The Heritage Theatre

The Heritage Theatre:
Globalisation and Cultural Heritage

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

The chapters in this volume are based on papers presented at the conference "The Heritage Theatre", held in Rotterdam on 13-14 May 2009. The conference was the conclusion of the research programme "Globalisation and Cultural Heritage" of the Faculty of History and Arts, as it was called then, of the Erasmus University Rotterdam (now: Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication). We thank the Netherlandish Organisation for Scientific Research for funding our research programme and the ESHCC and the Erasmus Trustfonds for their support in organising this conference.

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INTRODUCTION

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In the spring of 2010 the Tourist Information Office in Valkenburg, in the Dutch province of Limburg, celebrated its 125th anniversary. The festivities were graced by the presence of Her Majesty Queen Beatrix at a concert by the violinist André Rieu, in the Roman area of the grottoes in this popular tourist destination. The Valkenburg tourist office is believed to be the oldest in Europe. As far back as 1853 Valkenburg was on the international rail line between Aachen (Germany) and Maastricht, while the Gothic-style station, built that same year, is the oldest station in the country still in use. Valkenburg itself has not always been part of the Netherlands: it was only in 1839 that it was officially declared Dutch territory. The town is still one of the most popular vacation destinations in the Netherlands. With its Roman remains, medieval stronghold, and hilly backdrop, it contrasts sharply with the rest of the country. For an experience of otherness, the Dutch need not venture beyond their own borders!

It is thanks to tourism that the heritage of southern Limburg is being preserved, according to an article in *Heemschut* (a periodical devoted to Dutch heritage). Anya Niewierra, director of the Valkenburg tourist office, believes that the conservation of the town's historic architecture and man-made landscapes is of vital importance for tourism: the one is conditional upon the other. "Monuments are immensely important as decor. They provide the atmosphere and the backdrop against which all the other tourist activities such as attractions, museums and historical buildings are highlighted. The atmosphere is both authentic and companionable: people feel at home here." (Bokhorst 2010, 19). The unusual setting, the exceptional cultural heritage, together with the authenticity and characteristic friendliness of the town, all combine to make visitors feel welcome**.**

The heritage theatre

The present volume is based on papers presented in Rotterdam in 2009, during a conference entitled "The Heritage Theatre. The Dynamics of

Cultural Heritage in a Global World". The term "heritage theatre", which encompasses presentation, public and performance, is part of a world-wide dynamic in such domains as political relations, economics, communication, and transport.

It is no coincidence that this introduction opens with tourism in Valkenburg. Tourism is the major source of heritage visitors, and heritage coincides largely with tourist activities. Indeed, half of all Dutch heritage consumption (such as visits to museums or monuments) takes place during vacations abroad. But this does not necessarily mean that *all* heritage visits are tourism-related. For many people in Holland – and no doubt abroad as well – heritage is part of everyday life. Some 10% of all Dutch citizens over the age of six are "museum friends", members of a heritage association, or heritage volunteers: one million individuals in all (Van den Broek 2005, 33; Huysmans and De Haan 2007, 17 ff).

Fig. 0-1: Valkenburg Railway Station, 1853

Heritage has various audiences, one of them consisting of tourists, and this particular audience can also be further subdivided. Thanks to revolutions in the media, ICT and transport, heritage has become both more familiar and more accessible to a larger and more varied public. The

members of these audiences all interpret heritage differently, depending on the social context within which it is produced and the manner in which it is presented. Just as a play comes to life when it is performed, heritage only becomes significant in a setting where the audience is taken into account: scripting and staging lend lustre to heritage. The role of the audience is anything but passive. Without an audience, heritage is lifeless. The audience anticipates and participates in the performance. Heritage theatre is literally a "black-box" performance, where actors and decor share space with the audience, and the "fourth wall" does not exist. The visitor enters and leaves the stage, is part of the performance, and combines viewing and enjoyment with other activities (Crang 1997). Each type of heritage has its own audience: some cater to a particular group, others appeal to a range of different types of audience. Heritage performances are seldom withdrawn from the repertoire, and the number of "first nights" continues to increase. Although not every individual heritage object can be preserved for all eternity, heritage as such is never exhausted (Graham et al. 2002, 22).

Tourism is arguably the largest industry in the world: in the course of 2010 an estimated 12.5% of the world population will travel as tourists: a total of one billion people (Urry 2002, 22; Graham et al. 2002, 20; Scheppe 2009, 513). A noteworthy aspect of this development is the prominent role which heritage plays in the tourist product. In the introduction to their collection *Touring Cultures*, Chris Rojek and John Urry emphasize that tourism is a cultural experience, a means of acquainting oneself with other cultures. The authors do not describe in detail the nature of those cultures. They appear to be more interested in the manner in which culture is experienced (Rojek and Urry 1997, 14). In their view, most tourists are aware that the past which they are experiencing is staged and thus not entirely authentic.

The omnipresence of images, together with the omnipresence and recognizability of heritage have not led to a decline in the number of people visiting heritage sites. In fact, the reverse is true. The familiarity of heritage entices people to travel, and also to visit the current exhibition in their local museums. Despite – or perhaps due to – globalisation, location is still important. This makes theatre a good metaphor for heritage because it is experienced physically, not virtually. Saskia Sassen has observed that physical locations continue to play a fundamental role in the process of globalisation, despite the degree to which "place" and "time" tend to merge as a result of that process. "National global markets, as well as globally integrated organisations, require central places where the work of globalisation gets done"(Sassen 2007, 108; Gerszonowitz 2009). But what is the "work of globalisation" that is carried out by means of heritage?

Heritage as such has no meanings except those that are attributed to it, it is "the contemporary use of the past" (Graham et.al. 2000, 2; see also Riegl 1929, 12). Cultural objects and practices have not always had significance as cultural heritage, and what one person regards as cultural heritage is for the other an expression of contemporary culture, or simply part of everyday life.

Cultural heritage cannot be equated with culture: it is a framework that collects, compares and classifies widely differing cultural manifestations from various periods and various geographical backgrounds. These interpretive frames are referred to as "metacultures". According to Francis Mulhern, "Metacultural discourse, then, is that in which culture, however defined, speaks of itself". Or in the words of Greg Urban: "metaculture, that is culture about culture" (Mulhern 2000, xiv; Urban 2001, 3). Roland Robertson sees metaculture as the link between culture and social structure on the one hand, and between culture, the individual, and social action on the other hand (Robertson 1992, 34). Robertson stresses the performative aspect of metaculture: as a "code" which regulates and restricts relationships between individuals, social structure, and culture (Robertson 1992, 34). He also sees metaculture as a system of implicit cultural codes governing the relationship between parts and whole, individuals and communities, communities and outsiders, as well as the relationship between communities and the world as a whole. Globalisation is the extent to which these relationships and systems converge (Robertson 1992, 41; Hopper 2007, 96).

One of those implicit cultural codes is cultural heritage. Individuals give themselves and their communities a place on the world stage by means of cultural heritage. The latter is the result of a "metacultural operation", by which culture "makes an exposition of itself" (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett 2006, 168).

Cultural heritage as metaculture

Cultural heritage, in the sense of a framework encompassing various cultural expressions, has gained importance in recent years, while the regard for modernism has declined. Today's global norms are no longer innovation, expansion, emancipation, and the maximisation of production and consumption, but rather identity, conservation, and sustainability. According to Robertson, globalisation is not the final phase of modernisation, but the post-industrial phase of world history, which compels individuals and societies to re-interpret their past, their identities, and their traditions, and "to sift the global scene for ideas and symbols

considered to be relevant to their own identities." (Robertson 1992, 46). This vision is at odds with the view that globalisation and modernisation are one, thus doing away with limitations of time and space (Giddens 1990). Time and place are actually gaining in importance. There is a yearning for the past, reflected in a growing interest in environmental issues, less tolerance for ethnic minorities, and the rise of religious fundamentalism (Delanty 2000).

In the process of globalisation, a crucial role is reserved for "images of the world", representations of how the world is or ought to be (Robertson 1992, 75). The concept of a globalised culture – and "globality" itself – precedes the development of global structures: "Globality refers to the circumstance of extensive awareness of the world as a whole." (Robertson 1992, 77). Robertson regards "images" and "maps" of the world, as fairly concrete representations of what the world is like. Appadurai, too, formulates various "cultural flows" (ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes; financescapes and ideoscapes) as "imaginised worlds" of collective aspirations which give rise to action. "The imagination is now central to all forms of agency, it is itself a social fact and the key component of the new global order." (Appadurai 1996, 31; Lechner and Boli 2005, 15 ff ; Calhoun 2006, 152).

Robertson's "images" and Appadurai's "cultural flows" place the primacy of worldwide agency in various cultural contexts, in which heritage does not occupy a separate position. In 2008 Michael Di Giovane came up with the well-chosen term "heritagescape", as a supplement to Appadurai's "-scapes". If we follow Robertson and Appadurai in their assertion that globalisation is the result rather than the source of cultural contexts entertained all over the world, then cultural heritage – in the form of metaculture – is a suitable instrument by which to examine the relationship between cultural heritage and the image of the world.

The collection, presentation and representation of cultural artifacts and descriptions of cultural practices have long been part of Western strategies designed to chart the world, to bring it literally within arm's reach. Shakespeare's notion that "all the world's a stage", which can be traced to earlier representations of the *theatrum mundi* and Comenius' schoolbook *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (*The Visible World in Pictures*, 1658), demonstrates how deep-rooted the wish is to explore the world by means of physical objects and the activities of others, and to do so as concretely as possible.

Fig.0-2: Johannes Comenius. 1658. *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*

From the sixteenth century well into the eighteenth, collections of *antiquaria*, *artificialia* en *naturalia* provided an insight into the nature of other societies, past and present, far away and close by (Bergvelt et al. 1992; MacGregor 2007). These collections were not created with a view to providing insight into the world by means of history. The objects were invariably *exempla*, examples of the splendour of God's creation: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth", as it says in the first sentence of the Bible. They were examples to learn from, to imitate, and to surpass. As a contemporary *exemplum,* cultural heritage alternates between example and paragon: it is a world stage, a *theatrum mundi*. This model is not flat, but multi-dimensional. Heritage can be experienced as a model of the diversity of the human condition, or its specificity, or its memory. These three aspects correspond to Robertson's definition of

metaculture as a body of implicit cultural codes governing the relationship between parts and whole. Diversity is linked to the image of the world as a whole, specificity stands for the relationship between communities and outsiders, while "memory" is bound up with the relationship between individuals and communities. Memory serves to place individual experiences within the larger context of the community to which one belongs, or wants to belong. Specificity lends the community an identity by virtue of the fact that it differs from other communities. Filled with admiration for the endless diversity of man's cultural forms, all the differences dissolve. Our experience of cultural heritage undergoes a dialectic process, from *belonging* to *difference* to a synthesis of the *sameness* of all mankind.

The theatre of diversity

In classical antiquity, there was a list of the most remarkable monuments to be found in the ancient world: the Seven Wonders of the World. The works were located relatively close to one another in the eastern part of the Mediterranean region: Greece, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. When the list was drawn up, in the second century B.C., they were already highlights of cultural heritage (although that term had yet to be invented), having been built between the sixth and the fourth century B.C. They were regarded by the antique society of the day as the high points of architectural and technical ingenuity. With two exceptions – the pyramids of Cheops and the Hanging Gardens of Babylon – they were all built by the Greeks: indeed, during this period world culture was primarily Greek culture. To know the world was to know its structures. It was in 1721 that the Austrian architect Johann Fischer von Erlach published his *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur*, a series of historical examples for the modern architect. The illustrations include not only the architectural highlights produced by the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans, but also those of the Chinese, the Persians, the Indians and the Moslems.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the architectural primacy of the wonders of the world was relinquished, and the definition of what was historical shifted. Shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, for example, a list of Wonders of the World was drawn up by the cosmopolitan Austrian aristocrat Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg which included not only temples and cathedrals, but also the Statue of Liberty, the world's largest steamship, weather stations, waterfalls, and mountain formations (Von Hesse-Wartegg 1912-1913).
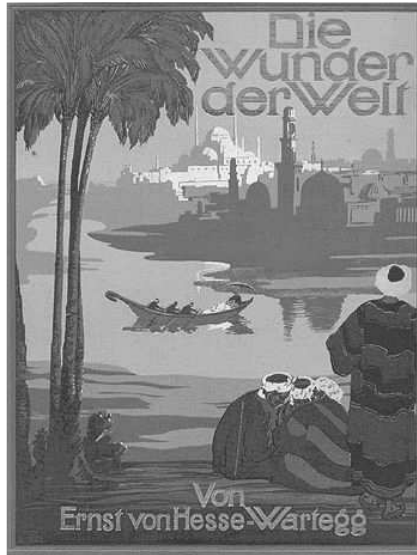
Fig.0-3 Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg. 1912-13. *Die Wunder der Welt. Hervorragende Naturschöpfungen und staunenswerte Menschenwerke aller Zeiten und Länder in Wort und Bild*

UNESCO's World Heritage Sites, the latest version of the wonders-of-the-world list, contains even more sites of a canonical nature than previous versions, so that the two have become more or less synonymous. The criteria employed by UNESCO are linked not so much to the heritage object as such, and to related local and historical facts, but rather to what it represents (Di Giovane 2008, 38 ff). The criteria are somewhat vague: the object must be a "masterpiece of human creative genius", an example of the "important interchange of human values", artistic and scientific developments and processes, as well as historical periods and events, and it must be associated with living traditions and ideas, and masterpieces "of outstanding universal significance." (Unesco Criteria).

Heritage is protected not by virtue of the function which it fulfils for a specific community, but rather the value which it represents for the world community. Recognition is only accorded to sites that meet the universal canonical standards for masterpieces. This does not mean that all world heritage objects are identical, but that the degree of difference lies within the narrow bandwidth of such traditional art-historical and cultural-historical concepts as beauty, innovation and originality. These aesthetics are based on classical norms and criteria which are applicable to widely

differing cultural expressions, whereby those expressions are stripped of their specific origin and significance (Halbertsma 2007). The norms on the list determine the world heritage goods, or as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett puts it, all that keeps world heritage together is the list itself. "World heritage is first and foremost a list. Everything on the list, whatever its previous context, is now placed in a relationship with other masterpieces. The list is the context for everything on it." (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006, 170).

The placement of objects, sites and practices on the UNESCO World Heritage Lists of tangible and intangible cultural heritage takes place only after a proposal is put forward by the national state. The prestige of the UNESCO lists is such that governments go to considerable lengths to have their national heritage placed on the international list. An increasingly important role is played by local, regional and national lobbies, driven as they are by the desire for world status, the prospect of extra funds for conservation, and even more visitors, especially tourists (Van der Aa, 2005).

This competitive element was missing from the earlier UNESCO lists. It is comparable to the "sportscape" of the Olympic Games, where nations likewise compete against one another, and national and international elements become inextricably bound up with one another. In the case of the Olympic Games, it all starts with a race to secure the status of Olympic City, at a cost of millions. Then billions more are spent on the construction of the facilities, which will be in use only briefly during the opening ceremony, the parade of national teams, and the initial performances highlighting traditional cultural aspects of the host country. Following the closing ceremony, the medal-winners are received by the head of state in their respective countries. Since 1898 the Olympic Games have been dedicated to promoting understanding and peace among nations by means of sports competitions, in keeping with the objectives of UNESCO (Loland 1994; Roche 2000).

The objectives on the UNESCO World Heritage list were in turn borrowed from the points of departure formulated in 1942 by the United Nations, which was founded with the aim of promoting world peace. UNESCO, the cultural organ of the United Nations, was set up in 1945: its mission was "to build peace in the minds of men". According to UNESCO, there was no peace because of inadequate or incomplete schooling, failed science, a lack of understanding of each other's culture, and poor communication. UNESCO'S declaration of intent corresponds to the Rights of Man, drawn up by the U.N. in 1948 (Human Rights).

In Mark Mazower's assessment, the historic background of the Declaration of the Rights of Man represents a break with the ideals of the

League of Nations, the predecessor of the United Nations. The U.N. had more or less resigned itself to the fact that minority rights could not be enforced; it seemed wiser to strive for ethnically homogeneous societies, since people were convinced that the existence of minorities was one of the causes of the Second World War. According to Mazower, the lack of political decisiveness – due in part to the enormous number of refugees after the war and the political situation during the Cold War – was masked by the call for individual human rights. To realise those rights, culture and science had to be marshalled (Mazower 2009, 23). Peaceful world citizenship would not be brought about by enforcing laws and sanctions, but by influencing public opinion: "Men had to be encouraged to see the world as a whole." (Mazower 2009, 83).

There is a tension between "the world as a whole" and individual citizens: we are all human beings, and yet we are all different. It is precisely this inherent difference that is so characteristic of human beings: recognition of the Rights of Man is recognition of the right to be different. "Unity in diversity" is what characterises world culture: we are "a culture of cultures" (Sahlins 2000, 493). Within world heritage, individuals identify with a worldwide "imagined community" which has outgrown national and ethnic limitations. Ideally, it is in the diversity of worldwide heritage that mankind recognises his own condition, and protects it by cherishing it (Anderson 1991).

However, the emphasis on heritage does limit our ability to recognise more recent and contemporary forms of culture as world culture. In a sense, there is no room in this "unity-in-diversity" viewpoint for culture as a continuous process of rise and fall, development, clashes and adaptation, exchanges, takeovers, and collaboration between individuals and communities. The World Heritage List consists of solidified cultural products and processes with a significant symbolic function for the state which brought forth that culture: only states can nominate heritage for the World Heritage List, not individuals or communities (again, as in the case of the Olympic Games). The consumption of this heritage culture is facilitated by the familiarity, accessibility, and well-conserved state of the object, thanks to the care bestowed on it by the State. However, constant references to the exalted status of heritage can also prevent people from realizing that it is more than world heritage.

In the chapter "Negotiating Heritage, The Wayang Puppet Theatre and the Dynamica of Heritage", Sadiah Boonstra describes how in 2008, on the initiative of the Indonesian authorities, Indonesian wayang culture was placed on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Both inside and outside Indonesia, wayang enjoys an unassailable

status as the epitome of Indonesian heritage. In recent decades wayang has been revitalised, and the work of Enthus Susmono, in particular, displays borrowings and influences which range from Western pop culture to Arabian music. And yet traditional wayang is still the norm by which respect for Susmono is measured. From an Indonesian perspective, it is interesting to see how Susmono succeeds in melting tradition and contemporary world culture; abroad Susmono's work is presented within a heritage framework, where it is placed alongside traditional wayang. Worldwide his work and that of other modern wayang players is collected by ethnographic museums, thus reinforcing the heritage element.

Since 2003 there has been mounting pressure to designate immaterial heritage as world heritage, in order to save it from extinction. The status of the traditional wayang makes it difficult to see modern wayang, as performed by Susmono and others, as the modern, world-wide podium art which it actually is. Moreover, the urge to preserve the Indonesian wayang tradition is often questioned, given that that tradition is more alive than ever, despite the fact that the present style of play differs in various ways from the traditional version.

Just as within world heritage Indonesian heritage exemplifies global cultural diversity, on a national level "unity in diversity" is presented as the essence of Indonesian culture. In the chapter "Imagineering Cultural Heritage for Local-to-Global Audiences", Noel Salazar describes how since the seventies the heritage theme park Taman Mini Indonesia Indah in Jakarta has featured pavilions with objects and activities in the style of one of the Indonesian provinces. They include no authentic heritage objects, and the exhibits are designed to highlight the identity of that vast country via a standardised and highly commercialised presentation. Within that same time frame a similar approach was employed in Dar-Es-Salaam, where a village was erected in which each hut reflected the building style of one of the ethnic communities in Tanzania. But today's international tourist shuns these parks, opting for experienced-filled excursions to authentic locations, such as the "tourism villages" in Indonesia, which highlight the activities of the inhabitants. These are regarded as more authentic than the parks in the capital cities of Indonesia and Tanzania. On closer examination, however, it appears that the offerings of the tourism villages have likewise been reduced to a show filled with clichés and hampered by a lack of information from the guides (Tanzania), or a one-sided presentation limited to traditional practices (Indonesia). In both cases, everyday culture and the function of cultural heritage remain hidden from the tourist.

While historic city centres vie with one another as "unique sites", the texts and images designed to entice tourists are often quite similar, as are the design and decor of the local cities. In her chapter, "Urban Intervention and the Globalisation of Signs: Marketing World Heritage Towns", Anja Nelle describes the authentic city against a standard historical decor: the same authentic lampposts and cobblestones, and traditional means of transportation such as carriages. Residents, attired in the appropriate costumes, perform a "heritage theatre play". Anja Nelle explains how three different cities – Trinidad (Cuba), Guanajuata (Mexico) and Vigan (Philippines) – employ identical strategies to ensure that they will be acknowledged and experienced as world heritage cities. Heritage as metaculture has such a strong presence here that it almost obscures the authentic characteristics of the city.

While some cities opt for the same decor, identical locations sometimes choose to highlight specific local heritage, as Patricia van Ulzen shows in her chapter, "International airports as stages for national cultural heritage. The case of Schiphol Airport, the Netherlands". She examines how, despite the global preference for anonymous and interchangeable modernist architecture, some airports, many of them hubs of international transportation, give travellers a taste of the local culture. While some tend to fall back on heritage clichés, there are notable exceptions, like the airport in Madison (Wisconsin), which is housed in a building whose interior was designed in the local Frank Lloyd Wright style. Schiphol, the airport near Amsterdam, has put considerable effort in adding Dutchness to the departure areas. Noteworthy is the "Holland Boulevard", housing an annex of the Rijksmuseum. During its exhibitions, it shows sometimes real Rembrandts and van Goghs. The Rijksmuseum shop sells contemporary Dutch design products and in the "Airport Library" international passengers can read Dutch literature and books on Dutch culture in translation. Schiphol is the only airport in the world with a museum and a library.

The theatre of specificity

The canonical "toppers" as they appear on the World Heritage List is actually based on a classic Greek- and Roman-inspired vision of culture as a collective, ongoing process. All the contributions – whether from artists or scientists or anonymous artisans – are part of a cultural repertoire which in its entirety is to the benefit of mankind. In this vision, culture is the sum of all the great deeds of mankind, and the canon is a source of joy and inspiration for people of all times, regardless of where they live. Time

and place are of lesser importance: over the years, the Acropolis and the Taj Mahal, Machu Picchu and the historic city centre of Vigan have lost nothing of their appeal – or their significance – for mankind.

This classic canon is dynamic in nature, as witness the placement of younger - but not too recent - sites and monuments on the World Heritage List, and the growing interest in the heritage of non-Western countries. Obviously the list is not complete, for the simple reason that mankind is constantly developing, and new "masterpieces of human creative genius" and "important interchanges of human values" will regularly be added to the list. The classic canon is open to everyone; it is a world canon unhindered by limitations of place or time.

This homogenizing view has come in for criticism since the late eighteenth century. The "romantic canon", as I will refer to it here, began as a protest against the glorification of classical culture and the Renaissance culture which it inspired. Other nations, on or beyond the periphery of Europe, also have interesting cultures, which cannot be compared to those in antiquity. There is in fact no such thing as a world culture, which consists of various national cultures. Not only because those cultures differ widely in form and content, but also because they are all linked in quite different ways to the social environment and world view of the society in question (Halbertsma 2007 and Leerssen 2006). In the romantic canon, the category "art" plays quite a modest role: daily life, religion, material and immaterial cultural traditions, trades, and farming techniques are all of equal importance, because they give expression to the characteristic identity of that community.

According to Johann Gottfried von Herder and other romantic thinkers, cultures cannot be compared. The value and significance of a culture can only be understood by those who are themselves part of that culture. In their eyes, continuous change, the exchange of ideas and art forms, and ongoing progress – core values of classical culture – were not qualities. Cultures which have undergone little change and have cut themselves off from outside influences are by definition superior, because they have resisted the modernity and homogenisation that accompany those influences. Within the romantic concept of culture, the identity of a society is embodied by what is unchanged and incommensurable.

With respect to cultural heritage as metaculture, the two aspects of classic and romantic values stand in a dialectic relationship to one another. Cultural heritage can function in a setting of homogenous world heritage as well as in the heterogeneous setting of communal heritage. What has been placed on the World Heritage list by virtue of its quality can be cherished within the context of state and community (Halbertsma 2007,

23). The criteria of the UNESCO World Heritage List (1973), the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), and the so-called Faro Convention of the Council of Europe (Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, 2005) reflect how the centre of gravity has slowly shifted from classical values to romantic values. This is reflected in a growing recognition of immaterial cultural practices and low culture, a preference for non-Western cultures, and more emphasis on community cultures than on the heritage of national states. In the UNESCO Convention intangible cultural heritage is defined in clearly recognisable "romantic" terms, as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity." (Unesco Culture). Keywords here are the emphasis on the identity and continuity of communities, groups and individuals. The Convention keeps silent about about works of art and does not use artistic criteria.

Despite this shift, UNESCO regards world heritage as something of and for the world community. However, the Faro convention stresses that both individuals and communities are entitled to heritage as the basis of their identity. For the Council of Europe, cultural heritage is a raw material, "a group of resources inherited from the past", as stated in article 2 of that convention, and as such it contributes to their well-being. Just as communities have a right to ownership of their land, a healthy environment and natural resources, they are also entitled to cultural heritage (Council of Europe).

The recent discussions in the Council of Europe about minorities and their right on their own heritage, are part of the ongoing debates about minority rights inside the boundaries of the European Community. These debates tend to obdurate as time goes on and have lead to nearly implacable forms of discord on issues like the position of Roma, Muslim communities and illegal immigrants. New forms of conservatism and popular radicalism undermine the democratic foundations of the nation state, maybe a prefiguration of a total reshaping of the European political and social framework as we know it.

Gerard Delanty describes how, as a result of the global processes of capitalism and democratisation which have taken place in recent decades,

the concepts "state", and "nation" are no longer automatically synonymous, in the sense of a place where citizens feel secure. Processes of homogenisation and modernisation, initiated by the nation state, have been replaced by global processes of divergence and disengagement. In the past, the nation state had a unifying ideology, one that internally united its citizens, and externally protected them against other nations. Community borders are now more likely to lie within national borders, while national ideologies have been replaced by group identities. National societies disintegrate into multicultural groupings, which demand the political recognition of their rights on the basis of their identity (Delanty 2000, 81-93; 101-105).

It seems that the post-World War II optimism about a global community, doing away with differences or only seeing them as interesting – but no more than interesting – cultural extras, has been exchanged during the last decades for the right to be and to stay different. In this way, cultural heritage can serve as an instrument to exact one's rights. It is for good reason that in drawing up the Faro Convention, the Council of Europe took care to add an article (4c) which states that the right to cultural heritage is limited where it conflicts with the rules of democracy and the rights of others. Also article 1 the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage (2003) stresses that only consideration to intangible heritage will be given as is compatible with existing international human rights and the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals.

Conflicts over the meaning, value, and ownership of heritage are inevitable, for the simple reason that cultural heritage functions on various levels: world, nation, and community. Moreover, the participation of the heritage consumer is different on each of those levels. For example, the tourist and the heritage site he visits share a "thin identity", as opposed to the "thick identity" that links residents to the heritage within their own community (Calhoun 2002; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006, 185).

"Thin identies" are fragile. All too often good intentions must make way for rock-hard interests, while the "imagined community" functions well as an ideal, but has little power. In the chapter "Modern Trophy: Global Actors in the Heritage Valorisation of the *Maisons Tropicales*", Christoph Rausch shows how UNESCO has gradually rallied attention for Africa's colonial heritage, and is putting pressure on the former mother countries to actively support this shared heritage. However, such steps do not always lead to conservation on site. For example, a UNESCO study devoted to three *maisons tropicales* in Brazzaville (Congo) and Niamey (Niger), designed by the French modernist architect Jean Prouvé, put

gallery owners on the track of his work in the former French colonies in Africa. Despite protests from the UNESCO World Heritage Center, all three of Prouvé's houses (pre-fabricated aluminium constructions) were dismantled. At present they are to be found, respectively, in the Centre Pompidou in Paris, a private collection, and the stock of a gallerist. An interest in heritage is not passive but performative, involving various – often conflicting – parties, all operating in their own interests.

The argument underlying the decision to remove the three houses from their original site was that this was the last chance to preserve them, that the move would facilitate research, and that by their very nature the houses could easily be dismantled. These arguments, which are based on the status of Prouvé as a modernist artist – and a representative of France's contribution to world culture – also disregard the post-colonial situation, in which the objects had been on display for several decades, as well as the functions which they fulfilled in the later non-French context. For the gallery-holders, however, the houses remained French: once presented to her African colonies, they were later repatriated by the West as modern trophies, and restored to their original state (in 1949 and 1951). In this case, globalisation did not lead to an appreciation of each other's culture, but to the appropriation of what one party regarded as its property.

In the chapter "Globalisation, the community museum and the virtual community", Dorus Hoebink describes how a society which was stagnating as a result of global economic and technological processes rebelled against globalisation, and the resulting marginalisation, by re-inventing itself and presenting itself as heritage: the Le Creusot-Montceau Eco Museum Project. Here everything is heritage and, in the romantic tradition, no distinction is made between landscape and place of residence, houses and industrial buildings, material and immaterial heritage, audience and experts. Conservation of the past has become the raw material which guarantees a decent future, just as metal, mines and glass once did for the Le Creusot factories.

And conversely, according to Hoebink, an existing heritage collection can generate a new community, as in the case of The Brooklyn Museum in New York. Thanks to an attractive physical and virtual collection, it was possible to transform an informal group of museum visitors into a community with a shared interest. In this case modern techniques are not a threat to the community, as in Le Creusot, but an instrument for community-building. There are considerable differences between the two heritage communities – they can best be described as a "thick community" and a "thin community" – but in both cases cultural heritage is the glue that keeps them together.

In the recent past we have seen the worldwide rise of migration museums, in answer to a desire to provide the recent waves of migrants with an historic context. These museums were intended mainly as a means of promoting the process of integration and social cohesion, and generating understanding for the effects of migration. At the same time, the new migration museums with their spectacular architecture are "markers" which help to promote the city. In the chapter "The point of Departure. Migration Museums in Europe", Hélène Verreyke explains the choices that were made during the construction and decoration of these museums (not all of which actually call themselves museums), and how in some cases the authentic stature of the collection as *lieu de mémoire* is based largely on its location near a harbour area. Of course, it made a difference whether you were immigrating or emigrating. In countries such as the United States, Australia and Canada (and also France), museums tend to focus on the contribution of immigrants to the new society, whereas the European museums stress the reasons for leaving and what the emigrants left behind.

A notable aspect of all these museums is the emphasis on recounting stories, and the public-oriented nature of the exhibits. Migration museums cater to a varied audience, ranging from tourists to the descendants of migrants and everything in between. This means that the message is not always as clear as it might be. These days we are all in some sense of the word migrants, but not everyone experiences that role in the same way. In addition, while political issues can be disguised as attractive cultural heritage, that very fact prevents them from being translated to the present-day situation, and underscores the position of the migrant as an outsider.

The theatre of memory

It has previously been noted that heritage has three aspects: heritage as "diversity" is linked to a view of the world as a whole, heritage as "specificity" to the relationship between the community and outsiders, and heritage as "memory" to the relationship between the individual and communities.

Memory makes it possible for people to store, retain and recall information. In this context we are talking about "episodic memory", which is responsible for storing personal memories and events that took place at a particular time, in a particular place (Anderson 1976). This episodic memory is far from static: individuals are constantly re-writing their life story, retouching or omitting events to fit the "plot" of their lives.

We need memory to create continuity and thus identity: the life story which we compose serves to connect our past and our present.

Memory is quite selective as to what it retains. It does not preserve all the events that take place in our lives in the same way, nor does it focus exclusively on the pleasant memories. Draaisma has shown that what our memory retains dates mainly from adolescence and early adulthood, which represent the main dividing line in our biography. Earlier and later memories tend to be much less vivid. It also appears that memories of rejections and humiliations are sharper and are retained longer than positive moments (Draaisma 2004).

Fred Davis has pointed out that our thinking about the past is largely positive and nostalgically coloured. Nostalgia is a highly personal, rosy memory of a past which one has experienced at first hand. In principle, a person cannot feel nostalgia for a period or an event he has not experienced himself. Our nostalgic memory reassures us that our individual past was meaningful and imbedded within that of others. If someone is different from others, that can in retrospect be explained by developments in the spirit of the times, similar to what was experienced by other members of the same generation. Although as a rule nostalgia does not go back any further than our own past, it may include the personal memories of our parents. In addition, historical events reported by the media are endlessly recycled, so that they almost become personal memories (Davis 1979, 61-62).

Nostalgia plays a major role in heritage consumption. Rummage sales, internet collectors' sites, exhibitions focusing on the ordinary, everyday objects of daily life, CDs with Greatest Hits: all of these recall a moving and comforting past, as an alternative to the cynicism that comes with adulthood and the menace of the future. In the theatre of nostalgic reminiscences, the individual directs his own past. Nostalgia can be an excellent instrument to reach out to people, but most professional heritage organisations hesitate to use it, as in their opinion serious issues need to be discussed on a level transcending individual memory (Groeneveld and Sijmonsbergen 2010, 31; De Jong 2010).

But notwithstanding these reservations, a fusion of collective and individual stories has become quite the norm in the historical museum, by the introduction of individual stories in museum presentations or by opening museum sites on the internet for individuals to form an archive of personal memories around events or sites. And if one's biography has no links with dramatic historical events, a museum visitor can borrow an identity for the duration of his visit. Popular nowadays is the method used in emigration museums, war museums and Holocaust museums by giving

the individual visitor a ticket with the name of an emigrant, soldier or Holocaust victim on it, whose fate the visitor can follow up during his visit.

The far-reaching identification of the individual with the past can also take on other forms. In the recent past, events have occurred which we did not witness but which had an enormous impact on the world in which we live. No one visits Auschwitz because of the diversity of human culture (although it is a World Heritage Site). People go there because they want to experience from close-by the incomprehensible, unimaginable horror of the place, and to murmur "never again" (Lennon 2000). Here memory has a strongly performative character, evoking not identification or admiration, but rather action and discussion (Tilmans et al. 2010).

Fig. 0-4: Visitors lining up for the Anne Frankhuis in Amsterdam

In the last twenty or thirty years we have seen a considerable increase in what is referred to as "difficult heritage" (Logan and Reeves 2009; Macdonald 2009). Although two entire generations have grown up since the Second World War, the number of visitors to concentration camps and other memorial sites is not declining but increasing. The Anne Frank House in Amsterdam is one of the most visited heritage sites in Amsterdam, with close to a million visitors a year (as compared with 9000 in 1960; Van der Lans and Vuijsje 2010). Since the fall of the Berlin Wall,

similar museums and memorial sites have been established in Eastern Europe, in order to chronicle the terror under communist rule. All these places of horror have been preserved because they are part of a permanently relevant discussion about how something like this could happen: here the criteria are not the classic aesthetic or cultural-historical values, but rather the "conflict value" of the site (Dolff-Bonekämper 2008).

Thus the individual appropriation of the past ranges from the nostalgic equation of one's own biography with history, to an approach where cultural heritage is an ethical issue. Tracing one's family history in archives, culminating in a search for the roots of one's own population group in a totally different part of the world, is another version of the link between general and individual history.

In his chapter "Testing Roots. A heritage project of body and soul" Alex Van Stipriaan questions the importance of one of the key words in the contemporary discourse on diversity and identity, roots. Roots are literary, as he states, "heritage pur sang". The individual is linked to history by not only the traditions and culture he inherited from his ancestors, but by his DNA as well. Nowadays new techniques make it possible to trace one's origin beyond the confines of memory and written sources, although DNA technique is not as reliable and clear cut as it is often presented.

Van Stipriaan assembled a Dutch group of people of Surinam and Caribbean descent and presented them the outcome of DNA-research of their maternal line. It turned out that in their maternal line all of them had their origins in Africa, but not from the same regions. Subsequently, some of the group went with Van Stipriaan to Cameroon to look for their roots, while the others stayed in the Netherlands. The outcome of this trip was that most of this group felt "at home" in Africa and recognised or thought they recognised things also familiar to the Caribbean, c.q. Surinamese culture. Back in the Netherlands, the paternal DNA line was followed up as well and the roots of the group turned out to be far more global than only African. Later on none of the group felt it necessary to follow up their African roots, it was part of their history, but only one part. "Maybe even more important is that one of the main results of the quest for roots is the increasing awareness that there is a certain hierarchy in this kind of heritage," Van Stipriaan concludes. "Africa is a kind of 'deep' but distant roots, to which you can refer if necessary or wanted. Surinam or the Dutch Caribbean are maybe even deeper, because much closer roots, whereas the Netherlands are not even roots (yet), because too much part of daily lived reality. Actually, roots never seem to be – in time or place – where its descendants now find themselves."

In her chapter entitled "Virtual Identities and the Recapturing of Place: Heritage Play in Old-Town Jakarta", Yatun Sastramidjaja describes how public history can be experienced in private re-enactment.   Alongside the official national heritage bodies in Indonesia, there are also various private foundations devoted to local heritage which found themselves in difficulty as a result of neglect and urban renewal. Often they did not fit into the official heritage policy, which focuses on the icons and high points of Indonesian culture, such as the Borobudur and the culture of Bali. Later on, a more light-hearted approach to the issue of local heritage emerged which was borrowed from youth culture: for example, participants dress up as Javanese princes and princesses, or Dutch colonials. This is not a true re-enactment, as it does not involve a "scripted" and artistically responsible acting-out of historical events (De Groot 2009, 103-109). Nor is it a kind of Mardi Gras, since the costumed participants in these highly popular performances in Jakarta and other large cities in Java combine their street activities with research, informative websites, and oral history. What we see here is a new approach to history, whereby one's appearance as an historical character is a condition for the acquisition of historical knowledge. Here subject and object coincide.

In the closing chapter "Meaning in Chaos? Experiencing Cultural Heritage and the Challenge of the Popular", Mike Robinson describes how alongside the official, exalted heritage propagated by UNESCO and the nation-state, popular heritage has undergone an enormous expansion. It is bound up with the emotions of visitors, and closer to their own lives. In recent decades this form of heritage has increased markedly, and more and more tourists are becoming involved in forms of heritage which are "more intimate and meaningful in the sense of the everyday, and, arguably with a heritage which carries utility in terms of being socially and politically relevant."

But how is it possible that everyday contemporary objects and events are now being presented as heritage, even by serious heritage institutions? Robinson believes that the nation state is no longer the sole body that decides what is or is not heritage, and that in addition to the official heritage bodies, more and more private businesses are entering the market with popular heritage "specials". At the same time, a visit to such temples of culture as the Louvre need not include a visit to the collection. With their spectacular edifices, complete with shops and restaurants, museums are also places of leisure, and the background for bestsellers and films, such as *The Da Vinci Code*.

In closing

André Rieu was born in 1949 in Maastricht, capital of the province of Limburg, where he still lives. He began his career with a salon orchestra that specialised in Strauss waltzes. Today Rieu is the highest-paid male performer in the world. The massive decors which accompany him on his world-wide tours were inspired by the façade of the Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna, where he performed live in 2006. He is proud of his Limburg roots, and it was only natural that he was asked to perform in front of Queen Beatrix in the Roman grottoes of Valkenburg on 26 March 2010. On that day, Rieu's regional, national and world fame, built upon Austria's cultural heritage, merged with the origins of Valkenburg, the Dutch monarchy, and the celebration of 125 years of tourism. The *Theatrum mundi* of cultural heritage knows no bounds when it comes to size and genres: it is as large as the world is wide.

Fig. 0-5: André Rieu and Queen Beatrix in Valkenburg, 26 March 2010

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