raw model created this way was modified several times until it became as accurate as possible. Once the overall model was finished, the modeling work focused on the ornamental details. Archive photographs were used as a basis, together with surveys from treaties of history of architecture (as the building used a lot of classic references).

The documentation of architectural history (Hebrard, 1912, Jones, 1868, Racinet, 1888, Salzenberg, 1855, Ionescu, 1952, Cornel, 1910) was compared with archive photographs in order to find the right patterns for the various ornaments used in the building. For instance, the door frame of the first room of the museum was reconstructed using a plaster model from the Documentary Exhibition Center of the Ion Mincu University of Architecture and Urbanism and a drawing (Jones, 1868). Unfortunately, most of the ornaments were not present in the 3D models libraries available. Therefore, the architect had to reconstruct them either with a modeling software (Rhinoceros 3D) or in a virtual sculpture one (Sculptris).

3DS Max was used for ornamental details reconstruction and Sketchfab material editor was used for video rendering.

The purpose of this model was neither study nor restoration, but rather interaction. Therefore the model, with all its scenes and details, had to be processed by a computer and a VR headset in real time. Speed was of the essence and a high-quality detail would only slow graphics acceleration. The architect was forced to compress both the detailed model of the building and the detailed objects, created through scanning and photogrammetry. It was all about deceiving the eye of the viewer without the use of excessive details and information. A “high-poly” volume or shape was converted to a “low-poly” shape, using a technique developed for gaming production.



Fig. 2. Printscreen images from the Sketchfab reconstruction of the Simu Museum

In the first phase of the project, two distinct (but linked) scenes are presented on the Sketchfab platform: the exterior and the first room. [Fig. 2] There is also a whole scene but since it would create problems for most PCs and devices, it is only used inside the museum with a powerful computer and premium VR glasses. The experience required a high-speed internet connection and the wireless network in the Documentary Exhibition Center was not up to the task. For that reason, the model was loaded using a phone internet provider. The equipment (computer and VR headset) was placed next to the scanned statues from the Documentary Exhibition Center. The computer screen was hidden from view, making the presence of the technology rather discrete. As the visitor took off the glasses, the sense of loss was offset by the presence of the real objects that were better appreciated after the virtual experience.

Let us compare two experiences: an exhibition with photographs of the Simu Museum from the 30's and a 3D visit of the museum. The pictures would give you a glimpse of the patterns of the building, the size and scale of the pillars, the ornamental reliefs, the marble texture in some statues and pedestals. The 3D

reconstruction of the museum would give you much more detail and greater freedom. The image could be adjusted according to your preferences, the objects and the spaces can be explored from various angles, thus allowing you better to imagine the former glory of the Museum.

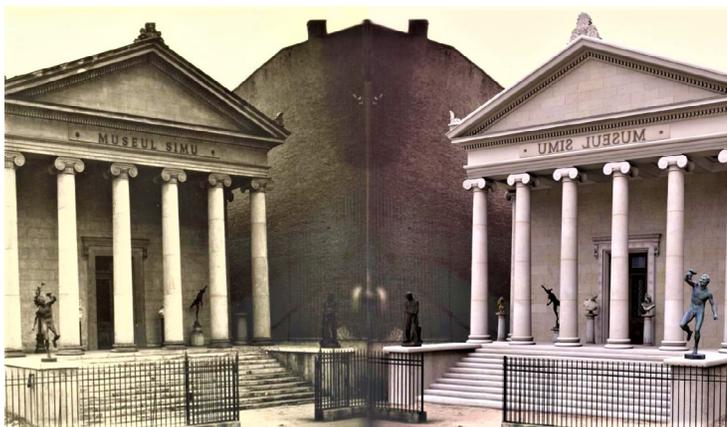


Fig. 3. Photograph vs VR reconstruction of Simu Museum

As an ornamented building, the Simu Museum has the appearance of a human face. But aside from the building itself, the visitor encounters many other smaller faces (eg. the statues) which contribute to a feeling of immersion. The VR freedom of not adhering to a certain path and of exploring impossible view-points (as if being teleported) does not affect the perception of the exhibition space, though it can be disorienting for some.

The display of the Simu Museum historical building was both crowded and in constant evolution. The architect who designed the reconstruction had to choose a less crowded, permanent display in line with the intended ideal version of the building. The lack of precision in reproducing the exact positions of objects is mainly due to esthetic reasons such as symmetry (and linked to the practical reasons discussed above) and it is compensated

by the heightened sensation of reality that can be explored in three-dimensional space.

The discomfort associated with the VR experience has made some people reluctant towards this reconstruction (LaValle, 2019, 353). An explanation of the VR technology and its curved perspective through a short introductory movie could promote the reconstruction without these side effects.

Results

The project is ambitious as it recreates both a lost building and the physical objects that were displayed in it, thus recreating the function of the entire building: the display of art in a personal fashion. In its desire to rival great museums such as the Louvre, the Simu Museum was too crowded with objects. After Simu's death (1935), the museum's director decided to separate the valuable from the less valuable pieces. A less crowded display was created next to the museum in the house of collector Anastase Simu.

The VR reconstruction of the Simu Museum kept the idea of a less crowded display for both technical and aesthetic reasons. Noticing the problems caused by the agglomeration of pieces in the initial exhibition but also in the virtual one, the team decided to make a rigorous selection of the most valuable pieces.

Such an endeavor is in line with similar international pursuits⁵. The final product has several uses: the preservation of local memory, the promotion and accessibility of mobile heritage, the promotion of cultural tourism, interdisciplinary education, etc.

To reconstruct the historical context of a destroyed building can act as a time machine for the modern visitor. Today it is difficult for the people of Bucharest to imagine that their city looked different even if they are surrounded by some of the surviving buildings. This is due to the fact that the urban context

⁵ Similar virtual reconstructions pose the problem of plug-ins that need to be installed (Unity, inDuality): Paleis voor Volksvljijt, Haus der Deutschen Kunst (http://vrmuseum.nl/index_en.html).

has changed, more or less noticeably. The 3D model of the Simu Museum can offer support to various people interested in the urban and cultural heritage of Bucharest.



Fig. 4. Photograph vs collage for the VR reconstruction of Simu Museums First Room

The Simu Museum reconstruction has advantages both for the institution which developed it⁶ and for the cultural ecosystem of Bucharest.

Mafkereseb et al (2018) have proposed that VR reconstruction should not be displayed in a historical location. VR can however benefit from the presence of real objects reinforcing the virtual experience post-factum. The reconstruction can therefore be used in the various museums that host parts of the former Simu Museum collection.

Insofar as DEC (Documentary Exhibition Center) is concerned, the reconstruction will help to promote its cultural heritage creating a context for objects that were considered, until recently, just drawing models. For the Romanian cultural world

⁶ The project “Recreation of the Simu Museum in virtual reality and the reminiscence of other victims of the demolitions in Bucharest from the communist period”, was carried out by the Documentary Exhibition Center of the University of Architecture and Urbanism “Ion Mincu” in partnership with the Bucharest Branch of the Chamber of Architects of Romania and financed from the Stamp of Architecture.

the benefits are many fold: the increase in access to valuable works of art without putting them at risk, the improved understanding and enjoyment of a lost museum; this project functions in a way in which neither the photograph archives nor the remaining objects could: it exposes otherwise invisible details of the artwork visible (signatures, cracks, traces of chipping, brushstrokes, etc.). It will facilitate the (partial) viewing of valuable collection without financial or time costs for visitors from all over the world (a positive influence upon the tourism industry) and will act as an online information archive for several of the objects exhibited in several major museums of Bucharest (National Art Museum, Museum of Bucharest Municipality).

The virtual reality ecosystem will create a hypermedia environment with architectural, sculpture, painting and contextual information, evocative of the first Romanian art museum that followed a universal approach. The project displays only the most valuable objects, so that the main focus will be on Romanian and French art. The scope of the project could be enhanced by selecting other pieces that were not originally part of the Simu Museum. Other objects from the National Art Museum and other museums, relevant for the Romanian artistic history (but not initially part of the Simu Collection) could be inserted in the Byzantine room reconstruction of this virtual museum in order to make it a truly representative display of national art. The Byzantine Room was not true to its name due to the scarcity of authentic byzantine icons in Simu's time.

The virtual reconstruction helps to preserve the memory of a building and to regain a lost dimension of the scattered Simu Collection making it a personal and subjective display intended for art education. But the reconstruction is not experienced as a part of history, we are not attached to the virtual reconstruction as we are attached to a real historical building. The challenge of restoring the historicity of the Simu Museum has not yet been met by our project. Through our ongoing collaboration with IT teams we hope to add a degree of historicity to this project.

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10.

**Discovering
fractal worlds**
*through
psychogeographic
experience in the
community of Mação*

BY MIHAELA MOȚĂIANU

Discovering fractal worlds *through psychogeographic experience in the community of Mação*

MIHAELA MOTĂIANU¹

Abstract

The present work is an artistic research that discusses aspects of the natural and social habitat as manifested through a fractal model. Starting from the idea that a city, or a community, possesses a fractal identity, I have conducted a psychogeographic experiment in order to expose through four visual narratives the emotions of the fractal discovery of the city and community in Mação.

Therefore, in order to understand the spirit of a community, it is often necessary to pay more attention to the small things and details because these small parts of the whole sometimes form another world with its own stories and experiences, a world waiting to be discovered.

Keywords

Mação, psychogeography, fractals, community, artistic research

Résumé

Le présent travail est une recherche artistique qui discute des aspects de l'habitat naturel et social qui se manifestent à travers un modèle fractal. Partant de l'idée qu'une ville, ou une communauté, possède une identité fractale, j'ai mené une expérience psychogéographique afin d'exposer à travers quatre récits visuels

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les émotions de la découverte fractale de la ville et de la communauté de Mação.

Par conséquent, pour comprendre l'esprit d'une communauté, il est souvent nécessaire d'accorder plus d'attention aux petites choses et aux détails car ces petites parties de l'ensemble forment parfois un autre monde avec ses propres histoires et expériences, un monde à découvrir.

Mots clés

Mação, psychogéographie, fractals, communauté, recherche artistique

Introduction

Sometimes we do not realize that we are part of a whole, that the physical, biological and social universes represent a unity, a unified living organism, just like the human being itself is a community of cells.

From this holistic perspective, in the community of the human body, as in the communities which we inhabit, our own cells work for one goal, the sustainability of the whole. Conversely, the inhabited community can be seen as representing a body, and even an anthropomorphic form.

I was inspired by the poetic work of the Italian writer Italo Calvino *Invisible Cities* (1997) to perceive communities and cities in this way. In his book Calvino manages admirably to describe and build the image of his cities with an amazing imagination, giving life to urban landscapes by associating them with female characters. Thus, his travels through imagined cities are a real kaleidoscope of feelings about the past and the future, revealing an unseen anthropomorphic world full of mystery and passion, while changing the way of perception and redefining the concept of knowledge. If we look more closely at any part of Nature or the City, we discover anthropomorphic images whose details reveal other details in a fractal manner. Following my research as a visual artist, I discovered the fractal qualities of details.

Fractals belong to that science of fragmenting the whole, revealing new details and allowing the discovery of the rules of Nature, in all its complexity (Mandelbrot 1983). Thus, moving from the whole to the detail and from the detail to the whole, we can let ourselves be carried away by the pleasure of discovering the everyday universe by experiencing this way of perception.

Walking without a determined goal in exploring Nature and the City, which is specific to psychogeography, one can reveal the unseen aspects of the environment, thus becoming an essential factor for understanding the urban landscape (Morris, nd.). Psychogeography is the type of study of the effects of the geographical environment on the emotions and behavior of the individual (Coverley, 2010), and the term Psychogeography was invented by the writer, theorist and filmmaker Guy Debord in 1955, inspired by the concept Flâneur (urban explorer) of the writer and poet Charles Baudelaire.

Guy Debord (1992) defined Psychogeography as “The study of the laws and specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized or not, on the perceptions and behavior of individuals.” He suggested inventive ways to navigate the urban environment and thus re-imagine it.

This re-imagining of the city proposed by psychogeography has its roots in Dadaism and Surrealism, art movements that have explored ways to unleash the subconscious imagination.

Beginning in the 1990s, Psychogeographic theory became popular in artistic and academic circles, allowing various avant-garde and revolutionary groups to develop psychogeographic practices in various ways. Artists, writers and directors such as Iain Sinclair and Patrick Keiller also began to use the idea of creating works based on exploring locations on the go. (*Psychogeography describes the effect of...*, no date)

A psychogeographic experience, as presented by Guy Debord (1996) or Iain Sinclair (1997), is not only a simple phenomenological experience but also an artistic one. We can consider that a psychogeographic experience can be a

synthesis between the experientiality of a performance and the visual analysis of an artist who immerses himself in a research of fractal dynamics, discovering the surprising world of details.

For me, drifting through an urban environment is a kind of artistic research. This attempt to discover the details of the City, many of which are anthropomorphic and in which the stratigraphy represents a deeper immersion into the attributes of the details, can also be transformed into an archaeological research, more precisely of experiential archeology.

Visual narratives through the Psychogeographic method

Starting from the hypothesis that a psychogeographical exploration of the urban landscape can define the identity of a community, I have transposed the Flâneur's own experience into visual narratives, thus trying to reveal the spirit of the community of Mação. In my daily explorations, I was particularly drawn to anthropomorphic elements, which again reminded me of Calvino's anthropomorphic approach.

I discovered absolutely surprising anthropomorphic shapes in the urban landscape, or in the shapes of the branches of the trees. I even discovered zoomorphic shapes on the cobbled streets of Mação.

Landscape, as defined by Cosgrove and Daniels (1988) as “a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring, or symbolizing surroundings” is a concept of a complex nature that is required to be explored in a psychogeographic and fractal way, because the complexity of the forms of Nature, with plants and trees, waters and rivers, light and shadow, as well as that of cities, with their volume and dynamics, can generate knowledge.

In his book *The Natural Explorer*, Tristan Goodley argues that “an explorer must do two things: make discoveries and communicate them to others.” (Goodley, 2012, p. 3)

In this perspective of exploration, my visual artistic research reveals the emotions of discovery and my vision of the small fractal universes that make up parts of the identity of the Mação

community, by presenting four visual narratives that materialize the psychogeographical experience of the place.

The presentation of the four visual narratives will also follow the fractal model. I will first show an overview of the City and its communion with Nature, and then I will present the life inside the City and the action of Time on it, penetrating as deeply as possible into the structure of matter revealing micro communities. With the fourth visual narrative I will return to the big picture, this time presenting the City in celebration, full of color, with its dynamics to integrate all fractal components. With this last narrative I tried to recompose the whole image of the community of Mação.

The city and Nature

The whole universe is built on the laws of fractal geometry; life itself unfolds following similar patterns and we can best see these patterns in Nature. We have all noticed repetitive patterns in the branches of plants or trees, or raindrops falling on the surface of a body of water. As Bearce (1999) states, “[a] fractal figure is a snapshot of a dynamic system at a stage of development” and the result of a natural “dynamic process”.

For me, the first contact with Mação was a revelation of the “natural” fractal structure of the City and its community. I perceived the City as a continuation of Nature, a twinning of human creation and of the natural environment. Observing the cobbled streets bordered by inhabited or uninhabited buildings with surprising architectural details in which Nature cohabited, the gardens with olive trees, oranges and lemons, or the quiet clusters with beautiful wooden and stone pergolas on which the hanging plants displayed their flowers, it was difficult at times to distinguish where the city ended and where the true Nature began.



Fig. 1 – Visual narrative – The city and Nature

The psychogeographic experience is an experience of artistic creation but also of mapping. The routes that I have traveled and that I have captured in photographs, represent the routes of some mental and emotional maps, because each image is the result of an emotional state. Italo Calvino inspired me for a certain type of mapping, namely the perception of the anthropomorphic image of the city. Often this anthropomorphism does not appear clearly in my images, other times the images depict human figures so obvious that their silent message can be understood.

The closer I got to the facades of the houses, I discovered in detail an even more fascinating world. The entrances and windows are beautifully framed by simple masonry elements highlighted by the ochre-yellow color, the walls of the houses display special sets of azulejos with religious or floral themes, the old wood of the doors on which you could see old layers of paint and old walls that in turn hid countless layers of plaster in different colors. The walk through Mação was like browsing a family album, in which the new images spoke alongside the old ones about the different

moments of life, and this experience was a kind of everyday urban archeology that allowed me to move through time.

The Forms of Time

Mação was a new environment for me. For two months I carefully explored everything I encountered at every step. The more I analyzed the details, the better I outlined the whole thing.

I set out in search of Time, capturing its manifestations in fractal images. I searched for Time on the facades of buildings, watching how under its power the materials age, how the houses and monuments turn into ruins. I analyzed how Nature regains her rights and discovered how the forms of Time can generate imaginary worlds. Even a simple crack in a wall in which a small plant has made its place and expanded to form a small community can have its own story.



Fig. 2 – Visual narrative - The Forms of Time

Perhaps the narrow streets where the walls of the ruins transformed into real art galleries, were the ones that signaled this temporal-fractal perception to me. The expanding Nature, the

old walls and the sunlight introduced me to a fascinating world, enticing me to look for smaller and smaller details.

Nowhere else could I have better observed how Time erodes human action, as I had the opportunity to analyze on the facades of the houses in Mação their resistance to Time. The facade of a house is like a human face: it can show you the age and the state of happiness or unhappiness. Walking through the streets of Mação, I came across happy, sad and abandoned houses, transformed into ruins, for which only the stones could testify to what they once were.

Light, color and texture

To understand the spirit of a community it is necessary to pay attention to every little thing. For two months, I observed the urban landscape and studied the action of light on the shapes, colors and textures of various architectural elements or natural forms. I watched as their volume was highlighted by the play of light and shadow. Sometimes I resorted to imagination in order to enter into a visual dialogue with light. I let myself be guided by it through outdoor or indoor spaces, following the details of places that the light placed before me at the same time with the invitation to discover their stories.



Fig. 3 – Visual narrative - Light, color and texture

Under the action of light, static forms came to life. Exploring the environment I can say that I witnessed a real show in which the buildings, the flowers, the trees full of fruit, the crumbling walls, became the stars of a certain moment of the day under the action of light. The multitude of shapes, colors and textures that complete the urban landscape of Mação, have been my guide in shaping the image of the community.

Community and Feast

The fractal structures of Nature, as well as of social life, take place in a cyclical form: the seasons follow the same cyclical form and the days and nights transform the everyday universe into a repetitive sequence of events. Festive moments unite the community every year, and this revival of the same moments is an occasion for celebration.

The period spent in Mação allowed me to experience some of these important moments of the community, from the restoration of the Chapel of São Bento to the participation in the cyclical cultural activities of the community, such as “Respect Cultures,

Poesia e Musica, Estendal Poetico”, during which time I felt like I was part of the community.

I happily spent the Easter holidays with the community and participated in the religious processions of that period: Misterio Pascal and Passos de Senhor.



Fig. 4 – Visual narrative - Community and Feast

The daily life of Mação itself took place in a fractal form, the quiet days alternated with moments of celebration full of dynamism and color, where we could notice a communion of all the elements that make up the habitat: Nature, people and their homes.

People decorated their homes during the festive moments; I noticed the presence of Nature in the decorations present on the facades of buildings and even on the streets, transforming the cobbled roads into colorful carpets of flowers and beautiful smelling plants. Like the groups of people who wore wonderful colorful clothes, the City puts on its own festive clothes animating the quiet streets.

Conclusion

The visual discourses that accompany my text represent a kaleidoscope of feelings and at the same time are materializations of some moments of joy and delight that I had during my psychogeographic experience in Mação, presented in a fractal form.

Exploring the urban environment of Mação was an intense spiritual experience that reconfigured my perception of the world around me and determined me to create an all-encompassing picture of everyday life in Mação.

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Thanks to Dr. Sara Cura for the opportunity to discover unknown aspects of the community in Mação and its surroundings and M. Bogdan Capruciu for correcting the present text.

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11.

Projections
dans le
royaume imaginaire
des éclats

BY DAN POPOVICI

Projections **dans le royaume imaginaire des éclats**

DAN POPOVICI¹

Abstract

The choice of flint as a reference area for creation in glass art opens to the artist a wide range of connections and suggests several levels of investigation and experiment in order to structure his message in the language of contemporary visual arts. To the historical connotations are added the projections of the imaginary. Taking advantage of the heritage of meanings of the field of flints, the author of these lines has experimented by breaking, cutting, polishing or engraving different types of glass, the rediscovery from a modern perspective of the fascination produced by the prehistoric techniques of stone.

Keywords

Shard; silex; glass; stone

Résumé

Le choix du silex comme zone de référence pour la création dans l'art du verre ouvre à l'artiste un large répertoire de connexions et suggère multiples niveaux d'investigation et d'expérimentation afin de structurer son message dans le langage des arts visuels contemporains. Aux connotations historiques s'ajoutent les projections de l'imaginaire. Sensible à l'héritage des significations

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du domaine des silex, l'auteur de ces lignes a expérimenté en cassant, taillant, polissant ou gravant différents types de verre, la redécouverte d'une perspective moderne de la fascination produite par les techniques préhistoriques de la pierre.

Mots Clés

Éclat ; silex ; verre; pierre

Introduction

Casser le matériau vitreux et utiliser les éclats comme signes d'expression plastique c'est un acte audacieux dans l'art du verre. Fasciné par le spectacle offert par la variété des formes obtenues en frappant et fendant les blocs de verre et par le miracle des transformations optiques générées par la transparence de la matière, j'ai essayé d'identifier certaines des dimensions imaginaires de l'éclat comme signe dans les arts visuels, le choix des silex préhistoriques comme domaine de référence ouvrant un vaste espace de connexions et suggérant multiples niveaux d'investigation pour structurer le message artistique.

Le verre factice et la mémoire des pierres naturelles

Concernant l'invention du verre, Pline écrivait en *Naturalis Historia*: *«ils ont commencé à faire fondre toutes sortes de pierres brillantes, obtenant ce flux de liquide translucide, jusqu'alors inconnu»*, ajoutant plus tard *«grâce au talent qui reproduit la nature à l'aide de l'habileté artisanale»*. (Plinius 65, 68).

Commençant par imiter, il y a cinq mille ans, les pierres précieuses de la nature, le verre a bien plus tard trouvé un terme générique pour définir son identité, pendant des époques le succédané gardant le nom de la pierre véritable.

Ainsi, dans la langue akkadienne, le même nom pouvait désigner à la fois la pierre d'origine et son imitation, les documents écrits précisant pourtant si le minéral était naturel ou obtenu par fusion

artificielle («lapis-lazuli de montagne» diffère de «lapis-lazuli fondu», ou «obsidienne de montagne» diffère de «obsidienne de four», etc.). Dans l'antiquité grecque, les variétés de verre coloré portaient le nom commun de *lithos hýte* (pierre fondue) et le verre transparent était appelé *hýalos*, chacun ayant une forte force de suggestion. Si la «pierre fondue» rappelle la fluidité de la pâte de verre obtenue dans le four, *hýalos* – l'ancien nom du cristal de roche (*krystallos*), évoquant les qualités du minéral apprécié pour ses qualités optiques, est devenu synonyme de la transparence. (Deroy, 1979)

Utilisé par les artistes, le verre projette dans l'imaginaire contemporain les dimensions culturelles de son histoire, les «âges» de la substance quantifiant des relations spécifiques entre nature et artefact. L'investigation des couches de significations sédimentées dans les dénominations de cette matière lumineuse révèle un héritage qui, intégrée imaginativement à la substance par la communication artistique, approfondit les significations du message.

Connotations historiques et projections imaginaires des silex

Le terme *silex* fait référence à la fois aux roches contenant des composés de silicium (*lat. silex-icis*) et aux outils fabriqués à partir de ceux-ci. Parmi les minéraux taillés par clivage, plus tard polis, on remarque, par la dureté et les propriétés optiques, outre le cristal de roche (incolore à l'état pur), l'obsidienne - verre naturel résultant du refroidissement de la lave volcanique, généralement translucide, mais qui peut avoir, selon ses inclusions, différentes nuances de couleur ou irisation.

Vues par la contemporanéité, ces pierres cassées, taillées ou polies sont devenues des emblèmes visuels de la préhistoire, tandis que pour les archéologues leur étude ouvre des portes miraculeuses dans le temps, à travers lesquelles nous pouvons imaginer la vie humaine des âges passés: « *Le geste c'est la vie, le geste raisonné c'est l'homme vivant. On ne peut pas s'en approcher sans lire le silex. Et le silex décrypté c'est l'homme évoqué.* » (Tixier, 1983)

Dans une couche archéologique vieille de plus de 500.000 ans, à côté de traces de feu et d'os appartenant à une espèce de *Pithecantropus erectus*, on a été découvert un dépôt de pierres-outils naturellement brisés et préservés - des *éolithes*, premières épreuves de l'implication des silex dans l'existence humaine. Ensuite, dans le contexte de la définition complexe de l'*Homo faber* comme *Homo sapiens*, il y a 220.000 ans que l'Homme de Néandertal a découvert l'art de frapper les pierres pour obtenir des outils diversifiés, la synthèse subtile entre le geste et l'outil dans la taille des pierres date de la période 75.000-10.000 ans auparavant, les derniers millénaires du néolithique ajoutant les performances raffinées réalisées dans l'art de la pierre polie. (Cotterel, 1962)

À propos de cette époque, qu'il considérait l'une des plus fertiles dans l'histoire de l'humanité, Pierre Francastel écrivait: *«A l'âge de la pierre polie on appréciait ceux qui savait calculer l'éclatement d'un silex sous le choc bien dirigé de la main; l'habileté manuelle était reine – avec la patience qui permettait d'obtenir un beau poli. La sensation de ce poli était une jouissance, comparable à celle que nous procure encore aujourd'hui la vue d'une sculpture de Brancusi ou la manipulation d'une œuvre abstraite qui associe des perceptions tactiles et sensuelles à celle de la vue»*. (Francastel, 1956)

Par rapport aux informations scientifiques actuelles, le champ de l'imagerie sur ce sujet révèle des dimensions fabuleuses. Les anciens avaient remarqué les formes spéciales des pierres taillées ou polies mais, loin de les attribuer à leurs lointains ancêtres, ils croyaient que ces pierres étaient des produits de la foudre dans le ciel et leur attribuaient des propriétés magiques, les appelant *ceraunia* (gr. *keranon*).

Au début du premier millénaire après JC, présentant les traditions de l'Antiquité, Pline écrivait que *«ceraunia conserve l'éclat des étoiles, étant elle-même cristalline... ces pierres, qui ressemblent à des haches, ne peuvent être trouvés que dans des endroits frappés par la foudre,... étant recherchées avec grand effort par les Mages pour leurs pouvoirs miraculeux»*. (Plinius 51)

Les croyances relatives aux «pierres de foudre» ont persisté dans le Moyen Âge, *ceraunia* étant décrite d'une manière similaire par Marbode, évêque de Rennes, à la fin du XI^e siècle, ces opinions étant encore partagées au XVII^e siècle, dans la situation que même la succession des époques préhistoriques n'a été définitivement acceptée qu'en 1832. (Laming, 1952)

Cet exemple, qui ajoute à la description des qualités visuelles la présentation de certaines des innombrables propriétés miraculeuses attribuées aux pierres dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge, suggère les dimensions d'un répertoire du fantastique qui peut être utilisé dans l'élaboration du signe artistique contemporain.

La dimension artistique des expériences techniques

L'ensemble de ces repères scientifiques et imaginaires ont contribué à édifier un support théorique assumé comme champ de référence dans les tentatives d'évocation du silex dans l'art du verre.

Les éclats de verre, au-delà de leur agressivité visuelle, créent un fascinant jeu des transparences et brillances qui peut être mis en évidence dans les arts visuels.

Dans une série d'expériences artistiques et technologiques, menées au cours des dix dernières années, on a utilisé des blocs de matière fondue résultant de la démolition d'anciens fours, la pâte solidifiée étant similaire à l'obsidienne à cause des impuretés qu'elle contenait et de l'alternance de zones translucides avec d'autres gardant des traces de couleur.

En cassant les blocs translucides, on a eu le sentiment de revivre l'émotion du tailleur des pierres à l'époque préhistorique. La percussion des bords des pièces produisait des éclats très minces, tandis que les chocs appliqués vers le centre des surfaces créaient des fissures profondes, avec des trajectoires de propagation difficiles à anticiper à cause d'inhomogénéité du matériau. La scission du verre après ces fissures créait toujours d'autres formes inattendues ... à la fin de ce jeu de casser le verre étant difficile à choisir parmi la multitude des éclats brillants, dont certains

rappelaient les silex préhistoriques, tandis que d'autres semblaient être des répliques de l'art moderne (Fig.1).

En essayant de reconstituer l'itinéraire de la perpétuation dans l'art du verre des techniques de travail propres aux pierres, après les exercices de tailler le verre, on a essayé de définir le volume des formes, ayant comme exemple les performances de l'ère de la pierre polie, tandis que les techniques de gravure en verre, qui continuait l'art de la glyptique, ont permis l'incision d'une série de signes qui, sur le plan de la composition, pourraient suggérer des fragments des messages partiellement perdus (Fig.2).

Certaines des pièces résultant de ces exercices artistiques, qui suggéraient soit la multitude d'éclats autour du tailleur, soit le résultat de recherches archéologiques ou des collections des silex exposées dans les musées d'archéologie ... ont été assemblées dans des compositions présentées à la fois dans des expositions personnelles et dans des expositions internationales d'art du verre (Fig. 3 et Fig. 4).

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Fig.1 Éclats de verre

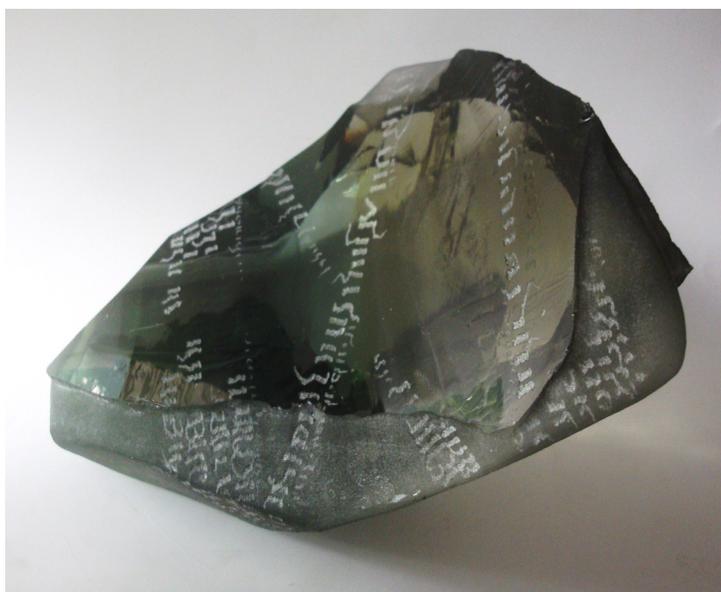


Fig.2 Pièce de verre taillé, polie et gravé



Fig.3 L'atelier des Éclats, composition présentée à la Biennale Nationale «Métaphores Incandescentes», Musée d'Art de Cluj-Napoca, Roumanie, 2018



Fig.4 Image de l'exposition personnelle «Métiers de la Transparence», Le Palais Mogoșoaia, Bucarest, Roumanie 2013

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12.

Crowdsourcing
**as an artistic
instrument
for social cohesion**

BY CLONDIR RĂZVAN

Crowdsourcing as an artistic instrument for social cohesion

CLONDIR RĂZVAN¹

Abstract

The communal network of the World Wide Web is currently bringing people together through shared glimpses of their everyday activities. However, numerous social and media platforms have more hedonistic uses, with many users intending to communicate through time and space or to participate instantly in public events. All of this content is an extension of real physical interactions. The pandemic seclusion forced the boundaries of these exchanges to expand, moving most human activities into the Web and once again showing people's power to adapt. Everybody has experienced the distance created by the current reality and felt the global network's benefits. This study examined the use of crowdsourcing artwork as an instrument for social cohesion. The core findings are that, at this time, more individuals have access to technology in a way never possible before and all users are able and willing to contribute content to online artwork. The results provide a partial answer to the question of whether this engagement provides social cohesion.

Keywords

crowdsourcing, collective art, social cohesion.

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Resumo

A rede comunitária da World Wide Web está atualmente a aproximar as pessoas através de vislumbres partilhados das suas atividades diárias. No entanto, inúmeras plataformas sociais e de mídia têm usos mais hedonistas, com muitos usuários pretendendo se comunicar através do tempo e do espaço ou participar instantaneamente de eventos públicos. Todo este conteúdo é uma extensão de interações físicas reais. A reclusão pandêmica forçou os limites dessas trocas a se expandirem, movendo a maioria das atividades humanas para a Web e mostrando mais uma vez o poder de adaptação das pessoas. Todos experimentaram a distância criada pela realidade atual e sentiram os benefícios da rede global. Este estudo examinou o uso de obras de arte crowdsourcing como um instrumento para a coesão social. As principais conclusões são que, neste momento, mais indivíduos têm acesso à tecnologia de uma forma nunca antes possível e todos os utilizadores são capazes e estão dispostos a contribuir com conteúdo para obras de arte online. Os resultados fornecem uma resposta parcial à questão de saber se este envolvimento proporciona coesão social.

Palavras-chave

crowdsourcing, arte coletiva, coesão social.

Crowdsourcing

The term ‘crowdsourcing’ needs to be defined before the question of whether crowdsourcing is an instrument for creating collective cohesion can be addressed. Crowd Sourcing Week (2020) reports that: ‘Crowdsourcing is the practice of engaging a ‘crowd’ or group for a common goal – often innovation, problem solving, or efficiency. It is powered by new technologies, social media and web 2.0. Crowdsourcing can take place on many different levels and across various industries. Thanks to our growing connectivity, it is now easier than ever for individuals to collectively contribute

– whether with ideas, time, expertise, or funds – to a project or cause. This collective mobilisation is crowdsourcing.’

The term appeared in 2008 in the first research articles on this topic published in academic journals. These early studies explained crowdsourcing as an activity shaped by the participants and their motivations, according to the tools used across different instances, common organisational features, degree of complexity or level of user participation. A further, more complex definition was developed in 2012 after more systematic analysis and validation of different and conflicting conceptualisations, (Estellés-Arolas, E., Guevara, L. and González, F., 2012, p.9) which stated:

‘Crowdsourcing is a type of participative online activity in which an individual, an institution, a non-profit organisation, or company proposes to a group of individuals of varying knowledge, heterogeneity, and number, via a flexible open call, the voluntary undertaking of a task. The undertaking of the task, of variable complexity and modularity, and in which the crowd should participate bringing their work, money, knowledge, and/or experience, always entails mutual benefit. The user will receive the satisfaction of a given type of need, be it economic, social recognition, self-esteem, or the development of individual skills, while the crowdsources will obtain and utilise to their advantage what the user has brought to the venture, whose form will depend on the type of activity undertaken.’ Participation is required at different levels, including varied skills, which the Internet and media technologies make possible because they have lowered the barriers to knowledge and given multiple individuals access to creative expression, sharing and interactions (Brabham, 2013, p. 15). This open access to collective goals has thus been made much easier.

Crowdsourced art

The phenomenon of online crowdsourced art has received little attention from researchers and art historians (Literat, 2012). Recent studies have, however, sought to examine this topic more

deeply. Thus far, scholars have tried to link digital mediums as a form of expression, the Internet as the constraining structure and crowds as the principal feature of contemporary participatory culture. According to Literat (2012), ‘artists are operating with the knowledge that images and objects not only begin as data (in the form of files, etc.) but act like data once in circulation, becoming scalable, infinitely reproducible, dispersed, and networked.’ Other researchers argue that the next frontier for artists is mass distribution (Cornell, 2015). The question remains of what prevents experts from positing that mass distribution can work well alongside collective creation, for the same reasons.

Literat (2012) suggests that ‘crowdsourced art can be seen as the product of two specific structures: the conceptual or aesthetic structure of the project itself and the technological structure of the Internet as a facilitating platform’. This distinction can also be made when introducing the concept of crowdsourcing into the humanities. According to Hedges and Dunn (2017):

‘The visibility of the humanities direction and/or research question is also an important distinguishing factor, as this provides the participants with the intellectual context that enables them to engage with the question, to whatever degree they decide to take this up.’ (p. 18)

This approach was endorsed by the media scholar Pierre Levy with regard to collective intelligence as a ‘form of universally distributed intelligence, constantly enhanced, coordinated in real time, and resulting in the effective mobilisation of skills’ (Brabham, 2011, p. 22).

Methodology

The present research was part of a doctoral-level study of collective artistic work. Initially, I was preparing for a performance art installation in Tomar, Portugal, which would be create with contributions from students and local artists, under the Erasmus programme’s auspices. The events triggered by the pandemic led to

the project's cancellation. The situation offered me an opportunity to shift the focus of my research and adopt a different approach. The project's second phase of an invitation to participate in The Open Work would be made sustainable online and on a bigger scale, making crowdsourcing even more important to my thesis.

Recent studies have suggested that individuals who participate in crowdsourcing have specific motivations, among them networking with other professionals, contributing to a large project of common interest, sharing with others and socialising and making friends (Brabham, 2013). The present decision to investigate the social function of crowdsourcing as an instrument of cohesion was inspired by recent research that 'indicates that often the crowd is not comprised of amateurs, as we would like to assume, but rather of self-selected groups of professionals and semi-professionals' (Brabham, 2011). To this end, I chose to incorporate a short survey into my study as a complementary research method. The overall project was thus intended to have two components: the research survey followed by the crowdsourcing contribution to my art project, The Open Work, which will be organised in the near future.

The first step was to distribute by email a questionnaire entitled 'Preliminary Questions for The Open Work Participation', which was sent to different networks of professionals related to academia and art (i.e. a Facebook group called 'Art B', in Romania). The respondents were asked to answer a series of questions intended to elicit a profile of a possible 'crowd' of people willing to contribute to a collective artwork using Internet and digital mediums. The questions were divided into three areas of interest: field of work, shared understanding of contemporary art and participation in artwork. For the Art B group, the field of work, which was also art, was divided into different art domains.

Although the overall research project has two components, only the questionnaire segment related to participation in artwork was considered in the preparation of the present paper because of

the focus on social aspects. The survey results for this specific type of question are as follows.

To the question ‘How do you understand your role in contributing to collective works of art?’, 46.7% of the academic network respondents answered ‘as a participation in an experiment’. A further 33.3% selected ‘as a participation in a work of art’, 33.3% ‘as very important since I get totally involved’, 13% ‘as a member of a group of artists’, 6.7% as ‘one of the executors’ and 6.7% ‘other’. The results reveal that the respondents belong to non-art related professional networks in which the main fields of work are ‘educational’ (53%) and ‘research’ (73%). These numbers here and below reflect an option to choose multiple answers.

For the artist network, the answers were ‘as a participation in an experiment’ (50%), ‘as a participation in a work of art’ (50%), ‘as a member of a group of artists’ (16.7%), ‘very important, as I get totally involved’ (16.7%). The majority of this group’s respondents work in three art domains: ‘installation’ (50%) and ‘graphics’ and ‘sculpture’ (both with 33%). A comparison of the two groups shows that a similarly high percentage of respondents selected ‘participation in an experiment’.

The answers to the next question are relevant to understanding the previous results because they explain the high percentage for the latter answer. To the question ‘How do you view – in terms of human interactions – contributions to a work of art in online contexts?’, 33.3% of the academic respondents selected ‘offers the opportunity to share something with others’. Others chose ‘offers the opportunity to be part of an artistic cultural event’ (26.7%), ‘provides the opportunity to experience new tools of interaction with other participants’ (20%), ‘offers the opportunity to learn something new’ (13.3%), ‘offers the opportunity to meet new people’ (0%) and ‘other’ (0%).

For the artistic group, the answers selected included ‘provides the opportunity to experience new tools of interaction with other participants’ (66.7%) and ‘offers the opportunity to be part of an artistic cultural event’ (33.3%). None of the respondents chose

‘offers the opportunity to meet new people’, ‘offers the opportunity to learn something new’, ‘offers the opportunity to share something with others’ and ‘other’.

In this set of items, ‘sharing with others’ and ‘experimenting with new tools of interactions’ accounted for the highest percentage of both networks. Although the groups contained a different number of respondents and their fields of expertise were different, the results clearly show that the social component is highlighted by this survey. The respondents are equally interested in ‘meeting others’ no matter what is required to learn new skills. In addition, personal involvement is present in the form of the ‘sharing’ attribute.

The last question in this segment was ‘How do you understand – in terms of human interactions – your participation in online events?’. The results included that a third of the academic network respondents selected ‘quite useful as it keeps you connected with other participants’ (66.7%) and that more than half chose ‘very useful as it brings people together’ (53.3%). A further 33.3% selected ‘quite useful as it keeps you connected with other participants’, but no one opted for ‘not very useful as it lacks physical presence’ or ‘other’.

The artist group only opted for ‘very useful as it brings people together’ (16.7%) and ‘other’ (16%), while no respondents chose ‘not very useful as it lacks physical presence’. The highest percentages were associated with similar choices in both networks, again validating the social features of the projected artistic event (i.e. The Open Work) in terms of online human interaction.

Conclusion

The survey sought to assess social components related to the possibility of involving the respondents in a crowdsourcing event creating a work of art. The results support the conclusion that social cohesion can be achieved if the artistic goal is adapted to match a specific ‘crowd’. The participants’ willingness to contribute is high, and the digital medium (i.e. the Internet) is not

necessarily considered a barrier if it is presented as a new skill. The individuals in question are willing to learn new skills.

This exploratory research also confirmed the assertion made by Literat (2012) that it is important to ‘find out whether the participants in crowdsourced art projects ... belong to a self-selected group of artists and professionals affiliated with the art world’. Even though fewer respondents were part of the artist group, they provided more statistically significant answers. The survey’s results underline the social implications of crowdsourcing of artwork as a reference point for developing new directions in which to explore this form of art.

Humans are able to acquire new skills by accessing the social media and digital platforms, but, when individuals are given the opportunity to deliver content in a wide range of formats, users’ engagement in these activities can be enhanced through connections with others. If their contribution is focused on a common goal shared by groups of professionals, crowdsourced tasks become more than just an instrument of social cohesion. They become a form of socialisation itself.

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13.

Heritage Education *at the Fourth Italian Immigration in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil*

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Heritage Education

at the Fourth Italian Immigration in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

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Abstract

This work presents the patrimonial education actions developed from an interdisciplinary perspective in the region of the Fourth Colony of Italian Immigration of Rio Grande do Sul, in the center of the southernmost state of Brazil. The territory is composed of nine municipalities with quite different cultural, social, economic and landscape characteristics. The purpose of this text is to present some of the actions of valorization of the local patrimony, in its diverse nuances, and how these projects are part of the creation of the Fourth Colony Geopark Project.

Keywords

Heritage, Education, Fourth Colony, Brazil

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Resumo

Este trabalho apresenta as ações de educação patrimonial desenvolvidas a partir de uma perspectiva interdisciplinar na região da Quarta Colônia de Imigração Italiana do Rio Grande do Sul, no centro do estado mais meridional do Brasil. O território é composto por nove municípios com características culturais, sociais, económicas e paisagísticas bastante distintas. O objetivo deste texto é apresentar algumas das ações de valorização do património local, em suas diversas nuances, e como esses projetos fazem parte da criação do Projeto Geoparque Quarta Colônia.

Palavras-chave

Patrimônio, Educação, Colônia Fourth, Brasil

Introduction

Because it is located in a transition zone between the Brazilian Southern Plateau and the central plains of the Central Depression of the state, with a predominantly Atlantic Forest cover in rugged relief, the Fourth Colony, it remained as a dispersed rural region, with low demographic density and Human Development Indexes below the average value of the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

The denomination of the Fourth Colony of Italian Immigration refers to a comparison with other well-known former colonies in the state, Colony Conde D’Eu (1870, current city of Garibaldi), Colony Dona Isabel (1875, current city of Bento Gonçalves), Colony of Campo dos Bugres (1877, now Caxias do Sul City).

The European emigration process had found in the soil of the American continent, since the colonization period, a perspective of establishing and building “new” communities. With the process of independence of European colonies in America, and in the case of Brazil, there was an increase in policies to encourage the reception of Europeans. In the south of Brazil and more specifically where the state of Rio Grande do Sul is today, we

had the creation of colonies for German immigrants since 1824, and Italian immigrants since 1875. As a result, in the central region of RS the Colony of Santo Ângelo was created especially for Germanic communities (Poles, Germans, Czechs, Russians, Austrians) and, next to this, the Fourth Colony of Italian immigration, named, firstly, Colony of Santa Maria da Boca do Monte (1877) and later (1879) of Colony Silveira Martins. The colonies were in the vacant lands of the forest zone, located between the Campos de Cima da Serra, the Central Depression and the soft *coxilha* (prairie) fields in the Zona da Campanha. Region strategically chosen by the imperial government (until 1889), for the settlement and development of small properties, the whitening of the population, among others.

In the period leading up to the Second World War, and the strengthening of the Estado Novo's nationalist policy, there was a persecution of Italian and German immigrants across the country. This fact caused some forgetfulness of this region / territory, which, even in the colonial period, had been divided between three cities in the Central Region of Rio Grande do Sul: Cachoeira do Sul, Júlio de Castilhos and Santa Maria. In addition to the productive difficulty resulting from a unique landscape, a public policy of abandonment and isolation was added, further increasing the difficulty of building life in this territory.

The rural exodus and the new perspectives opened at the end of the 1950s influenced the emancipation processes of the old colonial nuclei, causing the feeling of identity of the region called Fourth Colony to resurface. Added to this is the work of Father Luiz Sponchiado who was concerned with preserving the memory and the identity of the territory. The Priest is credited with taking up the term Fourth Colony. In this context, Father Luiz made efforts to emancipate the former colony of Silveira Martins around a single municipality. However, the priest was not successful in his goals. From this, the municipalities that form the current territory of the Fourth Colony arise.

Each municipality manages to emancipate itself politically in different periods, which had started in the late 1950s of the second half of the 20th century: in 1959, Faxinal do Soturno; in 1960, Nova Palma; in 1965, Dona Francisca; in 1988 Ivorá and Silveira Martins; in 1992, Pinhal Grande and São João do Polêsine. In addition to these, the emancipations of Agudo and Restinga Seca took place in 1959.

The emancipation processes reinforced the population's feelings of belonging, in the sense of creating a territorial identity linked to the Fourth Colony, which served as a basis for the beginning of heritage education projects in this territory. Among these projects, we highlight the Identity Project (PROI) and the Heritage Education Project (PREP) developed in the 90s of the 20th century and in the first decade of the 21st century. PREP was made up of six semiannual Heritage education programs integrated with school activities and with the participation of the region's community. The project was aimed at the preservation of cultural heritage and social and economic development. The Project extended from 1993 to 1997 and each semester a specific theme was worked on - the house, documents, work tools, crops, food culture, native flora and fauna, water I and water II. From these projects, four Fourth Colony Culture Forums were held, where themes related to memory, identity, economic development, and the environment were discussed. These events were attended by several national and international experts; among them stand out Hugues de Varine, creator of the eco Museum of Creusot_ France, Ramon Folch, of the MAB program (Man of the Biosphere Program - Man and the Biosphere) of Unesco Spain, among others. At the 4th forum, held in 1994, the Fourth Colony was designated as the Pilot Area of the Biosphere Reserve of the Atlantic Forest of Rio Grande do Sul. In this context, the PRODESUS project (Sustainable Development Project of the Fourth Colony) was elaborated, which was composed of four subprojects focused on the management of natural resources in the Fourth Colony and sustainable development (Froehlich,

2002): development of ecological agriculture, development of ecological, rural and cultural tourism and environmental education. This project was financed by the World Bank (non-refundable) through the Ministry of the Environment's National Environment Program (PNMA) for areas incorporated into the 'Biosphere Reserves', in partnership with the State Government of RS, via the Decentralized Execution (PED-RS).

For the execution and development of the project, it was necessary to create articulation subsidies, with legal political support to mediate relations between the World Bank, the Ministry of the Environment and the government of the State of Rio Grande do Sul. exercising this function was created on August 5, 1996, in the city of Faxinal do Soturno, the Fourth Colony Sustainable Development Consortium - CONDESUS (formed by nine municipalities) in 1996. As part of its effort to demonstrate the capacity for concertation between the different regional / local actors, the creation of CONDESUS involved strengthening not only the partnership with institutional actors (UFMS, EMATER, SEBRAE, etc.), but also the interaction with associations of farmers, schools, artisans and local entrepreneurs.

It will be in the city of Silveira Martins that a heritage education project will emerge in the early 90s, which started as a pioneering work that sought historical knowledge and the appreciation of local / regional history, in a perspective of valuing the issue of identity and identity. municipal heritage developed in all the municipalities that make up the Fourth Colony. In it, teachers from the municipal and state networks worked, where they received training on how to work with Heritage Education projects, both regarding their historical-cultural and environmental heritage (Itaqui, 1998).

The difficulties of continuity in the financing of the project and some internal problems of organization of the social capital of the territory (Reis Xavier et al, 2013) were decisive for some parts quitting the initial project and for the establishment of a slower evolution for the activities that remained.

The deepening of UFSM's partnership with CONDESUS, not only in the implementation of the Paleontological Research Support Center (CAPPA-UFSM) in São João do Polêsine, or with the creation of the UFSM Multidisciplinary Space in Silveira Martins, but especially with the creation from the Geoparks institutional project, it all brought a new perspective and incentive for the resumption of heritage education projects in the territory, now at another level of integration between institutional partners and the society of the Fourth Colony.

Heritage Education activities

The activities already carried out with respect to heritage were carried out according to the specialty of each of the authors. Thus, the archaeological and prehistoric heritage of the region was addressed by André Soares, just as the discussion of the landscape heritage is being organized by professors Adriano Severo Figueiró and Cesar de David.

Regarding the region's prehistory, the descendants of Italian immigrants being the most significant in Silveira Martins, we seek to rescue some aspects of common sense to work with students and teachers from the two local schools, one of basic education, elementary school, belonging to the municipality, and another state, which covers the education of the initial grades up to high school. These two schools serve all students in the municipality of Silveira Martins. This project was initiated in different locations by each of the authors, with different results, as will be presented below.

For prehistory and archeology activities, we chose to mobilize teachers, while accompanying students in the development of activities. These playful and pedagogical activities involved both students and teachers, who were the object and authors of the actions. The proposal was to work, in a simple way, aspects of the Prehistory of Rio Grande do Sul. Thus, we aim to transmit basic

aspects about the heritage, the original peoples, the identification of the material culture and the complexity of each of the societies.

Among the activities, we have carried out the following so far:

- **Bow and Arrow Workshop:** with this activity, after a brief explanation, we showed children that calling people hunters was not an easy task, and with the aid of bows made of rigid PVC and arrows, we challenge students to demonstrate their skills, by at the same time that we deal with the hunting peoples of the region's prehistory.
- **Rock art workshop:** several archaeological sites in the Fourth Colony (hereinafter, FC) have rock art. What do they mean, what sense, why did they realize it? Through this workshop, children could send messages to their descendants, without using the written word, while we work with art and the imaginary in prehistory.
- **Pottery workshop:** in a usual timeline, hunter peoples were succeeded by horticulturists, but what does the addition of pottery represent? After reflecting on all the consequences of this invention, students are challenged to make a replica of the archeological vessel of the Guarani peoples, much found throughout FC.
- **Archaeological reassembly workshop:** one of the most fascinating topics for young people and children is archaeological science. But how does the archaeologist work? The purpose of this activity is to follow up another workshop, of simulated archaeological excavation, not yet developed. The discovery of archaeological artifacts includes a workshop for reassembling, drawing and interpreting objects excavated in simulated activity.
- **Styrofoam box workshop:** One of the activities developed with teachers and with high school is to raise awareness of what is heritage, in conceptual and practical terms. For this, we put different objects from prehistory to recent history so that students can interpret its meaning. In this

way, the vertebra of a megaterium, a lithic cleaver, a fragment of an archaeological vessel, even a telephone plug of the 20th century are rediscovered, in order to build an individual conception of what is heritage.

- **Presentation of models of the original peoples.** When we speak of traditional peoples who occupied the region, it is quite difficult to visualize the contexts in which these societies lived. In this way, we developed models of the main human groups that inhabited the state, and with the monitoring of the material culture of each group, facilitate the perception of the diversity of societies in the past.

Continuing Education Program for Basic Education Teachers

The program was developed by a multidisciplinary team consisting of researchers and graduate students from UFSM and members of the Department of Education, covering two schools - the João Frederico Sanegnago Municipal Elementary School and the Bom Conselho State Basic Education School. It was conceived and planned together with the teaching staff and other school employees, an opportunity in which the first notions of continuing education and heritage education were discussed, in addition to the strategies that will be developed during the program.

The extension and teaching actions that make up the program add initiatives whose meaning is the continuous and permanent training of educators in service, in the perspective of the exchange of knowledge and experiences between the subjects involved, a fundamental commitment of the public university, as established by its political- pedagogical project (PPP). City education managers, from the respective education systems, at the municipal and state level are part of these efforts. It is evident that this program meets a demand from the institutions involved and, above all, from the educators who have already shared actions together since 2018. This proposal brings together practices and efforts that are

already underway, integrating and articulating them to expand their scope of action, maximize efforts and empower work teams.

This practice of teacher training consolidates initiatives based on dialog between the subjects involved and their communities, namely: education professionals from different educational systems (university, state school and municipal school), students (undergraduate students and basic and high school education students) and people from the countryside and the city; in reflection-action as a possibility of continuous and permanent training, problematizing the school context and conjuncture and the teaching-learning process, developing a critical attitude towards knowledge, teaching and the world itself.

Dialogue and communication between educators and students with rural and urban communities is recognized and valued as a possibility for individual and collective training, and, above all, as a necessary condition for the promotion of local development and the construction of territorial identities. Teaching, research, and extension are associated with these concepts, constituting fruitful spaces-times of new learning, knowledge.

School / Community Garden Project

It consisted of making and maintaining a community garden using an idle public space to produce vegetables, medicinal plants, and herbs, based on the collective work of students, educators, and the community in general. Bearing in mind the principles of agroecology, it aims to encourage solidarity, sociability, fraternization, solidarity, and sustainability.

Two school / community gardens were set up, one at the UFSM Silveira Martins unit and the other in front of the municipal school, on land donated by a local resident. The students and their teachers planned the spaces, built the beds, and planted the seedlings. They were also responsible for maintaining the vegetables and harvesting. Other activities were carried out, such

as: workshops on agroecological practices, technical visits, and lectures, during the development of the project.

Community Parties and Socialization Spaces Project

The Fourth Colony is characterized by the existence of an intense calendar of community celebrations, especially in the countryside. They are religious and profane festivals marked by gastronomy and popular celebrations, many of which are related to peasant life. They configure times of fellowship in which current and former residents and visitors in general meet. These events contribute to the development of localities, the promotion of tourism, the integration of communities and rural-urban connections.

In order to work on this theme, first it was taken an action in which the importance of these festivities to the community was addressed, how to gathering information about them, in addition to make the students' field diary, a way of recording actions.

Students and teachers visited some places of parties and in these spaces were received by residents of the localities who talked about the events that precede the festivities and the traditions manifested in each of the parties for the patron saints. In the field diaries the students wrote down the recipes of the typical dishes of Italian immigrants served at the parties, the words of the Italian dialect spoken by the elderly in the communities visited, the stories and reports about the localities, among others.

Colony Landscapes Project

The colony's landscapes are constituted of a great ethnic, social, and cultural diversity responsible for a multifaceted mosaic of activities, relationships, habits, traditions, and concepts that produce complex, dynamic, and rich places. Through the school and its educators and students, activities are developed that recognize the greatest asset of the communities - the elderly and their life stories; their experiences in other places; their knowledge and

practices; their testimonies from other times and their ways of relating to others and places.

Life narratives constitute a collection available to the public and other researchers interested in the way of life of the rural residents, their work, and their daily lives.

Georeferencing Project

In the city and in the countryside of the city of Silveira Martins there are several points of interest for visitors and inhabitants, there are restaurants, inns, agricultural industries, waterfalls, spas, wineries, viewpoints and many other attractions that deserve their cataloging and georeferencing through the Global Positioning System (GPS), whose purpose is to produce an application that allows the location and access to these points from the internet. Image processing, the production of sketches, scripts, games and other resources and tools are possibilities that contribute to the formation and dynamization of learning, especially for children and young people.

The project started with an intervention in schools through practical classes on using GPS. The places visited in the Community Parties and Socialization Space Project were the registered points, which allowed mappings to be carried out. Workshops were also held for the making of thematic models (relief, vegetation) of the municipality and the region. In this project, the students visited the community of Pompéia and the historical community of the place, where they learned about the history of buildings, the church and ancient objects. With attentive eyes and ears, the students observed and recorded their impressions of the place.

The continuing education program thus constitutes a pedagogical action based on projects, dialogue and reflection-action that allows its members to understand that: a) all people are in a constant process of training, including educators; b) people develop, qualify, learn and teach anywhere and at any time in life;

c) pedagogical work can be the guarantee for the construction of social subjects willing to humanize and transform themselves as they transform the world; c) theory and practice, knowledge and actions are inseparable in the pedagogical movement of learning and teaching; d) collective training experiences are fruitful possibilities for expanding our reading and writing skills and abilities around the world; e) we learn more and better, in a more pleasant and meaningful way, when we are together, with others and with our peers; f) education is a possibility for individual transformation and collective development.

Geopark Project Goes to School

The identification of the local community with its natural heritage is one of the main elements capable of guaranteeing its conservation and sustainable exploitation, and the geoscientific education applied to the local geopatrimony allows students and the community to understand the origin and the natural processes of transformation that produced the current landscapes of their territory. Based on this, the project intends to provide elements and possibilities for the construction of new ways of thinking about the place where one lives, including the understanding of its natural and human history, of the complexity, of emergencies and interrelationships between the different subsystems that makes up its territorial reality, especially involving the issue of its natural heritage.

However, this pedagogical approach between society and its natural heritage almost always comes up against the difficulty of accessing content and materials capable of establishing this necessary mediation between society and local scientific knowledge. Hence, we understand that the main extension task of the university within this thematic field and which is the central object of this project, refers, on the one hand, to the production and availability of teaching materials and instruments capable of bringing schools and the public closer together. General understanding of its landscape and territorial reality and, on the other

hand, the formation of local human resources capable of handling, adapting, and producing new instruments for understanding and disseminating local geopatrimony. In this perspective, the following actions are being developed:

- **Didactic Notebooks Collection:** The didactic notebook increases the need to publicize the geoparks of the proposal for the Fourth Colony Geopark to the school audience, locating each geosite with its description, together with some curiosities of the detailed points, translating a technique and technical studies for a simple and easy to understand way for the target audience. The proposal is for this collection to be composed of three volumes, covering three different moments of the territory's time scale: volume 1 deals with Geopark without deep time, translating for readers the process of training and transforming the landscapes of the fourth colony since the Mesozoic to the Pleistocene, comprising climate change, a geological / geomorphological threat and the biotic evolution that accompanied them. In volume 2, it is a geopark with no recent geological time, exhibiting readers as transformations of nature that they process from the holocene, triggered by the humid climatic conditions of the interglacial period they are experiencing, with emphasis on the expansion of the Atlantic Forest that recovered the most of the Geopark territory. In volume 3, on the other hand, it is Geopark in historical time, presenting as transformations of the landscape that are processed from the current human occupation.
- **Role-Playing Game "FCRPG":** In order to allow a more dynamic interaction between students and the geotouristic potentials of the Fourth Colony, a role-playing game (RPG) was developed, which consists of an activity in which a group of players, create an oral, written or animated and non-linear story, using imagination, sketches, gestures, lines, texts and images as the game plan. Within the game,

the chosen geosites were explored in their aesthetic, historical and cultural characteristics, allowing to approach and discuss the topics relevant to the geopark project (figure 1). The choice of the RPG format is given by the possibility of transforming the player into an active agent of the narrative, taking the problem to be solved.



Figure 1: Overview of the elaborated RPG (left) and, in detail, an example of the field cards and the dinosaur fossil (*Macrocollum Itaquii*) produced in resin (right). Source: Figueiró et al (2019)

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14.

Heritage *and Materials*

BY LUIZ OOSTERBEEK

Heritage *and Materials*

LUIZ OOSTERBEEK²

Abstract

The evolution of the concept of heritage and its operational use are discussed, in the interface with the notions of history, evolution, narrative and contextualization. Three transformative moments are identified, associated with enlightenment, post-World War II and the present. Other processes of conceptual change are mentioned, in the spheres of education and economy, identifying the current dominant notion as a potential trigger of conflicts.

Keywords

Patrimony, Heritage, History, Narrative, Knowledge.

Resumo

Discute-se a evolução do conceito de património e da sua operacionalização, nas interfaces com as noções de história, evolução, narrativa e contextualização. Identificam-se três momentos de transformação, associados ao iluminismo, aos pós II guerra mundial e ao presente. Referenciam-se outros processos de mudança conceptual nas esferas da educação e da economia,

¹ A first version of this text was published in *O Ideário Patrimonial*, vol. 18 (2023). The paper is dedicated to the memory of Ana Rosa Cruz and her lifework devoted to heritage and citizenship.

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identificando a atual noção predominante de património como potenciadora de conflitos.

Palavras-chave

Património, Herança, História, Narrativa, Conhecimento.

The concept of heritage took on a very particular meaning after the Second World War, in view of the experience of massive destruction of historic centres and monuments scattered throughout Europe (Bugnion, 2004). On this occasion, the second great transformation of the meaning of the cultural vestiges of the past took place: the passage from a logic focused on identity (national or other) to a logic focused on territorial preservation (without questioning the former, but effectively making it secondary).

The first transformation had occurred with the Enlightenment vision of citizenship, which had identified heritage sites as extensions of the binomial “civic museum / public instruction” in civic education (Morbidelli, 2021). The great imperial collections gave way to large national museums or local museums, no longer to train only the elites (as was the case with the imperial collection of the Hermitage, for example) but to form the whole of society, in a logic that the *res publica*, in order to be managed democratically, lacked educated and conscious voters (Effert, 2008). Monuments and sites become, in this context, a kind of “reserve *of fact*” for the elites, since their enjoyment was, in general, more expensive, implying travel (tourism is also born in this logic – Zuelow, 2015).

The reality in 1945 was different from previous post-war contexts. In a context essentially of private ownership of objects (especially art, since that was how the vestiges of the past, including archaeological and ethnographic ones, were mostly understood) and of monuments and sites, the war had demonstrated not only the enormous destructive capacity that had been accumulated, but also the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of private possession to effectively protect these goods. The experiences of preservation during the war (hiding collections, concealing

sites, etc.) had shown that the solutions had almost always come from collective efforts and not always from the owners (Argerich Fernández & Ara Lázaro, 2009), which led to the defense of a greater assumption of responsibility by the United States.

In this context, two main instruments were born. On the legal front, stricter management standards and international wealth protection conventions are being created (Cunliffe & Fox, 2022). At the institutional level, the model of state service or Ministry of Culture was born, with André Malraux, with a focus very close to policing (Mossuz-Lavau, 1987).

The notion of cultural heritage emerges, in this context, from the field of human sciences and in particular from history and anthropology. It was a matter of valuing exceptional materially identified testimonies (especially architectural ensembles), while integrating associated knowledge. In a context of contextualization of heritage, the classifications were focused not only on the physical works, but also on their historical contexts and on the binomial transformation/perennialization. In this conception, the notions of material and immaterial were not segregated, but were integrated into a coherent whole. The creation of a World Heritage List (Ryan & Silvanto, 2009) stemmed from this approach: to preserve material testimonies and associated knowledge, affirming them on a human scale and not just local or segregated.

From the end of the last century, however, the concept of heritage has been shifting, no longer privileging history and spatiotemporal contextualization (Jarrick, 2020), in favor of structuring narratives based on memorialist perceptions (Warner, 2001). This displacement operated, in reality, a return, albeit partial, to the logic of structuring collections organized from the previous definition of cultures, understood as discrete and non-transformative entities, and not from the observation of materialities and their discontinuities in time, understood as the main foundations for the characterization of cultures (Somhegyi, 2020). It was also a shift from the consideration of singularities as a localized expression of humanity, to the valorization in the first place of

traditions as identity expressions, that is, from the focus on material goods (works of art and architecture rescued by archaeology and history) to the narrative of identities (knowledge and peoples – Kuokkanen, 2008).

The separation between tangible and intangible heritage, especially promoting the latter (Schreiber, 2019), was the corollary of this conceptual shift, which resumes the understanding of the past not as an effort of methodological meta-reconstruction conditioned by the subjectivity to be overcome, but as a subjective and relativistic contextual reading of human dynamics (Hodder, 2003).

This change has not been unrelated to the growing prevalence of the English language in international communication, based on the erroneous equivalence between the notions of heritage (property, in the first place material, without prejudice to its symbolic dimension) and *patrimony* (heritage, in the first place symbolic, without prejudice to its material expression).

The narrative heritage, thus restructured, has been weakening the coherence that was conferred on it when the focus is placed on the materialities and their conditions of production, in which the generality of humans can see themselves (by revisiting not so much cultures, but above all gestures and techniques – Leroi-Gourhan, 1973), enhancing its discursive fragmentation around the perception of discrete behavioral singularities (by focusing on morphological and performative continuities).

This weakening of the unity conferred by the understanding of the past as a common, albeit diverse, history of Humanity (Ruwet, 2010), privileging actualism (which is also manifested in the evaluation of past behaviors in the light of the values of the present), has in turn fostered a new global coherence of heritage: no longer around the notion of evolutionary history (Le Goff, 2011), but around knowledge and sectoral interests, whose point of convergence is behavior and, therefore, the economy. The transformation of heritage into a tourist *commodity* is the logical consequence of this process (Schmitt, 2022).

This transformation of heritage, over the last three decades, has accompanied other changes, namely the replacement of the concept of lifelong learning (related to a multilateral, bidirectional and transformative dynamic), to the notion of learning (monodirectional, utilitarian and not susceptible to enhancing critical judgment), which only allows instrumental updates (e.g. the change of the energy matrix), without reflecting on the transformations of function or sociocultural paradigm.

Other sectors of reflection and action were taking place in parallel, such as the replacement of the focus on the economic strategy of companies by their management, or the replacement of the organization of the teaching of interpretative contents by the teaching of operational skills (Highland, 1993).

All these conceptual transformations correspond, finally, to the replacement of the historical understanding of processes by the reification of contexts, which are *commodifiable* and, therefore, reducible to the market. They are also structured through the false dichotomy between unity and diversity, canceling out the former and isolating the differences and conflicts of the latter. It is this false dichotomy that increasingly reinforces conflicts in the world: not because there are clashes of civilizations, but because the reification of identities prevents their convergence and transformation, except by violent means (Žižek, 2008).

The reduction of the role of history in the construction of heritage thus represents not only a return to the pre-Enlightenment past, but above all the expulsion of a notion of human convergence in time out of the conceptualization of the tensions of the present (Kant, 2022). The proliferation of the use of words such as memory (necessarily partial), entrepreneurship (necessarily limited to a few), management (instead of political economy), skills (instead of knowledge) or goals (instead of processes), reinforces the fragmentation of the past and the present, hindering the construction of new transformative utopias (Liakos, 2007).

Humans, however, have not ceased to be a species that determines itself by will (Nietzsche, 1999) but that is conditioned by the

materialities of context, beyond all narratives. Through diversity, their evolutionary convergence will tend to continue (Damasio, 2018), even if cultural heritage asserts itself less as an instrument of the future than as a portrait of the present. It remains to be seen to what extent an up-to-date and voluntarist heritage ideology will continue not to reconstruct the past for the future, but to recover from tragic expressions of the past as farces of the present.

As Ana Cruz (2015) wrote: “Despite all the regrets, it is a privilege to co-live with historical periods of transformation.”

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