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## Historical Contexts and Identities of the Mediterranean Countries

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## Historical Contexts and Identities of the Mediterranean Countries

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART 2 - GEOGRAPHICAL IDENTITY

PART 3 - DISCUSSION

# PART 1 - HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

# CAVA “ROYAL CITY”: AN “UNIQUE PRIVILEGE” IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY, BETWEEN THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE MODERN AGE. A RESEARCH APPROACH

*Massimo Siani*[1]

## ABSTRACT

In the Europe of the XV century, the administrative rules do not concern only in the cities. There are many lands, which can practice these functions. They are usually called “the other cities”, and they can either obtain or lose this identity-condition. Therefore, whichever instrument is necessary to construct and conserve them. The history of Cava, a middle town in the Kingdom of Naples (XV century), can show this by one of its most important privilege: the “White Paper”, which Ferdinando I of Aragon gave to the citizen who returned it without changes. What were the reasons? Analysing what happened in Cava’s society during the medieval (XV) and modern (XVII) age, this paper should both rebuild the historical motivations about this document and show how the role of white paper changes in relation to the construction of citizens’ identity depending on the timeline.

Keywords: Center and Periphery; Early Modern History; Medieval History; Privilege and Identity.

JEL Classification: Y40

## 1. INTRODUCTION

During the middle of XV century, the Kingdom of Naples was the theatre of inheritance war between Ferdinand I, the son of the king of Naples (Alphonse The Fifth), a member of the Aragon family, and John, a member of the Anjou family and the son of Renato Duke of Anjou. The war began after the Magnanimous’ death when many barons were disloyal to Ferdinand and they aligned with John’s side in order to regain their independence. In fact, the reforms of the Aragon’s King both reduced the baron’s independence and reinforced the king’s control over them. On the other hand, Francesco Sforza the Duke of Milan, the Pope and many state-owned cities of the Kingdom, like Cava, supported Ferdinand. The history and the legend about this city during the XV century are connected with a specific moment of the battle of Sarno (7th July 1460) and the events that occurred right after. At the end of the battle the Anjous, who joined the forces with the bigger barons of the Kingdom (like the Orsini of Taranto), won and allowed King Ferdinand to escape to Naples. Many authors have different opinions about this event, but they agree that if Ferdinand had waited, he would have won the battle and maybe he would have also won the war.

However, the son of Alfonso V was obligated to engage in battle because the men who fought for him were becoming nervous due to the resources they were receiving were not enough. The supremacy of Aragon’s army in numbers and weapons was too powerful in comparison to the small borgo (villages) such as Sarno, and subsequently, the King lost the battle (Squitieri, 2011: 15-41). After the fight, John of Anjou and his allies called an

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assembly session to decide what to do: do they send the soldiers to Naples in order to surround the city or go through the provinces of the kingdom and allow those who were still loyal to Ferdinand to join John's side. (Summonte, 1601-1602: 291-296). They chose the second option and this decision of the assembly introduced Cava into the dynamic war and the city became a momentary protagonist of the realm's destiny. These facts established the base of Sarno's legend that was created during the Modern Age.

This article has a similar name to previous one presented at the Mediterranean Conference at the University of Salerno last year to introduce an ongoing PhD investigation (Siani, 2016: 83-90). Now, after a year, the speech both is concentred on the results of that research and completes the previous one (Siani, 2017). Depart from the historical background, this study will analyse the events occurred during the middle of XV century with some intrusion into XVIII. The task wants to read the construction of Citizens of Cava's identity from a different point of view.

## 2. SOCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE TRANSFORMATION OF A MEDITERRANEAN CITY BETWEEN MIDDLE AND MODERN AGE

The city of Cava soon fought against the rebels that arrived with the army in front of the walls of Cava at the end of August. The Anjous' soldiers arrived at Cava (20th of August) and John Cossa, the general of the army who fought to Alphonse in the past, made them an offer: either they could take an oath, giving themselves to John or suffer the "guasto" (the destruction of the lands around the city in order to break the citizen's resistance).

> "Inimici erano andati ad campo (located in Castellamare) alla Cava, dove se credeva fariano poco volendose li homini de quella terra tenere et difendersi [...] essi inimci stati alcuni dì acampati al dicto luoco, larghi però da la terra circa trea miglia, la quale (the City of Cava) de si sto et de mura è foritssima, Giohanne Cossa, secudno refferisse Bartolomeo da Rechanati (He was a secretary and an Ambassador of King Ferdinando), quale era dentro, [...] cum molte exhortatione de parole et larghissime proferte et poi cum minacce de farli el guasto, se ingiegnò de deviare essi homini da la devotione et fidelità del singor re, cum dirli fra l'altre cose che non volessero fare el contrario de quello che hanno facto tanti singori et baroni de questo reame, che se son reducti alla fidelità de re Ranero (Renato d'Angiò, Duke of Lorena and Father of John) et che non volessero lassarse guastare li arbori, maxime che pur infine haverano ad pigliare el partito cum la maiestà de esso re Ranero [...]" (Senatore, 1998: 270-271).

Against the offer of John Cossa, citizens

> "[...] resposero molte parole, ma queste fra le altre: che non intendevano pigliare exempio da chi ha facto male et havuto poca consideratione al'honore suo in essersi deviati da la fidelità de la mestà del singore Ferrando (King Ferdinando), loro iusto er vero signore et re, in la cui fidelità erano disposti a preservare, nè se credesse che bone parole nè minace che'l sapesse usare havessero a dare quella terra, che erano disposti a patire ogni exterminio, ono che aspectare guasto d'arbori, et che, se essi inimici non erano sufficienti ad fare dicto guasto, volendo el duca Johanne (John) assecurare trecento homini de li loro, gli mndariano cum acete per aiutare ad farlo loro più presto per cavarli de oppinione che per timore de guasto volessero mancare del debito et fidelità loro verso chi sonno tenuti. Vedento questo esso Johanne Cossa, seguirono essi inimici a dare el guasto [...]" (Senatore, 1998: 270-271).

A letter was written by Antonio da Trezzo on the 29th of August 1460 according to our resources. Da Trezzo was the Ambassador of Francesco Sforza duke of Milan and ally of Ferdinand and he was impressed by those words and he wrote to his duke:

> "Grande commendatione et laude se hanno acquistati li homini de la Cava che se dice hanno vergognato tuti li signori del reame, li quai se sonno accordati inante habiano veduto la fronte de inimici, ad li quali, se ve pare, laudaria che vostra signora scrivesse una bona lettera comendandoli de la costante fede loro verso la maiestà del re, che non dubito el scrivere vostro gli serà molto grato et accenderà ancora più li animi loro in ogni simile caso potesse accadere un'altra volta" (Senatore, 1998: 271).

The siege lasted one week. Despite the "guasto" (damage), the city refused to change sides and to betray Ferdinand. They put up a strong opposition and caused many losses among their enemies. The rebels were obligated to stop the siege due to the resistance of Cava's citizens and because the army of the Aragon was arriving (Senatore, 2012: 23, 26). After the siege, on the 4th of September, the delegation of Cava's citizens went to Naples. They received a completely blank document from Ferdinando. By doing this, the king gave the citizens the possibility to write on this white document every kind of request they could have possibly desired, but they returned it to Ferdinado with no requests. This is the reason why it is called "the white parchment" or even better "privilege in white", suggested by Francesco Senatore (Senatore, 2012: 10). There are different opinions concerning these events. One part of local history is certain that the privilege was recompense to city's rescue. In fact, it was thought that five hundred men of Cava, commanded by Giosuè and Marino Longo, assisted the king during the battle of Sarno and they helped Ferndinando to escape to Naples. By the intervention of Cava's hundred men, the king could reorganise his army and later won the war.

> "Ferdinando I d' Aragona successe ad Alfonso; il suo governo sin dai primordi fu pieno di turbolenze e disordini; il suo carattere faceva tutti diffidenti, ed il suo procedere aspro e corrivo alle punizioni, occasionò una terribile congiura che fu ordita dai principali signori del Regno, alla testa de' quali stavano i principi di Rossano e di Taranto suoi parenti: rifiutato il trono esibito a suo zio Giovanni, fu poi accettata l' offerta dall' altro Giovanni d' Angiò figlio di Renato: datosi quindi costui all'impresa coll'ajuto de' ribelli, molto prosperò: gli affari di Ferdinando volgevano in male, ed era quasi pervenuto al punto di soccumbere: attaccata la battaglia nelle pianure di Sarno, i suoi soldati, per la piupparte posti fuori combattimento, erano ridotti nello stato di non poterla più sostenere, e la vittoria era per i suoi nemici; ma mentre le cose stavano in questo stato, dalla via del monte che sovrasta Sarno discesero 500 uomini che volontariamente dalla Cava si erano mossi ad oste contro gli Angioini in difesa del Re guidati da Giosuè e Marino Longo, ed avendo subito preso parte all' azione, col lor menar d'armi fecero sì che la pugna cambiasse subito di aspettato, perciocchè i vincitori rimasero vinti. Il Re ritornato in Napoli fu sollecito di manifestare ai Cavesi i suoi sentimenti di gratitudine, e di là a poco loro spedi un diploma in bianco colla facoltà di potervi scrivere qualunque siasi grazia con un' affettuosa lettera concepita in questi termini". (Adinolfi, 1846: 272-273).

Recently, Francesco Senatore has demonstrated that this episode about Sarno's history, is nothing more than mythology (Senatore, 1998: 259-271). However, it is undeniable that this "White Privilege" document does indeed exist and is a valid legal document. It was solemnitate that is it has all the signs to be legal: the king's signature; the annotations of the royal chancellor's offices and the royal seal. (Senatore, 2012: 15-16).

The citizens of Cava never supported Ferdinand during the battle of Sarno. There is a lot of evidence to support this explanation. According to the Italian sources: the chronicles of John Pontano and John Simonetta and the letter of Da Trezzo, which were sent to Francesco Sforza, discussed the events of Sarno and Cava's siege, but never mentioned anything about their rescue (Senatore, 1994: 67-68). This theory can also be supported by looking at foreign sources, for example, the Chronicle of Zurrita does not talk about Cava's intervention (Zurita, 1578). The real reason for the Privilege in White was Cava's resistance to the siege (from 20th to 29th of August, in 1460) and the loyalty showed to the crown (Senatore, 2012).

Several different historical documents demonstrate it. One of them is the letter that went with the parchment. There, it is said:

> "Honofrio Scannapecu vostro citatino et Sindico è venuta ad la Maestà nostra, quanto ni ha dicto da parte de questa fidelissima cità nostra havimo pienamente inteso […] la integra ed immaculata fede nostra verso nui et stato nostro […] considerata tanta constantia fidelità et affectione vostra verso nui, che per non vi maculare er perseverare in lo debito et honore vostro non avete curato ne estimato dapni, ne interessi, vi facciano nostri nemici, ante quelli haviti postponuto come meritatamente se deve fare […]" (Milano, 1988: 85-86).

Or for example, in a letter of Ferdinando's in 1463, the king ordered a tax collector (the official who withdrawer the tax) to didn't molest the citizens while obtaining the colletta because

> "[…] Nui (the king) havendo respetto et consideratione alla sicera costantia et fidelità della dicta Università et homini verso nui e lo stato nostro et a li continui boni servitii ne hanno fatti et continuamente ne fanno et li danni che per nostro Stato et sevitio hanno di bonissimo animo comportato, li havemo gratiosamente remessa et relassata la detta pena […]" (Milano, 1988: 87).

These quotations speak about the siege and the resistance that took place in August (for example, the expression a li continui boni servitii ne hanno fatti et continuamente ne fanno et li danni che per nostro Stato appears as a reference to August's siege).

The privileges given to Cava by Aragon talked about the city's respectable actions but they never mentioned the support of Cava's citizens to the King during Sarno's clash. Nowadays, an important discovery surrenders this explanation. The miscellaneous book from 1690 written by Grimanldi has implemented the number of Aragon's documents preserved at the historical archives of Cava (Grimaldi, 1690).

In addition, there is no information about the support of Cava's men in medieval sources. The question is, when should this second version of the battle be created? Perhaps, it was probably a product of the Modern Age, made around the XVII century.

During the sixteen hundreds, some important families of Cava wished to give an important ancestor to their descendants in order to improve and reinforce their position or rehabilitate their name in the local society (Bizzocchi, 1995). In this case, the Longo's family could be the protagonist. In fact, this family maybe took part in some blameworthy actions during the last medieval centuries. For these reasons, they would have commissioned somebody to create a version of the battle where Longo's brothers helped the king. It is also important to remember how some members of Longo's family fought for the Aragon's. (Mazzoleni, 1957: 101, 123, 134). Probably the myth of Sarno bore when Ottavio Beltrano mixed the real facts with fiction in his work titled Breve Descrittione del Regno di Napoli (1640) but this event disappeared in the new edition of the Descrittione (Senatore, 1994: 68-69; Senatore, 1998: 265-266; Senatore, 2012: 41).

The myth of the surrender was present for the first time into local history in XVIII century in Descrizione istorica della città fedelissima della Cava by Agnello Polverino's, first book (Polverino, 1716: 3), probably due to the crisis that the Spanish crown had endured in that period. During the middle of XVII century, Cava actually risked to losing its state own condition. The sovereign was selling its territories to take the money in order to stop the financial and political crisis and Cava had many lords interested in buying it. For these reasons, the city decided to put together the money and paid the crow to preserve its state own condition. Practically Cava sold its state-own condition from the Spanish's crown (Foscari, 2000: 275-291; Senatore, 2012: 41-45). In addition, abreast the payment they needed to show at Spain's king what kinds of services the city had given to that crown in past. Therefore, for this reason, the rescue given to the king could appear most important than a siege's resistance. This should be one of the roles of this unique privilege to build the identity of Cava's citizens during the modern and contemporary ages, out of the context of who produced it.

Pass to analyse the background where the paper in white was produced and the effects of this one, the reasons why the citizens returned the paper to Ferdinando without requests are still unclear.

First, it is not probable that the citizens of Cava should not have had something to ask after the damage occurred during the siege of August. However, the documents only permits to make some assumptions in order to explain what was happened.

One point to analyse could be the political ideology of these participants (King and citizens) and their roles in that situation. An example about it is contained in the letter that accompanied the paper.

> "Honofrio non ni ha cercato cosa alcuna per parte di questa università, onde a nui ha parso devere fare verso vui alcuna demostratione […] concedendovi uno privilegio in bianco […] che in quello dicto privilegio ci faczate scrivere ad vostra voluntate tucte quelle gratie che per uno Re gratissimo se potessero concedere ad soy vassalli fidelissimi […] certissimi non potete metterencene tante che basteno ad satisfare vostri meriti" (Milano, 1988: 85-86).

In this case, Ferdinand called the citizens vassalli fedelissimi. The king's words give the impression that Ferdinand expected a behaviour like this from the citizens. Practically, both king and citizens knew their roles, respected them and each other's and they recited their part in order to show themselves like the other expected. A consequence of this constant interaction was that king and citizens were able to predict very often the conduct of their partner involved. Paraphrasing Mineo's words: this is an effect of the dynamic of privilege (Mineo, 2003: 597-610).

Some events happened in during the 1460 and 1461 are still unknown. For example, why did the citizens decide to leave the parchment in white? How did they take this decision? Did all the citizens agree? What did facts happen between the delivering and the restitution?

Even though these unsolved questions, a source permitted to start an early reconstruction of what happened in that period inside the city.

This document concerns the decision of the universitas of Cava to reform the administrative structure of the city in 1461. (Abignente, 1886: XXIV-XXVII, appendix). Before to go on it could be useful give a briefly definition of universitas as suggested by Francesco Senatore:

> "universitas indica comunemente uno specifico ente collettivo (specify a collective group): la universitas civium o universitas loci, che si autogoverna entro certi ambiti e con determinati poteri tradizionali, in dipendenza da un'autorità superiore di

> varia natura con la quale contratta in occasioni ordinarie o straordinarie sia la propria costituzione sia le modalità, talvolta anche la consistenza, delle proprie contribuzioni in denaro e in servizi". (Senatore, 2009: 447-456).

Practically, universitas was able to self-government itself but only in a specific setting because it was subdued to senior authority that recognised it.

The administrative reform of 1461 could demonstrate the role that the paper in white should have inside citizens' decision and into its background.

It also represents the first noted piece of evidence about Cava's local administration and shows two types of the citizen's government: one that worked before 1461 and one that took the place of it from that date. Some examples of Cava's first administration that worked until 1461 are:

> "quod olim in principio guerrarum vigentium de presentis, Universitatis et homines ipsius volentes Statum Regium, in quantum ad eis spectabat, pro conservatione ligi homagii et fidelitatis, aliter per eis praesestitate Sacre Regiae Majestatis; nec non et bonum regimen civitatis hujus, posse procurare, ut procuratum est – for these reasons – ordinaverunt, legitimos et solicitos eorum Electos, Sindicum et Conservatores Regii Status et boni pubblici hujus civitatis, nonnullos homines ipsius" (Abignente, 1886: XXIV-XXVII, appendix).

Exist also a proof about the actions of this local administration. It is a "regesto" (a summary of a document) of Gennaro Senatore (the archivist of the historical archive of Cava at the beginning of the XX)

> "il 4 settembre 1461, gli eletti dell'università, per l'ordinario giurato fanno pubblicare il Bando per l'affitto delle gabelle norite impositas et ordinatas". (Practically the local government ordered the publication of the announcement around the rent of indirect tax). (Senatore, 1831-1910)

Therefore, Cava evolved from an administration, which consisted of viginti quatuor, vel circa elects to one of the fourteen elements, which should govern the city between the ages 1461-1482. There were effectively nine elected representatives, two for all the provinces or districts (except for Corpo di Cave that had three reps probably due to the extension of its territory).

> "Et sic oportet eos alios de novo eligere in minori numero, cum potestatibus et facultatibus necessariis et opportunis quo Status Regius illaesus prout supra, et bonum regimen eorum agueatur; sed id ex numero misurantes, ut dixerunt, onus eorum ne propter confusione vacaret; quia ubi moltitudo ibi confusio, deliberaverunt velle ordinare certos alios electos ex homines dictae Universitatis, utique congitos et approbatos a dicta Universitate, qui habeant ad rem praedictam vocare, et interesse temporibus et viis debitis et oportunis. Ex id ex anno Christi noviter intrante, universitas et homine privinciam Mitiliani, coram nobis eligerunt magnificus Angelum Longum praesbyterum, et notarium Guarinum Costa; provincia Sancti Adjutoris notarium Patritium de Alferio et Lucanulum de Monica, provincia Passiani iudicem Pacificum de Curti iuris peritum, et Catherinellum de Arminando, Corpus Cavae et membra Trasbonea, Citara, Raiti, et Arboli, Ioannen Paulum Camberlingum, magnificum Christophorum de Simone et Vitum Cellium de Campanara, praesetes cum omnia qua decet plenitude potestatis et facultatis, et cum pleno libero ac generali mandato vigore praesentis electionis instrumenti [...]" (Abignente, 1886: XXIV-XXVII, appendix).

These provinces were the semi-autonomous parts that constituted Cava. They were four (S. Adiutore, Passiano, Mitiliano and Copo di Cava) and they did not have the same dimension or number of inhabitants. In addition, these provinces were not compact; on the contrary, they were composed of many small sub-districts. This structure gave Cava a federation arrangement (Senatore, 2016; Siani, 2017).

This is the decision that the universitas took in 1461. In 1482 The King changed the local administration with the Prammatica noviter editam per Sacram Regiam Maiestatem. The representatives had to choose another seven or eight people among the citizen who lived in their province to have forty representatives in total. They were the new local government

> "[…] debeant eligere per totum diem crastinum, decimum praesentis mensis, (Jennaury) quadriginta homines de civibus Cavensis, juxta formam, scripturam et tenorem dictae Pramaticae. Et inter eos volent eligi tam sindaus, quam officiales ordinandi secondum formam Pragmaticae supradictae. Quod propterea volentes Regiis et dicti Capitanei obedire mandantis, praefata universitas post propositionem viri nobilis Nicolantoni sindaci Cavensis factam per eum de intelligentia et aliis causis, et deposito per eum officio sindacatus, elegit infrascriptos homines dicta universitas, praesente dicto domino capitaneo, videlicet: Leonildum Jovene et Gregorium de Curte pro Passiano, not. Patritium et Judicem Ursinum pro Sancto Adjutorio, Dominum Jentilem Longum et notarium Petrumpaulum pro Metelliano, Andrea Perrellis, mangnificum Marcum Antonium Punzum et notarium Blasium Jenoynum pro Corpore et membris […] cum potestate per eos electos eligendi reliquos ad complendum quadraginta sub hac lege, quod ipsi electi et per eos elegendi nullo modo possint, neque valeant recusare electionem de eis factam, sed quod quilibet ipsorum teneantur et debeant acceptare et sequi formam dictae Pragmaticae, hoc est, quod Metelianum debeat eligere suos praefatos electos octo ad complendum decem; Sancto Adjtor octo alios; Passianum octo alios, et Corpus cum membri septem; quibus dandam plenariam potestatem et omnimodam facultatem eligendi sindacum et alios officiales intra dictum numerum quadriginta […]" (Abignente, 1886: XXVIII-XXIX, appendix).

Come to the decision of 1461, the reasons for the change in Cava's administration were not clear. It appears to have been a decision of the univerisitas. The document of 1461speaks about the confusion provoked by the big number of functionaries: "onus eorum ne propter confusione vacaret; quia ubi moltitudo ibi confusio" (Abignente, 1886: XXIV-XXVII, appendix). Nonetheless, this remains only a general explanation. However, it is possible to imagine that the outgoing administration made the decision to leave the paper in white. This possibility could be suggested for two reasons: the dates of the events (the privilege delivery and reformation of the administration) are very close; the decision to change the local government was a local choice (different from the decision took by King Ferdinand to define all local administrations into the realm by the Prammatica noviter (1482). Moreover, there is not any connection between the members of the embassy who went to Naples in 1460 and the representatives who were ruling in 1461 and the members that took part in the city's administration in 1482. So, it is possible to speculate that the transformation of the local organization could be a consequence of the decision to give back the paper in white.

It shows also that in Cava there were factions or groups, like also in the other cities (Vitolo, 2007: 41-69). One of these factions maybe wanted to give back the privilege without requests, but it is also possible that there were citizens, who were interested in obtaining something.

To support this hypothesis, it is a necessary review, and maybe correct, the previous thesis produced by a part of local historiography around the men of Cava like a compact group when the decision regarded the destiny of the city. As a result, Cava builds its identity during the XV century through a unique privilege, but it is necessary to review the effects, the elements and finally the results involved during that process.

Like in the other parts of Europe, in the late medieval and early modern period, a few family groups tried to monopolise the community and they did this by manipulating powerful people to make decisions in their favour.

Even though this process occurred also in Cava, it did take place without clashes similar to ones that happened in other cities of the Kingdom, such as Salerno and Nocera, close to Cava (Orlando, 1886; Carucci 1945; Siani, 2017). In other words, the conflicts did not lack in that universitas but they were directed against the abbey of SS Trinità due to the conduct of some of its abbots.

Despite the theory of a part of local historiography, (they describe the relation between abbey and city almost as a permanent contrast), the Trinità had an important role in the creation of the city's identity and until today, it has not been completely understood.

Even though the relationship between the abbey and city was sometimes turbulent, the research has illustrated how the monastic institution represented, besides the crown, a possibility for these men (and maybe sometimes women) to improve their social conditions. In fact, the presence of Trinità gave the inhabitants of Cava three alternatives: monastic career: a vassal of the abbot by an oath, employee (using a modern word) into the local administration by the abbey's offices. So, the men of Cava could occupy the civil or the monastic offices of their city (Siani, 2017). The opportunity of the transition from civil to the monastic offices was more frequent between the end of the XIII century, during the XIV and appear to decrease during the XV century. The opinion about the relations between the city and the Trinità should be corrected. Abbey and citizens share the same territory, condition (they are both periphery into the realm and centre into the province) and partners (crown and pope). Consequently, Cava and abbey lived in complementary conditions. So, it is normal to assume that they weren't only in contrast with each other (Siani, 2017).

Some majestic privileges support this hypothesis. Normally, royal rules were made by the negotiation between the crown and city, but if we analyse some of these rules during the time we discover some arguments of mentioned rules that were contracted between the monastery and homines of Cava. An example that can help to clarify this point. In 1154, the Normann king William, in a privilege that he gave to the monastery, commanded

> "Mandamus insuper ut homines de casali Cavę qui per nomina in quodam alio privilegio pręfati ducis eo quod erant regio fisco ac personale servitium ascripti continentur necnon et alii qui nunc morantur sive moraturi sunt in pertinentiis et tenimento eiusdem casalis à flumine Sileris usque Schifatum/Sclafatum et in ducatu Amalfię plateaticum non solvant, sed idem sacrum cęnobium ab omni pedagio, aquatico atque quolibet fidagio per totum iam dictum nostrum Sicilię regnum, totaliter sit immune" (Archivio storico della SS. Trinità, Arca H, n.14).

This privilege will be renewed in 1444, 1450, 1456 and 1458 (Archivio storico della SS. Trinità Arca P, n. 31, 37, 40, e Arca Q, n. 3bis). In these circumstances, the Trinity or its bishop required the renewal. The norm mentioned above is presented also in the royal documents. They are granted by Johanna II (last Angevin's queen of Naples' Kingdom) in 1419 (2nd of November) and Alonso V (first Aragon's king of Naples' Kingdom) in 1443 (24th of March) (Grimaldi, 1690).

This is only an example; there are many cases like this where royal and monastic regulations are mixed into the city legislation, for instance, where the curia (courthouse) should be located or the roles of certain officials (as the mastro portulano). To conclude this bracket around the abbey's role, we must remember that the connection between the city and the ecclesiastic power remained constant. It passed through different forms such as monastic's dominion or bishop authority, but the relation wasn't broken. Also, in this case, an example can give a clear explanation. On the 8th of February 1476, universitas Cava decided that «per la esazione e pagamento dei censi dovuti dai cittadini al monastero della Trinità si osservi il sistema antico e solito» (Senatore, 1831-1910). In 1498, even though Cava and Trinità were in a bad period because of the Carafa's decision (put together the benedictine congregations of Cava and S. Giustina (from Padova), city and abbot negotiated a new privilege (Senatore, 1831-1910). Finally, the bishop and the city stipulated a new privilege (29th of May 1520), two years after the royal one (1518) (Senatore, 1831-1910).

After thirty years, when Ferdinando died, the kingdom of Naples was passed to the French crown of Carlo VIII (the eighth) (1494-1495). Cava, loyal to Ferdinando of Aragon based on local history, sent an embassy to the palace of Naples to take an oath of loyalty to King Carlo, asking to remain state-owned, like the Anjou's predecessor (Johanna II, the second) promised them (Abignente, 1886: 112). A year later (1496-1497), when Federico, the second son of Ferdinando, reconquered the kingdom, the loyal's city of Cava both returned to Aragon side and became the base to the siege of Salerno' castle, brought by Federico the Aragon, as Gennaro Senatore wrote: 10 Ottobre 1496,

> "Ricevute e pubblicate le lettere regie perla nuova ordinazione del Re Federico, l'Università nomina una Commissione di cittadini per prestare il debito onore ed omaggio al Re e di domandare la conferma delle grazie concedute dal passato Sovrano" (Senatore, 1831-1910).

To insist on the adjective loyal want to prove that Cava was loyal, but its loyalty was directed toward the monarchy (not dynasty) For this reason, during the writing of PhD thesis it was adopted the analytic expression "loyalty to the monarchy without the sign", to indicate that the city was devoted to the idea of monarchy without royal dynasty. It was necessary if Cava wanted to decrease and equalise the control of the abbey into the city. In my opinion, this particular devotion lasted until the XVI century, when the city decided to side with the Spanish against the French. In addition, the King Ferdinando II (son of Alfonso Duke of Calabria, the eldest/firstborn of Ferdinando) was sent to Cava Pierto di Pagano as viceroy (like an administrator chosen by the king). The viceroy had to begin the process against those who had supported the King of France (Abignete, 1886: 121).

This information demonstrates again: Cava's society was not a cohesive group as much as local history believed; in that society, there could be conflicts between different families or groups of them, like it happened in other cities. In order to occupy the director's position into Cava city's administration, during the French government (1494-1495), clashes could occur between families who were not in command's position against the others that occupied them in the Cava's local government. It was a normal dynamic during a change of dynasty. A few examples of this are the events around the Longo and Gagliardi's, two of the most important families in the city. Some members of those families accused and proceeded betrayal. Again, Gennaro Senatore, 7th of October, 1495,

> "i tre accusati (accuseds) di sospetto di sedizione (sedition): M. Antonio Gagliardi, Pietro Antonio Longo ed Alessandro Longo, innanzi al Regio Capitano ed alla presenza del Sindaco ed Eletti fanno le loro proteste e dichiarano la loro fede nella Casa d'Aragona, il loro servizio per Re Ferrante e la loro devozione all'Università (declare your fidelity and loyalty to the Aragon's royal house), che era falsa accusa e calunnia di alcuni figli d'iniquità contro di esse. (and the accusations were untrue) Domandano le prove del tradimento e chiedono la restituzione di

> quanto loro era stato tolto e, sotto la protezione del Re e della Giustizia chiedono la rifazione di tutti i danni, perché le loro case erano state saccheggiate, le terre devastate e gli alberi estirpati per opera di malviventi i quali, per scusare il loro delitto avevano inventata la calunnia. Chiedono urgentemente che sia fatta la luce per non rimanere con nota d'infamia" (Senatore, 1831-1910).

The fact that the most important families of Cava could have been opposed by the other groups of citizens is a real possibility. Even though it does not have, at this moment, sufficient testimonials to confirm it, some events of those years can represent an important starting point around the presence of divisions into Cava.

The last series of events that happened during the end of Federico's rule are very interesting to analyse. The kings of Spain and France in accordance with the agreement of Granada (11th of November 1500) divided Italy, and the kingdom fell into France's hands (Benzoni, 1995).

While Aragon was organizing resistance and preparing to fight, Cava showed its "double face" again at close distance. Despite the pact between Ferdinando I (the first) (called the Catholic, King of Spain) and the new king of France (Luigi), Federico was still the legitimate king of Naples. Nevertheless, Cava waved the flag of France.

> "Et est notandum et tenementi quod Dominus nostre Rex Federicus de Aragona [...] in bello et in discordia cum domino Rege Franciae et Rege Yspaniae, ac quod cum omnibus aliis boronibus et dominus hiuis Regni, et Dominus Ferrandus pariter cum Theuclis et in Apulia sunt, ubi est exercitus ductud dictorum Regis Fraciae et Yspaniae, in partibus Romae et Sancti Germani sicut dicitorum cum aliis baronibus et dominis" (Senatore, 1831-1910).

Our source is the notary of Cava Mangrella, who started the new pages enumerated 217.97 with these words "Regnorum Domini nostri Loisii, Regis Francorum etc. Anno primo, die XVIII. praesentis mensis Iunii, Regis huius: et eodem die fuerunt alzate eius bandiere in hoc civitate Cavae pro eius parte et nomine (1499-1500)" (Senatore, 1831-1910). After a few days, the university decided to give the military tax to support Federico (1501). The opposition showed by these events expresses the possibility that Cava's citizens maybe were not a unified group, like local history thought, but there were some groups in the city ready to take advantage of every change.

## 3. CONCLUSION

In spite of the evidences value, we must notice that history and myth have a role in the process of identity building. The unique privilege has been important in different ways during the Middle, Modern and Contemporary periods. It is possible suppose that it has been changing and increasing its meaning during the Modern age becoming more important than it was in the past. In fact, the event on 4th September 1460 seemed quite normal during those centuries. Proof of this is the fact that help was given to Ferdinando by Cava's citizens at Sarno was present only into the local sources from the middle of XVII century. Before the text of Beltrano we didn't know anything about the interview of Cava's men at Sarno. For example, into the second king's privilege (22nd of September 1460) there were not any cross-references about the action of Longo's brothers (Abignente, 1886: II-IX, appendix). In addition, the same is possible to note looking at all the other privileges of the Aragon's kings. The absence of information about the Longo's intervention underline the possibility that the help never happened. Vice versa, at the same time, we have cross-references around the siege and the damage (guasto) that Cava suffered. Cross-references about the decision to return in white the privilege did not found into the documents used to edit the thesis. However, Cava citizens' behaviour could be normal in that society; in the sense that both men who wanted to give back the parchment in white and men who wanted to obtain something from that privilege were two common kinds of late Middle Age's people. The white paper gave a real contribution to Cava's identity but it is necessary to understand what it was. It made visible the importance of the relation between city and monarchy, between a right king, who was able to recognise and be grateful in respect to the loyalty of his subjects, and that subjects who were ready to show their fidelity to the sovereign. However, the abbey of Trinità's role into the process to construct the identity of Cava cannot be left out. In fact, previously it has been noted that the relation between universities and monastery was not a local and constant conflict.

The connection among the crown, monastery and university-city and their specific prerogatives, rights or functions produced a composite and stratified society and identity in that city. In fact, Abignete told about the hybrid character of Cava (Abignente, 1886). In the city's identity, our unique privilege took place during the centuries XVII and XVIII while it appears like a normal document with a different meaning if we study it into the context that had produced it.

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# THE ROUTE OF THE HOLY GRAIL: FROM SAN JUAN DE LA PEÑA TO VALENCIA. THE STRUCTURING OF A TERRITORY BASED ON ORAL TRADITION

*Ana Mafé García*[1]

## ABSTRACT

The Route of the Holy Grail was presented FITUR 2017 (Madrid, January 2017) by the *Agència Valenciana del Turisme*. It involves structuring a routethat connects the communities of Aragon and Valencia by use of touristic description that encompasses history, art, rituals and oral traditions and which is based on the knowledge of what was known in the Middle Ages as the "search for the Grail".

In this article we wish to show the importance of the oral tradition that has been received and perpetuated through an object of fundamental importance: *the Holy Chalice*, safeguarded in the Cathedral of Valencia. In addition to presenting its history and verifying it as a tangible patrimonial asset, the Holy Chalice is underpinned by intangible oral traditions that allow us to establish a route, a new path of knowledge from San Juan de la Peña to Valencia.

The methodology of our work is centered on reviewing the available documented sources about the Route of the Holy Grail and contrasting them with those agents who have intervened in them - their contributions and promotion of this heritage - with the aim of clearly identifying the principal force behind the generation of this historic, artistic and religious route. At the same time, we are contributing to cultural tourism from the perspective of art history by constructing a touristic description based on the knowledge and study of the local heritage. We also present the work carried out by the Association of the *Camino del Santo Grial* to structure this overland route from San Juan de la Pena to the Cathedral of Valencia.

In the Conclusion section, we close our research article with an explanation of how *Valencia, Territorio Grial* can offer a new type of tourism full of intangible richness for the intrepid visitor who wishes to learn about and experience the search for the Grail.

Keywords: Holy Grail; Holy Grail Route; Cultural Tourism; Intangible Patrimony.

JEL Classification: Z32

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This research work is part of the doctorate[2] research that we are carrying out on the touristic description of the Route of the Holy Grail and the relationship between art history and tourist activity. In this work, we are developing specific studies on the Holy Chalice of Valencia and its influence on the lands of Valencia and Aragon.

The present article consists of three fundamental focal points. The first answers the question of intangible patrimony and its direct relationship in the building of a touristic explanation of the Holy Chalice.

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The second point directs us to the methodology that we are using in the argument relating to launching the route from the perspective of the study of art history through the knowledge of tradition. It is fundamental to research the primary sources that provide information on the development of the route in order to be able to comment on it.

The third point is about the participating actors and agents. We briefly present the Cultural Association of the Route of the Holy Grail and its contributions to the value of cultural heritage.

The last section contains our conclusions which cover some of the thoughts that we consider imperative when establishing inventories of touristic resources collected under natural and patrimonial resources, again in reference to an intangible concept. It concludes with a bibliography.

## 2. INTANGIBLE TOURISTIC PATRIMONY DEFINED

The current concept of *patrimony* is a notion that has been linked in its etymology and meaning to law and economics from the times of antiquity. In fact, in the Roman Empire, *patrimonium* defined the goods and rights that a person possessed and those that were inherited, in this case from the father *Patri* (father) and *onium* (received).

However, we can ascertain that the meaning of this concept, after centuries of Romanization and the endless invasions and border repositioning that crossed the Mediterranean Sea, has varied for reasons other than said war conflicts. We could suggest that it was, without a doubt, the societal capitalization of production and the associated business tendencies that changed the known western world[3].

In his work *The Psychology of Social Class,* Maurice Halbwachs analyses the industrial civilization from the beginnings of ancient society up to the modern era. According to his thinking, "the spirit of business involves three complementary dynamics: a) the greed of gain for gain's sake, b) the tendency toward combat and competition and c) the analysis of results and the search for efficiency". (Korstanj, 2007: 12)

Korstanj explains in his work, *Tratado Turístico,* that Halbwachs maintains that capitalism began very early in the West, specifically after the conquest of America in the XV Century with the mining of its precious metals, gold and silver principally, and their later introduction into Europe (Halbwachs, 1954: 67-83).

These changes of social paradigms, of revolutions slowly assimilated by a silent society have produced irreversible changes, principally those linked to the *time-work* binomial and referenced to the concept *production*. So much so that everything that is related to what potentially means *possession* – material as well as intangible goods – automatically acquires today an economic meaning comparable to any other initial nuance it could have.

Referring to what we currently understand by patrimony, according to Korstanj (2007: 13), "the word is used to designate the set of tangible and intangible goods possessed by a group or an individual. Thus, we talk about cultural patrimony, industrial, ethnologic, gastronomic, educational, historic and, since it cannot be of any other way, touristic patrimony".

Starting with this generality, we can say that the incursion of Patrimony and Tourism is completely justified in the different research works that we, in the capacity of art historians, have elaborated throughout our university studies in the Department of History of Art from the presentation of the TFG[4] up to the TFM or the different publications.

In the 2003 Convention For The Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, article 2 of the UNESCO treaty states:

[3] In this case, we are referring the expression Old Europe as opposed to other parts of the globe: New World (America), Oriental World (Asia), etc.
[4] See bibliography: Mafé García, A (2014, June) y Mafé García, A. (2013, June)

> The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.

Once situated in this theoretic framework, we should explain that the starting point we are using is a very real object known as the Holy Chalice. It is kept alive as a true intangible patrimony by the Valencian collective thinking thanks to the accepted tradition that for more than two thousand years has affirmed that this, and no other, is the chalice known as the Holy Grail.

**Figure 1. Holy Chalice of the Cathedral of Valencia. February 2017**

Source: Photograph by Ana Mafé García

## 3. ORAL TRADITION AND THE HOLY CHALICE

The most important historic relic of Christianity according to oral tradition is presently found in the Cathedral of Valencia[5]. We are specifically referring to the Holy Chalice which was presumed to be used by Jesus at the Last Supper. It is the same holy cup that in the imagination of medieval literature involved adventures full of heroics and knowledge in the search for the Holy Grail.

Today we find many documents that have verified that a Jewish blessing cup used by Jesus at the supper of Pesach or Passover really existed. We refer here to the medieval literature about the Grail and to the thousands of artistic images in the form of paintings and reliefs that characterize all Christianity, and also to the knowledge of the Hebrew tradition that has very specific ritual characteristics for its celebrations.

When, in many instances, we cannot verify historic details with a written document, we have to rely on oral tradition, the tradition that nourished human imagination for thousands of years. It was not until the IV millennium B.C. that the first tablets of clay and stone began to be used as graphic supports. Therefore, our intangible patrimony is found in the uninterrupted oral tradition that has come down to the present. This legitimizes our exposition, in the same way as local oral tradition supports the texts of the *Misteri d'Elx*[6].

Starting chronologically with the Gospels, we have the Paschal celebration of the Last Supper that takes place around the year 33 A.D. According to the apostles themselves, the disciples of Jesus who were present there recognize that something extraordinary happened in said *Pésaj*[7]. Physically, the blessing cup used by Jesus signifies a direct reference to His words: *Do this in memory of Me.*

This new conception of the Jewish religion gives rise to a way plagued with perils in the conservation and custody of an object[8] which implies a direct paradigm of the persecutions of the primitive Christian assemblies.

In the year 50 A.D. the first Council was held in Jerusalem. There Peter was recognized as responsible for the mission to continue spreading the message of Jesus, together with the other apostles. Tradition says that Peter died in Rome, martyred for his beliefs. Therefore if he was the visible head and ultimately responsible for that primitive assembly, it is logical to think that he would have had in his ministry the same blessing cup that Jesus used.

In 70 A.D. Titus Livius leveled Jerusalem; he destroyed the temple and ordered so many crucifixions that according to the historian Titus Flavius Josephus (c. 38-101), there was no wood left in the forests. (Josephus, HISTORY, 1791: 213-214) in Book VI, Chapter XVI, describes the facts "of the sacrilege that was committed in the Temple and the number of deaths in the city and of the great hunger that those there suffered".

This situation leads us to believe the upper cup of the Holy Chalice traveled to Rome with Saint Peter because in comparison with the instability of Judea in that era, Rome was one of the safest cities. The first Christian communities celebrated the paschal rites in Roman homes, not in temples. Nevertheless and in spite of the discretion of the worship, the emperors soon looked at this new religion with suspicion and the persecutions began. We can say that the Christian community spent the first two centuries trying to avoid incarcerations, public scorning and death in the Roman circus for the amusement of the Roman citizens depending on the whims of the emperor of the moment.

Then, in 258 A.D. Valerian, who had declared bankruptcy, ordered the Christians to be persecuted and put to death and demanded that they give him all of the riches they

[5] The Vatican has conferred on Valencia since 2015 the title of Holy City in perpetuity every 5 years as custodian of this distinguished historic relic.
[6] Proclaimed in 2001 Intangible Patrimony of the UNESCO and inscribed in 2008.
[7] Means Easter in Hebrew.
[8] Each Jewish family has a blessing cup to use in celebrating the paschal feast. It is something that is totally recognizable by all members of the family unit and has nothing to do with ordinary tableware.

possessed. Pope Sixtus II had been apprehended to be martyred and therefore asked his deacon Laurence to give away everything he had to the poor of Rome. Laurence, who was of Spanish descent, did as requested and gave away everything except the Chalice which according to oral tradition had been used by Jesus. He entrusted it to a small entourage that was leaving for Huesca, his native city. There it was safeguarded until the Saracen conquest forced the Bishop of Huesca to seek refuge in the Pyrenees.

During the Middle Ages, the cup was safeguarded in the Benedictine monastery of San Juan de la Peña, in the area around Jaca, in the Kingdom of Aragon, nucleus of the Jacobean Route. In fact, we know that the Holy Vessel remained hidden there until this Benedictine convent incorporated a Royal Pantheon at the beginning of the XI Century.

Before it became part of the collection of the Royal Treasure of the Kings of Aragon, this Chalice was coveted by the monarchs of all Europe who, after visiting the Benedictine monastery on their pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, desired the vessel to exhibit in their own royal chapels.

Also desirous of possessing the Chalice, King Martin requested that the cup be given to him. The monks decided to honor the wishes of the king and ceded the *calice lapideum* to him in 1399. In exchange and gratitude, King Martin gave the monastery a chalice of gold and precious stones to be used only for their services.

Notarized documents tell us that the Chalice went from the monastery of San Juan de La Peña to Zaragoza and Barcelona before coming to the city of Valencia. The Holy Chalice is listed in the inventory of goods (Manuscript 136 of Martin "The Human". Archive of the Aragon Crown. Barcelona), where the history of the sacred cup is described*)* that later was passed on to his successor Alfonso V the Magnanimous who, for economic reasons, brought his court to Valencia in 1424, also bringing with him the Royal reliquary. To finance his wars in Naples, Alfonso V asked for and received a loan from the ecclesiastic hierarchy of the cathedral upon depositing his royal relics as a guarantee. Unable to repay the loan, in 1437, King Alfonso V the Magnanimous was obliged to hand over all of his Royal Treasury and relics, among them the Chalice that according to oral tradition, Jesus Christ used at the Last Supper *(*Volume 3.532, fol. 36, v. Cathedral's Archive*).*

Since King Alfonso V never returned the loan to the cathedral, this sacred relic has remained in the Cathedral of Valencia and can be seen and venerated in the Chapel of the Holy Chalice of the cathedral where it is displayed in a heart-shaped gold reliquary which undoubtedly enhances its beauty even more.

A visit to the Holy Chalice is a unique opportunity to contemplate the treasure that the Knights of King Arthur searched for with passion and heroism.

**Figure 2. Upper cup of the Holy Chalice. February 2017**

Source: Photograph by Ana Mafé García

## 4. METHODOLOGY: SEARCH FOR SOURCES

The first time that the expression "camino del Santo Grial (route of the Holy Grail) as such appears in the Crónica de la conmemoración valenciana y del viaje del Santo Cáliz a las antiguas sedes de su estancia en España", is in a publication written by Canon Jose Zahonero Vivó in 1961 for the celebration of the XVII Centennial of the arrival in Spain of the Holy Chalice of the Last Supper.

The route the Chalice followed marks the beginning of a journey that, with the passing of years, has become more important for several reasons. Perhaps, in reality, its maximum attraction is the touristic description of this history which relates the millennial tradition that links the Holy Chalice of the Cathedral of Valencia to the same object that, according to Christian tradition, was on the table of the Last Supper.

From the first medieval texts written about the Holy Grail, – in this case we start with *Li contes del graal* (ca. 1180-3) by Chrétien de Troyes (ca. 1150 - ca. 1183) – to the German compositor Richard Wagner (1813-1883) who adapted the work of Troyes from the *Minnesänger*[9] of Eschenbach (ca. 1170 - ca. 1220) for his sacred opera Parsifal (premiered in 1882 after 25 years work), we can find in each and every one of these works, regardless of the time period, that the common thread of reference points to a place at the foot of the Pyrenees Mountains in Visigoth Spain.

We can affirm that this place refers to the Monastery of San Juan de la Pena, situated not far from Jaca, the city that for many centuries played a fundamental role in the expansion of the Crown of Aragon.

The celebration of the Holy Chalice was founded in Valencia by Canon Honorato Figuerola in 1608 (Zahonero Vivo, 1961: 24) and since then, innumerable ecclesiastical

[9] Name given to the German troubadours.

fraternities and brotherhoods have been established that also celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi, considered since the XV Century, the most important event in the city of Valencia.

The first Centennial Holy Jubilee Year of the Sacred Cup was proclaimed in Valencia and coincided with the feast of Corpus Christi in 1958. It also coincided with the 17th Centennial of the martyrdom of St. Laurence and the arrival of the Holy Chalice in Spain. In preparation for the festivities, the mayor of Huesca and president of the commission of centennial festivities in honor of St Laurence petitioned the archbishop of Valencia to allow a pilgrimage through the towns that once had hosted the sacred relic. The celebration in Huesca was attended by representatives of the City Hall of Valencia, the Cathedral Chapter, the Royal Brotherhood and the Archconfraternity.

The *Asociación Cultural del Camino del Santo Grial*, founded in 2002[10] under the auspices of all of the ecclesiastical fraternities connected to the Holy Chalice and of those municipalities that are located on the route from Aragon to Valencia has taken up the baton of all these traditions to promote the value of the tangible and intangible Valencian heritage.

## 5. THE CULTURAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ROUTE OF THE HOLY GRAIL

The Cultural Association of the Route of the Holy Grail is a non-profit association that was founded more than 15 years ago as the result of the meeting of the ecclesiastical Fraternity of the Holy Chalice in Valencia with the Tourist Management Body of San Juan de la Peña to propose the creation of a land route that would follow the journey of the Sacred Vessel to the Cathedral of Valencia.

This route would fulfill several objectives: it would recreate historically the first centennial pilgrimage and, at the same time, would serve as an effective tool for structuring a touristic territory that will encourage the social and economic development of the rural areas through which it passes.

Since the founding of the Cultural Association of the Route of the Holy Grail, the membership has consisted of a great number of the municipalities that integrate the route, as well as social and economic organizations in both the territories of Aragon and Valencia which comprise a new network of associations all working together.

The mission of the *Asociación Cultural del Camino del Santo Grial* as stated in its By-laws has three main points:

- To create and consolidate a land route which will be called “El Camino del Santo Grial” (the Route of the Holy Grail) between the Monastery of San Juan de la Peña and the Cathedral of Valencia.
- To extol and publish the history and symbolism of the Holy Chalice of the Supper of Jesus Christ that is venerated in the Cathedral of Valencia.
- To care for and maintain the continuity of this route in its cultural, recreational, religious and sport facets.

The vision of the *Asociación Cultural del Camino del Santo Grial* is characterized by:

- Assisting the pilgrims and the localities of the route
- Being the voice of the route
- Promoting the values of the association
- Encouraging altruism, commitment and transparency

[10] National association inscribed in the National Registry of Associations, number 169.516 in accordance with the Resolution of the Ministry of Interior on 10 July 2002.

Since its beginning in 2002, the *Asociación Cultural del Camino del Santo Grial* has labored extensively to launch and develop the Route of the Holy Grail and in our study we wish to acknowledge our admiration for their work.

### 5.1 Administration and consolidation actions

With the aim of conceptualizing the project of this new tourist route, in 2002, the first pilgrimage was made under the sponsorship of the Gestora Turistica de San Juan de la Peña, the Provincial Government of Teruel, the Courts of Aragon and the Directorate General of Tourism of the Government of Aragon. The specific objective of the pilgrimage was to identify and inspect the route and its possible alternatives. This first pilgrimage established contacts with the distinct authorities and institutions on the route, as well as defining their role in it.

Likewise, the brand "El Camino del Santo Grial" was registered in the Spanish Office of Patents and Trademarks, and renewed in 2014.

A registry of pilgrims who complete the route was set up and supervised.

The *Asociación Cultural del Camino del Santo Grial* made the work carried out to date available to the University of Zaragoza. It also collaborated with the university in the writing of the project that was presented to the European Union to apply for funds to aid in the creation of a transnational and trans-European route of the Holy Grail, crystallizing it with the project "Holy Grail Route" referenced in our bibliography.

### 5.2 Promotion and financing actions

- The brand "El Camino del Santo Grial" and its corporative identity have been created. It will serve as a tool to identify the itinerary and facilitate its promotion.
- An inventory of all the resources of the route has been created.
- The webpage www.elcaminodelsantogrial.com has been created. It contains extensive information about the route and the services found on it.
- Promotional brochures and posters of the Route of the Holy Grail have been distributed to the towns that integrate the route.
- Credentials to be issued and validated along the route have been produced.
- The Association has made a help center for pilgrims available to interested persons and involved agencies.
- A registry of pilgrims who request a pilgrim "passport" has been created and agreements made with municipalities to stamp the passport.
- A second pilgrimage was carried out in 2004 with the objective of promoting the route. It was widely covered by the press which made it highly visible in the regional media.
- One of the members of the Association has written the first guidebook. It was published with the sponsorship of the Valencia Regional Government and the City Hall of Cerda.
- The project appears on social networks.
- A informational brochure on the Route of the Holy Grail has been designed. It will be distributed to member local governments so that they have promotional materials.
- A third pilgrimage was carried out by the Massamagrell Cycling Club in 2016 to promote the Route of the Holy Grail on bicycle and to involve other organizations who might wish to collaborate with the association.
- A key date will be designated to commemorate the first pilgrims of the Route.

From the birth of this Association and of the Route, San Juan de la Peña has been a key agent in its launching. As we wish to continue working and joining forces for the consolidation of the route, we consider it imperative that, as the starting point, San Juan de la Peña adhere to the association and have a relevant role in it.

Due to limited space it is not possible for us to go into more detail in this section. However, The Route of the Grail was formally presented in the International Tourism Trade Fair (FITUR) of Madrid by the Valencian Tourism Agency in January 2017 as a new tourist product which encompasses a good number of Valencian towns.

As an example, from Aragon the route enters into the Valencian Community at Barracas, a town situated at an altitude of some thousand meters on a mountain plain. The next town is the historic town of Jérica, set in an impressive Mediterranean mountain landscape. Continuing along the river Palancia, we reach Segorbe, a town that has a monumental civil and religious heritage.

On the way to Valencia, the town of Serra offers the visitor artisan products such as fruits, sweets and traditional sausages. We continue on to El Puig de Santa Maria where we can visit the Royal Monastery, declared a National Historic-Artistic Monument in 1969.

The Valencian agricultural fields accompany the visitor through the towns of the Horta Nord: among them, Massamagrell and Alboraya as far as the city of Valencia.

The route that is currently being structured presents innumerable natural as well as historic attractions and countless tangible and intangible heritage sites that make the Valencian territory singular and unique, a real experience of senses and sentiments.

## 6. CONCLUSION

As we have seen in our introduction, in touristic research there are currently many studies regarding *Patrimony and Tourism* as generating sources for economic feedback. The majority of them discuss the possibility of self-financing precisely as a way to sustain tangible patrimony from the return on capital that the arrival of visitors and tourists will generate.

Nevertheless, referring to the above, and as a brief conclusion, we would wish to highlight three fundamental issues to be considered before establishing routes and new touristic products:

1. Marketing description for prospective tourists should be based on the uniqueness of the route, structured by including the idiosyncrasies and the patrimony of it, both natural and human, tangible and intangible.
2. Product or route maintenance will need to be carried out by all participating agents: administrative offices, visitors and inhabitants.
3. Long-term conservation and preservation must be undertaken for the management of the route from the planning and organizational point of view based on the capabilities of environmental and social burdens.

Therefore, the creation of a touristic destination and a supportive association based on the history of the Holy Chalice, sustained by uninterrupted oral tradition considered intangible heritage, is now a reality.

All of this will mean a new endeavor which will consolidate the towns that are an intrinsic part of the route and will boost the tangible and intangible heritages linked to the collective imagination in the search for the Holy Grail and the Grail itself.

The Mediterranean diet, the Tribunal of the Waters of the Agricultural Fields of Valencia, the feast of the "Mare de Déu de la Salut"of Algemesí, the Misteri d'Elx or the Las Fallas holidays can all contribute to the development and consolidation of this traditional route, thousands of years old. In 2015, Pope Francis designated the city of Valencia a Holy City and sanctioned the celebration of the first Holy Jubilee Year[11] to be repeated every five years.

The integration of social agencies, businesses, companies and the administration entities that comprise the Cultural Association of the Route of the Holy Grail is a step toward the intelligent structuring of the territory. If all of these entities collaborate in the same direction, joining synergies and efforts, without a doubt, the knowledge and value of this route by tourists and citizens will be a success.

The rational for presenting this research article on a part of the route is to encourage others to join the associative network in its labor of organization and territorial management. We understand that for the administration to count on the autonomous communities supposes a commitment on their part and necessitates a successful alliance for the future, in our opinion a true challenge for intelligent territorial management.

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[11] According to the data supplied by the Archbishop's office, between October 2015 and 2016 Valencia received more than 50,000 pilgrims who obtained a plenary indulgence by visiting the four jubilee churches of the city: the Cathedral of Valencia, la Basilica of Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados, the Parrish of Resurrección del Señor and the Parrish of San Nicolás.

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# HISTORY OF NOURISHMENT IN SOUTHERN EUROPE: THE CASE OF PRISONERS IN LOULÉ (19TH CENTURY)

*Luísa Fernanda Guerreiro Martins*[1]

## ABSTRACT

In this paper we use data collected from historical documentation to contribute to a better understanding of the quality of nourishment in southern Europe, in particular, in the Portuguese Algarve. We analyse the typology of the food provided to the prisoners, considering that strong budget constrains in prisons. Also, a trial to understand whether this typology corresponds to an appropriate example of the Mediterranean Diet framework or not.

In general terms, the way how people living in the ancient town of Loulé were nourished, during the last years of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century, is known due to the studies developed by hygienist Geraldino Brites in 1911 and published in 1914. But we did not know what prisoners in jail used to eat daily, or who was responsible for their nourishment, until we read the documentary collection concerning the prison of Loulé which is deposited in the Municipal Archive of Loulé.

Because studies providing information on the system prevailing in prisons are rare, our study offers precious information related to dietary priorities and food awareness related nourishment of the prisoners, or situations of strong budgetary restrictions.

Keywords: Prisoners; Food; History; Nourishment; Hygienist; Mediterranean Influence.

JEL Classification: N43

## 1. INTRODUCTION

For this study, we resorted to a documentary collection found in the Municipal Archive of Loulé, whose content reveals the administrative procedures followed in managing the prison and supporting the prisoners. From that collection stands out the text *Instruções para a Comissão encarregada da polícia da cadêa e sustentação dos presos pobres no Districto Administrativo de Faro*, dated 1840[2]. Additionally, we used the public calls for tenders for the provision of food to be consumed by the prisoners of Loulé[3].

We also resorted to a published source: the book by Geraldino Brites[4] (1914) called *Febres Infecciosas, Notas sobre o Concelho de Loulé*[5], which this doctor, who had recently graduated, wrote while he was working in Loulé, from 1908 to 1910 (15 months approximately). This long and thorough piece of work, completed in 1911 and published in 1914, allowed us to

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[2] PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-1.

[3] PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-5-1, 1883-1884; PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-7, 1888; PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-9, 1896; PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-10-m0039 e m0044, 1897; PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-11,1899; PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-12, 1908; PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-9, PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-13,1929-1951.

[4] Born in Porto (1882), he died in Lisbon (1941); hygienist doctor, scientist and university professor. His career started in Loulé, where he was stationed as a "party doctor", serving the Municipality. In this (then) town, he collected sufficient information to draw up a detailed report on living standards and the quality of the health, nourishment and information of the poorer inhabitants, at a time when various political upheavals did nothing to help their well-being or to heal the political wounds of those troubled times.

[5] Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.

compare the quality of the nourishment of Loulé's prisoners with the day-to-day feeding patterns and the meals of the (then) town's poorer population who, to judge from the work of this hygienist and researcher, presented a global picture of great social and economic deprivation.

**Figure 1. Front page of the 1$^{st}$ edition, dated 1914, of the work** *Febres Infecciosas, Notas sobre o concelho de Loulé, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade*, **which helped us in our comparative study with the formulas of prisoners' nourishment. The work, in two parts, comprises a total of 432 pages.**


Source: Geraldino Brites (1914), *Febres Infecciosas, Notas sobre o Concelho de Loulé*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.

**Figure 2. Geraldino Brites, doctor and hygienist, b. Porto, 1882; d. Lisbon, 1941. Reproduction of a photograph dated 1907, one year before the doctor´s assignment to the municipality of Loulé.**

Source: Fanny Andrée Font Xavier da Cunha, 1979, *Geraldino Brites, 1882-1941: biobibliografia*, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora[6]

The municipality of Loulé is located in the central territory of Algarve, spreading north from the coast to the mountains, where it finds the frontier with Alentejo. This is, broadly speaking, the same delimitation which has come down to us, unaltered, from medieval times. Flanked by the Sotavento ("lee side") and the Barlavento ("windward side") regions, this territory has sustained, since its early days and certainly from the Islamic Middle Ages onwards, an economic, social, and political dynamism which enabled the ancient town of Loulé to match the cities of Faro and Tavira. Throughout the 20$^{th}$ century, up until the 1980's, the economy of its urban space was based on the arts and crafts. Earlier on, in the transition from the 19$^{th}$ to the 20$^{th}$ century, the municipality went through a period of economic and political fragility, just like other parts of the country. This was reflected in the

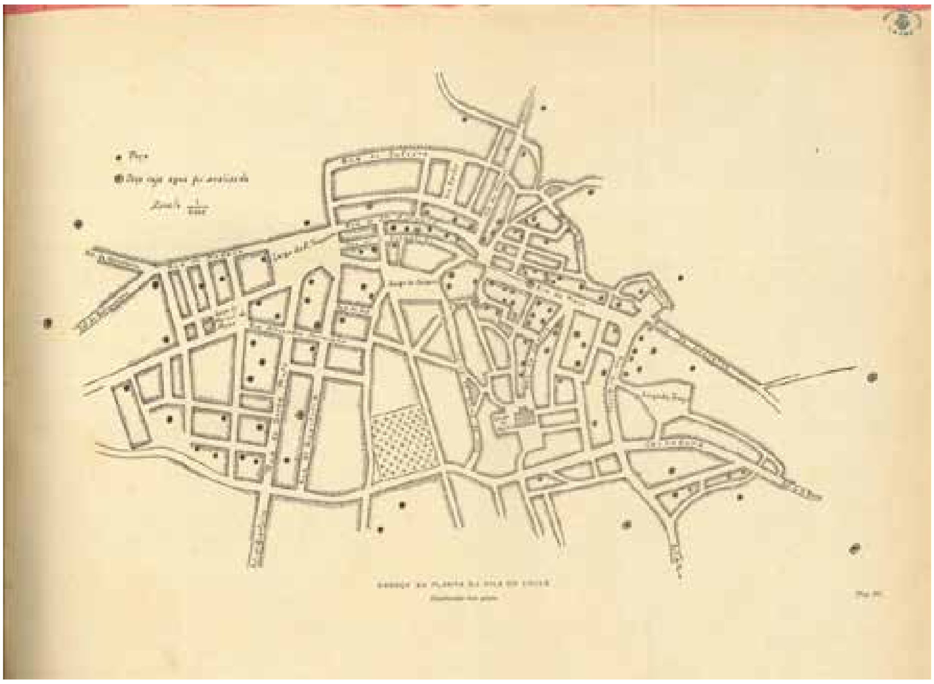
[6] We thank Professor Carlos Fiolhais, from Coimbra University, for the pictures and bibliographical data sent to us.

everyday lives of its population, especially in times of poverty and social tensions, resulting in many people finding themselves in prison cells.

The town itself, situated at the centre of the municipality, was a meeting point for people and goods, with all the advantages and disadvantages that social relations – with varying degrees of tension and socio-political and economic differentiation – could generate. In the period considered, the town's main spaces were the streets inside the medieval walls (where craftsmen prevailed), the *alcaidaria* (residence of the military governor) and the mother church; and in addition, outside the walls, the municipal market, the Square Street ("Rua da Praça"), and the Town Hall.

The plan of the town of Loulé published by the doctor and hygienist Geraldino Brites, drawn sometime before 1910, shows us the Square Street, closed to the north and south, enabling it to perform its role as a meeting space for the population.

**Figure 3. Plan of the town of Loulé, showing the "Rua da Cadeia" ("Jail Street")**



Source: Geraldino Brites (1914), *Febres Infecciosas, Notas sobre o Concelho de Loulé*, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.

This plan shows the Jail Street – "Rua da Cadeia" – signalling the existence of a prison on that street which, according to documentation, remained functional up until 1944[7]. Considering how close in time the documents we analysed (late 19th century) are to the days when this plan was made[8] (early 20th century), it seems likely that the prison we are referring to was the one located on the street that bore its name. Nevertheless, the documents we have read leave us in some doubt as to the exact location of the jail they mention[9], although

[7] In one of his visits to Loulé as the Minister of Public Works, on June 23rd 1942, Duarte Pacheco covered several worksites, including the "new jail" ("cadeia nova"), on the spot occupied today by the post of the Guarda Nacional Republicana (National Police). This might point to the end of this "civil jail" ("cadeia civil") mentioned in documents.

[8] Geraldino Brites wrote his book before 05.10.1910.

[9] 1899, Administration of the Loulé Municipality, Auto de arrematação do rancho para os presos da cadeia civil desta vila, pelo tempo de 9 mezes a contar do 1º de outubro de 1899 e termina em 20 de junho de 1900. The 1899 document states: "… I hereby declare that, on the 5th day of the coming month of November, at eleven in the morning, there will be an auction for the provision of the ranch to the prisoners of this town's jail, opposite the municipal administration, on the town square…". The wording of the tender notice may lead us to error, or perhaps it does mean that a jail existed opposite the Town Hall. Alternatively, we can consider that it is the auction that will take place in front of the Town Hall, on the Square Street. Fátima Botão explains, in addition, that there was a prison near the castle's militay garrison, functioning up until 1493, the year in which king João II ordered a new jail to be built. The scaffold's condition was terrible, and prisoners frequently escaped although they were bound in chains and iron collars. Maria de Fátima Botão (2009), A construção de uma identidade urbana no Algarve medieval. Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio, p.140.

it is more plausible to suppose that we are dealing with incorrect sentence construction. The author meant to say that the public auction would be held outside the Town Hall building, on Rua da Praça (just like nowadays), but he failed to use commas to separate sentences; and this could lead us to think that the jail was located on that street, a space of gathering for the population of Loulé. That square has now become a wide street. We can also hypothesize that some of the city services would work just down the street from the Chain, just in front of the dungeons. Fátima Botão (2009: 140) explains, in addition, that there was a prison near the castle's military garrison, functioning up until 1493, the year in which king João II ordered a new jail to be built. The scaffold's condition was terrible, and prisoners frequently escaped although they were bound in chains and iron collars.

## 2. OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

This study is aimed at understanding the way in which the local administration, in charge of managing the civil jail, and hence of taking care of its prisoners, ensured their nourishment and, in addition, which food typology was applied[10]. We will not dwell here on the hygiene and security conditions under which the Loulé inmates lived. That subject is approached by Aurízia Anica (2005) whose work which gives us a picture of the everyday life of prisoners in the Algarve region.

We utilise the model proposed by Policarpo Lopes (2006: 78), which rests on "the pillars of the alimentary triangle: the subject of the alimentary act, the food consumed and the situation in which they are inscribed". It is known that every human subject must take food, regardless of their origin and social, economic, cultural, and political condition. But it is equally true that the choice of foods composing a group's diet depends on the culture, fads, traditions, and the social, economic, political, and religious conditions affecting each individual and his/her surrounding circumstances, as illustrated by these prisoners, circumscribed to their space and relying on others to provide for their nourishment. Finally, we know that the "situation" of the alimentary act is dependent, aside from the economic context within the family, on the social context of integration in the community, in this case the prison environment.

The data collected allow us to organize the documentation under three formats:

1st format – defining the written weekly forms of meals presented by the candidates to food provision, which we have been able to reconstruct for the years 1888, 1896, 1897 and 1899.

2nd format – recording the frequency with which foods are mentioned in the documentation.

3rd format – comparing the prisoners' nourishment to the alimentary context of the municipality's population at the end of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century (Brites, 1914).

The first documentary collection we present defines the creation, for each municipality in the Algarve, of a commission headed by the Mayor, which should appoint two citizens of known reputability. This team would then be approved by the General Administrator of the District, and its functions emphasised the inspection and safeguarding of the respect due to the prisoners, who "do not lose their human nature or their right to public commiseration"[11]. The "prison houses" and the "dungeons"[12] should be kept tidy, clothes should be hanged to dry, sand should be spread on the floors to prevent filth accumulation which attracted

[10] According to Lisa Cartaxo, a nutritionist at the Centro de Saúde de Loulé, in her report, commissioned by us, analysing the alimentary formulas of the meals provided to the prisoners of Loulé: "nourishment is a key factor in health and well-being. Food gives the organism the nutrients that are needed to ensure its proper functioning. Thus, nourishment should be complete and varied, so as to satisfy nutritional and energetical requirements. By "healthy nourishment" we mean one which includes a daily provision of vegetables and fruit, whole or little refined cereals, legumes and high-protein foods, such as meat, fish, eggs and dairy. Good quality fat should be included, as well as water troughout the day".

[11] PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-1, fl.02.

[12] Idem, fl.2v.

insects and provoked infections. Cleaning procedures should be carried out every day, and they should be inspected by the man in charge of daily visits – one of the citizens picked for the Commission. It was his responsibility, too, to register the poorer prisoners in a book, so that their food could be guaranteed every day – through a money subsidy which the General Administration would hand, at regular intervals, to each poor prisoner[13]. He would also have to watch, periodically, the preparation, the distribution, and the quantity and quality of the foods delivered. The nourishment of these prisoners relied on the services of the charity Santa Casa de Misericórdia to ensure "sane and abundant foods"[14], consisting of:

- One loaf of bread weighing 1½ pounds ("1 ½ arrátel")[15];
- One plate of vegetables;
- Rice;
- Meat or fish, with "adequate seasonings".

On great occasions – for political or religious reasons – the quantity and quality of the meals had to be increased.

On the nominal lists[16] analysed by us, we found no data on the products and quantities furnished to the prisoners, aside from the mention of the oil and water which were added to what was already determined, being included in the roll of expenses. These lists do not help us discover which foods were offered, and in what quantities. However, they point already to a concern regarding the prisoners' survival: while some of them were lucky enough to be fed by their families, others were left totally dependent on the compassion of the town's inhabitants and on the municipal services. In fact, until the 1840´s, "the lack of a minimum food provision for survival, funded by the State, was repeatedly signalled… as a problem that must be solved" (Anica, 2005: 398). The administrator of the Loulé municipality himself, Joaquim Palermo de Aragão Valadares, explained to the governor of the Faro district the difficulties faced by prisoners in securing their survival. These resulted in the sad vision of hands asking for alms and food on the street. As a result, no one circulated on the prison street, to avoid hearing their laments (Anica, 2005: 398). The administrator called attention, in addition, to the poor nourishment, based on the food provided at noon, which comprised "one pint of vegetables and a loaf" (Anica, 2005: 398). Let us see what the provisions were like, at end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

## 3. THE FORMULAS OF THE RATIONS GIVEN TO PRISONERS

For the year 1888, we managed to collect information on the menus predefined for daily meals[17]. We think this was the year in which prisoners began to receive two rations a day[18].

The tender procedure concerning the period from March 1st to June 30th was won by António da Costa Mealha[19], who submitted proposals for the day's first and second rations – lunch and dinner. No other contestant came forward, and he set the price at 92 *réis* per meal. Let us look at the proposed formula:

[13] The General Administration allowed the Commission a monthly amount, in proportion to the number of poor inmates.
[14] PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-1, fl.3v.
[15] 1 arrátel was, at the time, equivalent to 459g, implying in this case a 688,50g loaf – a little over half a kilogram.
[16] PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-5-1, 1883-1884.
[17] PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-7, 1888.
[18] AMLLE, Municipal Administrator's Fund, Correspondência Expedida, SR1, Book 25, note nº 96, dated 03.02.1888.
[19] Local trader, a single man, brother of the Mayor José da Costa Mealha, himself a trader.

**Table 1. Formulas and Rations - 1888**

| Formulas | Days of the week | Foodstuffs | Quantities | Obs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st formula | Sundays and Wednesdays | Chickpeas or Beans | 2dl. | |
| | | Rice | 200g. | |
| | | Meat | 250g. | |
| | | Lard | 30g. | |
| 2nd formula | Thursdays | Chickpeas or Beans | 2dl. | |
| | | Potatoes | 400g. | |
| | | Meat | 250g. | |
| | | Lard | 30g. | |
| 3rd formula | Fridays and Saturdays | Baked or Boiled Fish | 400g. | |
| | | Potatoes | 300g. | |
| | | Oil and Vinegar | as needed | |
| 4th formula | Mondays and Tuesdays | Chickpeas or Beans | 2dl. | Seasoned with lard |
| | | Rice | 200g. | |
| | | Lard | 60g. | |
| | | Potatoes | 300g. | |

Source: Own Elaboration. The Formulas and the Rations proposed by the only contest.

This 1888 form shows us the prevalence of chickpeas, rice, and meat, seasoned with lard. Food variety is limited, and we notice both the absence of fruit and vegetables and the great quantities of the same foodstuffs, even though they were meant for two meals.

In the year 1896, the tender procedure launched was to be valid for a one-year period, from July 1st, 1896 to June 30th, 1897. The amount established for awarding the tender was 170 *réis*, for two meals a day. The only bidder who showed up was the same as in previous years: António da Costa Mealha, who committed himself, for the price of 170 *réis*, to abide by the conditions stated on the table presented by the tender. His guarantor was José Fernandes Guerreiro, a married man, proprietor, and businessman. Here are the proposed meal formulas[20]:

**Table 2. Formulas and Rations - 1896**

| Formulas | Days of the week | Foodstuffs | Quantities | Obs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st formula | Sundays, lunch ration | Fish per ration | 250g. | Fish would be boiled or baked with oil and vinegar (as needed); in the absence of "peixe de peso" (fish to be cut and weighed), no less than 20 réis per person worth of "peixe de conto" (smaller fish) should be provided; if the later was also unavailable, boiled codfish should be served - with oil and vinegar as needed.<br><br>To be delivered at 9 a.m. If the foodstuffs mentioned were not available, bread "prepared in a broth seasoned with lard or milk" should be supplied. |
| | | Or Codfish | 125g. | |

[20] PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-9, m0034, 1896.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2nd formula | Sundays, dinner ration | Chickpeas or Beans | 2dl. | The dinner ration should be supplied at 3 p.m. |
| | | Rice | 100g. | |
| | | Meat | 200g. | |
| | | Lard | 30g. | |
| 3rd formula | Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays | Chickpeas or Beans | 2dl. | |
| | | Rice | 100g. | |
| | | Fat, Lard | 30g. | |
| | | Potatoes | 300g. | |
| 4th formula | Wednesdays | Chickpeas or Beans | 2dl. | |
| | | Pasta | 100g. | |
| | | Lard | 30g. | |
| 5th formula | Fridays and Saturdays | Chickpeas or Beans | 2dl. | Seasoned with olive oil. |
| | | Potatoes | 300g. | |
| | | Rice | 100g. | |
| | Every day | White Bread[21] | 500g. | For each prisoner; when in season, the ration could include green or purple cabbage, broad beans, peas, etc. |

Source: Own Elaboration. The meal formulas were similar.

The 1896 form shows a predominance of beans or chickpeas, rice, lard and potatoes. This is not so different from the 1888. However, the 6th clause in the conditions imposed on the bidder contains a note to the effect that the dinner ration might include green or purple cabbage, broad beans, or peas, in their respective seasons.

For the year 1897[22], the meal formulas are again similar. Our attention was drawn to a note demanding that the formulas be prepared following the procedures of the culinary arts, expressly forbidding "that they lack the respective seasonings":

**Table 3. Formulas and Rations - 1897**

| Formulas | Days of the week | Foodstuffs | Quantities | Obs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st formula | Lunch ration | Fresh Fish | 200g. | Fish lightly preserved in salt is allowed, in the absence of fresh fish, tuna or codfish. |
| | | Codfish or Tuna | 100g. | |
| | | Potatoes | 250g. | |
| 2nd formula | Ration for dinner, Christmas Day, New Year, Quinquagesima, Shrovetide, and Easter | Broth with Season's Vegetables | 400g. | |
| | | Rice | 100g. | |
| | | Chickpeas | 1dl. | |
| | | Meat | 250g. | |
| | | Ham, as needed, for seasoning | | |

[21] White bread was the most expensive one, being preferred by richer people. Curiously enough, it was included in the prisoners' menu.
[22] PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-10-m0039 e m0044, 1897.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3rd formula | Sundays | Broth with season's vegetables | 400g. | |
| | | Rice | 100g. | |
| | | Meat | 250g. | |
| | | Ham, for seasoning | | |
| 4th formula | Mondays and Tuesdays | Chickpeas | | |
| | | Rice | | |
| | | Ham, For Seasoning | | |
| 5th formula | Wednesdays and Thursdays | Beans | 2dl. | Boiled with slices of pumpkin, if available for sale |
| | | Potatoes | 300g. | |
| | | Ham Or Fat, For Seasoning | | |
| 6th formula | Fridays | Codfish | 125g. | Boiled with meat and seasoned with olive oil |
| | | Potatoes | 300g. | |
| 7th formula | Saturdays | Codfish | 100g. | |
| | | Rice | 100g. | |

Source: Own Elaboration. The meal formulas still remain similar.

The 1899[23] meal formula showed little variation from the 1897 one. The winner was obliged to provide water both for drinking and for washing, at 7 in the morning, in addition to a half-kilogram loaf. He would also have to furnish lunch at 9 o'clock and dinner at 3 in the afternoon. The price per day was set at 170 *réis* for each prisoner's ration.

**Table 4. Formulas and Rations – 1899 (1st proposal)**

| Formulas | Days of the week | Foodstuffs | Quantities | Obs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st formula | Lunch ration | Fresh Fish | 250g. | Codfish or tuna are allowed, in the absence of fresh fish |
| | | Codfish or Tuna | 100g. | |
| 2nd formula | Dinner ration | Pasta Soup (on the side) | 100g. | |
| | | Season's Vegetables | 300g. | |
| | | Potatoes | 200g. | |
| | | Meat | 250g. | |
| | | Lard, for seasoning | as needed | |
| 3rd formula[24] | | Vegetable Soup (on the side) | 400g. | |
| | | Chickpeas | 1dl. | Boiled with slices of pumpkin or frade (long, orange-coloured pumpkin) if available for sale; if not, potatoes |
| | | Meat | 250g. | |
| | | Lard, for seasoning | as needed | |
| | | Potatoes | 20g. | |
| 4th formula | | Chickpeas | 2dl. | |
| | | Rice | 100g. | |
| | | Lard, for seasoning | as needed | |
| 5th formula | | Beans | 2dl. | Boiled with slices of pumpkin, if available for sale, and seasoned with lard |
| | | Potatoes | 300g. | |

[23] PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-11,1899.
[24] This formula, like the ones that follow, does not indicate the days of the week.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6th formula | | Codfish | 125g. | Boiled with meat and seasoned with olive oil |
| | | Potatoes | 300g. | |
| 7th formula | | Codfish | 100g. | These formulas must be prepared following the precepts of the culinary arts. Under no circumstance may they go without their proper seasonings. |
| | | Rice | 100g. | |

Source: Own Elaboration. This meal formula shows a little variation.

Another proposal which came up in 1899 was concerned with furnishing rations for a new part of the year. It went like this:

**Table 5. Formulas and Rations – 1899 (2nd proposal)**

| Formulas | Days of the week | Foodstuffs | Quantities | Obs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st formula | Lunch ration | Fresh Fish | 250g. | Fish lightly preserved in salt is allowed, in the absence of fresh fish, tuna or codfish. |
| | | Codfish or Tuna | 100g. | |
| | | Potatoes | 50g. | |
| 2nd formula | Christmas Day, New Year, Quinquagesima, Shrovetide, and Easter Dinner ration | Pasta Soup (on the side) | 100g. | |
| | | Vegetables | 300g. | In season |
| | | Potatoes | 200g. | |
| | | Meat | 250g. | |
| | | Lard, for seasoning | | |
| 3rd formula | Sundays | Vegetable Soup | 400g. | |
| | | Chickpeas | 1dl. | |
| | | Meat | 250g. | |
| | | | | Boiled with slices of pumpkin or frade (200g.), when available for sale, if there are no potatoes |
| | | Lard, for seasoning | | |
| 4th formula | Mondays and Tuedays | Chickpeas | 2dl. | |
| | | Rice | 100g. | |
| | | Lard, for seasoning | | |
| 5th formula | Wednesdays and Thursdays | Beans | 20dl. | Boiled with slices of pumpkin, if available for sale, and seasoned with lard |
| | | Potatoes | 300g. | |
| 6th formula | Fridays | Codfish | 125g. | Boiled with cabbage and seasoned with oil |
| | | Potatoes | 300g. | |
| 7th formula | Saturdays | Codfish | 100g. | |
| | | Rice | 100g. | |

Source: Own Elaboration. This meal formula shows a second proposal for the same year.

For the years 1908 and 1909[25], the structure of the tenders for ration provision was similar to the ones used in earlier years. The only variation had to do with the price per

[25] PT-AMLLE-AL-ACLLE-D-A-2-12, 1908.

ration, now set at 150 *réis*[26]. The conditions imposed on the bidders were the same as those in previous tenders. When the meals were inspected by the Municipal Administrator or some other official and found unsuitable, they should be sent back to the provider, while the respective amount would be forwarded to the National Treasury. If the prisoners entered the jail after meal time, they should be given a broth of bread seasoned with lard, accompanied by cabbages, broad beans, peas and others like foods.

**Table 6. Formulas and Rations – 1908**

| Formulas | Days of the week | Foodstuffs | Quantities | Obs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lunch ration Single formula | | Fresh fish, by weight | 200g. | Boiled or baked, with oil and vinegar as needed |
| | | "Peixe de Conto" – smaller fish | 200g. | Dose of "peixe de conto" could not weigh less than 200g. |
| | | Codfish or Tuna | 100g. | In the absence of fish, salted tuna or codfish |
| | | Potatoes | 150g. | Fish of the same type or cost may not be supplied more than two days in a row. |
| Dinner ration 1st formula | Christmas Day, New Year, Quinquagesima, Shrovetide, and Easter | Chickpeas | 1dl. | |
| | | Rice | 150g. | |
| | | Beef | 200g. | |
| | | Lard | 50g. | |
| 2nd formula | Sundays | Chickpeas | 2dl. | |
| | | Rice | 125g. | |
| | | Beef | 200g | |
| | | Potatoes | 150g. | |
| | | Lard | 20g. | |
| 3rd formula | Mondays and Wednesdays | Red Beans | 2dl. | |
| | | Rice | 100g. | |
| | | Potatoes | 150g. | |
| | | Lard, for seasoning | | |
| 4th formula | Tuesdays and Thursdays | Chickpeas | 2dl. | |
| | | Potatoes | 100g. | |
| | | Noodles | 50g. | |
| | | Lard, for seasoning | 20g. | |
| 5th formula | Fridays and Saturdays | Chickpeas or Beans | 2dl. | Seasoned with olive oil |
| | | Potatoes | 150g. | |
| | | Rice | 100g. | |

Source: Own Elaboration. The structure of the proposals remains; only the prices vary.

Considering that the meal formulas were monotonous, repetitive, and low in fruit and horticultural products, lacking the vitamins and mineral salts needed by the organism, we sought the word of a nutritionist[27]. We handed her the tables shown above so that, through her expert analysis, we could confirm our idea that the nourishment of the Loulé prisoners

[26] Idem, fl.2.
[27] Lisa Cartaxo. Analysis requested by us and kindly granted by the nutritionist on the 1st of July, 2017.

was too high in carbohydrates, protein and fat, lacking all other components. Her verdict was the following:

> "Qualitative and quantitative analysis of the menus presented some difficulties, since information on food preparation, use of fat, or specific data on the ingredients used was scarce or even non-existent, which made the said analysis more difficult to carry out. Another difficulty lies in the fact that the quantities of fish and meat presented do not make clear whether they refer to gross or edible weight, which affects the final caloric and nutritional values."

In addition, the nutritionist presented her analysis of the meals, looking to understand whether they actually satisfied the needs of the inmates. Thus, she resorted to the Table of Composition of (Portuguese) Foods to calculate each meal's caloric value and its weight in protein, fat and carbohydrates. Let us look at the results of this study:

> "To check whether these nutrients were adequate for the prison population, we used as reference an adult male, 1,75m tall and weighing 70kg, with low levels of physical activity. For an adult male with the said height and weight, around 2100kcal a day, on average, are needed to ensure proper functioning of the organism, requiring approximately 85g in protein, 70g in lipids and 280g in carbo-hydrates. The table below shows the caloric and nutritional values of some of the meals provided, and also those of the bread (500g) furnished daily.

**Table 7. Analysis of Proposals**

| Meal | Kcal | Protein (g) | Lipids (g) | Carbo-hydrates (g) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Beans with meat, lard and rice | 1608 | 106 | 43,5 | 192 |
| 2. Beans with meat, lard and potatoes | 1512 | 104 | 61 | 131 |
| 3. Baked or boiled fish with potatoes | 791 | 85,4 | 17,6 | 71 |
| 4. Beans with potatoes and ham as needed | 324 | 26,6 | 15,8 | 107,3 |
| 5. Vegetable soup, Chickpeas with meat and potatoes | 1125 | 89,8 | 49,7 | 78 |
| Bread (500g) | 1350 | 45 | 7 | 270 |

Source: Lisa Cartaxo: The nutritionist analysed the meals based on the Table of Composition of Food.

> According to this table, meals 1 and 2 ensure the protein requirements and, adding 500g of bread, caloric needs are met and even surpassed. The most unbalanced meal is meal number 4, for its lack of any protein food – lard is present, but only as seasoning. Regarding vitamins and mineral salts, in principle, the meals on offer do not guarantee the daily requirements of these micronutrients, due to the scarcity of horticultural products and fruit."

Confirming our opinion, the nutritionist concluded that the meals provided ensure necessities in terms of protein and energy intake, but their vitaminic and mineral levels are very low, stressing in addition that the information provided by the documents does not allow a more in-depth analysis.

With the help of this nutritional analysis, we can state that the nourishment given to the prisoners was poor in both quality and variety, despite ensuring that no one would starve. In short - and assuming that the providers kept their commitment to the local administration, so that impoverished prisoners never went without food - these menu proposals could guarantee that they would not starve, despite the excess in carbo-hydrates and the lack of variety in the foodstuffs used.

## 4. THE NOURISHMENT OF LOULÉ'S POOR

If we compare the prisoners' nourishment to that of the poorer people in Loulé – who were the object of a study by Geraldino de Brites – we find that it consisted of no more than half a dozen recipes, in which we find variants aimed at disguising the uniformity of contents, i.e. of its main ingredients (Brites, 1914).

Considering the table we drew up using the doctor's information on what was probably the greater part of the town's inhabitants, we can establish some conclusions.

**Table 8. Comparing the nourishment of the prisoners and the poorer people**

| Typology of the municipal population's diets | Meals | Foodstuffs |
|---|---|---|
| 1st | Lunch | Bread, figs (dried in winter, fresh in summer) or other fruit |
| | Dinner | Xarém (cornmeal) |
| | Supper | Bread with oil or pork butter |
| 2nd | Lunch | Bread with tomato salad |
| | Dinner | Cabbage broth with chickpeas |
| | Supper | Fruit with bread |
| 3rd | Lunch | Fruit with bread |
| | Dinner | Gazpacho and fruit |
| | Supper | Fruit |
| 4th | Lunch | Fruit with bread |
| | Dinner | Haddock or sardine and tomato salad |
| | Supper | Xarém |
| 5th | Lunch | Sweet Potato |
| | Dinner | Sardine with radishes or peas or boiled broad beans |
| | Supper | Figs |

Source: Own Elaboration: What poorer people in Loulé ate in the 1st decade of the 20th century.

The basis of their feeding was the "xerém", or "xarém", i.e. the well-known "papas de milho" (cornmeal). To complement "xarém", one could add "griséu" (peas), sardines or dried horse-mackerel (known as "xarrinho"), pork greaves or, more seldom, little bits of meat. Lunch was based on bread and fruit (figs). Dinner included fish, salad and vegetables accompanying the *xarém*. Supper consisted of bread and fruit.

The doctor considered this menu to be clearly too weak for an average adult, normally a peasant who had to spend energy in everyday labours (Brites, 1914). In fact, although it included horticultural products in their season, which is typical of the Mediterranean nutrition model, when it came to protein and energy levels the daily needs of an adult were not met, because some of the meals failed to include meat, fish or eggs[28].

## 5. CONCLUSION

From the mid-19th century onward, the Civil and Judicial Administration became concerned with the health, hygiene and nourishment conditions faced by prisoners in the Algarve jails, because most of these had standards which were unsustainable, both for the people involved

[28] This ideia received the agreement of the nutritionist who analysed the alimentary table propounded by Geraldino Brites, although she cautioned that only a qualitative analysis could be made, not a quantitative one.

and for the spaces in which they lived. The documents kept in Loulé's Municipal Archive, spanning the years 1888 to 1909, and the study undertaken by the doctor Geraldino Brites, enable us to make a comparative analysis of the meals given to the prisoners and those which were prepared, generally speaking, by the poorer families of the former town, from 1908 to 1911 – the period in which this scientific report was researched and put together.

For the matter at hand we see that, from 1888 onwards, public tenders were used to obtain the best proposals for providing rations to the prisoners. In actual practice, since one particular candidate was almost always the only one to present proposals and win the contests, we see that the feeding model put forward was mostly made up of meat, chickpeas, potatoes, beans, accompanied by ham or lard, giving vegetables much less importance and making no mention of fruit. This situation reveals comparative nutritional weakness, for its excess of carbo-hydrates and deficiency in vitamins and mineral salts. The meals – lunch at 3 p.m. and dinner at 7 p.m. – to be provided daily as required, left no room for hunger, but they did not ensure healthy nourishment in terms of the Mediterranean nutrition model.

On the other hand, when we try to contextualize and compare the food given to Loulé's prisoners to that consumed by the greater part of the town's population, we find a picture which the doctor Geraldino de Brites registered. It shows us that, unlike the alimentary model followed in the jails, the latter group lay closer to what nowadays we see as the Mediterranean diet. At the same time, however, the poorer people in Loulé, whom Dr. Brites studied, could not get the quantities of carbo-hydrates and protein needed by adults who, for the most part, worked in the field and performed labours which demanded physical exertion. The population's daily meals were rich in vitamins and mineral salts, showing reduced quantities of foodstuffs such as chickpeas, beans, eggs, rice, pasta and the like. This reduction was compensated for by the presence of bread in every meal.

Although they had meals which were significant in food quantities, the prisoners lacked the vitamins and mineral salts which the poorer people of Loulé consumed at the start of the 20th century, while the latter, in turn, lacked the carbo-hydrates which were present in excess in the prisoners' diet. As far as everyday nourishment was concerned, and assuming our sources do not mislead us, we are left pondering the irony of one group's obesity versus the other group's slimness.

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# THE THEORY OF AUTOCHTONOUS ZIONISM IN POLITICAL DISCOURSES IN ISRAEL 1961-1967

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## ABSTRACT

The premise of this investigation conceives of Western colonization as the central factor shaping modern history and contemporary geopolitics. In a local context, it perceives of the Zionist project from its inception as colonial, created by European Jews, supported by western powers and based upon perceived civilizational supremacy of western modernity. The Zionist movement affected not only the fate of Palestinian Arabs, but also the native Jewish population and Jewish migrants from Muslim countries to Eretz Israel/Palestine. This research follows political organizations consisting of non-European Jews, autochthonous in the Middle Eastern region, named here Oriental and Sephardic Jews. This research examines Sephardic and Oriental political debates that resisted the colonial postulates of the Zionist state. First, the genealogy of these debates since the beginning of Zionist settlement at the end of the 19th century is presented. This is followed by a description of the fragmentation that the establishment of the state of Israel, as a European enclave in its region, caused these autochthonous Jews. Together these elements form the historical layout of sociological inquiry into a particular discourse of autochthonous Zionism in the 1960s, as it developed on the pages of "In the Battle", a cultural-political journal.

Keywords: Sephardim; Oriental Jews; Political Movements; Decoloniality.

JEL Classification: N95

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Zionist movement was established in Europe at the end of the 19th century as a European Jewish national movement, setting the modernization of the Jewish nation as one of its objectives. It aimed to make a name for the Jews as "a people like all others", seeking in this quest to imitate other European nations (Raz-Krakotzkin, 1998). The movement organized emmigration of Jews from Europe in order to settle Eretz Israel/Palestine[2], situated on the Eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The way to realize the Zionist national ambitions involved the exclusion of non-Jews; and the way to realize its Eurocentric-modern[3] ambitions included the subjugation of non-European Jews. It is on this basis that several authors have referred to Zionism as a settler colonial movement (Zureik, 1979; Shaffir, 1993; Wolfe, 2006; Massad, 2007). The Zionist colonial violence was directed at the native Palestinian Arab population as well as the native Jewish population and Jewish migrants from Muslim countries (Shohat, 1988). The latter categories are known as Oriental or Sephardic Jews, while European Jews are known as Ashkenazim. The establishment of the State of Israel by

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[2] Though the administrative unit of Palestine did not formally exist from the 12th century and until the British mandate started in 1920, the land will henceforth be referred to at times as Palestine since there are records identifying it or parts of it with this name throughout the period (Porat, 1976). The main Jewish name that was used to describe the same land is Eretz Israel (Land of Israel); therefore, the two names will be applied in this manner to address the land in question before the British Mandate.

[3] For further discussion about Eurocentric modernity, and versus transmodernity see Mignolo (2000), Dussel (2005, 2008).

the Zionist movement in 1948 was accompanied by military violence towards Palestinian Arabs, while Oriental and Sephardic Jews have endured what Spivak (1988) called epistemic violence, and were ushered en masse into the fledgling state's working class (Svirsky & Bernstein, 1993).

From a decolonial perspective, using concepts that have been developing in recent decades - mainly with Latin American and Southern European origins[4] - this study will examine some aspects of the political activities of intellectual Sephardic and Oriental Jews. The purpose of this inquiry is to recover the elements in their debates that demonstrated resistance to the colonial premise of the Zionist state. For this purpose, political discourse will be examined as it developed over time on the pages of a cultural-political journal in the 1960s.

There has been much research dedicated to studying episodes of Oriental mobilizations (e.g. Bernstein, 1976; Dahan-Kalev, 1991; Lev & Shenhav, 2010; Negri, 2014; Roby, 2015), and there has been some research dedicated to visualizing Oriental acts of everyday resistance and ambivalently subversive discourses (e.g. Hever *et al.*, 2002a). Two comprehensive investigations reviewed the "skeletons of political-ethnic Oriental organizations" (Leon, 2004a), which have accumulated over the course of Israel's political history (Herzog, 1986; Chetrit, 2004). The existing research regarding organizations and mobilizations has dealt quite centrally with the question of whether or not these groups promoted politics that suggested alternatives to hegemonic Zionist discourse and practices. One could say that this is an underlying question of any study of political activity of Orientals and Sephardim in Israel. As Raz-Krakotzkin (2005) wrote: "the cultural oppression [of Orientals] exposes the contradictions of Zionist consciousness in a way that may generate counter position. This unique position is the potential of Oriental discourse."

Analyses of alternatives posed to Zionist hegemony have almost always led to the conclusion that Oriental and Sephardic Jews, despite demonstrating political resistance, did not offer any alternatives, since they aimed to gain powerful positions within the Zionist political system, used Zionist terminology, and did not out rightly speak of segregation. This research reopens and continues the former researchers' inquiries into Sephardic and Oriental political organizations as potentially offering alternatives to Zionist hegemonic political patterns. I argue here that the fact that these organizations worked in order to become incorporated into the state and not in order to dismantle it, as well as the fact that they appropriated Zionist terminology, does not mean that they merely reproduced Zionist logics. When referring to Zionism as a form of colonialism, it is possible to detect decolonial discourses and practices within the autonomous Oriental and Sephardic political activities. Such decolonial proposals can be observed in rhetoric and action that is built upon intercultural perceptions of diversity. Understanding modernity and coloniality as two constitutive sides of the same coin (Mignolo, 2000), leads historical decolonial inquiries to deal with the search for practices and discourses of emancipation that do not rely on modern concepts like liberalism, human rights and multiculturalism (De Sousa Santos, 2006). If Oriental Jews are best analyzed as both colonizers and colonized (Raz-Krakotzkin, 2005; Massad, 2007), the question of their potential to set alternatives to colonial Zionism can be answered primarily by their resistance to playing either role. Therefore, discourse about and relations with Palestinian Arabs and the surrounding Arab states forms a constitutive part in the search for decolonial proposals within the political activity of Sephardic and Oriental Jews.

Next, we will explore and define who the Oriental and Sephardic Jews are and what specific heritages are related to them, eventually constituting them as another diaspora,

[4] These academic debates have been referred to as "the decolonial turn" (Castro-Goméz & Grosfoguel, 2007; Restrepo & Rojas, 2010) or the modernity/coloniality research program (Escobar, 2007).

versus the Ashkenazi Jews. Afterwards the article will be divided into three sections. The first and second sections form the historical background necessary for the sociological analysis presented in the third section. The first section is a historical review of the role the Sephardim played in Eretz- Israel/Palestine, and will analyze how this role transformed from the beginning of Zionist settlercolonization process at the end of the 19th century and until the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. In this section, we will observe how the native Sephardic elites perceived the Zionist project, in response to which they developed an alternative, inclusive, form of Zionism. This form of inclusive Zionism rejected the colonial aspects of the Zionist project while retaining its national aspirations. The second section examines the consequences of the 1948 war on Jews in Muslim countries and on the native elites, as a fracture between them and their environment, the Arab region around them. We will then briefly examine the political response that the native elites developed to the new reality of statehood. The third section is dedicated to the development in Sephardic and Oriental intellectuals' political activities throughout the 1960s, as evidenced by writings featured in a particular journal. The theoretical perspectives developed in this journal will be examined mainly through the lenses of broader decolonial and anti-colonial theoretical debates. Some aspects of pre-state inclusive Zionism were re-established in this period, but still were not leveraged into political action. Some of the factors that prevented this theoretical debate from becoming formulated into praxis will also be examined. In particular, we will observe how the consequences of the 1948 war prevented these activistsintellectuals from developing what was called, following Spivak's (1990) arguments, "strategic essentialism", and therefore they did not formulate strategy nor praxis. The periodization ends with the 1967 war, before the inception of direct military occupation over millions of Palestinian Arab non-citizens.

The central corpus used for the sociological analysis is issues of the periodical "In the Battle", published between 1961 and 1967. This weekly periodical was published by the Council of the Sephardic Community of Jerusalem from 1961 to 1991, and it was an intellectual stage that, among other things, promoted debates regarding the possibilities of political roles available to be played by the Sephardic elites and the intellectual Jewish immigrants from Islamic countries. "In the Battle" - the organ of Sephardic and Oriental Publics[5] - had mainly medium-length theoretical and informative articles about the problems of Oriental and Sephardic representation, along with articles by or about Sephardic lay and religious public figures, and reviews of Sephardic or Oriental customs, heritage, and folklore. The magazine enjoyed wide distribution in circles of Sephardic and Oriental elites as well as Ashkenazi decision-makers (Protocol, 1960; Sofer, 1961). The analysis provided here is also based on daily newspapers; and protocols, letters and publications, mainly of the Council of the Sephardic Community of Jerusalem, but also from other autonomous organizations of Sephardim and Orientals in the 1950s and 1960s in Israel.

### 1.1 Sephardic and Oriental Jews

Oriental will be used here as a category of identity to refer to all Jews descending from Muslim countries. There exists a complicated relationship between the categories of Oriental and Sephardic which will be examined below. In different contexts, either the term Sephardic or Oriental can in fact encompass the entire p opulation of non-Ashkenazi Jews.

The category of Sephardic has a clear historical basis. Sepharad (*sfarad*) is the Hebrew name for Roman Hispania, Muslim Al-Andalus and modern day Spain. Though Jews inhabited the Iberian Peninsula since the 3rd century (Weksler, 2005), the last seven centuries they spent in the Peninsula so greatly charged their historiography that the term 'Sephardism' has been

[5] Ba-ma'arakha: bitaon ha-tsibur ha-sfaradi ve-'edot ha-mizrah.

coined and analyzed across its various spatial, temporal and subjective contexts (Halevi-Wise, 2012; Evri, 2013). The myth of harmonic co-existence between the three monotheistic religions in Al-Andalus has made Sephardic history a useful metaphor for a variety of artists, and a source of inspiration for academics concerned with peace and war, identity politics and international reconfigurations, from the 18th century onwards (Benbassa & Rodrigue, 2000; Aizenberg, 2005; Halevi-Wise, 2012). For world Jewry, Sephardism provokes the imagery of the Jewish Golden Age, a period of remarkable intellectual, artistic and religious creativity. As of the mid-11th century, Sepharad surpassed Babylonia as the center of Jewish rabbinic life (Hakfir, 2014), and foundations were established there that were instrumental in later developments in Judaism (Bineart, 1992). The Medieval Sephardic aesthetic and knowledge productions corresponded extraordinarily with the language, content, forms and genres of the Arab cultural bloom of that time and place, built upon rationalist and humanist Muslim, Persian and Greek ideals (Yosef, 1991; Asis, 1991; Bineart, 1992; Tubi, 2011).

After their 1492 expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula, Sephardic Jews took up prominent roles within different Jewish communities across the Mediterranean (David, 2005; Bunis, 2005). In the northern reaches of the Mediterranean Ottoman Empire, the native Jewish communities were assimilated into Sephardic culture and language. With the invention of print, Sephardic became an adjective to particular liturgics, customs and rabbinical authorities (Zohar, 2001), probably due to the proliferation of a prayer book (Siddur) that spread across other Jewish communities of the Muslim world (Pedaya, 2015). Therefore, all Jews under Islamic rule could, in different moments or contexts, be seen as belonging to a Sephardic Halachic and prayer tradition (Raz-Krakotzkin, 1994; Pikar, 2003). Other customs and languages varied between Jewries in different parts of the Muslim world. Still, since early modernity, it can be claimed that two branches of Judaism, Ashkenazi and Sephardic, have been evolving; two Jewish heritages that developed distinctly under Christian and Muslim centennial rule (Cohen, 2005).

This claim has been contested by some researchers (e.g. Zohar, 2001; Frenkel, 2015), but still others have tried to define the essential differences between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jewries (Elazar, 2005; Zohar, 2005; Schorsch, 2012). According to the second group of scholars, the differences are not only marked in liturgy, styles of rabbinical education and some customs, but most importantly in the divergent structures of opportunities created for minorities under Islam versus Christianity. While Islam accepted the rights of other monotheistic religions and allowed them to live in its midst with a special protected status, under Christian rule, Jews remained historically responsible for murdering their savior, and the persecution and humiliation of Jews was much more widespread and recurring. This persecution led to the development of a more introverted and closed Jewish society. As later European modernity developed, significant Jewish movements flourished in Europe, marking clear the differences between Jews under Muslim rule and those living in Christendom. The secularizing effects of the Enlightenment on Ashkenazi Jewish society created a reactionary response among some religious streams that developed radically introverted ultra-orthodoxy. In contrast, in Muslim countries, modernization was not accompanied by brutal hostility towards religious authorities. The respectable stature of rabbis was generally maintained (Zohar, 2001) and reactionary conservative orthodoxy was rare (Leon, 2010). Also, in Europe alone, as a consequence of recurring persecutions, and due to inspirations from the European "spring of nations" and colonialism, Jewish modern nationalism grew and eventually consolidated in the form of the Zionist movement.

Since the establishment of the state of Israel and until the 1980s, Oriental Jews were estimated to comprise about 50% of its Jewish population (Mizrahi & Herzog, 2012). Speaking of ethnic divisions between Jews in Israel has always been a taboo, transgressing the national ethos that perceives the state as the land of all Jews. Therefore, despite the ethnicclassist reality reflected by statistics, any socio-economic political discourse on Oriental, Sephardic, and Ashkenazi Jews is limited to certain political groups or to the academy, with this ethnic divide forming one of the main pillars of Israeli sociology (Adut, 2006). Descriptions of the heritage of Sephardic and Oriental Jewries has shaped an academic and political perception of these Jewries as carriers of a middle-way, with the potential to deconstruct modern Israeli dichotomies of secular/religious and Jew/Arab. This is another reason that Oriental political discourse and action has been examined sociologically in light of its ability to challenge Zionist hegemony; the first reason being their type of colonial oppression - culturally subjugated but politically included in the Zionist collective (Raz-Krakotzkin, 2005).

Within the study of organizations that either define themselves as Sephardic, or declaratively addressed primarily Jews from Muslim countries, the term "Sephardic and Oriental" has been found most convenient for referring to the entire populations of native Palestinian Jews and Jewish immigrants from other Muslim countries.

## 2. SEPHARDIC INCLUSIVE ZIONISM 1882-1948

The Council of the Sephardic Community of Jerusalem (hereinafter: CSCJ), was established, according to its own tradition, as early as 1267. Following the 1839 reforms in the Ottoman Empire, the chief Sephardic rabbi of Jerusalem, considered to be the spiritual leader of the CSCJ, assumed the role of representing the Jews in Jerusalem and its surroundings. The Sephardic rabbinical and economic elites of the city were organized within the CSCJ, which served as an administrative and organizational framework for the different tasks this representative role required, from taxation to education and welfare[6] (Kerk & Ben-Ya'akov, 1996). Some of these elites were incorporated into the Ottoman administrative bureaucratic system, and some carried out their affairs or their public's affairs within a framework of "notable politics". This consisted of non-professional work in administration and governance that relied on their social status and capital - that is, their social, cultural and economic contacts as well as intermediating skills with other elites in the region[7], and with the Arab Muslim elites in particular. This circle of notables was educated by various sources, including Arab universities, traditional Jewish religious institutions, and modernized school systems that combined Jewish studies with a secular European education (Levy, 1998; Morag-Talmon, 2000). The Sephardic elites maintained a regional-political hegemony over the non-Ashkenazi Jews in the land, but their prestige went beyond the empire's borders (Betzalel, 2007). The Sephardic rabbinical elites had certain spiritual-religious authority, corresponding to the sacred and central place of Jerusalem and Eretz Israel in Judaism. This spiritual-religious status was enforced by sending messengers to Asian and North African Jewries to collect tribute to the communities in the Eretz Israel, and to be dispersed among its rabbinical communities (Tubi, 1986; Bar-Asher, 1986).

The important twists in our plot begin in Eastern Europe, towards the end of the 19th century. A series of discriminatory laws and violent riots against Jews in Russia and other countries caused a massive Jewish emigration from the region. A small percentage of these mainly Russian emigrants were influenced by central European Jewish thought. These intellectual tendencies led them to consider immigrating to the ancient land of Zion, known in Hebrew as Eretz Israel. This land was designated in the Old Testament -and in other Jewish scripts- as the land promised to them by God, where a Jewish kingdom had once stood. The military superiority Europe gained over the Ottoman Empire made it physically

[6] The central representation of the Jewish millet in the ottoman empire was in the hands of the Main Rabbi of Kushta, sustained by two committees composed by the Sephardic elites in the empire: a spiritual committee and a worldly one (Bernai, 1986; Campos, 2011).
[7] Following Weber's definition of "notable politics", in Eyal (2005): 24.

possible to purchase lands in Palestine and settle them. Jewish capital owners were recruited in order to invest in the Jewish settlement project in Palestine (Pappe, 2006). Thus, Eastern European Jews began settling rural lands and cities in Eretz Israel, as well as consolidating institutions in Europe with the aim of establishing a Zionist movement. The indigenous Arab population was not at all pleased with this Jewish wave of immigrants, due to its declared intention of building a nation state in its land (Lamdan, 1994).

The Sephardic elites, like others amongst the native population, perceived the immigrants' foreign customs and secular ways of life as threatening (Chelouche, 1931: 45-48; Gorny, 1985; Cohen, 2015). Nonetheless, the project of bringing Jews from everywhere to settle the land, creating a united nation and subsequently becoming the local majority was deemed a desirable aim; Zionism was understood as a method of strengthening cultural, spiritual and economic aspects of the Jewish community in Eretz-Israel/Palestine. For instance, Sephardic activists made great contributions towards popularizing the usage of Modern Hebrew (Aliav, 1982; Campos, 2011). Some of the Sephardic notables understood their role as cultural and instrumental intermediaries between the Jewish immigrants and local populations and authorities. They facilitated Jewish immigration by helping to purchase lands and petitioning the authorities in the immigrants' favor. However, they could also sympathize with the resentment that the organized ideological immigration raised in the local population. Specifically, resentment on the part of the local Arab elites in the Arab press concerned them greatly. In many respects, the Sephardic notables were complicit to both sides of the developing conflict, acting as "a senior factor, guiding and orientating… influencing both sides from its experience and understanding" (Cohen, 2015). Thus, different Sephardic notables made varying efforts to prevent Zionism from becoming a zero-sum game. As indigenous population who are expert in the region (Chelouche, ibid.: 424-430; Eliachar, 1975), and from a standpoint of great appreciation to Islamic civilization, the native notables advocated for the Zionists to study Arabic language, customs and culture. At times Sephardic notables expressed rejection to the Zionist European - superiority concepts (Gorny, 1985), at other times they pointed out the advantageous modernizing potential of Zionism to the local population (Jacobson, 2011). They promoted cultural integration and co-existence between Jews and Arabs, especially through Arabic, Hebrew and Turkish press, while simultaneously helping the immigrants to purchase and settle lands (Gorny, 1985; Campos, 2010; Jacobson, 2011). Some have claimed that the Sephardic elite developed an alternative Zionism: Inclusive Zionism, distinguished from the exclusive Zionism of the newcomers, who advocated for "Jewish Labor" and dreamed of a socialist society for Jews only. Inclusive Zionism was a result of the Sephardic notables' local status and life experience: their loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, their urban lifestyle and close relations with Muslim notables, their perceived distance from the Zionist European nationalist-socialist ideas, and their complex combined Jewish-Arab identities (Jacobson, 2011).

After World War I, the British took control of Eretz Israel/Palestine, and annulled the CSCJ's hegemonic status within the Jewish community - a status that had in any case been eroding during the preceding decades (Sharabi, 1984; Levy, 1998; Campos, 2010; Ginio, 2014). The British Mandate officially determined the borders and name of the territory of Palestine. The British also allowed for the establishment of institutional foundations for a Jewish-Zionist state. The official representation of Jews in Palestine to the imperial authorities was expropriated from the Sephardic leadership and placed in hands of the Zionist movements: first to Zionist leaders in Europe, and only later to the authorities present in Palestine (Haim, 2000). The CSCJ was forced to adjust quickly to this new reality in order to make an appropriate response within the new political order, especially because the CSCJ and its public now depended on the Zionist institutions for economic and symbolic resources[8]. During the Mandate period, the CSCJ and other notables established various organizations with which to negotiate the terms of the required alliance with Zionist institutions, which eventually took the form of an alliance between non-equals (Morag-Talmon, 1991). The CSCJ retained a certain centrality and traditional prestige within the Sephardic and Oriental organizations, but other organizations took more vital roles in different phases (Levy, 1998; Jacobson & Naor, 2016). The marginalization of the Sephardic and Oriental elites represented a great insult to their previously respected positions[9]: as the native elite of the land, they had expected to be indispensable to the project of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine (Eliachar, 1980: 482-485). This insult, which at its core amounted to the loss of their self-determination, was often critiqued via discourse on Zionist politics in conjunction with the Arabs of the land. During this period, claiming and asserting an intermediary role between Jews and Arabs was an essential element of the notables' struggle for political status and power (Jacobson & Naor, 2016). Various outbursts of violence occurred between Arabs and Jews under the British Mandate. Such violent incidents strengthened the Sephardic notables' grievances and accusations regarding the failure of Zionist politics, and further asserted the need to cooperate with Arabs and foster mutual understanding and respect between the populations (Chelouche, 1931; Eliachar, 1975: 22-25; Alboher, 2002: 171-178)[10]. In 1929, massacres of Jews took place in mixed cities inhabited by many Sephardic and Oriental Jews. Such events contributed to the strengthening of Oriental and Sephardic Jews' identification with the Zionist movement, in Palestine and in other Arab countries (Cohen, 2013; 2015). The massacres initiated a gradual process of segregation between the everyday lives and living arrangements of the native Jews and Arabs (Klein, 2014), contributed to the difficulties of the CSCJ in raising funds in the Arab states (Haim, 2000), and led more Sephardic and Oriental individuals to join the Zionist national defense forces, mainly for the purposes of intelligence gathering and sabotage (Cohen, 2015; Jacobson & Naor, 2016). Espionage and intelligence were other ways in which native Jews used their Jewish-Arab identities and contacts with Arabs in the region for intermediary purposes with the Zionist leadership. For many, this kind of intermediary activity did not contradict the continuing advocacy for Jewish-Arab rapprochement in cultural, socioeconomic and political areas (Jacobson & Naor, 2016). This advocacy also evolved in its arguments and foci: as Jewish and Arab economies were becoming increasingly segregated, more Sephardic and Oriental initiatives aimed to foster economic cooperation between Jews and Arabs in Palestine and with Arabs in neighboring countries as well (Alboher, 2002). The Sephardic notables' claim of expertise in regards to the Arab world changed its nature, and their skills and contacts were instead funneled towards mediation efforts in Zionist-Arab relations, rather than gaining them a leadership role, as it had under the Ottoman regime (Evri, 2015). Their demands tended to be directed at the responsibilities of the Zionist institutions, and in raising public awareness to the possibility of co-existence, rather than leading to an alternative praxis (Chetrit, 2001).

Since the mid-1940s, Zionist institutions expanded their patterns of co-optation of the Sephardic notables. Sephardic organizations and individuals were included in the Zionist institutions, especially in roles dealing with Zionist politics concerning the Arab population of the land. To varying degrees of emphases, these roles combined economic and cultural politics of rapprochement with security related work. During this period, Zionist politics

[8] The Sephardic and Oriental Jews were excluded or simply got less from the Zionist system of distribution of resources. This refers to symbolic resources (immigration certificates, investment in rural settlements and safeguarded political and public representation), and material resources, such as housing, jobs, credits and health insurance. These depended on a party-key of the Zionist parties. See Morag-Talmon (1991), Horowitz & Lissak (1977): 54.

[9] My gratitude for Adina Bar Shalom for emphasizing this point to me.

[10] Despite their claims of advancing reciprocity, it could almost be claimed they wished the Zionist narrative would be understood by Arabs and the Arab culture to be respected by the Zionists.

walked a narrow line between fostering Jewish-Arab relations and taking advantage of these relations for security purposes. This narrow line consisted mainly of Oriental working class immigrants and some Oriental and Sephardic notables' key activists. Still, Sephardic and Oriental notables criticized the Zionist leadership for excluding them from decision-making procedures on Arab issues, thereby preventing them from making any improvements in Jewish-Arab relations (Jacobson & Naor, 2016). This criticism derived from the often symbolic and subjugated manner in which most Sephardic and Oriental individuals were incorporated into the Zionist institutions: integration usually depended upon their acceptance of the paradigms that the institutions had already set (Haim, 2000).

## 3. 1948: WAR, FRACTURE AND IMMIGRATION

From the end of 1947 and until the Autumn of 1948, war raged between the Zionist armed forces, Palestinian-Arab armed forces and the armies of the surrounding Arab countries. The 1948 war resulted in the creation of the State of Israel - a new geo-political entity whose existence erased Palestine from the map. This erasure was accompanied by the disintegration of Palestinian Arab social and political structures and many casualties on both sides, in part due to massacres of civilians. 75% of the Palestinian Arab population became refugees, and subsequently sought shelter in refugee camps in the surrounding Arab countries (Pappe, 2006). As soon as the war ended, Palestinian refugees began attempts to infiltrate the newly drawn borders in order to return to their villages, harvest their crops, or take revenge in form of murder or theft. Israel adopted an uncompromising militaristic stance against these infiltrations, which soon led to the establishment of a reprisal policy, i.e. sending troops to infiltrate the borders and kill civilians of the other side. Such actions led to further deterioration of Israel's relations with its Arab neighbors (Morris, 2000).

When the nature and magnitude of the Jewish Holocaust in Europe was revealed in early 1940s, the Zionist movement's leadership realized that the reserves of immigrants it had counted upon to populate the Jewish state were being exterminated. It was then that the movements' attention became directed towards Jews in Muslim countries as a new potential source of immigrants. (Shenhav, 2006). The 1948 war formalized and exacerbated hostility towards Jews within Muslim regimes and Arab populations. This hostility was further encouraged by the presence of Zionist agents' in these countries. These agents encouraged immigration in various ways, thus strengthening the ties between Zionism and the Jews living in these countries, and emphasizing the distinction between them and their compatriots (Chetrit, 2009). After the war, Jewish immigrants from Muslim countries arrived to Israel in massive waves[11], in most cases practically depleting their former Muslim homelands from any Jewish presence at all. This process has been described as a violent tear or fracture of these Jews away from their native lands, accomplished by means of sometimes formal collaborations, and at other times, structural complicity between Zionist and Arab nationalist movements (Shohat, 1999; Ben-Dor, 2004; Snir, 2006; Behar, 2007).

The Zionist leadership, which now constituted the state's ruling political party, Mapai, also feared the mass immigration of Jews from Muslim countries. The immigrants were perceived by the state as primitive, backwards, and as needing to dispose of their previously established mental constructs and traditional ways of life in order to assimilate into the modern-western nation state. Zionist leaders feared that this immigration would be damaging to the cultural and spiritual attainment of the state. These fears and colonial conceptions were translated into public policy by way of insensitive absorption and socialization policies, which abruptly dismantled the centuries' long civilizations of the Jews in Muslim countries,

[11] The great masses, about 680,000, arrived in 1948-1951, about half Ashkenazi/Oriental. After that the immigration was always of a substantial Oriental majority. By 1955 approximately 80,000 more arrived (Lissak, 1999).

from the grand structural level to the most intimate facets of life (Shenhav, 2006; Chetrit, 2009).

In years past, much research has been dedicated to demonstrating how these Orientalist frameworks led to brute inequalities in the allocation of state resources that would greatly impact generations to come (e.g. Deshen, 1986; Shohat, 1988; Svirsky & Bernstein, 1993, Svirsky, 1995; Kazzoum, 1999; Hever *et al.*, 2002; Shenhav, 2006; Cohen, 2006; Yonah *et al.*, 2013). Jewish immigrants from Muslim countries went through a much more difficult absorption process than Jewish immigrants from Europe. They usually lived in transit camps the state established for much longer periods of time and their permanent housing arrangements were delayed[12], were more frequently relocated to the periphery, and remained unemployed or were diverted to blue collar industries or physical labor (Shapira, 2012). Because Oriental Jewish immigrants were often relocated to the new frontiers, they suffered most of the casualties and property damage from the Palestinian Arab refugee resistance (Morris, 1997). In order to bolster this suffering population, a new white-collar class of social workers, educators and public servants developed, mainly from within the veteran Ashkenazim (Svirsky & Bernstein, 1993). Varying efforts, which unfortunately included all imaginable atrocities[13], were made by the state apparatuses to "save" these "underdeveloped" children from their fates. Such efforts included different methods of disseminating secular Ashkenazi education on Oriental immigrants' children. Most of these efforts were undertaken as part of the Zionist ethos of 'Merging the Diasporas', bolstering the perception of Israel as the place where all Jews must gather in order to create a united nation. The state's institutional practices fulfilled this ethos as a technical mission, left to the hands of clerks and social scientists, who were entrusted to bring about the modernization and reeducation of immigrants from Muslim countries, in closer alignment with the prevailing hegemonic Ashkenazi Zionist identity.

While this wide-reaching colonial process caused a spiritual-cultural identity crisis that was hard to detect and even harder to combat, it also created socio-economic inequalities and institutional discrimination that were easier to distinguish and resist. The 1950s saw the rise of protests of varying natures among Oriental immigrant communities, be it those living in transit camps, development towns[14] or poor neighborhoods in cities. These protests, which sometimes turned violent, clearly demanded the provision of basic necessities and rights for Oriental Jews: employment, housing, the right to choose where to live, and improved conditions in the transit camps and in governmentarranged projects; however, long-lasting organizations with greater impact were not formed out of these initial protests (Lehman-Wilzig, 1992; Chetrit, 2004; Roby, 2015).

In Jerusalem, the 1948 war brought a sudden and decisive end to any personal contacts and shared living between Jews and Arabs. The city was divided between Israel and the Kingdom of Jordan, leading to mass relocations of populations from both sides of the city. Since more Orientals lived in what became Arab district (Gaon, 1937; Jacobson & Naor, 2016), this relocation hurt the Oriental population the most. The CSCJ lost more than half of its properties, including the most historically significant and cherished ones (Memorandum, 1949). Many of its benefactor became refugees, while CSCJ members themselves lost private property and entire family inheritances[15]. Personal and business relations between the Jewish and Arab populations in Jerusalem were cut entirely, and the

[12] By the end of 1950 about 80% of the transit camps inhabitants were from Arab countries, by 1953 it was already 90% (Segev, 1984). This despite being 14-37% of all immigrants in 1948 and 1952 (Tzur, 1995). The transit camps were mostly terminated by 1960, though some continued to exist until mid-1960s (Segev, 1984).

[13] Here I refer mainly to the kidnapping of and medical experimentation on Oriental children, especially of Yemenite origins; and the withdrawal of information about these practices until nowadays. See Shovali (2007).

[14] Development towns were built throughout this period, sometimes next to the transit camps, as the permanent settlement arrangement mainly for immigrants from Arab countries. Towards the end of the period factories were constructed in their areas (Shapira, 2012), so that these towns still consist of the country´s poorest working class areas.

[15] Knesset Minutes 1950 (4): 962.

city became isolated from its "*economic and financial home front and base*" (Eliachar, 1954) - the surrounding Arab villages and cities. The process leading up to statehood and the final establishment of the state caused financial ruin for the CSCJ, but this issue was never the subject of protest. The project of the Jewish state included significant political privilege for the notables of the CSCJ. After the state was established, and for the first time in its centuries' long history, the CSCJ was operating in a Jewish city. For an ethnic minority group that had always struggled against majority groups and governments for appropriate representation, this change was momentous; it meant that they had finally cemented their positions as part of the ethnic ruling elite (Elmaliah, 1949). They hoped that within the new state, "*a Jewish hegemony of all the tribes and not just one*" (Eliachar, 1950) would rule. However, these hopes proved misguided. Zionist institutions would only agree to support Sephardic and Oriental organizations as subjugated groups. The new political reality that emerged assigned all community matters and diplomatic exchanges to state mechanisms. The politics of the Sephardic notables were rendered largely irrelevant, as was their role as intermediaries between Jews and Arabs (Jacobson & Naor, 2016). After 1948, as a result of being trapped in the zero-sum game it had tried to prevent, the CSCJ lost much of its symbolic status and economic resources.

Nonetheless, the establishment of the state aroused great hopes for this centuries' old minority group, which had until now operated under foreign rule ("Itamar Ben Avi", 1949). The problem was that gaining inclusion in the ruling majority also meant accepting weakness, dependence and marginalization, in addition to the insult of having their native rights revoked by European immigrants (Manifesto, 1948). In an attempt to regain political power, the CSCJ established a political faction intended to win over the votes of immigrants from Muslim countries and attain positions for the native elites in the state through established parliamentary procedures[16]. They supported their claim with the notion of a Sephardic and Oriental collective identity that the CSCJ would represent, based on earlier imaginings of a Sephardic and Oriental Diaspora that held the Sephardic community of Jerusalem as a spiritual base, versus a European Diaspora (Noy, 2014).

Since the Sephardic notable politics no longer played the role of intermediaries between the Arab world and the state, their pre-statehood claim morphed after 1948 into a new desire: to intermediate between state institutions and Oriental immigrants from Muslim countries. However, this was not a legitimate aim in the new Israeli reality: the CSCJ as an organization was not capable of absorbing the multitudes of lower class immigrants, seeing as most of their community leaders and notables had not immigrated to Israel[17]. The CSCJ simply did not have the social contacts or skills to establish legitimacy among the masses of impoverished immigrants. The honor-politics that had formerly constituted the base of the notable regime was no longer relevant to the ethos of the modern-western democracy that Israel was forming. From the perspective of the marginalized Sephardic community, liberal democracy was based on a "*wretched disease from the West: the sickness of political parties*" (Third Meeting, 1950). Moreover, the perceived inferiority of the Oriental immigrants by the Zionist ruling elites created a racial divide that the Sephardic elite refused to be contaminated with. And so, as the Oriental immigrants were being stereotyped increasingly negatively within the ruling discourse, the CSCJ elite circles similarly nurtured a feeling of superiority over them (Peretz, 2000). Between the immigrants of Muslim countries and the Ashkenazi elites, the CSCJ notables preferred to identify with the latter, even as t hey maintained a defiant discourse towards the establishment. These factors prevented the CSCJ from reaching out to their public: immigrants from Muslim countries. By 1955, during the

[16] In 1949 the faction was formed with other Sephardic elites, mainly of the Haifa and Tel Aviv Councils of Sephardic Community. These institutions quit politics in 1951, and the CSCJ continued its work as an autonomous faction inside the General Zionists party until 1955.
[17] This is why much of their work in the parliament, particularly of Eliahu Eliachar, was aimed at advancing the immigration of the Oriental elites. E.g. "The Subcommittee" (1953).

new states' third elections, the Oriental faction lost all parliamentary representation and withdrew from official politics.

## 4. THE THEORY OF AUTOCTONOUS ZIONISM OF THE 1960S

By 1960, there were dozens of autonomous local organizations of Sephardim and Orientals, natives and immigrants that provided cultural and educational activities, mutual social aid and religious services. These organizations were usually formed by specific communities, according to their communal origins and current places of residence[18]. Organizations of Oriental natives and immigrants were more often than not separate (Report of Investigation Committee, 1959). Some organizations attempted to form nation-wide coalitions for specific professions ('Abbas, 1958) or places of origin ("Committee of Twelve", 1958).

Bernstein (1976) described in detail the relationships between these self-help organizations and the Ashkenazi Zionist political parties, and the different oppressive and exploitative means that parties took to annul Oriental autonomy. Any emergent Oriental leaders got drawn into different parties, to act in them only as "votes' brokers" (Lissak, 1972) with no actual influence within the parties' mechanisms (Chetrit, 2004)[19]. Some parties made ethnic lists composed of immigrants from specific Muslim countries of origin. Most immigrants tended to vote for these protégé ethnic lists (Deshen, 1970; Lissak, 1972). In some localities, the protégé lists rebelled and protested, creating their own independent lists and used these to attempt to gain better positions in their parties ('Abbas, ibid.; "Tsisat ha-sfradiim", 1958; "We got united", 1961). In this manner, the decade of the 1960s witnessed a gradual increase in representation of Orientals and Sephardim within Zionist parties, mainly in local environments, such as workers' organizations and municipalities (Deshen, 1970; 'Abbas, ibid.). The retirement of the CSCJ from parliamentary politics created new opportunities within the political structure for younger Sephardic and Oriental generations to fill (Cohen-Tzidon, 1956). Several new representative initiatives emerged, seeking to represent the Oriental and Sephardic populations on local and national scales (Misles, 1961).

The CSCJ was consciously searching for routes by which to gain greater influence and become a functioning extra-parliamentary lobby. One of the strategies explored was the establishment of a journal in 1961 called "In the Battle" (hereinafter: IB), known as The Organ of the Sephardic and Oriental Publics. The IB was mainly an intellectual platform. It promoted debates on the correct terminology with which to discuss the problems of the Sephardim and Orientals in the state, as well as debated the most critical needs of the community. This second debate usually led to the conclusion that the greatest need was for increased Sephardic and Oriental representation in elected state institutions. The IB also pursued cultural endeavors, such as the publication of reviews of Sephardic and Oriental customs, heritage, and folklore.

Some political activists believed the IB should be dedicated to reestablishing the pre-1948 claim of the Sephardic and Oriental's role as intermediaries between Jews and Arabs and for advancing Israeli - Arab rapprochement (Cohen-Tzidon, 1963b). Thanks to the contributions and inspiration of these activists, the IB also developed as a platform to discuss theoretical and practical suggestions for an alternative to the animosity, hatred and condescending attitudes Israeli society held towards the Arab world. The writing in the IB was often intertwined with denouncements of public policies that required that Oriental immigrants shed their Arab cultural baggage. This critical discourse was developed by the

[18] For instance, in Haifa in 1959 there were nine such Sephardic and Oriental registered organizations (Nachmias & Spiegel, 2009: 113). For an example of cooperation between old timers and immigrants: Shavit (1958).
[19] Purchasing votes, for instance, seems to have been a regular practice. See Report of Investigation Committee (1959).

older generation of native activists and within intellectual immigrants. It did not develop as much within the younger native generations:

> "The youth that grows up in Israel does not better absorb either understanding or knowledge of what is happening around us, and in the day that the desired peace will come, we will lack this priceless baggage [mit'an yakar] for good neighboring relations with the peoples fate had assigned us to live by." (Eliahu Eliachar to David Sitton, 1965)

The "priceless baggage" of knowledge, and subsequent appreciation of Arabic language and cultural productions held great political value for the older native and immigrant intellectuals. It helped them to effectively confront the establishment's attempts to undermine the political value of Sephardic and Oriental Jewries. For instance, a common Ashkenazi discourse was the justification of Ashkenazi domination by conjuring anxiety and fear of the "levantization" of Israel: the possibility that if Orientals and Sephardim had real power, the state would be assimilated into an Arab domain and "*would not have value for the Jewish people*" (David Ben Gurion to Moshe Chelouche, 1962). Younger native activists countered this argument by circumventing it, and demonstratively highlighting distinctions between Oriental Jews and Arabs ("hamehumot ve-hatkhakhim", 1962). In contrast, some of the older natives and immigrant intellectuals used this 'baggage' to make comprehensive arguments against the Ashkenazi claim (Sitton, 1958; Cohen-Tzidon, 1962; Eliachar, 1967; "The Millennium", 1965). They presented the intrinsic relationship between the project of empowerment of the Oriental and Sephardic publics - the need for the Ashkenazi state to develop a tolerant attitude towards the Orient - and Israeli-Arab rapprochement:

> "The Jews of the Orient have adapted a special way of life through which they could accomplish co-existence with the Arabs for many generations. When they felt estranged in this country [zarutam ba-aretz] they tried to adapt the same way of life with the Ashkenazim, of course with less success. The disrespect [zilzul] did not persecute them in the Muslim countries, but in the land of the Jews [erets ha-yehudim] it persecuted them into their intimacy ['ad le-hadrei hadarim] … Now people begin to study their past, learn about what happened to them in Israel [ba-arets], and to express their feelings [rahashei libam] and respond on press to the said and written about them and against them…the burden of prejudice within, indicates [noten ototav] the exterior policy." ("'al nehashalim ve-koshlim", 1967)

Unlike Marxist conceptions of Jewish-Arab fraternity, the IB contributors wrote about Jewish-Arab rapprochement as an internal-Jewish process, and not one based on practical cooperation with Palestinians or any other Arabs. More than a process, in fact it was an ethos they developed in order to impose on the nature and image of the state. This ethos was based on conceptions of Jewish Redemption, and proposed a profoundly different vision for the state. It directly confronted the issue of the purpose of the Jewish people in inhabiting their land and the role that the Jewish state should play in the future of the Middle East. In short, it was an alternative Zionist theory ("Memorandum", 1966) for the establishment of Israel as an "Oriental country"[20].

This alternative Zionism, which here we call autochthonous Zionism, was based on the same premises of pre-1948 Inclusive Zionism, and had some of the same formulators. This alternative Zionism developed through comprehensive critical thinking that tied several

[20] Efron (2005) wrote about Egyptian and Iraqi intellectuals in Israel, such as Jacqueline Kahanoff, Sami Michael and Nissim Rejwan. These intellectuals wrote in literary publications, daily newspapers and parties' organs; about similar themes as the ones reviewed here, and from a similar position of natives of the region. They all wrote in order to achieve public legitimacy to their interpretation about the desired character of the state. The public influence the IB tried to achieve by its very existence, these individuals tried to achieve by themselves. Nissim Rejwan and Aharon Zamir are the only one of Efron researched that consistently contributed to the IB in periods.

epistemological, ontological and political questions together. For instance, some authors in the IB appealed to the political project of knowing the special values, culture, and heritage of Oriental and Sephardic Judaism. Others simply recorded its contents: folklore, customs, rabbinical productions and history. The project of producing knowledge on Oriental and Sephardic Jewries was seen as a similar identityrelated spiritual-cultural political project - spreading knowledge about the Arab world. It confronted the external and internal nature of the state: the nature of the Jewish people, its mission at that place and time, and its relationship with the Arab world. The writers of this ethos conceived of themselves as "natives to the region" (Alpert, 1966), as opposed to Ashkenazi Jewry. In their writings, proposals were made for the construction of an autochthonous nationalism, which rely on biblical references and the glory of the Judeo-Spanish Golden Age (Rivlin 1962; Rejwan, 1966). This idea was expounded in the writings of several authors, but its most eloquent supporter was Yitzhak A. Abadi, for whom Oriental and Sephardic political activists from different organizations advocated to become President[21]:

> "[There exists] a deep psychological abyss between us and them…understanding the abyss… would require from us a deeper and wider change, not only in our attitudes towards the Arab world, to the Arabs as humans, to the Arabs as our closest neighbors… but also to our very mission in this part of the world. This is the kind of change that in itself requires a spiritual rebooting of systems [shidud maarkhot ruhani]…what does the Israeli child know about the Arab world, its language, lifestyle, ambitions, culture…this is required in order to design citizens that are loyal to their people and land with a Jewish consciousness…". ('Abadi, 1962)
>
> "In such a [historical] view, spiritual and cultural Jewish-Arab cooperation will not be seen as utopian and consisting of false dreams, but rather as the force of history… We seek [hotrim] to create an original culture of our own, and such culture will not be real [lo yehe ba mamash] if it does not evolve [tinak ve-tizon] from its natural ground [adama]. Such natural ground is in the Middle East, that is all Arab, and is also seeking [hoter] to design itself new tools of culture and spirit instead of using yesterday's tools that go and sink in forgetfulness [holkhim ve-metuba'im be-yam ha-shikheha]. What, then, is more understandable and logical than cultural and spiritual cooperation between us and them…we do not have any passion to copy and imitate to our country's values from others that do not fit our national character. But obviously, we do not have any desire, or ability, to stand for long as an isolated island distinct from its entire environment and… pretend it simply does not exist…In our press, the president of Egypt will never be mentioned in his title, President of Egypt…but [just] in order to emphasize his supposed tyranny. Who are we trying to cheat?". ('Abadi, 1965)

The above quote criticizes hegemonic Zionist discourse for misrepresenting and underrepresenting the Arab world in its totality. In other places as well, the discourses of politicians and the media, as well as the study of the Arab world in academia, were undermined as unprofessional and erroneous in aims (Sitton, 1958).

### 4.1 Merger of Diasporas as an Ecology of Knowledges

The very same claim that was made about the academic study of the Arab world was made about the hegemonic Zionist discourse about the Orientals. It was being debated and reformulated by Ashkenazi "*educators, ministers, politicians, writers, sociologists and journalists*"

[21] In Israel the President is a symbolic-diplomatic role, while the Prime Minister holds the primary executive power.

(Eliahu Eliachar to H. Hahelgi, 1965). The 1960s were marked by a growing "academization" of the ethnic divide in Israel, especially in spheres in which Ashkenazi social scientists held prominence, through academic conferences and articles aimed at influencing public policies. The Ashkenazi scholars did not seek to benefit from the knowledge of the Sephardic and Oriental intellectuals, notables and activists who had been dealing with these questions in the public sphere. Via publications of the IB and other means, the CSCJ sought to divert the direction of knowledge production[22]. The IB was not ultimately successful as a tool with which leaders might "*solidify this public*" (Sofer, 1964), but the journal did succeed in establishing a Sephardic and Oriental ivory club - a live alternative to the ivory-towers of the academics, but without a scientific academic seal. This figurative 'club' was a safe zone, where theories could incubate without having their epistemic bases undermined (Ma'as, 1963).

Scientific conferences and publications addressing the Israeli ethnic divide were sources of continuous dispute within the IB. Debates ensued regarding their scientific validity, underlining motivations and the general value they offered to society.

> "...The failure of these scientists to keep abreast of modern sociological thought, or to pass these findings on to political and administrative circles in the country, is a major cause of the present gloom of the communal situation in Israel. Their attempts to understand the communal confrontation are erroneous, superficial and evasive…and constitute a circular argument". ("Israeli Sociology", 1965)
>
> "An investigative approach, which includes theoretical [Halakhtiyot] categories established by the majority, instead of practical categories… merely gives a diagnosis in a superficial, ornate [melitzi] and declarative manner and does not speak about treatment". (Yishai, 1963)

Critics of this school of thought wrote about how the academic discourse, which evolved in other public spheres throughout the 1960s, was impractical, damaging, establishing racist categories ("Facing the Ashkenazi Revolution", 1964; Elihau Eliachar to Ma'ariv editor, 1965; Oron, 1966; Eliachar, 1967: 3, 9-18), reverting to debates that the Sephardic and Oriental elites had already exhausted, and over "*clarifying the terms and defining goals*" ("be-rei ha-'itonot", 1963)[23]. This scientific production of knowledge had no connection to the Ashkenazim's required task: to "*turn down their arrogant tones* [ton ha-yohara]" (Eliachar, 1967: 15) and uproot their "*pretentious dispositions* [hilchei ruah]" (Eliachar, 1967: 23), and adopt a tolerant, egalitarian and flexible attitude, in order to become one people in the land (Eliachar, 1963). This process would require Merging of the Diasporas, a national ethos required for the project of the construction of the Jewish state. However, this project was not understood the same way from the East and West. For Ashkenazim, it was understood as the project of modernizing Oriental Jewries, while Sephardim and Orientals had quite a different vision. Popular and intellectual, liberal and conservative, Sephardic and Oriental organizations and activists all appropriated the Zionist ethos of the Merging of the Diasporas as necessitating a mutual effort. In this process, both populations "*learn from one another, merge into each other and do not cancel out one in favor of the other*" (Shimoni, 1963). This understanding of the meaning of the Merger of Diasporas is what united Oriental and Sephardic activists in all spheres of activity[24]. Many researchers saw the Oriental discourse on the Merging of the Diasporas as expressing dependence on Ashkenazim (e.g. Herzog, 1986; Morag-Talmon, 2000). However,

[22] That means, to encourage Sephardic and Oriental scholars to produce knowledge about their own societies, in order to influence Ashkenazi public and academic spheres. Another project of the CSCJ was the construction of an "institution for communal relations" that would possibly also serve as an archive of the CSCJ's activity, and function as a sort of alternative academic institution to investigate Oriental and Sephardic heritages. Eliahu Eliachar to Mr. Nurock (1966); "Work Plan" (1963). About the IB as tool for public work see, Protocol of Executive Committee (1965).

[23] For instance, in Shevet va-'am and other publications.

[24] That is, except for some of the ones that were consistent in Ashkenazi parties. About the popular counter-hegemonic framing on the Merger of Diasporas see Peres (1976: 100); and in political activity: Lissak (1972).

those activists whose background and social class enabled them to integrate this vision within a broader geo-political perspective[25], and make an explicit connection between the ethos for the Merging of the Diasporas and the Arab world, did develop an autonomous voice.

This autonomous thinking presented the Merger of the Diasporas as a project which manifested what De Sousa Santos called "the ecology of knowledges". Superficially, the ecology of knowledges could be interpreted as the popular Sephardic and Oriental aspiration of taking the best aspects of each community, and merging these qualities into one harmonious Israeli identity. However, as De Sousa Santos (2007) pointed out, mere recognition of cultural diversity does not equal recognition of epistemological diversity. The ecology of knowledges is based on a principal that sees all systems of knowledges as incomplete on their own - this includes science as well as more symbolic universes and wisdoms. Ecology stands for the possibility of the existence of indestructible relationships between systems of knowledge (De Sousa Santos, 2006), not as abstract theories but rather as knowledgeable practices. Ecology of knowledges is reflected in the process of developing strategies which carefully select the body of knowledge most likely to successfully resolve a particular issue (such as the Merge of Diasporas) rather than blindly privileging scientific knowledge simply because of its lofty position in the power structure (De Sousa Santos, 2007). Unlike the search for harmonious relations between communities, this school of thought is interested in identifying the lacunae that exists in every form of knowledge, and then supplementing these weaknesses with complementary aspects from other forms of knowledge. The monoculture (De Sousa Santos, 2006) of Ashkenazi scientific knowledge about Jews from Muslim countries and about the Arab world was contested in the debates in the IB for subjective and practical reasons – in fact, the same reasons De Sousa Santos pointed out. In the 1960s, an ambition was formulated in the IB for the creation of an intercultural state, which would be nurtured by ecologies of Ashkenazi, Sephardic, Oriental and Arab knowledges. No one type of knowledge was discarded or adopted in its totality: the Ashkenazim brought late-modern technological developments, the Sephardim offered the heritage of esteemed early-modern Jewish thought, while the Arabs knew how to combine the two knowledges, enabling them to modernize without losing their identity (Eliachar, 1965; "be-nivhey ha-statistica", 1966).

As De Sousa Santos (2006) notes, in order to create a dialogue that nurtures such an ecology, it becomes necessary to first make visible the forms of knowledge that are inferiorized, in order to regain cultural bearings and build confidence in these forms of knowledge. Indeed, the autonomous production of knowledge was central in any Sephardic or Oriental project, and provided a clear starting point for many autonomous organizations at the time, not merely political ones, such as the project of the IB. However, contextualizing this project within the ecology of knowledges - which included teachings from the Arab world - was not easily done; the move had to be formulated with caution and precision[26]. Hostile and paternalistic attitudes towards the Arab world were not monopolized by Ashkenazi Zionism, but rather were prevalent among different layers of the Oriental and Sephardic populations. The image of the working class Orientals as particularly 'Arab hating' was popularized and propagated throughout the media and scientific research ("'edot hamizrah", 1962; Peres, 1976: 93-97). The writers of the IB did not apply the apparent paradox such a tendency might suggest to their conceptualization of the Zionism that should be inspired by the "natives of the region". Some perhaps dismissed this popularized hatred as ephemeral and relatively esoteric ("'edot ha-mizrah", 1962). In essence, even if elevated levels of hostility

[25] As Tsur (2000) suggested, immigrants' views about the Arab world depended on personal past experiences under Muslim rule. The intellectual elite that wrote about these matters could claim for themselves or for their circles to take power positions in diplomacy. In contrast, organized working class immigrants could not develop this voice because it would not be their autonomous voice.
[26] For instance, many of those most consistently writing about it, like "Oriental Jew", used pseudonyms.

existed within working class Orientals towards the Arabs, it still did not constitute a paradox for the inclusive political project of regional-autochthonous Zionism. The view that was developed in the pages of the IB did not perceive Sephardim and Orientals in an essentialist manner.

An essentialist view of identity is sometimes leveraged in identity-politics (Bernstein, 2005). Identity politics demands acknowledgement of the singularity of a groups' identity, and defines rights that subsequently derive from it. The pages of the IB were not entirely devoid of identity politics or essentialist conceptualizations of Sephardic and Oriental identities, but as ideologies, these did not develop to the extent that other ideas did. For instance, the Andalusian Golden Age was conceived of as the foundation of Judaism at large, to serve as the basis of the state, and not merely as a tool for empowering a distinct Sephardic identity (Cohen-Tsidon, 1963; Rejwan, 1966).

### 4.2 National Consciousness

The essentialist view of identity used in identity politics, especially in the anti-colonial climate of the 1960s, involved a tendency of the colonized or subaltern subjects to glorify the inferiorized culture as superior. This tendency has been criticized for preserving the colonial discourse that imagines colonizers and colonized as essentialist dichotomies, and for merely reversing the Eurocentric colonial logic, rather than challenging or dismantling it. Grosfougel (2010) expressed such ideas about Third World fundamentalism, Fraser (1993) referenced cultural nationalism, Fanon (1963) criticized this tendency of the Negritude movement, while Valldejuli (2007) wrote about nativism.

According to Fanon (1963), and to the intellectuals' own observations on the working class immigrants, the people who bore the burden of the liberation struggles in practice - those initiating revolts since late 1950s and those practicing acts of everyday resistance (Scott, 1990) - tended towards demagogy based on essentialist nativist perspective (Zamir, 1962; Arditi, 1963): "the emotional if not the logical antithesis of that insult which the white man flung at humanity" (Fanon, 1963: 211). This perspective was held *vis-a-vis* the Ashkenazim, and perhaps also *vis-a-vis* the Arabs in the form of vehement Zionism[27]. Barely any primary materials have been found that documents such a perspective, and its actual scope in this period is impossible to distinguish, since it was more verbal than textual, according to the secondary resources. From the perspective of our intellectuals, such nativist discourse only endowed the immigrant and native intellectual-activists even more responsibility over the working-class immigrants:

> "If a danger is spotted disguised [the Oriental struggle for equality] as a national struggle, those who take care of the issue attempt to divert attention [le-hitrahek] from any such theme". ("'edot ha-mizrah", 1962)

We could claim that this lack of nativism denoted a stark contrast between the intellectuals and wider spheres of the politicized public they presumed to write to and about. What is more clear is that autochthonous Zionism and the alternative Merger of the Diasporas projects that were developed in the IB were rarely transformed into concrete demands or actions and were destined to remain principally theoretical debates. The intellectual-autonomous collective identity that was formulated in the pages of the IB did not inspire or relate to any

[27] Different sociologists nowadays have written about Orientals' hatred for Arabs and tried to explain it from various prisms, a lso as a way to channel hate and frustration towards the Ashkenazi left. For a review of these explanations see Mizrahi (2011).

practical struggles; it did not designate a route through which to trickle down to society[28]. Comparing these debates with reflections of the native intellectuals of the time could clarify what factors prevented this discourse from translating into political action.

Fanon (1963) described several different phases in the native intellectuals' process of formulating the national consciousness. The division into phases has also been criticized (Williams & Chrisman, 1994). It could be claimed that these are not necessarily consecutive phases but rather congruent, and can exist simultaneously even in an individuals' discourse. According to Fanon, the first phase consists of the native intellectuals' efforts to prove their ability to assimilate within the colonial culture. The second phase is an essentialist and romantic return to the roots, becoming immersed in the native peoples and abandoning all western knowledge; this phase can generate nativist politics and discourse. The third phase is expressed in literary productions, and aims at "arousing the public" by way of emphasizing their people's cultural achievements. However, since the intellectual is not truly a part of the common people, Fanon reminds us, he reproduces mainly "exoticism": in our context, writings about customs and folklore. Such intellectual productions do not reflect the real necessities of the people (Fanon, 1963). While the third phase, as described by Fanon, is very apparent in the discourse developed in the IB, the intellectuals mostly eluded the second Fanonian phase. If there did exist a return to the roots that our native intellectuals imagined, it was to Al-Andalus (Evri, 2016), to the time and place when a glorious Jewish culture flourished, inspired and enabled by its rootedness in the Arab world. That time and place was deemed as directly translatable to their present reality - as a return to the Orient[29]. Other native intellectuals conceptualized entire civilizations as the basis for their anti-colonial nationalisms, such as Negro-African and Muslim-Arab civilizations (Fanon, 1963). These intellectuals conceptualized The Orient.

> "Many find relief to the nerves of the material and spiritual siege held upon us by dismissing the cultural, artistic, moral and historical values of the Oriental man, they dismiss his language, past and worldview. This way estrangement [zarut] and distance grow, and on top of that are added inferiority complexities". (Cohen Tsidon, 1963)

This quote contains a criticism of the colonial processes that the Orientals have been going through in Israel, along with criticism of Israel's colonial engagement with the Arab world. In this context, Orientals form part of the colonial matrix of power, both as victims and as a colonizing force. Treating the Orient as a civilizational unit enabled the activists-intellectuals to construct certain continuities between their culture and Islamic civilization, and thereafter to demand respect for both societies.

When attempts were made to translate this comprehensive critique into practical demands, at times these were built upon Arab anti-colonial discourse (Danino, 1959). The intellectuals reclaimed positions of power in circles of Israeli diplomats, as a perceived antidote to the Arab anti-colonial discourse, and as a way to eradicate Israel's stereotype as an imperialist and colonial force in the Middle East. Other practical demands in the fields of education and housing were voiced against colonial dynamics of "*cultural and educational feudalism*" ("Be-nivhey ha-statistica", 1966), and "*Culturecide*" (Danger!, 1965; Ya'akovi, 1967). There was a selective adoption of various components from Arab or Asian anti-colonial discourses. The claim for the Merger of the Diasporas as an ecology of knowledges was also constructed by

[28] The different reasons that can be suggested to this lack of continuance from theory to practice exceed the span of this review. Principally it has to do with the structure of political opportunities in the 1960s in Israel, in which Sephardic and Oriental activists had to be extra cautious not to seem politically opportunistic. If these intellectuals had gotten organized politically in any way, it could have only undermined their claims in this point in time. However, it could also be claimed that the intellectual freedom to write about Israel-Arab rapprochement was to begin with allowed by their lack of intention to take political action with regards. See this caution for instance in: "Danger, Jewish racialism! Israel's Sephardim: integration, or disintegration?" (1965). Jerusalem: Council of the Sephardi Community of Jerusalem. See Fanon (1963: 223).

[29] Also in these writing there was increasing usage in the adjective Orientali rather than Eastern. This is naturally somewhat ironic when tied up with the Andalusian Golden Age, placed to the West from Israel.

selective - yet eclectic - theoretical perspectives, resulting from the Sephardic and Oriental intellectual's exposure to and appreciation of diverse intellectual sources. This theoretical perspective was developed by the older generations of native elites, as well as by immigrants who had had the chance to be educated with a diverse array of knowledge, from sources in Arab, Jewish and western environments. However, these theoretical developments did not solidify into justifications for taking practical political action.

Perhaps it was also the avoidance of the second nativist-essentialist phase that created barriers to developing praxis out of this critique. Memmi (1975) also described phases in the construction of anticolonial liberation struggles that were identical to Fanon's first and second phases. He claimed that the realization of the second phase for the Jews was likely to be expressed through Zionist ideology, and that this is the principal form of Jewish national liberation. Kassab (2009) and Hall (2006) also noted two phases in decolonial cultural critique and in the construction of ethnicity-based politics. In their analysis, the first phase is an elevation of an essentialist identity, whereas later on, wider humanistic critiques develop that include demands for rights for other groups as well. The discourse of autochthonous Zionism that was examined here bears more similarities to this later phase than to the essentialist-nativist phase, although considering Memmi's suggestions, it could be seen as encompassing both. The alternative autochthonous Zionism tied together the critiques of the subjugation of Sephardic and Oriental Jewries and of Arabs under one civilizational unit of 'the Orient', in order to clarify the meaning of and the goals that the Jewish state should pursue in the Middle East.

Spivak (1990) referred to the nativist phase as "strategic essentialism", which was deemed necessary by various authors for the purposes of constructing a political power to oppose colonialism (Memmi, 1975; Shohat & Stam, 1994; Kassab, 2009). The avoidance of this phase has been implicitly noted by other researchers who explored Sephardic and Oriental mobilizations and organizations. The research tended to dismiss the transformative value of Sephardic and Oriental political activity because they did not seek direct segregation from the Ashkenazim, but rather pursued a strategy of appeasement with the Ashkenazim, with the aim of gaining inclusion in the national collective as designed by Ashkenazi Zionists (e.g. Tsur, 2000; Meir-Glitzenstein, 2009). Here, I suggest that the fact that Oriental and Sephardic political activity was aimed towards gaining inclusion in state institutions does not dismiss the potential transformative value of their discourse. Furthermore, I would suggest that the inability of the political discourse of the time to construct identity-politics separately, or to develop an essentialist-nativist perspective, had more to do with the 1948 fracture than with the desire to gain equality in a pre-established national collective. If Orientals in the state of Israel holds positions both as colonizers and colonized (Raz-Krakotzkin, 2005), it was not necessarily taking the side of the colonizers that prevented them from developing anti-colonial identity politics based on essentialist nativist identity, although that was certainly the case for many organizations. In the case explored here, it was the ontological and physical fracture that occurred to these immigrants and natives in 1948 that prevented their anti-colonial discourse from developing into strategic essentialism. Instead, it turned into a broader humanist critique, meant to design an alternative Jewish collective identity based on spiritual-Oriental Jewish pillars rather than the national- European pillars imported by the Zionist movement.

In his study on the development of the Oriental ultra-orthodoxy in Israel, Leon (2010) claims that the animosity between Israel and the Arab states has constructed mental and physical barriers, which prevent the realization of an Oriental religiosity, imagined within its own roots of Islamic civilization. Therefore, in instances where conservative Sephardic rabbis faced threats to their tradition and status from secular Ashkenazi society, they develop patterns of conservative responses exclusively *vis-à-vis* Ashkenazi Judaism rather than through their own traditions[30]. I suggest here that the same physical and mental barriers also prevented the Sephardic and Oriental intellectuals-activists from constructing their own form of nativism. Articulating an essentialist superiority of Sephardic and Oriental Jewries as a whole would necessarily rely on praising the tolerance and grandeur of Islamic civilization. There would be no collective identity of Orientals and Sephardim without Islamic civilization, just as Oriental Jewry would not exist in Israel if it was not for their perceived inferiority in the ruling Ashkenazi discourse. The activists in question were not afraid of pointing out the advantageous characteristics and beauty of Islamic civilizations, and neither of identifying themselves as related to it. However, due to the anti-Zionist exterminatory rhetoric of Arab nationalisms, they certainly could not build an essentialist image of themselves on this civilizational base; after all, Muslims and Jews have declared each other mortal enemies. Specifying the contents of an essentialist Oriental and Sephardic collective identity would inevitably result either in superficiality (Shaki, 1963), or in praise for those who declared a desire to destroy the Jewish nation. Behar (2007) claims that Zionism contributed to the political segregation of the Middle East on a religious basis, within a structural alliance formed between the Zionist and Arab national movements. Both national currents rejected the legitimacy of the Oriental and Sephardic two-pronged loyalty: nationally and spiritually-religiously Jewish, but culturally tied to Muslim civilization, and therefore also encompassing some of its spiritual components. The conceptualization of Oriental civilization and the Jewish state's place in it aided in the construction of a comprehensive alternative to the colonial formations of Zionism and allowed it to formulate a nativist approach to the Merger of Diasporas project. It sometimes even translated into concrete demands from the state, but could not inspire much anti-colonial political activity on this basis. In part, this was due to the complex nature of the critique, and that, unlike other anti-colonial discourses of the time, it could not rely on a simplistic essentialist view of the superiority of Oriental and Sephardic identities. Recognizing the unique position of Sephardim and Orientals as both colonizers and colonized contributed to developing the theoretical critique, but did not contribute to expansion of the praxis.

## 5. CONCLUSION

One might also claim that the Six Day War in 1967 was a main component in preventing autochthonous Zionism from inspiring any political action; and this would not be the first or last time that a war put an end to Orientalist protests in Israel (Herzog, 2005). In late 1966, tensions soared between Israel, the surrounding countries, and the emerging Palestinian Fatah organization. The IB's contributors maintained almost complete silence regarding the contemporaneous developments in the Israeli-Arab conflict. The fact that Ashkenazi Zionists had succeeded in establishing the state as soon as they did, weakened the Sephardic claim regarding the benefits that could have been achieved had they played a more central role in Arab- Israeli politics (Eliachar, 1964). In the 1960s, this unexplored role was not reclaimed, but rather was abandoned as a mere recollection of diplomatic paths not taken before 1948 (Sasson, 1966). When military combat and exchanges of violence came, autochthonous Zionism had no practical suggestions to offer. There were no critiques of government military policies in the IB, instead such critiques were expressed only in the private spheres (Eliahu Eliachar to Micheal Selzer, undated; Eliahu Eliachar to D. Khazzoum, 1967).

If we can view coloniality and modernity as co-constitutive, as two sides of the same coin (Mignolo, 2000), then in June of 1967, the positive side of the colonial/modern coin, the side alight with the modernity of a democratic nation state with modern military power-shined brighter than ever. This allowed the Israeli public at large, including the activists

[30] For more about Oriental ultra-orthodoxy see Leon (1999; 2004b; 2009).

and intellectuals at hand, relief and protection in the face of the Arab rhetoric and goal to extinguish the state[31]. It became apparent that the Merger of Diaspora project as ecology of knowledges was aimed at impeding war; it was not apt for handling it.

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# PART 2 - GEOGRAPHICAL IDENTITY

# LINKING MOUNTAIN IMAGE WITH PLACE-ATTACHMENT

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## ABSTRACT

Mountain tourism represents 15–20% of the tourist industry, corresponding to receipts of around 70–90 billion US$ per year. Mountains are attractive tourism destinations because people view them as natural and sacred places with plenty of social, cultural and symbolic meanings. The present study is a conceptual work that debates the link between mountain destination image with place-attachment by summarizing, systematizing and discussing the distinct, yet connected, image and place-attachment constructs.

Based on an extensive literature review focusing on the concepts of place-attachment, destination image and social and cultural meanings of mountains, the study provides a framework which allows the assessment of the emotional and functional bonds that tourists can establish with mountain places. Systematization of the literature review should permit a deeper understanding of the diverse meanings and values associated with mountains, increasing our awareness of their social and cultural value. The model sheds light on the diverse dimensions of mountain destination image and their potential link to tourists' place-attachment, which is most interesting for sustainable mountain tourism development. Although the model's validation would further improve our understanding of the relationships between the constructs, the relations already identified in the literature review justify a consideration of the presented dimensions. This more detailed comprehension may enhance tourist mountain destination planning, as well as marketing and management, thus helping mountain DMOs promote distinct and unique mountain features that attract tourists and involve them emotionally with the mountain areas visited and dreamt of.

Keywords: Mountain Tourism; Destination Image; Place-attachment; Social Representations; Literature Review; Sustainable Development.

JEL Classification: Z32

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Research shows that people are attracted to and develop emotional links to natural environments for a variety of reasons. In fact natural environments, such as mountains, offer a range of physical, psychological and social benefits that make them attractive leisure and tourism destinations, potentially providing affective links with their visitors.

Place-attachment influences what individuals see, think and feel about a place and therefore includes emotional and symbolic meanings they attribute to them. People develop a sense of belonging, identity, and dependence regarding certain places that they visit or live in, making place-attachment a multidimensional construct. This construct incorporates

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four dimensions that have recently been applied to the field of tourism, namely: (1) *Place-dependence,* which represents the functional dimension of a place, describes visitors' attachment to a specific place and their awareness of its unique setting for certain activities (e.g. making a particular mountain the ideal place for hiking, as judged by the individual); (2) *Place-identity* which refers to the location's symbolic dimension, to the connection between a place and one's personal identity, containing both cognitive and affective elements; (3) *Place-affect* means the emotional link to a place; and (4) *Place-social bonding* which is related to socially shared experiences that are associated with a place.

When considering destination image as the sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that an individual has of a destination (Crompton, 1979), it is also necessary to include cognitive and affective components (Kastenholz, 2002; Stepchenkova & Morrison, 2008; Silva, 2011). The cognitive image component consists of beliefs and knowledge about a destination, primarily focusing on tangible physical attributes of a place (Stabler, 1988; Pike & Ryan, 2004; Smith, 2005). The affective image component, on the other hand, represents feelings about a destination (Baloglu & Brinberg, 1997; Beerli & Martín, 2004).

Previous research suggests that a place's attractiveness is an important determinant of place-attachment, particularly in the domain of tourism (Silva, Kastenholz & Abrantes, 2013). It is therefore important to understand the dimensions of mountain destination image that reveal these destinations' attractiveness and their possible link to the diverse dimensions of place-attachment. In this sense, the study seeks to analyze, in a holistic and multi-disciplinary manner that considers inputs from academic literature in psychology, sociology, tourism and marketing, the relation between tourists' destination images and place-attachment associated with mountain destinations.

## 2. MOUNTAIN IMAGES

Mountains are cultural, natural, social and physical spaces but they are also socially, cognitively and emotionally constructed sites. Mountain destinations' attractiveness is more than a collection of functional and physical attributes (Russo & van der Borg, 2002). It is their symbolic meaning and significance that attracts tourists to and involves them with mountains (Silva, Kastenholz & Abrantes, 2013).

Myths, images and imagining of mountains are inseparable (Blake, 2005) and the social meanings of mountains change overtime (Silva, Kastenholz & Abrantes, 2011). However, some of these meanings remain and stand out as relevant for most mountain destinations, namely: natural/ecological, social and prestige, sport and leisure, historic-cultural and affective meanings, as detailed next.

### 2.1 Natural/Ecological

Characterized by the intense natural beauty of its sceneries (Nepal, 2008), the mountain has become a symbolic expression of the landscape itself and the formalization of the sublime (Pisón, 1998). The mountain is frequently seen as an ecological, scenic and environmental sanctuary of nature (Krauchi, Brang & Schonenberger, 2000; Veyret, 2001).

### 2.2 Social and Prestige

Mountains are places that allow individuals to establish social relationships where they may enjoy positive experiences of interaction and may also learn about and share the values of local communities, whose life is shaped by their relation with these extraordinary places (Smith & Eadington, 1995; Urry & Crawshaw, 1995; Formica & Uysal, 1996).

Mountains are also unique and alternative places from the tourists' point of view and are considered fashionable places that enjoy a good reputation, giving prestige to those who visit them (Vengesayi & Mavondo, 2004).

### 2.3 Sport and Leisure

Another social meaning of mountains combines mountainous areas and adventure sports. The most popular and typical mountain sport activities are (depending on the season and corresponding climatic conditions) hiking, skiing and snowboarding; however, other extreme sports, such as mountain climbing, bungee jumping, rafting, paragliding and canyoning are becoming increasingly demanded, especially by affluent urban thrill-seekers (International Year of Mountains Coordination Unit, 2002). In fact, adventure sports like mountain climbing continue to attract the more adventurous mountain lovers, making them ideal places for living real adventure sport experiences and challenges (Bourdeau, Corneloup & Mao, 2002).

### 2.4 Historic-Cultural

Mountains are viewed by many as unique cultural sites (Smethurst, 2000). They are historically and culturally distinct places (Stepp, Castaneda & Cervone, 2005) because they are part of the human history and often represent borders between cultural groups. They are home to distinct, sometimes isolated and very distinctive cultures of thousands of different groups of indigenous communities (Griggs, 1994), from whom tourists can acquire knowledge and with whom they may share unique experiences (Urry & Crawshaw, 1995).

### 2.5 Affective

The affective image of mountains refers to the emotions associated with these places (Li & Vogelsong, 2006). These images are emotional responses that translate into feelings about places (Proshonsky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983; Walmsley & Jenkins, 1993; Hernández-Lobato *et al.*, 2006; Royo-Vela, 2009).

The affective image is conceptualized as a two-dimensional bipolar space that is defined by a set of variables (Baloglu & Brinberg, 1997; Kastenholz, 2002), such as stimulating or boring, awake or asleep (Russell & Lanius, 1984), pleasant or unpleasant, happy or sad, novel or familiar (Otto & Ritchie, 1999). Some refer to a global emotional image that may be described as good or bad (Lee *et al.*, 2005; Son, 2005), interesting or uninteresting, important or unimportant (Vitterso *et al.*, 2000; Lawton, 2005).

Tourists frequently perceive mountain destinations as pleasant, exciting, awakening, relaxing, interesting, happy, important and good places (Silva, Kastenholz & Abrantes, 2013).

## 3. PLACE-ATTACHMENT

Place-attachment refers to one's sense of place and relation to it. It includes functional, symbolic and emotional dimensions (Hwang, Lee & Cheng, 2005), typically reflected by a positive affective bond between individuals and specific places (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Moore & Scott, 2003; Giuliani, 2003).

In tourism, place-attachment is analyzed as a multidimensional construct, which generally distinguishes two or more sub-constructs (Hawke, 2011; Ramkissoon, Smith & Weiler, 2013; Ramkissoon & Mavondo, 2017). Based on the work developed by Kyle, Mowen & Tarrant (2004) and Ramkissoon, Smith and Weiler (2013), it is possible to divide place-attachment into four categories of place linkage: place-identity, place-dependence, place-affect and place-social bonding.

### 3.1 Place-Identity

Individuals establish emotional bonds with places through the symbolic relationship developed with them over time (Brocato, 2006). Place-identity is is thus a relationship between the self and the place, which is based on the ideas and feelings about this place and the linked personal meanings attributed to it (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983).

### 3.2 Place-Dependence

This dimension refers to the way a place is viewed as permitting an individual to reach one's specific goals (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001). Individuals evaluate places according to how those places meet their functional needs (Brocato, 2006). Place-dependence occurs when individuals reveal a functional need for a place that cannot be transferred to another place (Stokols & Schumaker, 1981). Place-dependence refers also to the set of social and physical resources that meet an individual's specific needs regarding desired activities, which are unique to the place, making it differ from other alternative or similar ones (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2000; Kyle *et al.*, 2004).

### 3.3 Place-Affect

This is the emotional dimension of a place. In a tourism/leisure context, the affective connections with natural locations generate a sense of psychological well-being amongst visitors (Kaplan & Talbot, 1983; Korpel *et al.*, 2009). Natural settings tend to further increase positive emotions in individuals about a place (Ulrich, 1979; Hartig *et al.*, 1996).

### 3.4 Place-Social Bonding

This dimension is related to socially shared experiences associated with the place. An individual can value a place because it facilitates interpersonal relationships (Hammitt, 2000; Scannell & Gifford, 2010a,b) and fosters "group belonging" (Hammitt, Kyle & Oh, 2009). Natural settings set the context for social experiences which, if maintained in these settings, are likely to lead to higher levels of attachment (Kyle *et al.*, 2004). This social bonding should occur in contexts of challenging mountain activities (e.g. mountain climbing) where group members (including local guides) highly depend on each other while also overcoming challenges together. Also particular social encounters with local communities may trigger such place-social bonding in mountain destinations.

## 4. LINK BETWEEN DESTINATION IMAGE AND DESTINATION-ATTACHMENT

Despite the increased attention by researchers regarding both constructs separately, little attention has been given to the relationship between destination image and place-attachment, resulting in only a few studies that focus on the link between those concepts (Fan & Qiu, 2014) that particularly consider their diverse sub-dimensions.

The existing literature indicates that destination image affects tourists' place-attachment to that destination (Lee, 2001; Wang, Weng & Yeh, 2011; Prayag & Ryan, 2012; Veasna, Wu & Huang, 2013), that image is the antecedent of destination attachment (Prayag & Ryan, 2012), and that place-attachment is of great importance to destination image when considering its formation process (Chiang, 2016).

Fan, Qiu and Wu (2014) state that destination image has a direct effect on place-dependence and place-identity. Moreover, the authors consider that place-attachment plays a mediating role between tourists' destination image and tourists' behavior (Fan, Qiu & Wu, 2014). Considering the diverse place-attachment dimensions, Jiang, Ramkissoon, Mavondo and Feng (2017) suggest that destination image has a positive and significant effect on place-dependence, place-identity, place-affect and place-social bonding. Given the identified meaning of each of the identified destination image dimensions, their respective link to place-attachment dimensions may be hypothesized, as discussed next.

## 5. METHODOLOGY

This paper suggests a conceptual model, based on the previously presented literature review, which provided the grounds for delimitating dimensions and suggesting their operationalization.

The place-attachment variables considered pre-established dimensions and scales taken from the tourism literature review (25 studies) regarding place-identity, place-dependence, place-affect and place-social bonding. The central studies contemplated here were those conducted by Kyle, Mowen and Tarrant (2004) and Ramkissoon, Smith and Weiler (2013).

The tourism destination image variables were similarly chosen based on contents retrieved from an extensive literature review (125 studies) regarding the cognitive and the affective dimensions of destination image, as well as social meanings and representations of mountains as destinations. The main studies considered were those from Baloglu (2001), Baloglu and Mangaloglu (2001), Nepal & Chipeniuk (2005), and Silva, Kastenholz and Abrantes (2013).

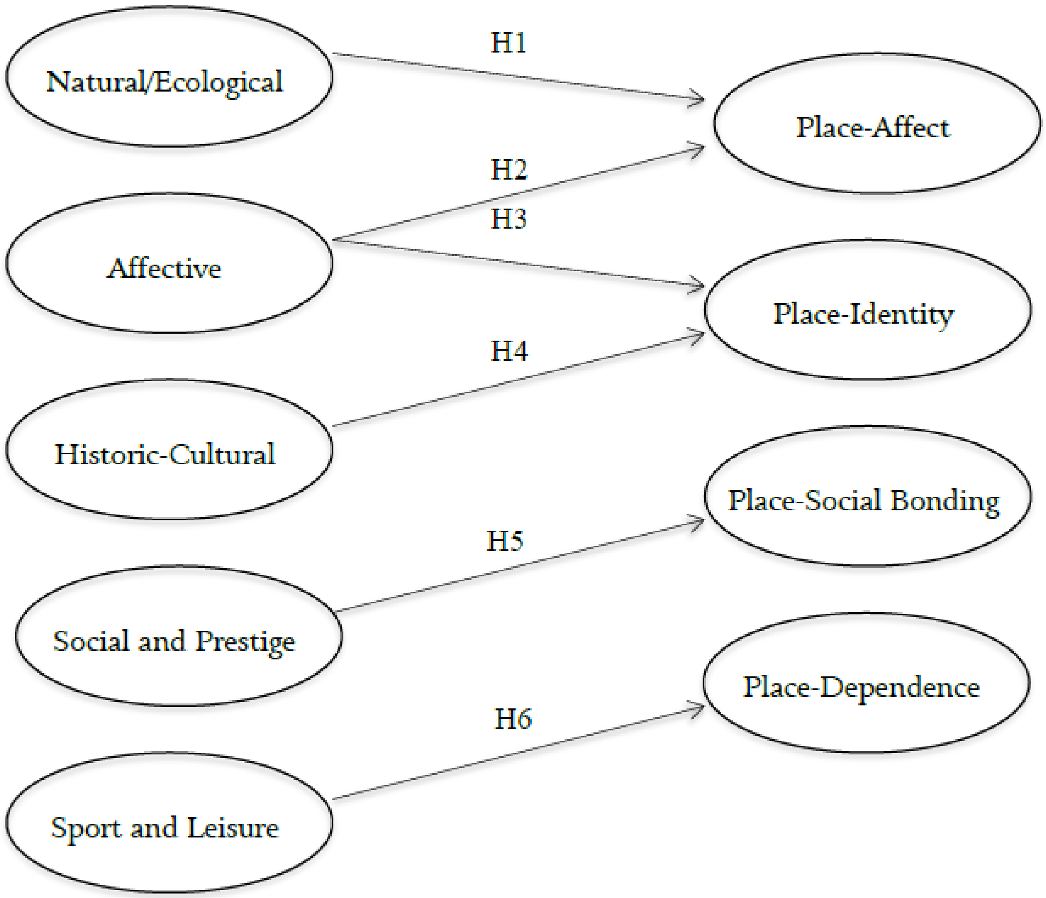
The link between destination image and place-attachment, proposed in our conceptual model, is based on the studies undertaken by Fan, Qiu and Wu (2014), Jiang *et al.* (2017) and Silva, Kastenholz and Abrantes (2013).

## 6. CONCEPTUAL MODEL

The conceptual model proposed considers the previously identified five mountain destination image dimensions and four categories of place-attachment.

The hypothesized conceptual model that is proposed is depicted in Figure 1. This model suggests that each dimension of mountain image dimension will positively predict one or more particular dimensions of place-attachment, resulting in the following six hypotheses, as justified below.

**Figure 1. Hypothesized conceptual model: Mountain destinations: Tourists' image and place-attachment**




Source: Own Elaboration

**H1** – *The natural/ecological image of mountains positively influences the affective bond between the tourist and the mountain destination.*

The earlier discussion of individuals' preference for natural environments (Knopf, 1987) should also be reflected in the positive association between nature and affective attachment to the nature-shaped place. In fact, people are attracted to natural environments (see Knopf, 1983, 1987; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989) and create and strengthen, over time, affective links with these natural spaces (Kyle, Mowen & Tarrant, 2004).

Natural environments, such as mountains, offer a range of physical, psychological and social benefits that make them attractive tourism destinations (Ulrich, 1979; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Ulrich *et al.* 1991), and reinforce the affective link between tourists and mountains (Silva, Kastenholz & Abrantes, 2013).

**H2** – *The affective image of mountains positively influences the affective bond between the tourist and the mountain destination.*

People develop affective assessments of destinations before they meet, experience, and visit them. The affective image is related to the emotional atmosphere of the place, and the affective quality of the destination's environment affects the emotional link that people establish with that place (Russell & Snodgrass, 1987; Korpel *et al.*, 2001, 2009), justifying the suggested relation between affective mountain image and the place-affect dimension in the scope of place-attachment.

**H3** – *The affective image of mountains positively influences place-identity a visitor feels regarding the visited mountain destination.*

Natural environments such as mountain places are often described as favorite places (Korpel *et al.*, 2001). The more familiar these nature spaces are, the more people tend to like them and the more preferable they become, causing people to identify with them (Sonnenfeld, 1968; Wohlwill, 1983). This suggests a natural link between affective destination image and place-identity regarding the visited mountain (Korpel *et al.,* 2009).

**H4** - *The historic-cultural image of mountains positively influences place-identity regarding to the visited mountain destination.*

Mountains are seen as untouched by modernization and thus as preserving their historical character and authenticity (Braasch, 2008), a feature that post-modern travelers tend to seek and identify with (Munt, 1994; Silva, Kastenholz & Abrantes, 2013).

The mountains constitute historical cradles and many of them are true guardians of their historical heritage and traditions and hold strong community identity values, as recognized and valued by the tourist (Goeldner, Ritchie & McIntosh, 2003), who may strongly identify with the place by positively connecting to its culturally shaped character.

**H5 –** *The social and prestige image of mountains positively influences the social bonds values the tourist associates with the mountain destination.*

In the environmental psychology literature, the importance of social ties to a place is largely recognized (e.g. Low & Altman, 1992; Mesch & Manor, 1998; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001).

Tourists also visit places to consume the social atmosphere provided by the destination (Murphy, Pritchard & Smith, 2000), referring to both local communities and the social context encountered at the destination, which is also shaped by other tourists who are present. Mountains allow tourists to experience socializing in a very distinct setting that is different from daily routine, where people cultivate social relations that are perceived as authentic (McCool, 2002); these experiences also provide prestige (Ryan, 1991; Vengesayi & Mavondo, 2004), which together should increase the mountain's place value in terms of social bonds. Particularly in the context of shared high-risk activities, such as mountain climbing, social bonding should be a relevant experience dimension that can later be recalled and associated with the place. Also, the habit of repeating mountain tourism activities, e.g. in mountaineering camps, may "strengthen place meaning through the creation of individual and collective memories shared with those people who use the camp spaces year after year" (Reid & Palechuk, 2017: 191). All these image elements should also add social bonds to the destination, particularly when the place is linked to repeated shared experiences with a certain travel group as well as with local mountain guides.

**H6 –** *The sport and leisure image of mountains positively influences the dependence bond between the tourist and the mountain destinations.*

Mountains represent places of escape, which offer a sort of active experiences associated with sport and leisure activities (Beedie & Hudson, 2003). These outdoors activities are frequently very dependent on the specific features of the mountain, its landscape, geological and natural particularities. However, since mountain destinations are viewed as inaccessible and fragile areas (Messerli & Ives, 1997), specific tourism infrastructures adapted to mountain regions' particularities are also needed (Nepal & Chipeniuk, 2005), meeting the functional needs of tourists and increasing safety and risk control in a challenging experience context. That is why the realization of particular outdoors activities should very much depend on the nature and eventually infrastructure/facilities provided in a mountain destination, making them specifically appropriate or preferred for certain activities by certain tourists, who might develop place-attachment to a mountain destination due to its perceived capacity of presenting optimal conditions for realizing a particular activity (Reid & Palechuk, 2017).

## 7. CONCLUSION

This article provides a conceptual framework which links tourists' mountain destination image dimensions with place-attachment in the context of mountain destinations. The literature review points at a positive correlation between natural/ecological image of mountains and place-affect; affective mountain image with place-affect and place-identity; historic-cultural mountain image with place-identity; social and prestige mountain image with place-social bonding; and sport and leisure with place-dependence.

The study intends to increase social, cultural and scientific knowledge of mountains and their images and meanings as tourism destinations. This should allow a deeper understanding of mountain values stirring awareness for mountain preservation and for these areas' sustainable development as precious tourism destinations. The understanding of images and meanings associated with mountains could have practical implications for tourist mountain destination planning, marketing and management, by highlighting distinct benefits, themes and meanings associated with mountain destinations and leading to place consumption. This knowledge should be essential for attracting tourists to these unique places and involve them emotionally, through market communication and also experience product development, setting these unique assets, themes and meanings into value, and possibly enhancing mountain place-attachment and destination loyalty.

Rather than focusing exclusively on the tangible and objective proprieties of mountain environments, mountain destination managers should focus on the subjective, emotional and symbolic meanings associated with these territories and the personal bonds or attachments people develop through both social construction of place and meaningful place experiences. The suggested model may enhance our understanding of specific relationships between certain image and place-attachment dimensions; however, they require empirical validation through a survey of mountain visitors, desirably at distinct mountain destinations. The model's possible limitations need to be recognized, since it may omit and thus neglect other relevant dimensions of mountain image, while also additional relationships between single image and place-attachment dimensions may exist. Further research is also required to investigate how these constructs – image and place-attachment – are associated with other variables, such as tourists' past travel experience, their motivations and expectations, and type of residential area (urban or rural) of origin. On the other hand, and due to the fact that place-attachment includes cognitive, affective, functional and social linkages, different social groups, such as tourists and residents or visitors with a different cultural background from the host culture, may develop a different level of belongingness to the destination. This distinct social and cultural background of the perceiver could also be a particularly interesting moderator variable to analyze. Finally, the resulting, eventually heterogenous travel behavior in terms of repeat visitation and sustainability-enhancing behavior (in terms of environmentally friendly behavior, and also economically, socially and culturally beneficial behavior) should be worthwhile studying. Such understanding may help mountain destination managers to not only help improve destination experiences, image and place-attachment, but also to contribute to its sustainability.

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# THE PRESERVATION OF THE TAGUS ESTUARY TRADITIONAL BOATS: NEW ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

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**ABSTRACT**

Up until the 1960s, Tagus Estuary traditional boats played an important role in the functioning of the economy of the region and city of Lisbon as a transport mode used for the movement of goods between the banks of the Tagus and as support to the movement of cargo to and from the ships anchored in the Port of Lisbon. However, technological progress and development of regional transport system observed afterwards led to functional disuse and gradual decline of these boats. In the 1980s, social and institutional acknowledgement of their cultural and patrimonial value provided for the launch of the process of recuperation and preservation of these traditional boats. However, nowadays the preservation of these patrimonial elements faces a complex of new challenges which in some cases threat their sustainability. Supported by the analysis of the valorisation process of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats and based on experience of various local stakeholders, the article analyses, discusses and systematizes major contemporary challenges for the preservation of these traditional boats.

Keywords: Traditional Boats; Maritime Heritage; Preservation of Cultural Heritage; Local Stakeholders.

JEL Classification: N74

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The historical importance of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats is based to a great extent on the role played by these sailing vessels in the functioning of the transport system that supported the economic and functional relations established by the city and port of Lisbon with its area of influence (Fernandes & Pinto, 2012; Fernandes & Vale, 2015). The lack of road connections between the north bank and the south bank of the Tagus Estuary in the Lisbon region, as well as the weakness of the regional road system, meant that, until the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, the transport of goods between the banks and along the navigable sector of the Tagus river was made using these vessels. As Carrasco (1997) points out, "the transport of goods wasn't restricted to the traffic between the two banks; it was also important the traffic between riverine settlements in the upper estuary and the city [of Lisbon]" (author's translation). This transport service ensured the transport of goods which were destined to supply the city of Lisbon and also to the export market

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(through the Port of Lisbon), including the transportation of different types of products, from raw materials to finished products, transport of salt and wine, sand or cork, sugar and cereals, coal and even garbage (Fernandes & Pinto, 2012; Fernandes & Vale, 2015). The functions performed by these vessels, the diversity of operation areas and the style of each shipyard/shipbuilder were factors that together contributed to an important typological diversity of traditional boats (Curtinhal, 2007; Nabais, 2009; Fernandes & Pinto, 2012), including: *Fragatas*, *Varinos*, *Faluas*, *Botes*, *Botes-de-fragata*, *Botes do Pinho*, *Botes de Meia-quilha*, *Cangueiros*, *Barcos de Água Acima*, *Canoas* and *Catraios* (Figure 1).

**Figure 1.** ***Varinos*, *Botes* and *Fragatas* moored in Ribeira Nova Quay, Lisbon**

Source: Centro de Documentação e Informação da APL - Administração do Porto de Lisboa, SA.

Until the 1960s, the practical utility of these vessels as a mode of transport and their use guaranteed their preservation. However, three main factors determined its functional obsolescence and subsequent decline. The first factor is the development of the regional road network, namely the construction of two bridges between the banks of the Tagus Estuary: the first bridge was built in 1951 in Vila Franca de Xira, approximately 30 km north of the city center of Lisbon; the second bridge was built in 1966, between Lisbon and Almada. The second factor is related to the rapid development of the road freight transport services in Portugal. The combination of these two factors resulted in an increasing competition from road transport as a competitive alternative to inland waterway transport supported in traditional boats services. Finally, the third factor is related to the progressive introduction of motorized vessels, with greater operational efficiency than traditional boats (Curtinhal, 2007; Fernandes & Pinto, 2012). As a result, the 1960s and 1970s were marked by a progressive decline and abandonment of these vessels.

It was only in the late 1970s that these vessels were socially and institutionally recognized as cultural heritage elements symbolically representative of the identity and culture of the Tagus Estuary riverine territories. A recognition that resulted in the recovery, preservation and safeguard of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats by different local stakeholders, namely the municipalities, nautical clubs and citizens/individual owners (Fernandes & Pinto, 2012). The recognition of these vessels as cultural heritage is supported by the definition proposed by ICOMOS, according to which cultural heritage "is an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expression and values" (ICOMOS, 2002). More precisely, this process underlies the recognition of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats as "maritime heritage afloat", a concept that "embraces the single traditional ship in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization or significant development as well as traditional sailing, seamanship and maritime workmanship" (European Maritime Heritage, 2003).

This process of valorization of traditional boats occurred according to two main approaches: patrimonialist/constructivist and, in more recent moment, productivist (Fernandes & Pinto, 2012). The first one refers to a process of recovery in which traditional boats are perceived as attributes of a culture and ancient ways of life, where these patrimonial elements acquire symbolic and also educational value. In addition, according to Fernandes and Pinto (2012), this valorization has also associated a constructivist dimension, according to which "the cultural heritage is understood as a result of a social construction process, i.e., accordingly epochs and social groups valorize and legitimate certain patrimonial elements and not others. (…) the cultural heritage is understood as a symbolic identity representation, but also as synonym of culture in many occasions" (Pereiro Pérez, 2003; author's translation). The recovery and preservation of these vessels by municipalities and nautical clubs for the purpose of raising awareness, as well as the recovery and preservation for recreational and leisure purposes by individual owners, constitute examples of this composite approach. Regarding the productivist approach, it involves the valorization of traditional boats as a cultural resource for the development of economic activities, namely for maritime tourism activities (Fernandes & Pinto, 2012). There are some examples of companies that have been carrying out this activity with small and large traditional vessels.

Currently, there are about 80 Tagus Estuary traditional boats (including several replicas) of large size (*Varinos* and *Botes*) and small size (*Canoas* and *Catraios*), the latter being largely predominant. Nevertheless, the systematic work that the authors have been developing on the Tagus Estuary traditional boats, as well as the contact established with several local stakeholders involved in the preservation and safeguard of these vessels, allowed to verify the existence of a set of new challenges and threats to the preservation process of this floating heritage. The article focuses precisely on the contextualization and discussion of the challenges and threats perceived by local stakeholders, aiming to contribute: (i) to their clarification and systematization; (ii) to deepen knowledge about the complex of challenges to the preservation and valorization of Portuguese and European maritime heritage; (iii) to the construction of solutions that respond to these challenges and threats in different areas.

## 2. RESEARCH METHODS

The identification of the challenges and threats to the Tagus Estuary traditional boats was based on the application of a face-to-face questionnaire to local stakeholders directly involved in the preservation and valorization of these vessels. The survey was applied between February and April 2017, with 32 responses distributed among the following categories of local stakeholders: individual owners/skippers (*Arrais*) of traditional boats (13 stakeholders); nautical clubs (8 stakeholders); municipalities owners of traditional boats (6 stakeholders); shipyards/self-builders of traditional boats (3 stakeholders); maritime tourism companies (2 stakeholders). The selection of these stakeholders was based on the fact that they are key participants in the preservation and valorization process of Tagus Estuary traditional boats, and therefore have knowledge relevant to understand this process. These stakeholders own/represent 34 traditional boats, which corresponds to approximately 42.5% of the existing fleet (totaling about 80 traditional boats in operation).

The survey was structured in 3 parts. Part I aims to understand the perception of the local stakeholders regarding the challenges/threats to the preservation of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats, including the following questions: (i) recognition (or not) of the existence of challenges/threats to the preservation of these vessels; (ii) identification of challenges/threats according to their nature (i.e. legal nature, regulatory nature, financial nature, infrastructural nature, environmental nature, and formative nature). Part II is focused on the evaluation of the challenges/threats to the preservation of these traditional boats by local stakeholders, including the following questions: (i) classification of the influence of different factors as threats to the preservation of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats; (ii) identification of the three most important factors according to the level of threat they represent to the preservation of these vessels. Part III corresponds to the assessment of local stakeholders on the performance of different entities regarding the preservation of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats, including the following questions: (i) identification of measures that should be adopted to promote the sustainability of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats; (ii) classification of the work developed by a group of stakeholders (i.e. municipalities, Administration of the Port of Lisbon, Captaincy of the Port of Lisbon, Directorate-General for Natural Resources, Security and Maritime Services, Seixal Municipal Ecomuseum, nautical clubs, maritime tourism companies, shipyards, self-builders and owners/skippers) considering their contribution to the preservation and promotion of traditional vessels. In view of the scope and objectives of this article, it is focused on the analysis and discussion of the results of Parts I and II of the survey.

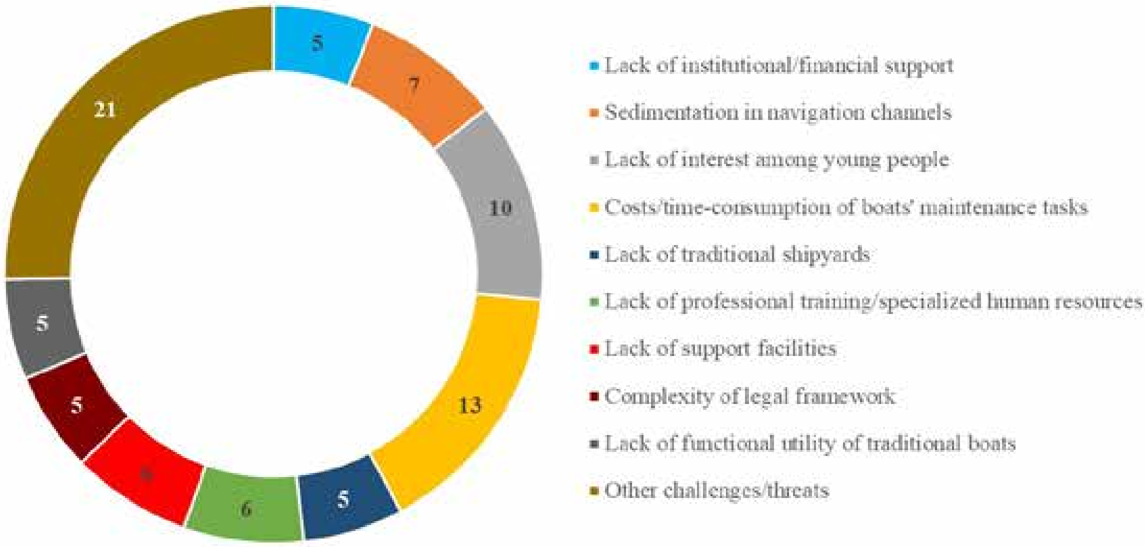
## 3. RESULTS

The survey applied to local stakeholders made it possible to identify the existence of a general recognition about the occurrence of a set of challenges/threats that threaten the preservation and sustainability of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats. Specifically, 96.9% of the local stakeholders (31 stakeholders) consider that there are several challenges/threats to these traditional vessels. Only 3.1% of the local stakeholders (1 stakeholder) declare that there are no relevant challenges/threats.

Regarding the analysis of the results of Part I of the survey, focused on the perception of the nature of these challenges/threats (Figure 2), it is verified that the maintenance costs and the time-consumption of the annual maintenance process of these wooden vessels is the challenge/threat that the majority of local stakeholders identifies (13 stakeholders).

The lack of interest among young people in relation to these traditional boats represents another relevant challenge/threat and is identified by a significant number of local stakeholders (10 stakeholders). The third challenge/threat most commonly referred to by local stakeholders (7 stakeholders) involves an environmental factor, i.e. the sedimentation process of the navigation channels used by traditional boats. A challenge/threat that is felt mainly on the south bank of the Tagus Estuary, reflected in limitations on the number of tides with sufficient water height for the navigation of these vessels, but also in the limitation of the time period with navigability conditions during a certain tide.

**Figure 2. Perceptions about the challenges/threats to Tagus Estuary traditional boats preservation**




Source: Own Elaboration

On the other hand, the lack of support facilities for supporting the navigation in traditional boats and the lack of professional training related to the construction/maintenance of traditional boats (reflected in the lack of specialized human resources), are challenges/threats identified by 6 local stakeholders.

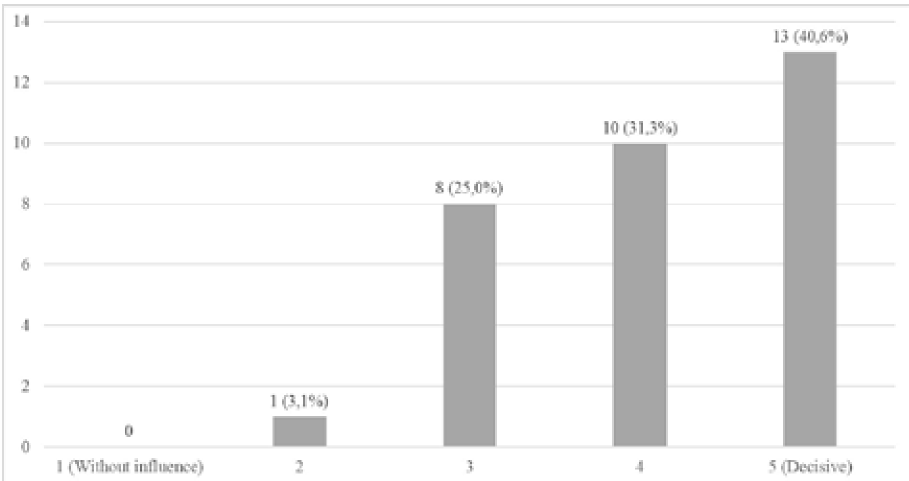
It should also be noted that the following challenges/threats are identified by 5 local stakeholders: lack of institutional/financial support for the preservation of traditional boats; lack of traditional shipyards (currently there is only one active shipyard dedicated to the construction/maintenance of traditional boats); lack of functional utility of traditional boats; complexity of legal framework related to traditional boats.

Finally, 21 local stakeholders have identified other challenges/threats, for example: technical requirements and costs associated with the construction process of traditional boats; lack of quality raw material for the construction of these vessels (i.e. wood); lack of a policy focused on the preservation and valorization of the Tagus Estuary traditional bots; cost of building a traditional boat.

Regarding the Part II of the survey, it is focused on evaluation the challenges/threats to the preservation of traditional boats by local stakeholders, through the classification of a set of 14 factors considered as challenges/threats to this preservation process. These factors were previously grouped in different natures of challenges/threats: legal nature; regulatory nature; financial nature; infrastructural nature; environmental nature; formative nature.

From a legal perspective, three factors could be identified as challenges/threats to the preservation and sustainability of traditional boats: (i) lack of a specific legal framework for Tagus Estuary traditional boats; (ii) technical requirements of the construction process of traditional boats; (iii) requirements to develop maritime tourism activities with traditional boats. Regarding the first factor, it is related to the lack of a legal recognition or classification of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats as traditional vessels/cultural goods. These traditional boats do not have a protection status. They are currently classified as recreational crafts, and are therefore subject to complying with the provisions applicable to recreational craft in general. There are some exceptions, like the boats owned by some municipalities which have a municipal classification status. This is the case of the *Varino* "O Boa Viagem", owned by Moita Municipality, which is classified as cultural good of municipal interest. It should also be pointed out that currently the owners of traditional boats can voluntarily join an association - Associação Marinha do Tejo -, passing their vessels to constitute themselves as part of the Portuguese Navy Museum (Museu de Marinha), in accordance with the Order (Despacho) no. 15897/2008 of June 11. This adherence presupposes an evaluation of the compliance of the traditional boats according to the parameters established by a “Regulation of Compliance of the Tagus Estuary Tradional Boats” (“Regulamento de Conformação das Embarcações Típicas do Tejo”), published by the Order (Despacho) no. 6010/2009 of February 23. According to Claro (2008), the legislation already allows the riverine municipalities to make an inventory and classify these vessels as cultural goods of municipal interest, with the consent of the owners and based, for example, on a municipal regulation on the inventory and classification of traditional boats. Something that was not carried out by these municipalities. The lack of a specific legal framework for traditional boats is a factor classified by the majority of local stakeholders (40.6%) as a decisive challenge/threat to the preservation of these vessels (Figure 3), while 31.3% of the local stakeholders consider that this challenge/threat is very important as it might endanger the preservation and sustainability of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats.

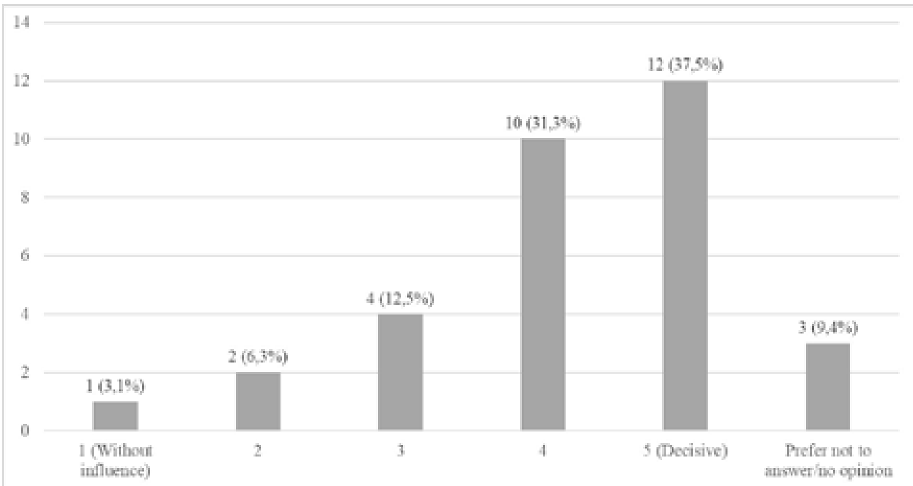
**Figure 3. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Lack of a legal framework for traditional boats**




Source: Own Elaboration

Considering the second factor of legal nature, it is related with the technical requirements of the construction process of traditional boats. These boats are currently classified as recreational crafts. In this way, their construction process is regulated by the Ordinance (Portaria) no. 1491/2002 of December 5, which defines the safety conditions and certification, dimensional characteristics, tonnage and classification of recreational crafts. Taking into account that Tagus Estuary traditional boats are vessels for navigation in sheltered waters, with a length of 5-12 meters, the Ordinance establishes that the application for obtaining a license for the construction of a vessel must be accompanied by the following elements: detailed descriptive memory; geometric plane; general arrangement design; master section; other structural and stability drawings. A set of requirements that represents a decisive challenge/threat to the preservation of traditional boats for 37.5% of the local stakeholders (12 stakeholders), while 31.3% of stakeholders (10 stakeholders) understand that it is a very important challenge/threat (Figure 4). This perspective of local stakeholders is related to two main aspects. The first aspect concerns historical reasons, related to the fact that these traditional boats were historically constructed without construction plans. For that reason, their characteristics were a compromise between the requirements determined by the ship-owner and the "eye" (or style) of the shipbuilder. As Mendes (2013) points out, "in a time when there were no drawings only the masters knew the final result of the work" (author's translation). The way in which an old shipbuilder (Mestre António Cruz) describes the difference between *Botes* and *Faluas* is indicative of the influence of the style of each shipbuilder in the form and diversity of traditional boats: "Mestre António described the Botes as having a more masculine appearance (...), this being the reason for their names, whereas the Faluas were more feminine (…) and were frequently, but not invariably, named after women" (Leitão, 2002). The second aspect that justifies the perspective of the local stakeholders regarding the technical requirements of the construction process of traditional boats is related to the high costs of technical drawings and stability calculations. This tends to constraint the construction of new traditional boats, since it represents an expressive cost, adding up to the costs that result from the construction of the traditional boat itself.

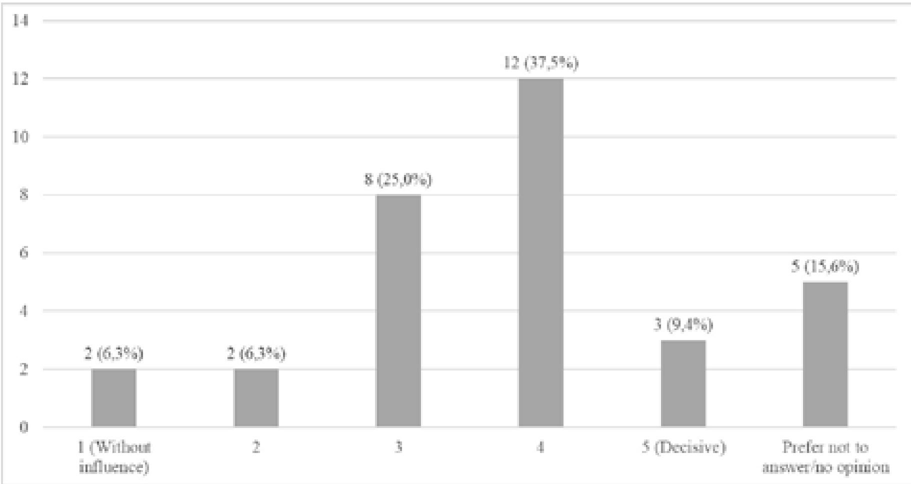
**Figure 4. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Technical requirements of the construction process**




Source: Own Elaboration

A last legal factor is related to the development of maritime tourism activities with traditional boats. This activity is currently regulated by the "Regulation of vessels used in maritime tourism activity" ("Regulamento das Embarcações Utilizadas na Atividade Marítimo-Turística") – Decree-Law (Decreto-lei) no. 149/2014 of October 10 –, which establishes that the following vessels may be used in the maritime tourism activity: maritime-tourist vessels; commercial vessels; fishing vessels; tugboats; recreational crafts; vessels exempted from registration; traditional boats or typical boats. Regarding the latter, the law states that their activity is regulated by a specific statute, although this statute has not yet been published. In this way, traditional vessels must comply with the requirements applicable to recreational craft, which may represent an obstacle to the development of maritime tourism activities using traditional boats. According to local stakeholders (Figure 5), the requirements for the development of these activities represent a very important challenge/threat for the preservation of traditional boats in the opinion of 37.5% of the stakeholders (12 stakeholders) and an important challenge/threat for 25.0% of the stakeholders (8 stakeholders). Only 9.4% of the local stakeholders (3 stakeholders) rate this challenge/threat as decisive.

**Figure 5. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Requirements to develop maritime tourism activities**




Source: Own Elaboration

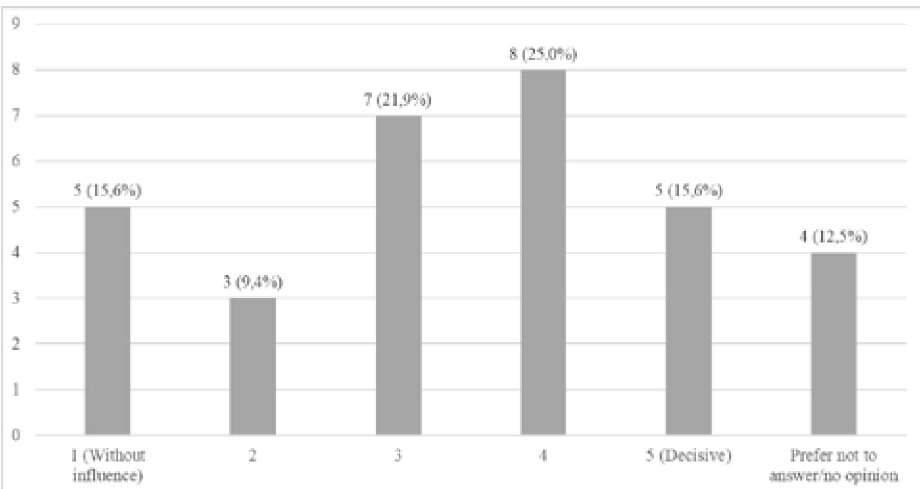
Focusing the analysis of regulatory factors, another factor that might pose a challenge/ threat to the preservation and sustainability of traditional boats is the requirements to organize a traditional boats regatta. It is important to mention that, since the end of the 1980s, traditional boats regattas have been important moments for the celebration of cultural traditions related to Tagus Estuary traditional boats, as well as for the promotion of these vessels among the local communities (Figure 6).

**Figure 6. Traditional boats regatta in Sarilhos Pequenos, Moita**

Source: Associação Naval Sarilhense

Besides their contribution to the visibility of the traditional boats and to raising heritage awareness among local communities, these initiatives have also played a significant role in promoting the construction/reconstruction of new vessels (mainly *Canoas* and *Catraios*), with technical characteristics more appropriated for their participation in these events. It should be noted that the competition between the owners/skippers (*Arrais*) of traditional boats is not a new phenomenon. Since the time when these vessels were used in the transport of goods there are records of disputes between owners/skippers (*Arrais*) to gauge the fastest vessel and the skipper (*Arrais*) with greater skills in the art of sailing. Leitão (2002) describes a dispute between the *Bote* "Leão" and *Falua* "Diana" dating from the mid-twentieth century: "What is undoubtedly is that the «Leão» and the «Diana» sustained an intense rivalry between them, and that the Bote was sometimes able to outsail the Falua to windward. The story is still told, at Alcochete, of the day when Estevão de Oliveira, after beaten by his rival in one of these improvised races, as so enraged that he drew his knife and slashed a new cotton sail to ribbons, returning to the boat landing under oars". Specifically with regard to the requirements to organize a traditional boats regatta, it should be pointed out that there is no legal recognition or classification of these vessels as traditional boats. Consequently, these events are classified as sporting events, and not as cultural events. As a result, the entities that authorize the realization of these events, namely the National Maritime Authority – Captaincy of the Port of Lisbon, in accordance with the powers conferred by Decree-Law (Decreto-lei) no. 44/2002 of March 2, require compliance of a set of conditions that some nautical clubs partially consider as barriers to the organization of this type of events. In this regard, they highlight the need for an insurance to cover the risks inherent to the practice of the activities, for the participants and for the damages caused to third parties. There is an understanding that these regattas are sporting events, and since these traditional boats generally do not have insurance that covers the participation in sporting events, it has repercussions on the need for the organizers (essentially nautical clubs) to take out their respective insurance, which represents a relatively high cost compared to the financial capacity of these clubs. Regarding maritime safety issues, it is interesting to note that one of the recommendations of the 7th European Maritime Heritage Congress focused precisely on the need to "change the mindset of regulator so that safety, of course must be given priority, but safety can be obtained in different ways", adding this document that "important is the maritime heritage can be maintained and not threatened" (Divisão de Património Histórico e Museus, 2008). The analysis of the results of the survey points out that, when asked about the level of threat inherent to the requirements to organize a traditional boats regatta (Figure 7), 21.9% of the local stakeholders (7 stakeholders) consider it as an important challenge/threat, while 25.0% consider it to be a very important challenge/threat (8 stakeholders).

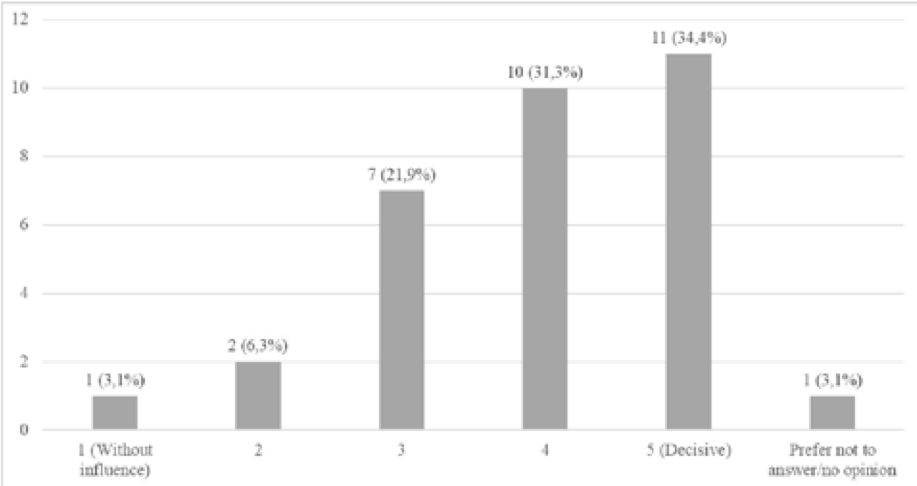
**Figure 7. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Requirements to organize a traditional boats regatta**




Source: Own Elaboration

Regarding factors of financial nature, the following potential threats to the preservation and sustainability of traditional boats were considered: (i) construction costs of a traditional boat; (ii) maintenance costs of a traditional boat; (iii) parking costs of a traditional boat; (iv) costs of traditional boats insurance; (v) costs with taxes applied to traditional boats; (vi) costs of taxes applied to nautical clubs' concession areas. Concerning the construction costs of a traditional boat (Figure 8), the majority of the local stakeholders considers this factor as decisive (34.4% - 11 stakeholders) or very important (31.3% - 10 stakeholders) challenge/threat to the preservation of these vessels.

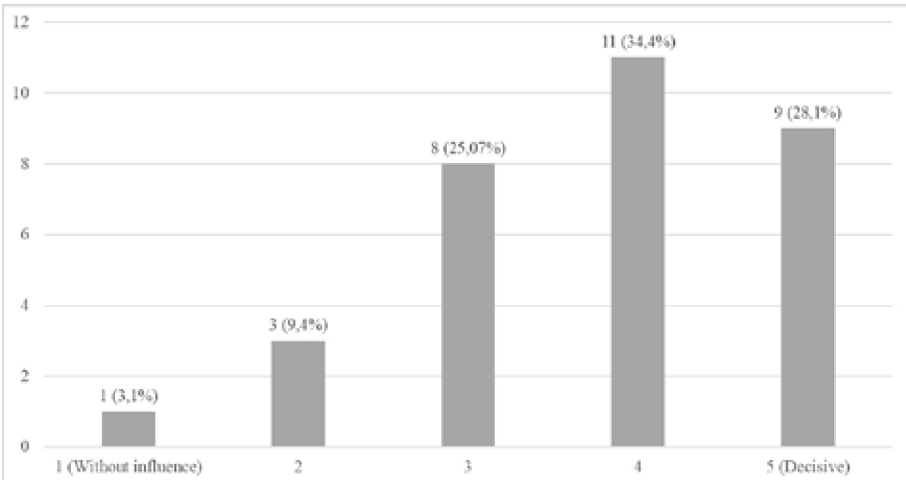
**Figure 8. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Construction costs**




Source: Own Elaboration

The maintenance costs of traditional boats (Figure 9) are identified as a very important challenge/threat to its preservation and sustainability by 34.4% (11 stakeholders) and as a decisive challenge/threat by 28.1% (9 stakeholders) of the local stakeholders. It should also be noted that several stakeholders expressed their concern about the lack of financial or other support to the owners of these vessels.

**Figure 9. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Maintenance costs**

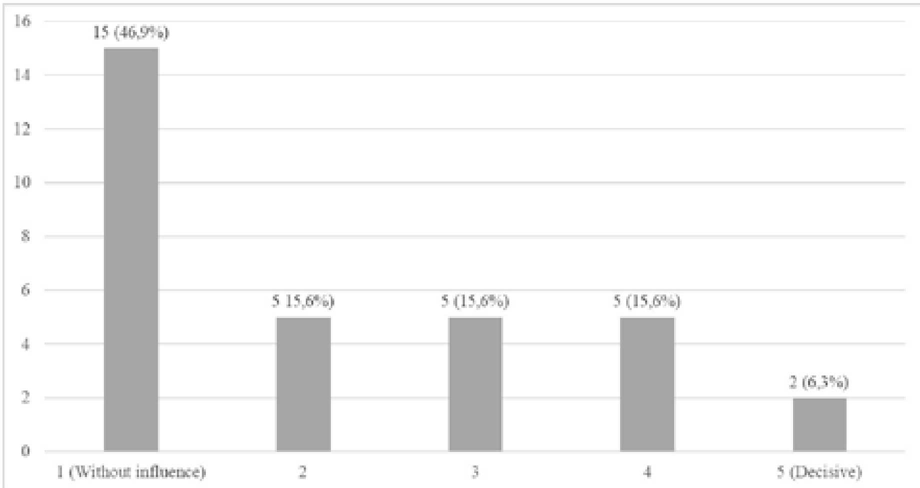



Source: Own Elaboration

Regarding the parking costs of traditional boats, it should be borne in mind that the current situation in the Tagus Estuary is quite different when considering the cost of parking on the North bank and on the South bank. On the North bank, parking takes place mainly in marinas, recreational ports and recreational docks, having a relatively high cost. On the

South bank (the main concentration area of traditional boats), parking of traditional boats occurs mainly on beaches, in anchorages or in small support infrastructures provided by nautical clubs and municipalities, without costs or with relatively low costs. In the opinion of the majority of local stakeholders (46.9% - 15 stakeholders) parking costs of traditional boats do not represent a challenge/threat to their preservation or sustainability (Figure 10).

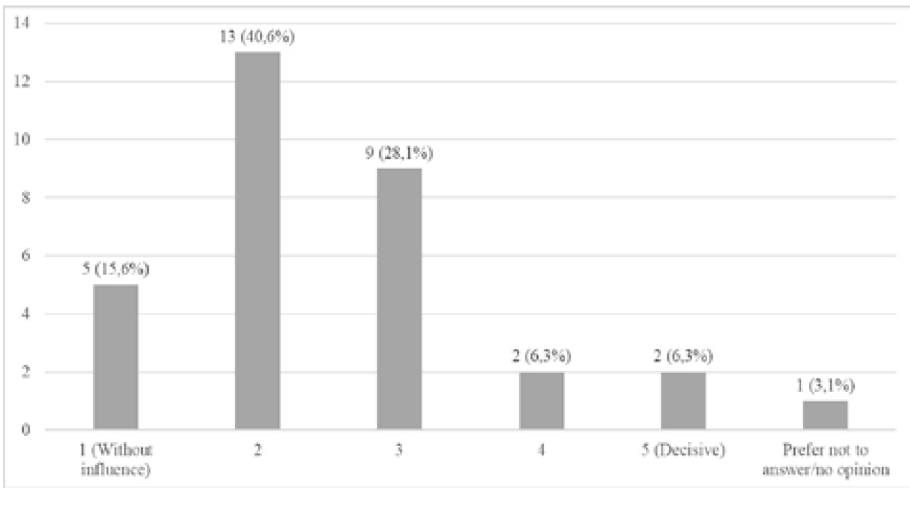
**Figure 10. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Parking costs**




Source: Own Elaboration

The insurance costs for traditional boats are essentially related to the civil liability insurance policy legally required for navigation on recreational crafts, which is established by the Decree-Law (Decreto-lei) no. 124/2004 of May 25. Regarding the level of threat posed by these costs, local stakeholders state that it is moderate (Figure 11), with 40.6% of the stakeholders (13 stakeholders) considering that these costs represent a challenge/threat with low influence in the preservation process, and 28.1% (9 stakeholders) considering that these costs are an important challenge/threat.

**Figure 11. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Costs of boat insurance**

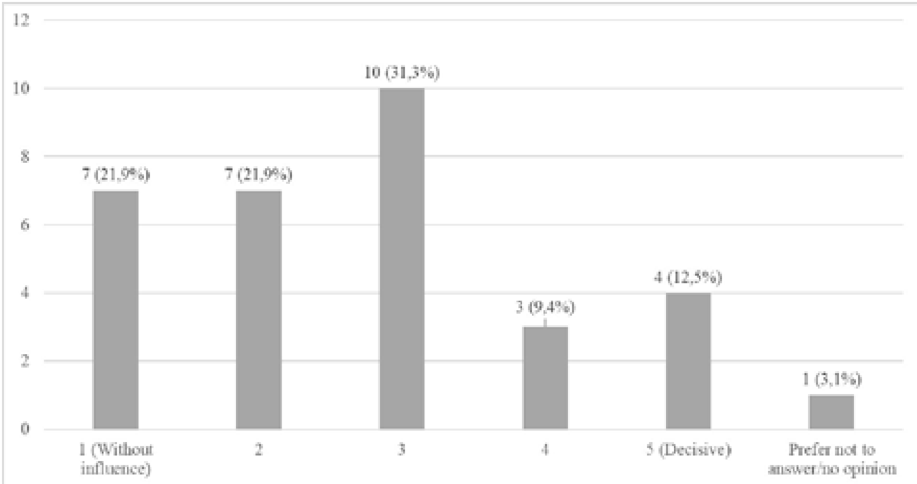



Source: Own Elaboration

In the same way, tax costs (e.g. lighting and signaling taxes, inspections) is not considered a factor with a very important or decisive influence on the preservation of these vessels

(Figure 12). In fact, 31.3% of the local stakeholders (10 stakeholders) select this factor as an important challenge/threat, while in 43.8% of the local stakeholders (14 stakeholders) consider that this factor has no influence or has a low influence on the preservation and sustainability of traditional boats. The value of these taxes, as well as the fact that some traditional boats are currently exempt from their payment, contributes to this perception by local stakeholders. For example, traditional boats owned by the Associação Naval Sarilhense are exempt from the payment of the lighting and signaling taxes under the Article 2 of the Decree-Law (Decreto-lei) no. 12/97 of January 16, which states that "vessels belonging to foundations and associations of social solidarity, as well as those belonging to social solidarity particular institutions or other non-profit private collective persons, used exclusively for humanitarian purposes, namely search and rescue, and for learning " (author's translation) are exempt from the payment of these taxes.

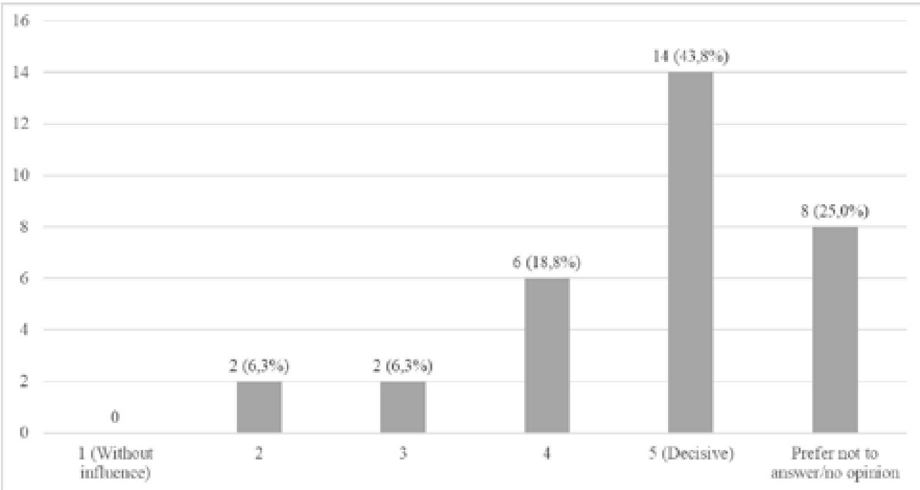
**Figure 12. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Tax costs**




Source: Own Elaboration

Regarding the costs of taxes applied to nautical clubs' concession areas, their consideration as a factor that could affect the preservation and sustainability of traditional boats must be understood from the following perspective. The nautical clubs related to traditional boats have played a very important role in the preservation and promotion of these vessels, mainly through: (i) direct recovery and conservation of traditional boats, with some nautical clubs having their own traditional boats (e.g. Associação Naval Sarilhense, Associação Náutica do Seixal, Associação de Desportos Náuticos Alhosvedrense "Amigos do Mar"); (ii) support to the boats maintenance through the permission for the utilization of their facilities (infrastructures and supporting equipment); (iii) promotion of the access to water by boats and crew members/passengers through the supply of infrastructures (e.g. portage ramps) and other equipment (e.g. bridge-wharf); (iv) promotion of initiatives in educational and heritage awareness (e.g. organization of field trips); (v) organization of nautical events for the promotion of traditional boats (e.g. regattas, traditional boats meetings); (vi) promotion of maritime heritage and riverine culture, for example through the organization of thematic exhibitions and scientific/technical events (Fernandes & Pinto, 2012). The areas where these nautical clubs are installed generally are included in the Public Domain (Water) of the State managed by the Port Authority (Administration of the Port of Lisbon) and used by these clubs through private use licenses that give them the private use rights. For that, nautical clubs pay certain amount to the Administration of the Port of Lisbon, calculated according to the extent of the area and the type of occupation of the area (depending on the type of occupation, rates with differentiated values are applied). The costs of the taxes applied to nautical clubs' concession areas are commonly pointed out by these clubs as representing a high effort, which constraints their activity in favor of the preservation and promotion of Tagus Estuary traditional boats, since these taxes absorb a relevant portion of their revenues. A perception that is reflected in the results of the survey (Figure 13), which reveals that 43.8% of the local stakeholders (14 stakeholders) consider that these costs represent a decisive challenge/threat to the preservation and sustainability of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats, while 18.8% (6 stakeholders) classified this challenge/threat as very important.

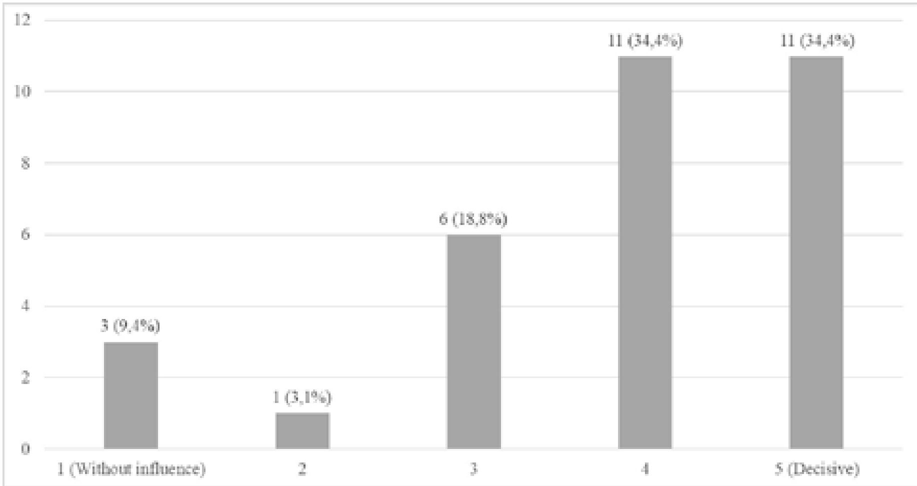
**Figure 13. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Costs of taxes applied to nautical clubs' concession areas**




Source: Own Elaboration

Analyzing the factors of infrastructural nature, their relevance stems from the fact that the support facilities for recreational boating and, in particular, for traditional boats represent a basic condition for access to water and, in this way, for a safe access to water. It should be noted that the access conditions to water are very different in the North or the South bank of the Tagus Estuary, with the offer in South bank being less developed. This led the Administration of the Port of Lisbon to assume as one of the objectives of the "Tagus Estuary Integrated Plan of Supporting Infrastructures for Nautical Recreation" the promotion of a greater balance and adequacy in the territorial distribution of the offer of these facilities (Administração do Porto de Lisboa, 2010; Figueira de Sousa *et al.*, 2011). Regarding factors of infrastructural nature with influence in the preservation of traditional boats, the following were considered: lack of support facilities for boats; lack of support facilities for crew members/passengers. In relation to the first one (Figure 14), 34.4% of the local stakeholders (11 stakeholders) consider that the lack of conditions of access to water by vessels is a very important factor, similar percentage reached those who believe that this lack is a decisive factor as a challenge/threat to the preservation of traditional boats.

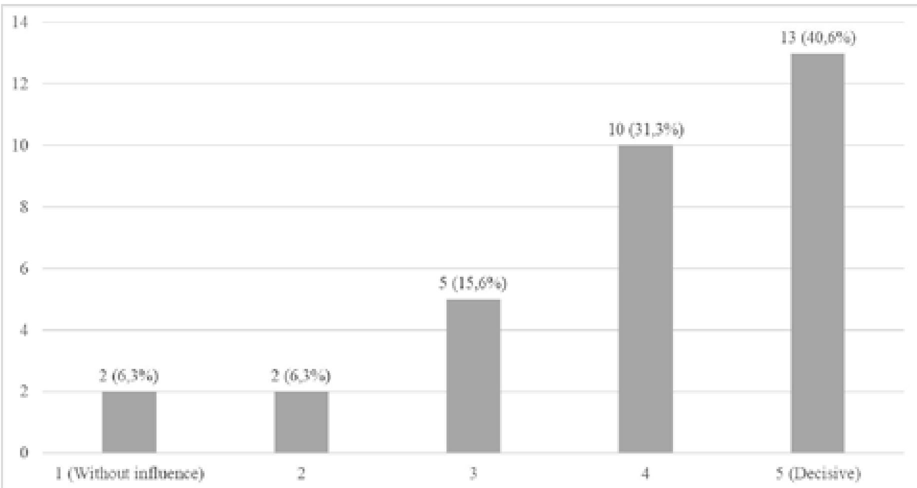
**Figure 14. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Lack of support facilities for boats**




Source: Own Elaboration

On the other hand, 31.3% of the local stakeholders (10 stakeholders) classify the lack of support facilities for crew members/passengers (Figure 15) as a very important challenge/ threat, while 40.6% (11 stakeholders) classify this lack as a decisive threat to traditional boats.

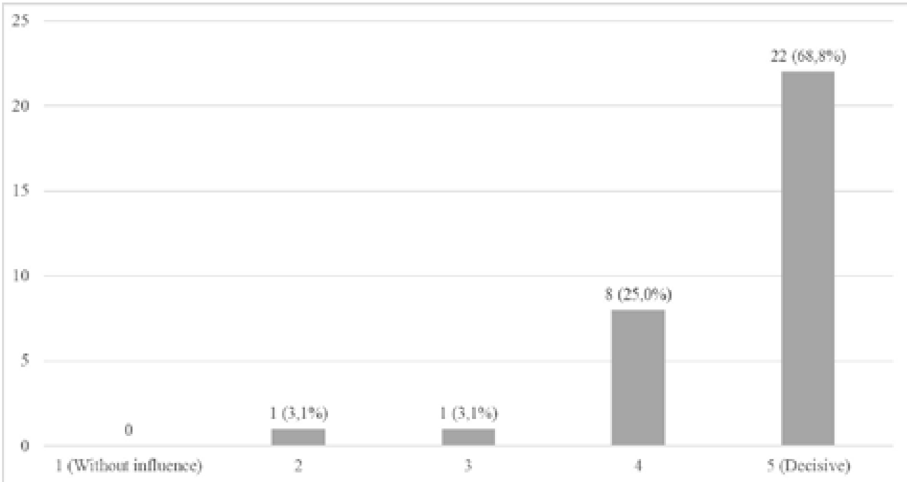
**Figure 15. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Lack of support facilities for passengers**




Source: Own Elaboration

Regarding the environmental factors, the main challenge/threat identified is the process of sedimentation of the navigation channels used by traditional boats, mainly on the South bank of the Tagus Estuary. It should be noted that part of these channels are classified in the 3rd level by the "Channels Regulation" of the Port of Lisbon. In other words, these are channels in which the Administration of the Port of Lisbon does not assume maintenance or monitoring responsibilities. Due to the greater use by traditional boats, the following channels should be pointed out: Moita-Alhos Vedros Channel; Montijo Channel – Section II; Alcochete Channel. From the point of view of the large majority of the local stakeholders (68.8% - 22 stakeholders), sedimentation of navigation channels is a decisive threat to the preservation and sustainability of traditional boats (Figure 16).

**Figure 16. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Sedimentation in navigation channels**




Source: Own Elaboration

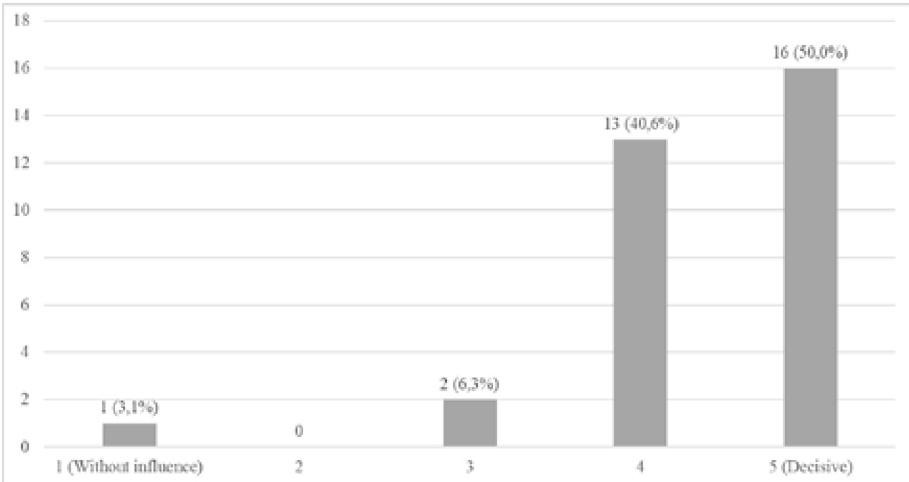
However, it should be noted that some investments have been made in order to improve navigation conditions on some sections of these navigation channels, whose maintenance was once essentially ensured by the water flow-backflow movements supported by tidal mills existing along the estuary banks. Two examples of these investments are particularly remarkable, both in Moita Municipality. The first one involves the construction of a weir to remove the accumulation of sediments from the channel near Moita Village (Figure 17), one of the main areas of concentration of traditional boats. The second example is related to the recovery of the system of an ancient tidal mill – Alhos Vedros Tidal Mill –, to remove the accumulation of sediments from the channel near Alhos Vedros Village.

**Figure 17. Mechanical weir of Moita**

Source: Own Elaboration

Finally, regarding formative factors, it was considered as a potential challenge/threat the lack of professional training related to the construction/maintenance of traditional boats (e.g. shipbuilders, caulkers, painters). In the medium-term it should threaten the capacity of construction and maintenance of these boats, especially large vessels. From the point of view of local stakeholders (Figure 18), this factor represents a decisive challenge/threat for 50.0% of the stakeholders (16 stakeholders) and as a very important challenge/threat for 40.6% of the stakeholders (13 stakeholders).

**Figure 18. Evaluation of the challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation - Lack of professional training**

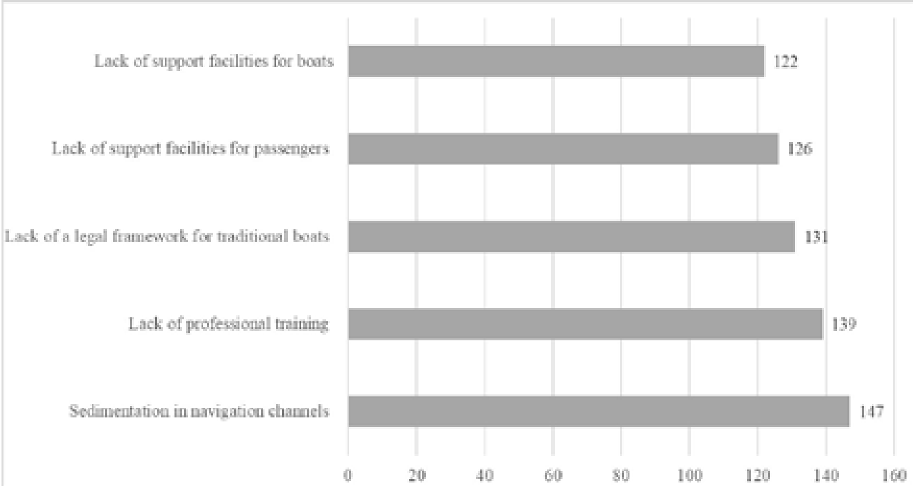



Source: Own Elaboration

## 4. DISCUSSION

The analysis of the perception of local stakeholders in relation to the various factors that could represent threats/challenges to the preservation and sustainability of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats highlighted the differentiated evaluation that these stakeholders make in relation to the level of threat that such factors represent. There is thus a perception that, for several reasons, some factors will tend to produce more relevant effect on the sustainability of this floating heritage than others, although there is a series of new and complex issues and challenges. It was decided to focus the discussion on a set of factors that, from the perspective of local stakeholders, represent a greater and more effective level of threat to the preservation of traditional boats. In order to understand the assessment attributed to each factor, we made the sum of the evaluation of the threat level made individually by local stakeholders for each factor considered by the survey. The Figure 19 identifies the five factors that, from the perspective of local stakeholders, represent the greatest threats/challenges to the preservation and sustainability of traditional boats.

**Figure 19. Most important challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation**




Source: Own Elaboration

The analysis of these results shows that the main challenges/threats to the preservation and sustainability of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats involve factors of different nature, including: environmental nature; formative nature; legal nature; infrastructural nature. It is important to note that financial factors have not been evaluated by local stakeholders as one of the main challenges/threats to traditional boats, which is particularly interesting when the costs associated with the maintenance and preservation of floating heritage are often identified as a challenge/threat that could jeopardize its preservation and safeguard. Focusing the analysis on the main factors identified by local stakeholders (Figure 19), one of greatest concerns is the sedimentation of the navigation channels. An environmental challenge/threat that does not affect exclusively the navigation on traditional boats, although it occurs in a remarkable way in channels that guarantee the access to some of the main concentration areas of traditional boats (e.g. Montijo Channel – Sector II that allows access to Montijo and Sarilhos Pequenos). As mentioned previously, the sedimentation process – a natural phenomenon in estuaries –, creates limitations to navigation with these vessels, including: (i) limitation on the number of tides with sufficient water height to ensure safe navigation conditions; (ii) limitation of the time period with navigability conditions during a certain tide; (iii) limitation of the estuary areas in where it is possible to navigate, as a result of the progressive reduction of depth (especially on the South bank). Regarding this last aspect, it should be mentioned, for example, that some regattas of traditional boats annually carried out in the riverside areas of Sarilhos Pequenos (Moita) and Montijo changed the regatta sites for *Canoas* due to the sedimentation of some areas. In addition, since sedimentation is a natural process, if no measures are taken (e.g. remove the accumulation of sediments and/or construction of weirs/other structures), the associated effects will become worse over time, affecting negatively the navigability in the estuary and, in particular, the navigation on traditional boats.

The second main challenge/threat identified by local stakeholders is the lack of professional training related to the construction/maintenance of traditional boats (formative nature factor). Indeed, this impossibility of replacing the current (and last) specialized professionals in the various areas related to traditional shipbuilding (especially shipbuilders, caulkers and painters) will tend to constitute an important challenge/threat to the preservation of the traditional boats in the medium/long-term. This is a particularly relevant challenge/threat in the case of large boats, since in the case of small vessels (*Canoas* and *Catraios*) there are some self-builders with technical knowledge that enable them to build and maintain these vessels. Regarding this factor, it should be noted that there is currently only one shipyard in the Tagus Estuary specialized in the construction and maintenance of traditional boats.

The third main factor identified by local stakeholders involves a legal factor: lack of a legal framework for traditional boats. The analysis of the results of the survey highlights the structural and transversal dimension of this factor, since it has implications at different levels in several other challenges/threats. Two examples of the effects of the lack of legal recognition and classification of these vessels as traditional boats are highlighted. A first example concerns the technical requirements of the construction process of traditional boats, which in the opinion of several local stakeholders has hardened the construction of new vessels, mainly due to the costs and complexity of this process. A second example is related to the requirements to organize a traditional boats regatta. As mentioned previously, the lack of classification of these traditional boats is reflected in the understanding that these events - of great relevance for the promotion of this floating heritage - are sporting events (and not cultural events), with important consequences for the organization of these events by nautical clubs (e.g. insurance to cover the risks inherent to the practice of sports activities).

The fourth and fifth main factors identified by the local stakeholders refer to factors of infrastructural nature: lack of support facilities for boats and crew members/passengers. In this way, it is recognized that access to water in a safe and comfortable way is of particular importance. In fact, the improvement of the conditions of access to water could be a catalyst for increasing the interest of the local communities for navigation in traditional boats, as well as for promoting the development of maritime tourism activities on the South bank of the Tagus Estuary using traditional boats, thus contributing to their preservation and sustainability.

On the other hand, it is important to point out that the factors that local stakeholders consider to be less relevant as challenges/threats to the preservation and sustainability of traditional boats include factors of a financial, regulatory and legal nature (Figure 20). The three least important factors are from financial nature, including: parking costs of traditional boats; costs of traditional boats insurance; tax costs applied to traditional boats. The requirements to organize a traditional boats regatta (regulatory nature) and the requirements to develop maritime tourism activities (legal nature) are the other less important factors. According to local stakeholders, these factors generally present a lower degree of threat to the preservation and sustainability of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats.

**Figure 20. Less important challenges/threats to traditional boats preservation**


Source: Own Elaboration

## 5. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the results of the survey showed that, in general, local stakeholders recognize the existence of several challenges/threats to the preservation and sustainability of traditional boats, which are emerging factors. In fact, in a first moment (after functional obsolescence and subsequent decline of traditional boats), the immediate challenge was the recovery and preservation of these vessels in order to avoid their disappearance. Having assured this preservation for more than three decades, challenges and threats go beyond the strict scope of preservation and safeguarding of traditional boats (*stricto sensu*), emerging nowadays factors that encompass the context (or "ecosystem") of these vessels. The results of the survey show precisely that local stakeholders have an integrated view of traditional boats and of the challenges/threats they face. A conclusion supported by the fact that the main challenges/threats identified by the local stakeholders include several factors that go beyond the strict scope of the vessels themselves (namely the sedimentation of navigation channels and the lack of support facilities for boats and crew members/passengers).

A second relevant conclusion is that stakeholders identify a set of structural and medium/long-term factors as the main challenges/threats. Examples are the factors related to the lack of a legal framework for traditional boats and the lack professional training related to the construction/maintenance of traditional boats.

A third conclusion related to emerging issues and challenges is the diversity of factors that shape these different issues/challenges (i.e. legal, regulatory, financial, infrastructural, environmental and formative), which will tend to represent additional difficulties for the preservation, safeguarding and valorization of these traditional boats at two main levels. The first level is related to the need for the involvement and concerted action by different entities with competences directly and indirectly related to traditional boats and cultural heritage. The second level is related to the need to define an integrated and multidimensional strategy for the preservation, safeguarding and valorization of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats in the long term, clearly defining the actions to be taken, the intervention priorities, the stakeholders to be involved, and the resources to be mobilized. In this context, it is considered that the results achieved with this article could be an important support to a deeper discussion on the challenges/threats to the preservation of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats and, in this way, contribute to the formulation of the mentioned integrated and multidimensional strategy for its preservation, safeguarding and valorization.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the approach applied in this work to the case of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats, as well as the results achieved, can be used as a reference framework for the analysis and discussion of the challenges/threats to the preservation and safeguarding of other floating heritage fleets, particularly in the European context.

ACNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors thank all the local stakeholders who answered the survey, whose participation helped to understand their perception regarding the challenges/threats to the preservation and sustainability of the Tagus Estuary traditional boats. The authors also thank the Centro de Documentação e Informação da APL – Administração do Porto de Lisboa, SA for authorizing to use of the photo presented in the Figure 1 of this article.

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# DESIGN CONTRIBUTIONS TO ADOPT MEDITERRANEAN DIET. CASE STUDY ORANGES FROM SILVES

*Filipa Pias*[1]


## ABSTRACT

The Mediterranean diet, considered Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO in 2013, represents a complete and balanced food model with numerous benefits for health, longevity and quality of life, it is characterized by the consumption of fresh produce and of the time, by the frugality, simplicity and sharing a meal.

Despite being a small farmer, Portugal can bet on cultural diversification and differentiation arising from the intrinsic quality of these products allowed by the unique climate and soil conditions.

Due to its work process design, can collaborate with the company, it can draw solutions with and for the people, taking into account technical, environmental and economic constraints associated. Through design we can develop partnerships, complement the offering, create educational activities to community, develop a narrative that shows that behind the products there is a history, a way of being and draw an experience based on the nutritional value of the offer and the recommendation of the Mediterranean Diet Pyramid.

We purpose a model that allows Portuguese agro-food SMEs to evaluate the collaboration of design. The model builds a narrative that has underlying the motivation and values which are at the origin of the product and the company and it allows designing an experience based on the nutritional value of the product and the recommendation of the Mediterranean Diet Pyramid to improve healthy eating habits or focus on a subject where the food has a decisive role.

Silves town is applying the design evaluation model in investment in the new brand - “Silves, capital da laranja”. Its goal is to give notoriety to orange and producers in that region by associating to the name of Silves, recognized for its tangible and intangible heritage, and to the quality and accuracy with which orange is produced.


Keywords: Agro-food; Design Value; Investment; Return.

JEL Classification: Q13

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Portugal integrates the set of countries whose dietary habits characterize the Mediterranean diet, defined in 1993 at the *International Conference on Diets of the Mediterranean.* It is a way of eating that is distinguished by the abundant consumption of food of vegetable origin (vegetables, fruit and leguminous) as well as local fresh products poorly processed and from the season using olive oil as the main source of fat. Also, the frequent consumption of fish, low to moderate drinking of wine mainly at the main meals, the ingestion of dairy products specially cheese and yogurt and the low and infrequent consumption of red meat (Lopes, 2016). The Mediterranean diet, considered Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO in

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2013, represents a complete and balanced food model with numerous benefits for health, longevity and quality of life, described by the frugality and simplicity of its dishes which are reflected in the production, preparation and taste of the food involved in sharing a meal. Based on their mode of production and preparation that characterize the agro-food products of Mediterranean Diet and on the focus to improve the quality of life in the community and boost the local economy, we purpose a model that allows Portuguese agro-food SMEs to evaluate the collaboration of design, because due to its work process design can collaborate with the company, it can draw solutions with and for the people, taking into account technical, environmental and economic constraints associated.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

We began this research with a literature review by Design Council that has been conducting different studies about design value and implementing SMEs supporting programs; European Union which has supported programmes and studies to encourage the invest in design, specifically the *Design as a driver of user-centred innovation; Design for Growth & Prosperity* and the *European Design Innovation Initiative* - Measuring Design Value, but also about sustainability and food, namely, *Assessment of resource efficiency in the food cycle, European Research on Traditional Foods* and *European Food Information Resource*; and the specialists in this theme Brigitte Borja de Mozota, Xenia Viladas, Gert L. Kootstra, Robert Verganti, Roger Martin, John Thackara and the recent project coordinated by Antti Pitkänen the *Design Roi - measurable design.* And focus as well on literature review about healthy eating habits and on Portuguese SMEs competitiveness, namely the *National Programme for the Promotion of Healthy Eating*, *PortFIR program*, Fundación Dieta Mediterránea, Slow Food, AICEP - Portuguese Trade & Investment Agency and INE. All this complemented with visits to fairs and conferences on this theme.

To work on this case study, we applied the Direct Observation method with mechanical support and Survey for data collection, which aims to obtained information about the company's strategy; financial data; characterize the company's use of design, where we apply The Design Ladder (2001) and the design Visibility Vectors develop by Xenia Viladas (Viladas, 2010: 39). The data collected so far indicate that most of these companies have as a priority to improve the quality and food safety of agro-food products. They usually invest in technologies, certification and environment friendly solutions to preserve and improve soil and the quality of products. They usually also in design, but as a technical skill, because despite they are interested on design skills they don't know how it can add value to the business.

### 2.1 The Model

Based on the management tool Balanced Scorecard (Kaplan, 1996) we built a model for investment evaluation in design, which principles are: To produce with quality, respect food safety standards, invest in solutions that preserve and improve the soils and products quality and maintain or increase the consumer's trust; To promote healthy eating habits in society, through the nutritional qualities of supply and the recommendations of the Mediterranean Diet Pyramid (Fundación Dieta Mediterránea); To create sustainable value based on social welfare, environmental friendliness and economic prosperity.

The model consists of two categories of assessment, the first category the Strategic Guidelines involves defining the company's strategy, aiming the creation of social welfare, environmental friendliness and economic prosperity, the foundation of sustainable development. The Strategic Guidelines category includes the phases of Project, Objectives, Targets and Initiatives.

The Project is a starting point to achieve certain goals outlined by the strategy. It should reflect the purpose of contributing to improve the quality of life, informing the society about the benefits of adopting a healthy diet within the recommendations of the Mediterranean Diet Pyramid or focus on a subject where the food has a decisive role as for instance during pregnancy by avoiding diseases and complications for both the mother and child, in preventing diseases such as cancer, oral health, type 2 Diabetes, obesity and cardiovascular diseases or alert to inequalities and social problems.

Objectives should focus on the creation value based on social welfare, environmental friendliness and economic prosperity, to seek to improve community health and knowledge about the benefits of changed eating habits and adopt a Mediterranean Diet. And raise awareness community about how their food choices cause impact in biodiversity and in local economy and in the end in our quality life.

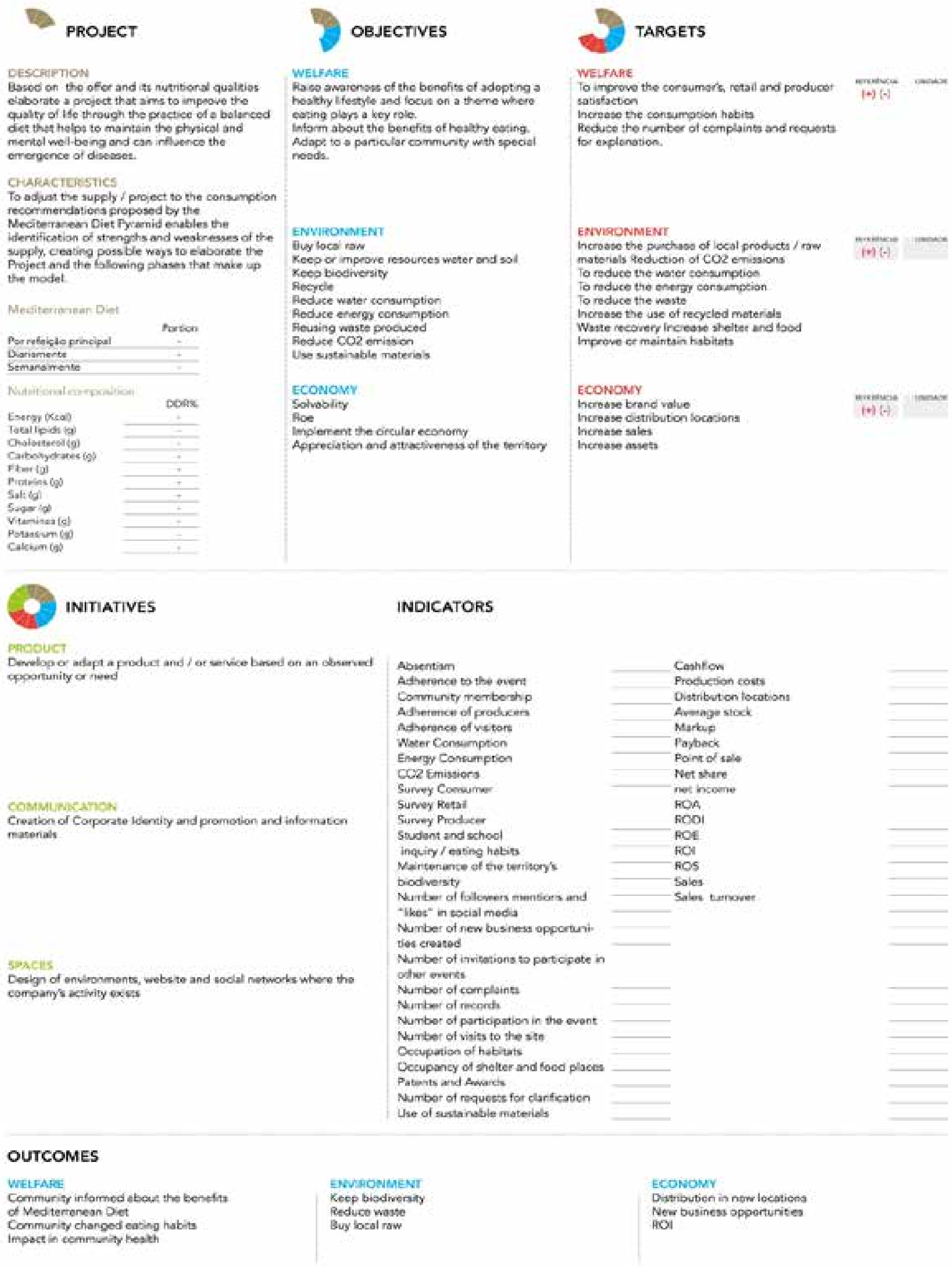
Targets translate into value what company want to achieve at a pre-defined period of time.

The Initiatives are the operationalization of the Project to achieve the Objectives, namely the creation of a program of activities that seeks to raise awareness of the benefits of adopting a healthy lifestyle, it can be focus on a subject where the food has a decisive role to improve quality of life. In this phase design is *visible* through the visible vectors propose by Xenia Viladas: Products that comprise the offer, Communication that comprises the corporate identity and Spaces where the company's activities are developed.

In the second category, the Performance Indicators include the Qualitative and Quantitative Metrics to evaluate the process.

The model proposes a narrative that has underlying the motivation and values which are at the origin of the product and the company, focus on improve well-being through adopt eating healthy habits or on a subject where the food has a decisive role. It allows designing an experience and contextualizes the collaboration of design which can be of social, environmental or economical scope and fits its intervention: Products, Communication and Spaces.

**Figure 1. Model to evaluate the investment in design**




Source: Pias, 2017

## 3. CASE STUDY – ORANGE FROM SILVES

In the Algarve, citrus production accounts for 84% of the country's total production (Statistical Yearbook of the Algarve Region, 2014: 199) and has been part of the landscape for many years, since the Portuguese brought sweet oranges from India in the fifteenth century and planted them in the region and along its routes to prevent and combat scurvy affecting seamen. Silves is part of the Algarve region and has decided to give visibility to the local citrus fruits production, with special emphasis on orange. For this purpose, the Municipality of Silves created the brand "Silves" capital of orange, capital da laranja". Its goal is to protected the local production and to give notoriety to orange and producers in that region by associating to the name of Silves, recognized for its tangible and intangible heritage, and to the quality and accuracy with which orange is produced.

Silves town is applying the design evaluation model in model in one of the initiatives carried out so far – *Fim de semana com sabor a laranja* - held in November 2016 and composed by a tasting of dishes made with orange by the local restaurants that joined the initiative, With the purpose of evaluating the initiative, small questionnaires were distributed to the producers, the participating restaurants and the people who were involved (clients). The questionnaires were distributed by the Municipality, which has shown great readiness to support this research and to which we would like to express our appreciation. The questionnaire is composed of 8 questions, which aim to measure the knowledge that all stakeholders (clients, restaurants and producers) have about the fruit, its benefits and the initiative accomplished by the municipality. We do not have information on the number of producers and restaurants that joined the initiative, nor on the number of customers who received the questionnaire. In total, 9 customer surveys, 2 restaurant surveys and none of the producers were received.

The clients showed willingness to participate in the initiative and interest in having access to post event products. As a selection criteria, they tend to consider the origin as important as the price.

As for the Restaurants, we have only 2 questionnaires with diametrically opposed answers to the different questions, we consider the information obtained scarce for analysis purposes.

## 4. CONCLUSION

Despite being a small farmer, Portugal "can bet on cultural diversification and differentiation arising from the intrinsic quality of these products allowed by the unique climate and soil conditions. These are real endogenous assets that urge to protect and develop" (Dieta Mediterrânica, 2014: 63). Portugal integrates the set of countries whose dietary habits characterize the Mediterranean diet, defined in 1993 at the International Conference on Diets of the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean diet, considered Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO in 2013, represents a complete and balanced food model with numerous benefits for health, longevity and quality of life, described by the frugality and simplicity of its dishes, which is reflected in the production, preparation and tasting the food involved in sharing a meal.

Due to its work process design, can collaborate with the company, it can draw solutions with and for the people, taking into account technical, environmental and economic constraints associated.

Based on their mode of production and preparation, that characterize the agro-food products of Mediterranean Diet and on the focus to improve the quality of life in the community and boost the local economy, we purpose a model that allows Portuguese agro-food SMEs to evaluate the collaboration of design.

The model we propose to evaluate the design collaboration in the process, builds a narrative that has underlying the motivation and values which are at the origin of the product and the company and it

allows designing an experience based on the nutritional value of the product and the recommendation of the Mediterranean Diet Pyramid to improve healthy eating habits or focus on a subject where the food has a decisive role. The model also places in context the collaboration of design which can be of social, environmental or economical scope and make visible its intervention through Products that comprise the offer, Communication that comprises the corporate identity and Spaces where the company's activities are developed. The model consists of two categories of assessment, one with Strategic Guidelines and the other with Performance Indicators. The Strategic Guidelines is the first category and includes the phases of Project, Objectives, Targets and Initiatives. It involves defining the company's strategy, aiming the creation sustainable value.

The Project is a starting point for achieving certain goals outlined by the strategy. It should reflect the purpose of contributing to improve the quality of life, informing the society about the benefits of adopting a healthy diet within the recommendations of the Mediterranean Diet Pyramid. Objectives should focus on the creation sustainable value to improve community health and knowledge about the benefits of changed eating habits and adopt a Mediterranean Diet. And raise awareness community about how their food choices cause impact in biodiversity, in local economy and in the end in our quality life. Targets translate into value what the company want to achieve at a pre-defined period of time. And the Initiatives are the operationalization of the Project to achieve the Objectives, namely the create a program of activities that seeks to raise awareness of the benefits of adopting a healthy lifestyle or focus on a subject where the food has a decisive role. Design make visible its intervention through Products, Communication and Spaces. In the second category, the Performance Indicators include the Qualitative and Quantitative metrics to evaluate the Initiatives.

We just began a new collaboration with Silves town (Algarve, Portugal) to apply the design evaluation model in the new brand - "Silves, capital da laranja". Its goal is to give notoriety to orange and producers in that region by associating to the name of Silves, recognized for its tangible and intangible heritage, and to the quality and accuracy with which orange is produced.

In collaboration with the Municipality we are in the process of evaluating the investment in design in one of the initiatives carried out so far – *Fim de semana com sabor a laranja* - which took place in November 2016 and was composed by a tasting of dishes made with orange by the local restaurants that joined the initiative. With the purpose of evaluating the initiative, small questionnaires were distributed to the producers, and to the participating restaurants and people (clients). These questionnaires were distributed by the Municipality, which have shown great readiness to support this research and to which we would like to express our appreciation. The information collected indicates that the Customers had a positive opinion about the initiative but as for the Restaurants, the information obtained was scarce for analysis purposes.

Based on the nutritional value of the product and the recommendation of the Mediterranean Diet Pyramid, the model proposes a narrative that has underlying the motivation and values which are at the origin of the product and the company, describes the steps required to implement a project that should focus on improve well-being through adopt eating healthy habits or on a subject where the food has a decisive role, namely to reduce and prevent diseases and social problems in our society. The model shows what you want to achieve as well as its procedure, it provides an overview that helps to focus on the essential and to monitor the development process. Instead of competing with a product the model gives guidelines to propose something that is done instead of something that is sold. The model allows designing an experience and contextualizes the collaboration of design, which can be of social, environmental or economical scope and make it visible through Products, Communication and Spaces.

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# TYPES OF HANDMADE DOLLS IN TURKEY

*Melda Özdemir*[1]

**ABSTRACT**

Handmade dolls, plastic, wood, glass, ceramic, any mineral, soil, plaster, leather, cloth and so on. They are human form toys made of materials. Handmade dolls art is the world's oldest hand-crafted art that emerged from the assessment of the increased fragments available to show the future responsibility of the mother of the daughter-in-law.Handmade dolls collectors and decorators do not have any jobs in our society and they have characteristics that appeal to people of all ages. The ornaments that complement the clothing such as dolls, ethnic dolls, different national dresses, necklaces, ear, wrists and necklaces, earrings, bracelets and rings attached to fingers carry all traces of folk culture and art.

These dolls, which are produced with different materials under different names in different regions of our country, take their names according to the material they are making and they reflect the characteristics of the area in terms of production and clothes. This study aims to introduce handmade doll varieties which are made in Turkey and are still being made. Doll varieties will be supported by visuals while giving information about the construction techniques to be categorized according to the material used.

Keywords: Handmade; Doll; Culture; Folklore.

JEL Classification: Z10

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In our society, dolls appeal to collectors, decorators and actually everyone from all ages regardless of their profession. Ethnographically, these dolls have the traces of folk culture, art, clothing of different nations and accessories such as necklaces, earrings, bracelets which complement the clothing (Gülensoy, 1996).

In ancient times, dolls were considered as protection talismans and idols as well as toys. They were also used for some religious or spell-related purposes such as worshiping, casting a spell, distributing remedy or power, scaring enemies, keeping them at graveyards and as the symbol of their ancestors.

History of dolls dates back to old times in Turkey. It is known that dolls were used for religious and spell-related purposes by Turkic tribes in the Middle East.

In some regions of Anatolia, dolls are called as "dodu" or "gade". It is said that these words stem from Shamanism. Doll culture appeared in Shamanism in the form of rain prayers, puppetry and scarecrows (Toygar, 1987).

Apart from these, in our folk culture there are other doll-related practices which exist in Anatolian daily life (Erdem, 1998). Some of these dolls are used in childbearing, weddings and Turkish puppetry or seen as scarecrows, snowmen and dolls as toys.

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## 2. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF DOLLS IN TURKEY

History of dolls dates back to old times in our country. It is also known that dolls were used for religious and spell-related purposes by Turkic tribes which grew as nomads in Asia.

Dolls, which carry an economic, social, cultural and most especially religious meaning, have an important role in Turkic folk culture.

There is a rich doll-related accumulation in Turkic folk culture and it dates from old Turkic religion, Shamanism. It is also said that words such as “dodu” and “gade” which are used in some regions of Anatolia stem from Shamanism. We see doll culture as part of rain prayers, birth customs and puppetry in Shamanism.

These customs still exist in Anatolia in our day. In our country, dolls are usually used in regions where it does not rain for a long time in order to make it rain. Apart from that, in our folk culture there are other doll related practices which have a part in Anatolian daily life. Some of these dolls are used in childbearing, weddings and Turkish puppetry or seen as scarecrows, snowmen and dolls as toys.

During birth process, dolls are associated with various believes. In some regions of Anatolia, dolls are used for infertile women who cannot have a baby. The woman, who wants to have a baby, puts a wrap around her belly and makes the wrap hold a rag doll right on her belly. By doing so, it is believed that infertile woman can have a baby thanks to the direct skin contact with the rag doll.

As we mentioned briefly, dolls are largely used in rituals to invoke rain where it does not rain for a long time. Dolls which children carry around with them during rainmaking prove the richness of our folkloric accumulation.

One of the oldest theatrical plays of Turks is puppetry. That being said, dolls can be counted as a type of puppet. Puppetry, which is the art of manipulation of inanimate figures, is very popular in our country as it is in many cultures. Physically, puppets correspond with dolls. Their head and hands are usually made of wood or hardened paper mache.

Scarecrows, which are a type of doll, are used during summer in order to keep harmful birds and naughty children away from ripe crops in various regions of Turkey. Scarecrows are basically a “T” shaped structure made of wood. Their head is usually a pumpkin and their eyes, nose and mouth are drawn using natural dye derived from plants. They wear an old cap or felt hat. They are also dressed in old extravagant clothes to discourage harmful birds and thieves.

In recent years, it became a tradition especially in big cities to put a doll along with the decorations made of flowers and ribbons at the front-end of the wedding car which will host the bride and the groom. Most of these dolls are plastic and bought from a store. Moreover, they are usually dressed in a bridal. These dolls represent the wish of a healthy baby for the newlyweds.

Another type of dolls that we see in the regions with sufficient snowfall of our country is snowman. Snowman is generally built by children and decorated with a hat, coal eyes and brows, a carrot nose and a scarf. It is considered as a doll with toy features until the sun melts it.

In Anatolia, girls play with dolls named “gelin” (bride in Turkish) which are made by village girls’ themselves or their elders. On the other hand, you can buy dolls at toy stores in the cities.

Girls play with dolls in our country until puberty hits. In some regions, an odd ceremony takes place in order to make girls around 10-12 give up playing with toys. This ceremony is called as “rag doll wedding” in Konya. Friends of the girl and all neighbors receive an invitation for this rag doll wedding. On the day of the wedding, rag doll gets dressed in a bridal and it is put in a high place in the room.

These types of dolls are the toys which are usually created to meet children's need to play with dolls.

Even though we have a rich accumulation based on folkloric traditions, doll production is not developed sufficiently in our country.

First studies treating the subject as toy and tourist souvenir production were started in technical school for girls between 1937 and 1938. Doll production classes started to be offered in advanced technical and artistic schools for girls. In addition, doll production studies, which had been launched in Ankara Technical Higher Teacher Education School for Girls in 1948, were taught in a higher education institution for the first time in 1982. Doll production classes are still offered in a higher education institution named Gazi University Faculty of Vocational Education. Vocational school programs for girls also provide doll production education.

Voluntary agencies have contributed greatly to the development of doll production in our country. World's first exhibition of dolls with folkloric clothing was held at Taksim Municipality Garden in İstanbul with the participation of 20 countries in 1936.

Folklore Research Department of Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism held a worldwide competition on dolls with folkloric clothing in order to encourage the production of these dolls in 1986.

Today, concerned units of universities and public and private institutions hold doll exhibitions and competitions. People who come out in these competitions are awarded with monetary awards or gifts. Encouragement of participants contributes to this art branch and its popularization.

Handicrafts are the most prominent elements that symbolize the culture of a nation. They are the most vivid products that represent the cultural identity of a country. They play an important role in the prolongation and development of a country's customs and life style. They also help handing down those values from generation to generation. There are various handicraft branches in our country. One of the most prominent branches is doll art.

Dolls appeared in our education system after the proclamation of the Republic, which was very beneficial to our society. Women who have the most tiring job which includes taking care of their home became more and more involved in family economy. People started to perform our rich handicraft more consciously owing to the technical education provided in higher education institutions. The place in family of women, who are trained in these institutions and contribute to family economy, changes and becomes more appreciated accordingly. Turkish women meet their needs thanks to their educative studies and by doing so they reflect the emotions, thoughts and traditions of their society by means of their products.

Doll production, which is the transformation of remnants and raw materials into a handmade product, can be performed anytime at home by everyone from all ages, genders, education levels, whether they are disabled or not. It is also a cultural and economic activity which contributes to the family economy as a career or a side job.

Dolls which have a place in childbearing, funerals, weddings and religious believes such as rain prayers constitute the prominent part of our folk culture especially in the countryside.

Handicrafts which represent people's emotions and thoughts still exist in our day, even though we are now in the ever-growing science age. Especially the dolls dressed in our traditional wear among those handicrafts yield money for individuals. Also, they have an important role in tourism and promotion of the country.

Accommodation, sightseeing, food and beverage services and shopping have a place in tourism. Tourists who visit a country or a region want to buy a portable, decorative and authentic product which features the customs and characteristics of that region. Thus, those kinds of dolls are the touristic souvenirs favored by domestic and foreign tourists.

Regarding the "souvenir" sector in world tourism, folkloric dolls have doubled the economic revenue in tourism because of the cultural message that they carry. Another reason behind that is the fact that they are portable, charming and appealing in respect of collection. Even though doll production is an art branch that can be developed further in our country, we do not fully make use of their potential contribution to national economy in tourism sector. However, it is possible to improve the dolls in order to ensure economic efficiency preserving their folkloric features. It is also possible to create a prototype and produce it in those regions.

"Soğanlı dolls" which are produced in Cappadocia region and Soğanlı villages in Yeşilhisar, Kayseri can be an example to this. These dolls make a significant contribution to tourism revenue. It can be said that the only source of income for these people is handicrafts. Marketing of Soğanlı dolls is currently very popular in all tourist centers.

In our day, countries which are experienced and successful in tourism sector gain foreign exchange by marketing authentic and handmade souvenirs. In most of the industrialized countries, it is known that handmade products are of great value. However, many values continue to change in this industrialization period. Some of those values are life style habits and tastes. That is to say, the necessities of the time have to be considered in the production of handicrafts without spoiling their authenticity.

In this regard, "Damal dolls" which have been marketed domestically and abroad are considered as a gratifying example. Damal dolls are plastic dolls manufactured in Damal, Ardahan and dressed in miniature traditional wear of the region. These dolls are very detailedly dressed with a fez on their head and embroidered socks on their feet decorated with beads, buttons and ribbons and they represent the Turkmen clothing in Eastern Anatolia. Some of the Damal dolls are handmade rag dolls dressed in traditional wear rather than manufactured plastic dolls.

It is important for the tools, which are used in the production and composition of dolls and mass production of their clothing, to feature local characteristics and to be portable, well packed, affordable and made from obtainable materials in order to increase the tourism revenue in our country.

Considering all these matters, it is evident that dolls make a great contribution to tourism revenue and that they provide economic, social and cultural benefits.

## 3. TYPES OF DOLLS

Dolls exist in many domains with religious and spell-related purposes. They appear in the form of toys and puppets in particular. Regarding their real production and usage area, they usually belong to the rural life rather than the urban life. Even though they are known as dolls in cities, people from Anatolian villages call them some other vernacular names such as "gelin, güççe, korçak and kurçak."

As for traditional dolls, it can be seen that most of them are handmade dolls made by mothers or grandmothers for their children or grandchildren respectively.

Rag dolls rank first among the other toys that girls play with almost in every region.

Dolls have different functions. Considered as a toy, their most known function is to entertain the children. In addition to this, another important function of dolls is to prepare girls for their future social role as mothers.

Easily and promptly obtainable and affordable materials such as rags are used in handmade doll production.

Dolls are made of materials such as rag, brushwood, dry plant, tree branch, wool, corncob, soil, broom and seashell.

There is not a certain classification of dolls. The reason behind that is the fact that producers can come up with new techniques anytime. That is to say, doll production depends on the materials on hand and the creativity of people. Doll classification method used in this research was prepared in accordance with the literature review done on this subject and the content and the implementation of the "doll production techniques I" course offered in the Department of Decorative Arts under the Department of Handicraft Education in Gazi University Faculty of Vocational Education.

Traditional dolls come under 16 categories in terms of production techniques and materials. These categories are as follows:

*Wooden doll:* The body and the legs of this doll are made from tree branches of different sizes. Sticks are used for its arms and they get removed after they are wrapped with cloth. That leaves the doll with arms made of cloth. Then a round head stuffed with cotton and covered with white cloth is attached. Facial features such as eyes, brows, nose and mouth can be either embroidered or painted. The most beautiful example of wooden dolls is Soğanlı dolls which are sold in Cappadocia and Nevşehir in Turkey (Güler and Özdemir, 2002).

**Figure 1. Soğanlı Dolls**

Source: http://www.cnnturk.com. Date of access: 03.01.2017

*Rag dolls:* The arms, legs and the body of a rag doll are actually separate little pillows which are stitched together afterwards. Its head is formed by pinching and roping the upper part of the body. Its face can be either embroidered or painted. Eyes can be made of buttons or beads. The clothing of a rag doll can be either sewed or knitted in accordance with the regional characteristics and the purpose. Wool yarn, corn silk and corn stalk are used as hair. Some of the rag dolls are made from one pillow and called as bundle dolls. Bundle doll is again a little pillow enswathed with a square cover folded into half forming a triangle. Its head is covered with muslin. Once again, its face can be either embroidered or painted.

**Figure 2. Rag Dolls**

Source: Student Works

**Figure 3. Rag Dolls**

Source: Own Elaboration, 2013

**Figure 4. Rug Dolls**

Source: www.bez bebekler.com. Date of access: 03.01.2017

*Sock dolls:* Sock dolls are the easiest to make. It only requires an old sock, a sewing kit and stuffing. Stuffing can be cotton, old rag, newspaper, detail paper etc. Body, head, arms and legs of a sock doll are prepared separately. These body parts are stitched together afterwards in order to form the doll figure. Its face can be either embroidered or painted. Colored buttons are also used for the eyes. The clothing of a sock doll is designed as it is wished.

**Figure 5. Socks Dolls**

Source: http://www.kültür portali gov.tr. Date of access: 03.01.2017

**Figure 6. Socks Dolls**

Source: http://www.nazarca.com. Date of access: 03.01.2017

*Dolls made of waste:* These dolls, whose skeleton is a long thin stick or a piece of wood, have a body stuffed with materials such as foam, sponge and rag. As for the arms and legs, plant-based materials such as wheat stem, rye stem and raffia palm are used. Its head can be either a cloth stuffed with cotton or a wooden bead. Its face is drawn with colorful pens. The clothing of these dolls is designed as it is wished.

**Figure 7. Dolls Made of Waste**

Source: Students works, 2010

*Paper dolls:* Paper dolls are human figures cut out of paper. They can be either sitting or standing. The clothing of a paper doll is also made of paper. Clothes can be attached to the paper doll by using hooks made of paper. Paper clothes are usually decorated with rags, plant seeds and feathers.

**Figure 8. Paper Dolls**

Source: http://www.pinterest. com. Date of access: 03.01.2017

*Dolls made of a scoop or a spoon:* They are made of a scoop or a spoon attached to the middle of a long and thin stick. They are dressed in cloth pieces to make them look like a woman.

**Figure 9. Dolls Made of a Spoon**

Source: http://www.pinterest.com. Date of access: 03.01.2017

*Clay and dough dolls:* These dolls are made of clay, mud or dough which is two parts flour and one part white glue. Its head, body, arms and legs are glued together with white glue, after those parts get dry. Clothes can be decorated with dough or cloth. Its face can be painted with gouache paint, watercolor paint, or colorful marker pens. Different techniques can be used at the same time while working with dough and clay. For example, a doll figure can be set out using materials such as wire, wooden bead and egg shell. Afterwards, they get covered with dough in order to obtain a sharp figure (Koçak, 1993).

**Figure 10. Clay and Dough Dolls**

Source: Students Works, 2010

*Dolls made of corncob and corn silk:* Before producing the doll, dried cornhusks are put into water until they soften. Its skeleton is a "T" shaped wire with corn leaves wrapped around it. Production of these dolls begins with the formation of the arms. The leaf that is used for the arm is shaped into a curved figure as a real arm. The leaf also gets tied tightly to the wrists. Several layers of corn leaves are used for the formation of the body and they are tied at some parts considering the slimness of the waist. For the skirt, corn leaves are used once again. If it is preferred to dress the doll in pants, the same technique which is used for the arms is implemented. Its head can be either a cloth stuffed with cotton or a wooden bead. Its hair is made of corn leaves or corn silk. As for the hat, a knitted hat or a corn leaf cut into a triangle can complement the look. Its eyes, brows, mouth and nose are painted on the face with colorful pens.

**Figure 11. Dolls Made of Corncob**

Source: Left image students works, right image: http://www.önem forum.com. Date of access: 03.01.2017

*Dolls made of chalk and soap:* These dolls are made from plaster or chalk. Their brows, eyes and mouth are embroidered except for the dolls made of stone. Wool yarn or corn silk can be used for the hair. They can also have some handmade accessories such as necklaces or bracelets with bone beads.

**Figure 12. Soap Dolls**

Source: http://www.pinterest.com. Date of access: 03.01.2017

*Broom dolls:* The technique used for broom doll production is very similar to the technique used for dolls made of a spoon or a scoop. Broom which is attached to a long stick gets wrapped with rags. The face is decorated with ready-made materials such as beads, sequins and cloths. These dolls can be either man or woman with hair made from corn silk or wool yarn.

**Figure 13. Broom Dolls**

Source: http://www.pinterest.com. Date of access: 03.01.2017

*Dolls made of wool and orlon:* These are the dolls whose skeleton is a wire wrapped with wool yarn or orlon thread. The clothing of these dolls is made from materials such as cloth, drumhead, corn husk, raffia palm, bead and paper. As for the head, bead, cloth or foam can be used. Its head is decorated with colorful marker pens.

**Figure 14. Wool Dolls**

Source: http://www.nazarca.com. Date of access: 03.01.2017

*Seashell dolls:* For this type of dolls, seashells are combined together in order to form a doll figure. Seashells can be glued together or a wire can be used in order to keep them together. Sequins, beads, dried nuts and dried seeds are used for decorative purposes.

**Figure 15. Seashell Dolls**

Source: http://www.pinterest.com. Date of access: 03.01.2017

*Dolls made of stone:* These dolls are formed by combining stones of all sizes in order to create the skeleton of the doll. Big flat stones are used for the body and the head, while little stones are favored for the feet. Stones are attached together with small pieces of dough. Its arms and clothing are completely made from dough. Its face is painted with gouache paint. Moreover the clothing can be decorated with materials such as cloth, sequin and bead.

*Wire dolls:* Main material of wire dolls is wire. They are used for the formation of the skeleton. Their head is actually a sock stuffed with materials such as rag and sponge. As for the hair, wool yarn and thread can be used. Their clothing can be knitted or made of materials such as cloth, leather, corn leaf and raffia palm.

**Figure 16. Stone Dolls**

Source: http://www.pinterest.com. Date of access: 03.01.2017

*Tragacanth dolls:* These dolls have a wire skeleton and stuffed body parts which are produced in accordance with certain body sizes. Cotton and tragacanth are used for the face, hands and feet. They are dressed in traditional wear which represents Turkish folklore.

**Figure 17. Tragacanth Dolls**

Source: Own Elaboration, 2008

*Dolls made of various materials:* One or more techniques mentioned above can be implemented on materials such as dried plants, matchsticks, empty spools, pine cones, egg shells, animal skin, ling, crotch, wool, brushwood, wires, rags, nutshells, dough and tree pieces in order to produce various types of dolls (Koçak, 1993).

**Figure 18. Dolls Made of Various Materials**

Source: http://www.pinterest.com. Date of access: 03.01.2017

## 4. CONCLUSION

Doll production is a very beneficial art branch that gives housewives a chance to produce at home and increases production, considering the fact that doll production is a handicraft owing to which remnants are recycled. Dolls which represent the traditional wear of Anatolian women is one of the prominent handicrafts which increases the tourism revenue of the country and promotes the country's itself.

As a result, dolls have to be considered as a souvenir. Thus, public institutions and organizations should cooperate on this matter, carry out activities by doing local, production-oriented research while preserving the traditional features. These points mentioned above are of great importance in order to sustain our existing cultural values and to promote our country.

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# PART 3 - DISCUSSION

# UNKNOWN AND INTERPRETED: EXPLORING THE NEED TO REPRESENT, UNDERSTAND AND RESPOND

*Slobodan Dan Paich*[1]


## ABSTRACT

Interpreting Past as one of the basic human traits is the main thread of this paper.

Addressing communication delivery of meaning, usage and construction methods of Cultural Landmarks within tourism phenomenon that provides information and knowledge to everyone, regardless of their schooling level and qualifications. Chosen examples and issues explored:

Embodying Cultural Reference - *Canopus* of Emperor Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli near Rome Adoptive Reconstruction - *Teatro Olimpico* Palladio's Renaissance performance space in Vicenza inspired by ancient Roman architect Vitruvius' treaties on theatre construction. Shared Intentions and Structural Expressions - Hattusha - Cumae: Striking programmatic and tectonic similarity and documentary evidence that help comparative understanding and interpretation of both heritage sites. Tangible - Intangible Heritage - *Omphalos / Naval of the world*: Mediterranean stone markers at ancient oracle sites and possible ritual use of specially trained birds.

The closing statements reflect on the culture, needs and psychological underpinnings of the tourism phenomenon as *wonder experiences*. The seven wonders of the Greco-Roman world exemplify the *out of the ordinary* character of major heritage sites. Strategies of interpretation that acknowledge and attempt to understand the original building and placing motivations can enrich the experiences of contemporary visitors.


Keywords: Cultural Expedience; Redefining Tourism; Intangible-Tangible Relationship.

JEL Classification: Z110

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Interpreting the past as a basic human trait is the main motivation of this paper. It is followed through descriptions, analyses of historic and documentary material and meaning making trough heritage narratives, both existing and augmented by new findings presented in this paper.

To open up narrative and educational possibilities this introduction includes ideas from broader disciplinary fields than what is usually associated with *heritage interpretation*. To that end the brief introductory reflections are based on works of Donald Winnicott, Carl Jung, Titus Burckhardt, Lewis Mumford and Simone Weil. The literature cited is intended to contextualize and create an open scholarly field surrounding and nourishing the possible understanding of diverse cultural experiences.

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## 2. CULTURAL EXPERIENCE

D. W. Winnicott (1900-1960) pediatrician and psychologist who practiced in the first half of the twentieth century wrote extensively about child development, adult relationships, cognition and conciseness. In expanding his theories of play and creativity he wrote an essay *The Location of Cultural Experience* (Winnicott, 1967). This essay became a chapter in his renown book *Playing and Reality* (Winnicott, 1999) which we will quote. Winnicott's thoughts help position understanding and open questions about cultural experience for this discourse. Winnicott writes:

> The place where cultural experience is located is in the potential space between the individual and the environment. The same can be said of playing. Cultural experience begins with creative living first manifested as play. (Winnicott, 1999: 96-99)

In another place he says:

> It is in the space between inner and outer world, which is also the space between people - the transitional space - that intimate relationships and creativity occur. (Winnicott, 1999: 96-99)

In looking for the location of cultural experience Winnicott offers a very broad and undogmatic statement:

> I have used the term cultural experience as an extension of the idea of transitional phenomena and of play without being certain that I can define the word 'culture'. The accent indeed is on experience. In using the word culture I am thinking of the inherited tradition. I am thinking of something that is in the common pool of humanity, into which individuals and groups of people may contribute, and from which we may all draw *if we have somewhere to put what we find*. (Winnicott, 1999: 96-99)

Winnicott dealing with clients' narratives and ambiguous memories has an acute sense and appreciation for recollections, hearsay and inherited stories. He continues reflecting on cultural experience with this statement:

> There is dependence here on some kind of recording method. No doubt a very great deal was lost of the early civilizations, but in the myths that were a product of oral tradition there could be said to be a cultural pool giving the history of human culture spanning six thousand years. This history through myth persists to the present time in spite of the efforts of historians to be objective, which they can never be, though they must try. (Winnicott, 1999: 96-99)

In concluding his thoughts Winnicott shows a profound sense of cultural continuity and gives an inadvertent critique/reflection on the contemporary cult of originality, superiority through progress and de-contextualized information:

> Perhaps I have said enough to show both what I know and what I do not know about the meaning of the word culture. It interests me, however, as a side issue, that in any cultural field *it is not possible to be original except on a basis of tradition*. Conversely, no one in the line of cultural contributors repeats except as a deliberate quotation, and the unforgivable sin in the cultural field is plagiarism. (Winnicott, 1999: 96-99)

The social aspect of cultural communications can be describe by this almost poetic statement by Winnicott:

> The interplay between originality and the acceptance of tradition as the basis for inventiveness seems to me to be just one more example, and a very exciting one, of the interplay between separateness and union. (Winnicott, 1999: 96-99)

Winnicott's articulations help set an open-ended psychological context for this paper's examination of the need to represent, understand and respond in the context of *heritage interpretation.* Also Winnicott's articulations help towards exploring and presenting the meanings and intentions of *heritage sites* that could be further developed as a major aspect of general and cultural education outside educational institutions. Communicating the meaning, usage and construction methods of Cultural Landmarks within the contemporary phenomenon of tourism provides information and knowledge to everyone, regardless of their schooling level and qualifications.

The work of another twentieth century psychologist Carl Jung may help us bridge the gap between theory and meaningful public interpretations for heritage narratives. The statement we chose for this introductory section may help understanding that psychology is closer to the discipline of *heritage interpretation* then philosophy or social science. The narrative flow of heritage values is or could be stifled by theoretical language and the insistence on abstraction as a superior reality.

Stephan A. Hoeller in his book *The Gnostic Jung and the Seven Sermons to the Dead* analyzes the intention of Jung's writing and helps provide understanding of the *Jungian sense* of the relationship between *transcendence deliberations* and *embodied experience*. S. A. Hoeller explains Jung's position vis-a-vis metaphysical expositions:

> [...] he [C. Jung] vowed to deliberately bring everything that purports to be metaphysical into the daylight of psychological understanding. He unequivocally stated that to grasp anything metaphysically is impossible, that one must of necessity do so psychologically. (Hoeller, 1982: 75)

In this way *Jungian thought,* which is not theoretically philosophical, quantitatively analytical or theological, is a distinct advocacy for the experiential depth that tangible and intangible heritage offers.

Within the discipline of Art History the specific understanding and articulations of Titus Burckhardt (1908-1984) offer examples confirming a broader disciplinary approach nurtured by this paper. Also his constellation of ideas offers a significant contribution to Art History as discipline in general. Burckhardt's sensibilities and commitment to inter-cultural understanding and heritage preservation can be sensed from his writing. An example is a book chapter entitled *How to Approach Medieval and Oriental Civilizations*:

> Nothing brings us into such immediate contact with another culture as a work of art, which within that culture, represents, as it were a "center". This may be a sacred image, a temple, a cathedral, a mosque, or even a carpet with a primordial design. Such works invariably express an essential quality or factor, which neither a historical account, nor an analysis of social and economic conditions, can capture. (Burckhardt, 2009: vi)

With this insight of centrality and vitality of cultural expressions Titus Burckhardt forwards ideas and implementation strategies:

> Schools of traditional arts and crafts must never be allowed to become refuges for pupils not gifted enough to study at ordinary schools. On the contrary, the schools of traditional craftsmanship must attract an élite [exceptional, gifted] in the area of visual talent [...] (Burckhardt, 2003: 18)

T. Burckhardt deeply understood the synthesis of multiple expressions that are fluid and integrated into daily life:

> The importance of calligraphy does not merely reside in the fact that Maghribi [Islamic North Africa] ornamentation includes epigraphy: Arabic calligraphy, with its synthesis of rhythm and form, is, as it were, the key to all Islamic art, as well as the touchstone for the mastering of its style [...] (Burckhardt, 2003: 16)

Titus Burckhardt dedicated his life to the heritage preservation and particularly of the Medina of Fez (Burckhardt, 1992). In spite of not being allowed re-entering Morocco for twenty-five years by the French Colonial Authority. He diligently worked and helped articulate the UNESCO heritage polices and criteria in a poetic and contemplative way. His commitment to perennial values permeating through acknowledged and cherished diversity of traditions is a role model for a younger generation of *Heritage Preservation Advocates*.

To enrich this introductory searching for texts and subtexts helpful to heritage preservation advocacy and related academic reflections, we turn to one of the prominent critics of *Modernity*, Lewis Mumford (1895-1990). He was dedicated, observant and erudite public polemist, respected on both sides of the Atlantic. American born, his views were published in the leading magazines and newspapers as regular columns culminating in a series of influential books.

Mumford's quote from his book *Art and Technics* may give us sense of his concepts and commitment in his ongoing unraveling of contemporary cultural issues:

> [...] we find ourselves more absorbed than ever in the process of mechanization. Even a large part of our fantasies are no longer self-begotten: they have no reality, no viability, until they are harnessed to the machine, and without the aid of the radio and television they would hardly have the energy to mantain their existence. (Mumford, 2000: 6)

Mumford wrote this even before the advent of computer games, smart phones, reality shows and social media.

Mumford's observations on contemporary societal relationship to technics and resulting impoverished expressions is the subject of the chapter titled *Cultural Integration* from his book Art and Technics. He writes:

> By contrast, we overvalue the technical instrument: the machine has become our main source of magic, and it has given us a false sense of possessing godlike powers. An age that has devaluated all its symbols has turned the machine itself into a universal symbol: a god to be worshiped. Under these conditions, neither art or technics is in a healthy state. (Mumford, 2000: 138)

To help understand the shortcomings of technology Mumford reflects on pre-industrial technics, tools and bodily engagements:

> The essential distinction between a machine and tool lies in the degree of independence in the operation from the skill and motive power of the operator: the tool lends itself to manipulation, the machine to automatic action. (Mumford, 2010: 10)

The following quote is pertinent to the interest of this paper exploring cultural needs to represent, understand and respond. Mumford in his book *Art and Technics* writes:

> Yes: the burden of renewal lies upon us; so it behooves us to understand the forces making for renewal within our persons and within our culture, and to summon forth the plans and ideals that will impel us to purposeful action. If we

> awaken to our actual state, in full possession of our senses, instead of remaining drugged, sleepy, cravenly passive, as we now are, we shall reshape our life to a new pattern, aided by all the ressources that art and technics now place in our hands. (Mumford, 2000: 162)

Mumford, Winnicott, Burckhardt, Jung and Weil are a small sampling of contemporary wisdom holders who understood the importance of a living connection to continuity and re-defining for the preservation of cultures and societies knowledge.

In her inimitable way with penetrating uncompromising perception Simone Weil echoes preoccupations of authors cited in this introduction. She writes:

> Rather, mathematics itself is to be viewed historically and culturally, in order to break the idolatry of the modern age, which is scientism, and replace it with a more ordered understanding of the proper role of science and technology. (Taylor, 2001: 5)

After setting the stage with the fragments form *contemporary* wisdom holders this paper will offer an assessment and portrayal of four *ancient* legacy examples. These heritage remains, with there hoped for protected existence, content and potential capacity to convey accessible information has been carefully chosen. These representative cases are based on surviving archaeological research, visual or written records that point to sophisticated intentions and formations worthy of our care, protection and study.

## 3. EMBODYING CULTURAL REFERENCES

**Figure 1. Canopus Colonnade Enclosure**

Source: Artship Foundation Archives and Copyright

### 3.1 Canopus of Emperor Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli near Rome

The audacity to reconstruct an aspect of the Nile between 131-138 AD in the vicinity of Rome is a tribute to the imagination of Hadrian, emperor/architect. The project is soaked in Hadrian's lament and grief for his friend who drowned in the actual Canopus near Alexandria in Egypt. The Canopus is also a celebration of other parts of the world as trophies of Roman Imperial possessions. The villa/palace complex, greatly plundered throughout the centuries, is still impressive.

This amount of programmatic content in one place, both public and private, offers interpretive possibilities.

Example of Public and Private element of a Heritage Site.

The Canopus Complex and its water feature offer a respite to contemporary travellers. The make-believe enactment of Canopus with architectural elements and its shallow body of water are a unique space representing the navigable canal in ancient Egypt that connected the main branch of the Nile with Alexandria. Herodotus refers to Canopus as a functioning port with ancient, possibly pre-classical Greek trade route connections.

In Hadrian's villa, the canal is only approximately one hundred and thirty yards long (one hundred and twenty meters). One can behold it in a glance. It is a space full of layers of meaning of its own while evoking and paying homage to the Egyptian water canal, urban space and associated sanctuary. A graceful semicircular open colonnade on one end edges Hadrian's Canopus. Today it contains remains of three fragmentary sculptures: one of a warrior sometimes referred to as the god of war, Mars; then a figure of an Amazon; and most significantly a sculpture of a Nile crocodile. When approached from the main complexes of buildings slightly higher up, the colonnade frames and contextualizes the canal. The colonnade also gives the place its signature look. At the other end of the canal is a semicircular building that may possibly allude to the sanctuary of Serapis or Serapeum, also in the district of Canopus. In earlier centuries, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty* (323 BC to 30 AD) already promoted the *Cult of Serapis* as the Alexandrian divinity of deliverance and salvation. One of the sculptures found on the grounds of Hadrian's villa is a Romanized statue of Osiris, a god that dies and rises again. Hadrian deeply understood the reconciling, inter-cultural values of the cult of the Alexandrian *Greco-Egyptian God Serapis* and was a strong patron and protector of the cult. The Nile flooding and its presiding deity Isis-Sothis-Demeter were celebrated in the Serapeum of Hadrian's villa with a sculpture of the composite goddess and the waterfall fountain powered by a sophisticated hydraulic system. The fountain drew water from a large cistern nearby on a higher elevation than the Serapeum and Canopus, affording the generous flow of the waterfall fountain. Antony Everitt, in his book *Hadrian and the triumph of Rome* (2009), writes about the possible significance of the Egyptian Canopus to The Roman Emperor:

> Hadrian allowed himself some free time with Antinous. He relaxed at the Canopic canal, which ran from Alexandria to the port of Canopus. Although it was well known as a temple of Serapis where the sick could sleep overnight and hope for healing. The place was mostly notable for its disreputable pleasures. (Everitt, 2009: 223)

A. Everitt also quotes the remarks of Strabo, the Greek travel writer and geographer:

> Some writers go on to record the cures, and others the virtues of the oracles there. But to balance all this is the crowd of revelers who go down from Alexandria by the canal to the public festivals; for every day and every night it is crowded with people on boats who play the flute and dance without restraint and with extreme licentiousness, both men and women. (Everitt, 2009: 224)

Hadrian, retuning from a yearlong sojourn in Egypt where his best friend Antinous drowned in the waters of Canopus, began to finalize his gardens design of the model of Canopus with a number of particular private and public meanings. The more personal meaning of the Canopus-Serapeum complex at Hadrian's villa is that they became a memorial to Antinous – Hadrian's tribute and hope for the revivification and other-worldly peace of his friend's spirit – and possibly housed his tomb. The other more public meaning of Canopus and other parts of the villas were intended to evoke the grandeur of the Roman Empire. A. Everitt, earlier in his text, describes the extent of Hadrian's Villa's Intentions:

> The *Historia Augusta* reports that the emperor built his villa at Tibur in wonderful fashion, and actually gave to parts of it names of provinces and places there, and called them, for example, the Lyceum, the Academy, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poecile, and Tempe. So that he might omit nothing, he even made a Hades. (Everitt, 2009: 264)

As stated earlier at the beginning of this section: this amount of programmatic content in one place, both public and private, poses interesting questions and open discourse about developing *Heritage Narratives* that are archeologically, culturally well researched and include critical *interpretive* elements from the *intangible heritage* dimension gleaned from primary sources.

### 3.2 Adoptive Reconstruction - Teatro Olympico

The second example of multiple and even contradictory readings of programmatic intention and spatial arrangement is Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza (1580), which was conceived of and designed by Andrea Palladio and finished after his death by Vincenzo Scamozzi. Of interest for this paper dealing with heritage interpretations and presentations are the complexities and ramifications of an imaginative sixteenth century indoor reconstruction of the principles of ancient Roman outdoor theaters. The Renaissance performance space in Vicenza was inspired by ancient Roman architect Vitruvius' treatise on theater construction.

The material presented in this section of the paper may appear too detailed and specialized. Often the history of the complexities of architectural, art and ideas are of no interest to scholars dealing with regional and state tourism polices, demographics, statistics and the quantifying data about *Visitor Phenomenon*. Frequently these studies are not informed or engaged in the history and meaning of the sites to their makers and subsequent generations. So tourist places became more of an *entertainment fare grounds* where simplistic presentations are a brief prelude to shopping, swimming, gambling, attending discos or sports events. All of these have a place in the life of visitors.

The treasury of heritage sites lies not only in the materiality of edifices and remains but also in their Cultural History. Heritage sites are repositories of ingenious problem solving of the ancients and deeply considered *Place Making*. To that end we present *Teatro Olimpico* as a rich and worthy example for this paper titled *Unknown and Interpreted,* dealing with the exploration of the need to represent, understand and respond, in this case through reflections on sources for *historic interpretation*.

**Figure 2.** *Teatro Olimpico*, **Vicenza, 1580 CA**

Source: Artship Foundation Archives and Copyright

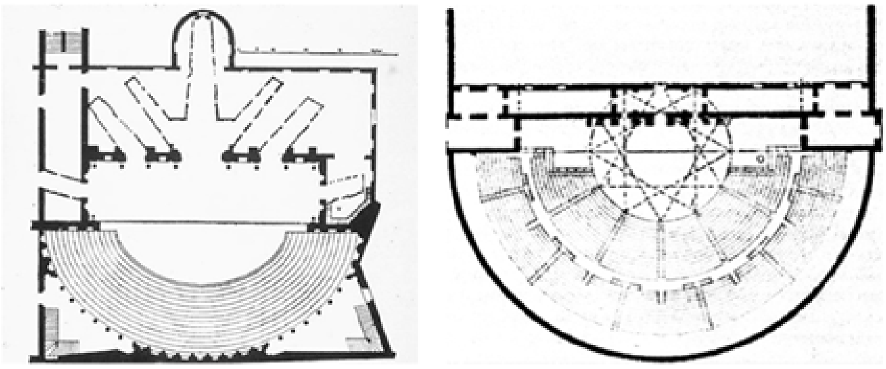
In 1556, *Accademia Olimpica* was founded in Vicenza, northern Italy by twenty-one leading citizens. It was a learned society and the architect Andrea Palladio was one of its founding members. *Accademia Olimpica* in Vicenza was the Renaissance civic cultural institution inspired by the Florentine model of the *Platonic Academy*, itself inspired by civic institutions in ancient Athens.

Vicenza's Olympic Academy's central public endeavor was the production of theatrical performances, often reconstructions of Greek and Roman plays. The initial performances took place in the *Casa Academica*, the home of the learned society. It became evident that these premises were not suitable for performances evoking civic pride and communal gatherings of earlier historic periods. Following the construction of a number of temporary wooden stages at different locations throughout the town after 1556, the Olympic Academy was able in 1579 to secure a space for a full reconstruction of a Roman theatre. The construction began in 1580. Paladio's plans and design were for a permanent theatre building that adopted the Roman circular theatre model to occupy the irregular site of the *Castello del Territorio*, an old fortification that served as a prison and storage for gun-powder and then was abandoned for a period of time. The topographical difference of actual and ideal, ancient and Renaissance notions of space and civic gathering bring out the issues of the coexistence of two communicative functions of space in one building: the classical allusion and the poetic reality of the space.

Palladio studied and applied some of the principals from the Roman architect and engineer Vitruvius' *The Ten Books of Architecture*, published in the first century BC. Palladio, a practicing architect for more than half a century, was inspired throughout his life by Vitruvius. The Roman architect's writings and ancient ruins were Palladio's anchor; he carefully studied, rendered and re-rendered both in his remarkable drawings. Palladio's study and non-verbal spatial interpretations of Vitruvius through his designs for the *Teatro Olimpico* are among the reasons for and the starting point of this inquiry. Beyond site restrictions that influence the *tectonic solutions* and *spatial forming*, there are also Renaissance societal values and the poetic, idiosyncratic spatial gestures of the architect. The interplay of Vitruvian principles, site restrictions, societal needs and the artist's decisions create intriguing multi-layered messages in the *Teatro Olimpico's* space. These when well understood are not too complex for a well-constructed heritage narrative.

Vitruvius, in Book V, Chapter VI of *The Ten Books of Architecture*, describes the conceptual construction of the Ancient Roman theatre as a zodiac. He advises the builders to first draw a circle and then inscribe four equilateral triangles at regular intervals in a manner similar to astrologers drawing their circular charts. So from the start, a configuration of the Roman theater is infused with a signifier of meaning, a programmatic intention that makes the public- civic space legible through culturally shared signs and symbols: a diagram of the annual procession of constellations. In the twelve pointed ordering, seven are for the audience and five for the performance areas. Once this meaning is mapped out, the agreement of seating, performance area, acoustic properties and circulation are adjusted to the constellation's diagram. It is interesting to ask an open question: What kind of reading and ongoing relationship did ancient citizens have to the familiar public space with the knowledge that it was based on a diagram of the zodiac?

**Figure 3. Plans: Teatro Olimpico and Vitruvius Roman Theater**



Source: Artship Foundation Archives and Copyright

This aspect of Roman theater planning was familiar to the members of *Accademia Olimpica* in sixteenth-century Vicenza. Palladio's brief was to design an accurate reconstruction of the Roman theatre on the cramped and oddly shaped site of the old fortress. To accomplish this, Palladio had to transform the seven part semicircular seating area of the Roman theatre and the five-part area for the stage into an ellipse as a response to the long, but not very deep space. This acceptance and adjustment to the site is the first strong spatial signifier felt throughout the project. Even if a visitor had not read or known Vitruvius, but had experienced the archaeological remains of Roman and Greek theaters, *Teatro Olimpico* would dazzle by the make-believe quality of spatial arrangements that are and are not an ancient theatre. The bodily reading of the space's uniqueness is available to connoisseurs and visitors coming upon it for the first time. The idiosyncratic quality becomes its spatial signature.

**Figure 4. Teatro Olimpico, Perspective Illusion Scenery**

Source: Artship Foundation Archives and Copyright

One of many aspects of the *Teatro Olimpico's* riches is a response to the Renaissance ideal of a theatre that is not only governed by its play, but also by the rationale of a renaissance perspective.

Licisco Magagnato, in his article *The Genesis Of The Teatro Olimpico*, writes, "Profound historical needs lie behind that type of Renaissance stage." L. Magagnato argues that the emergence of the new type of stage scenery perfected at the beginning of the sixteenth century corresponds to a shift in the history of the drama both as literary form and as spectacle, a shift that is equally interested in the literary form of the play and in the architectural and scenic settings. L. Magagnato writes:

> To the passage from *sacra rappresentazione* to humanist drama corresponds the passage from the medieval scene, made up of separate elements, which lasted to the late fifteenth century to the scene conceived organically in terms of perspective. (Magagnato, 1951: 3)

The completion of the building of the *Teatro Olimpico* achieved the fulfillment of the vision of humanist scholars, artists, architects and architectural theorists of the Renaissance, providing the embodiment of and fascination with the form and programmatic underpinning of the building of the classical theatre.

The completed building, with its three-dimensional trompe l'oeil perspective scenery, transcends mere reconstruction and becomes punctuation for the history of theater and scenic presentations. It opens the doors for the illusionist proscenium arch of more modern theaters, but also becomes a *spatial architectural performance* of the Renaissance worldview with a classical building type underpinning it. The *Teatro Olimpico's* unmovable scenery - the illusionist three- dimensional cityscape, the painted sky on the ceiling, the fully sculpted architectural palace-like façade - serve as a background to the performance, while the elongation of the circular zodiacal program and, above all, Paladio's artistic and non-verbal poetic ability makes this building more of *a spatial provocation* for *cultural enjoyment*, a landmark of history, than a usable theatre.

In reading the space, the members of *Accademia Olimpica* in Paladio's time may have been aware of all the similarities and differences to the ancient prototype, the Renaissance architectural ideals and the function of rational perspective. Some of them may have lamented the difference Palladio had to make; others may have relished in the illusion achieved. The learned and educated visitors and users of subsequent pre-industrial centuries may have cherished different aspects of the theatre. One example is the acoustics afforded by the shape of the elliptical colonnade enclosing the seating arrangement and the ceiling catching the sound bouncing from the architectural backdrop on the stage. Others may enjoy the intimacy of the spectator to the stage in spite and because of the architectural backdrop. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century visitors my have marveled at Italian Renaissance genius, and Paladio's in particular. Pre-computer age visitors, enjoying the increased ease and ability to travel, brought more exposure to the building, giving people a general sense of the sophistication, intricacy and attention to detail of previous centuries. The generation entirely bred on computers and virtual realties are given a layered experience of a real place with strong intention, but with an artful illusion of cunning quality. The history of different readings of the same space is of particular interest here for the sake of opening the discourse on history, systematic observation and documentary collection of *reactions to a space* as a possible contribution to the field of Heritage Interpretation.

### 3.3 Shared Intentions and Structural Expressions

Hattusha in Anatolia and Cumae in Southern Italy have striking programmatic and tectonic similarities and accompanying documentary evidence that help a comparative understanding and interpretation of both heritage sites.

In this section the paper explores heritage connections crisscrossing the Mediterranean that were well known in the literature of the classical period and the sanctuary formations lore of pre-classical periods.

The heritage discontinuity is often the result of the ninetieth century formation of post feudal *European States* and *National Identities*. The new *Sovereign Parliamentary Assembles* created separate and separatist institutions of higher learning and archiving, insisting on more modern border divisions. The best-preserved Greek temples are in what is today Southern Italy. For example the Trans-Mediterranean character of Greco-Roman culture rests on the previous cults, oracle centers, real and symbolic routes and possible pilgrimage journeys and is beyond the boundaries of Modern Greece or Italy.

This section of the paper follows particular strands of documented pre-classical conceptual evocations, worship and connections. The important heritage aspect of these ancient and sophisticated cultures is the fact that the written language was only available to a small group of experts but the main communication was through images and architectural arrangements imbued with orally shared myth and lore.

#### *3.3.1 Mediterranean Heritage Studies and Sanctuaries Societal Function*

In his paper on the archeological findings titled *The Classical Mediterranean, its Prehistoric Past and the Formation of Europe*, R.R. Holloway points to connections over the considerable distances across and in spite of the Mediterranean Sea in Prehistoric and Classical Mediterranean. He articulates with a profound understanding of the social and political structure, the institution of ancient Greek Polis, the city-state. R. R. Holloway brings attention to the citizens' direct access to the government retaining something of a village assembly's character. R. R. Holloway asks a key question:

> But we have not faced the question of what it was that permitted the citizen villages [Polis] to unite in the face of great powers. The answer lies in **the sanctuaries** [our bold] of early Greece and Italy and the power of federation,

> temporary or permanent that the federal associations based on them gave to their members. (Holloway, 1997: 1-5)

R. R. Holloway's insights into the possible federation of small units through shared sanctuary could be a starting point in re-examining assumptions about ancient societies.

A deeper and broader understanding of heritage plays a central role in this, with all the inner, outer and ethical issues. R.R. Holloway's research and articulations may also contribute to a greater understanding of questions about societal structures and ethics addressed in Plato's *Republic* that are at the root of European formation but influenced by ideas coming from ancient Egypt, ancient Persia and the sanctuaries of Asia Miner.

*3.3.2 Cumae, Hattusha, Malta and Sphinx*

It is generally accepted that Cumae was the first Greek colony on the Apennine Peninsula, today Italy. Colonizers from the Greek island of Euboea founded it in the 8th century BCA. Euboeans were already established at the island of Ischia – Pithecusae.

If we reflect on Holloway's thesis of sanctuaries as binding city-states into allegiances and federations, the view of colonizing begins to change. The paradigm of a band of brave urban, literate, culturally advanced explorers reaching lands that where empty, wild and with very few primitive people, also begins to change. A model emerges of colonizing as a territorial and ideological quest for hegemony, protection and control of trade routes and access to natural resources. Cumae's physical characteristics of fortress-like cliffs facing the sea with a highly defendable hinterland covered with a dark and foreboding forest of pine and oak make it a remarkably strategic point. This all sounds too modern and simplistic. The profound difference is that the sanctuary connection and understanding of the special significance of an oracular site has the value of a locality endowed with a mythic, transcendent connection. People understood early that gods could replace gods and that sanctuaries could be adopted or built on top of each other because the ground was auspicious and sacred. The volcanic nature of the Cumaean location and the region was unique, a place where *mother earth* and the *underworld* were near and exuding. This was why Greeks, Romans and latter Christians appropriated and tried to control and curb the influence of the Cumaean Sybil. Often the temple of Apollo, patron of prophecy, on Cumaean acropolis was presented in the western history of culture as a cause of Sybil's caves. In the opinion of this paper's research it is the other way around.

The archaic, pre- classical origins of the oracle were acknowledged even in R. M. Peterson's writing mostly about Greco-Roman cults in Campania focused on Cumae, Pozzuoli and Naples because his research reveals classical authors' references to preconditions even if in disparaging, patronizing or indifferent ways. R. M. Peterson's comments:

> […] the prophetess did not at first receive her inspiration from Apollo, but was connected with the worship of a chthonic deity long before the arrival of the great deity of the Greeks. As at Delphi the worship of Apollo was superimposed upon that of an older deity, whose influence gradually faded away, so here, although it did not precisely usurp the ancient seat of prophecy, it succeeded in ousting the other cult and appropriated the priestess along with the mantic functions of the older deity. The Greek cult of the Sibyl as distinguished from the old native oracle was introduced [...]. (Peterson, 2012: 55-56)

The symbolic, strategic and commercial value of an area with a renowned trans-Mediterranean sanctuary cannot be underestimated. The influx of foreign visitors seeking Sybil's help may not be as numerous as contemporary tourists, but kings and people of means with bad consciences, bereft or needing council were bringing gifts and tributes to the sanctuary's treasury. The primary oracular site in the fortress-like rock was only an introduction to the possible in-depth *oracle of the dead* a mile or so from Cumae. This second stage involved preparation and the journey to and through an underground enactment of *Hades* and the visiting the *shades of the underworld*. The Greek colonization appropriated it, Hellenized as Apollo worship. The Romans banned it and made every effort to suppress and destroy it, altering the surrounding landscape and developing the area as a spa and place for elegant villas. The Etruscans, Phoenicians - that includes Hannibal and local tribes, fought Greeks and Romans for the hegemony of the Cumae's District but were in the process destroyed, absorbed and Hellenized / Romanized.

*3.3.3 Oracle of the dead*

Virgil in the *Aeneid*, Book VI, writes that at the *Temple at Cumae*, Aeneas asked to enter the underworld and was guided to Hades by the Sibyl after she tells him:

> Trojan son of Anchises, sprung from the blood of the gods, the path to hell is easy: black Dis's door is open night and day: but to retrace your steps, and go out to the air above, that is work, that is the task. (Virgil, 2002: 6)

R. M. Peterson comments that both Virgil and Strabo make a clear distinction between the sites of the Oracle, the *Antrum at Cumae* and the *Aornos Cave*, where Aeneas and the Sibyl entered the Underworld.

In 1932 at Cumae proper, below the Greek acropolis a more archaic Antrum – cavity, the cave of the Sibyl was uncovered. In the 1950s, two structural engineers interested in ancient technology, Robert Paget and Keith Jones embarked on systematic territorial exploration for the Aornos cave radiating from Sibyl's Antrum to the Lake Avernus and beyond. After a long search they finally ended in Baia at the aspect of an archeological site of the Roman Baths that had not yet been excavated. The Italian authorities believed that the passage was unsafe, emanating poisonous gasses. Paget and Jones, with a permit, explored it and found an artificial cave probably fit for an assembly or ceremony with a set of sophisticated carefully conceived and engineered tunnels carved out and embedded into the volcanic rock. The author Robert Temple has been allowed access to this site in the last decade and has written a book, *Oracles of the Dead* where he dedicated a section to the complex:

> The Inner Sanctuary at Baia is oriented toward the sunset of the summer solstice. And the long entrance tunnel is absolutely accurate in its construction, the first 408 feet being oriented toward the point of sunrise of the same day, the summer solstice (which is Midsummer's Day, the longest day in the year). (Temple, 2005: 30)

In this way the site under jurisdiction of ancient Cumae has the characteristics of a number of sites of the pre-classical world. Robert Temple comments on a published report about the sanctuary of the *Oracle of the Dead* at Baia:

> As the engineer Paget says in a masterpiece of understatement: ...There are several engineering problems that call for a little discussion... (They) testify to an engineering skill of a high order. How were the unknown builders of this remarkable underground complex able to construct it with such precise orientations, and with no deviations, 140 feet beneath the earth's surface? The whole complex was quite obviously planned as a single uni. (Temple, 2005: 31)

Our reason for bringing this site into the context of the *Mediterranean Cultures and Societies Knowledge,* aspect of 2017 conference at the University of Algarve, in Portugal, is to touch upon the need and importance of comprehensive heritage analysis and re-evaluation of communal and symbolic spaces of the ancient world and their archeological remains. Of interest here are the architectural elements and places present in the ancient pre-classical world that were set aside for traditional communal rituals and theophanic practices.

If the sanctuaries were the binding force of the ancient world, there are some correlations to a number of ancient cities and sites that ask more questions than give answers, but as a part of reflecting on cultures, civilizations and myth based practices are worth consideration and inclusion in heritage narratives and education.

*3.3.4 Hittite Room with Hieroglyphs echos Cumae*

F. Cimoc in his book *The Hittites* describes a complex at the ancient city of Hattiusa that has resemblence to both the entrance to the *Antrum of the Cumaean Sibyl* and programmatically and physically to the *Sibyl's Caves* and *Oracle of the Dead*:

> This chamber is built of limestone blocks assembled to create a parabolic shape. The 'divine earth road' mentioned in the hieroglyphic Luwian text on its wall gives the impression that it was, symbolically, regarded as an entrance leading into the earth or the Underworld and this may be the reason why the chamber's floor slopes down and becomes narrower towards the closed end. (Cimoc, 2010: 87)

**Figure 5. Cumae Sibyl's oracle and Hattusha underworld entrance with back wall Sun God**

Source: Artship Foundation Archives and Copyright

The similarity of the motives points to the shared knowledge and procedural practices both tangible and intangible. The systematic observation of astronomical phenomenon and accurate earth measurements were documented preoccupations of the cultures of antiquity. This interest was expressed through the methods of *Geodaisia*.

*Geodaisia was* ancient science of Earth segments, increments, geometric sub-divisions or units. *Geodaisia* was practiced not only as a surveying tool to determine property bounders or delineate regions, but also as a ritual science of placing sanctuaries and habitable theophanic and administrative centers of the ancient world. Today without sanctuary preoccupation this science is known as *Geodesy* in the English language and is part of Earth Science dealing with measurements and geometric, cartographic representations of the Earth. In its ancient sense this science is tied not only to sanctuary positioning but very importantly to the alignment of *ceremonial places* to Earth's co-ordinates, other sanctuaries and the astronomical phenomena.

There are many theories and hypotheses about ancient and prehistoric Geodesy and for a conference on *Mediterranean Cultures and Societies Knowledge* and in the context of this paper it is worth mentioning the concept without entering the polemic or favoring any particular author or point of view.

The Geodesic linage in the west can be traced from the Ancient Egyptian science to Pythagoras and Eratosthenes. This strand of Geodesic linage combined with sanctuaries' placements point to the possibility of ancient knowledge of the Earth as a globe. One of the probable reasons the priesthood engaged, studied and understood the *spherical conception* within their inner circles was need for an embodied, lucid and sharable framework for the theophanic knowledge distribution, practice and congruent, auspicious placing of the sanctuaries. Possibly for the sanctuary keepers, initiated practitioners and leaders, this was an inner esoteric knowledge as if from and belonging to the Gods.

But also in the communal/cultural sense of the *world as it is*, the ancients had a great respect and sensibility to the experiential reality of human perception of the Earth as static disk in relationship to a cyclic, dynamic rotating firmament above. The unity of *spherical* and the *experiential* conception were not polarized in any way but were just aspects of understanding and respecting totality. This respect and sensibility extended to the cultivation and domestication of other species as a model of partnering with other perceptions that are part of the biological unity of the earth domain. The bond of dogs and humans is just one example of this partnership.

The values of the *Industrial Revolution* and the *Consumer Society* have lost touch with the models of partnership and regard all ancient practices with condescension, disdain and derogate them as quant or superstitious. Mature heritage education needs to create channels of understanding achievements, sophistication and the mindset of our predecessors.

At the time of the Hatti civilization, the center of the known world was Egypt, and most specifically, the capital *Iwnw* at Giza known in Greco-Roman time as *Heliopolis, the City of the Sun*.

Hattusa's geographic placements are at significant intervals from the central co-ordinates of ancient Egypt. This phenomenon is legible to archeologists and scientists studying these geodetic occurrences.

It is interesting to note that all prehistoric temples on Malta face Africa in the southeast direction to Egypt. The fact is that pre-classical science, lore and sensitivities cared and were preoccupied with geodetic issues.

These shared programmatic intentions over large geographic areas also shed a specific light on Cumae. Not in its geometry or spatial organization, but Cumae's acoustic and ritual arrangements resemble Hypogeum in Malta and are somewhat echoed and confirmed by the shape and inscriptions of the *Room with Hieroglyphs* at Hatiusa. These resemblances point to a significant sanctury connection in pre-classical times and grounds the Greek style of colonization as an offspring and a reaction to more ancient trans Mediteranean paradigms. The following example of subterranean chambers and symbolic circuits may also explain the Roman intentions of supressing, banning and filling with rubble the subterranean corridors of the *Oracle of the Dead* administered from and at Cumae.

### *3.3.5 The Sphinx and Subterranean Ritual Circuits*

The team of German archeologists found a significant number of pieces of Hattusa's Sphinxes in 1907 and transported them to the Museum of the Ancient Near East in Berlin. The rational was to re-assemble and restore them together with about 10,000 Hittite clay tablets they also took with them. Since1934 one of the Sphinxes was on display at the Berlin Pergamon Museum. It was returned to Turkey in 2011. Since the Berlin Museum's displaying of one of the stone sculptures of the Sphinx from Hattusha, the images most commonly associated with Hittites is the Sphinx. At Hattusha, the pair of Sphinxes not only marks and is part of the main gate's tectonic structure, but also guards the long corridor at the top of the *Yerkapi* platform. The assent to the platform and unusual long passage entrance are clearly ceremonial, a part of some ambulatory process like the passages at Cumae and Baia. There is a long tradition of associating the Sphinx with underground passages. C. Kern writes in *Inside the Great Sphinx of Giza*:

> The first references of a subterranean chamber under the Sphinx were discovered on the hieroglyph inscriptions on the inner enclosure wall of the Temple of Horus at Edfu. These inscriptions, known as the Building Texts, refer to various grouped documents, now lost, and called *The Sacred Book of Temples*. These scriptures, together with other power objects were supposedly placed inside a Hall underneath the Sphinx and sealed off. (Kern, 1996: 16)

C. Kern describes how Ammianus Marcellinus, a Roman historian of the fourth century CA, wrote a treatise on the Egyptians, and illustrated the initiation associated with the Sphinx. Marcellinus believed there was a secret location between the paws of the monument with a bronze door. C. Kern Quotes R. Bauval about Coptic view of the Sphinx Tradition:

> In a similar fashion, various Coptic legends speak of subterranean doorways to the Giza monuments and report *"there exists a single subterranean chamber under the Sphinx with entrances to all three Pyramids*… (Bauval, 1996: 80)

C. Kern also states that many of the Arab chroniclers from the ninth century CA onwards agreed that the Great Pyramid was built before the flood as a repository for scientific and symbolic knowledge.

This look into pre-classical occurrences, requires more research about viewing them together, it is brought here to broaden thinking on the origins and layers of the Mediterranean traditions of shared mythical content and practices.

## 4. TANGIBLE - INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

Discourse on documented and yet elusive cultural practices across the *Mediterranean* and in the related watersheds of the *Atlantic* and *Black Sea* are full of rich examples. For this paper we chose one that has partial research in specific localities but has not been systematically studied, as far as we know, as a *Trans-Mediterranean* integrated cultural practice, shared knowledge and lore. This cultural node is constellated around archeological remains and the ethos of sanctuary stones known as *Omphaloses / Navels of the world.* These Mediterranean markers at ancient oracle sites as well as having a specific programmatic and ceremonial function also had a possible ritual and practical use of *specially trained birds* that lived on them and around them.

There are a number of ancient sanctuaries around the Mediterranean that have inherited the title of 'Earth Navel.' Most of these sites were the nexuses of earlier cults of mother goddesses, places of veneration, pilgrimage and in some cases prophecy. The most famous *Omphalos* is from Delphi in Greece. They are also found in Greek temple complexes at Delos, Dodona and in the Ancient Egyptian Nubia, at the temple of Amon. The *Omphalos* with birds sitting on or near them are represented on a number of Greek bas-reliefs and coins, as well as in the illustrations for written versions of the *Egyptian Book of the Dead*. The birds represented sitting on *Omphalos* are the same type used by the ancients for navigation. They are homing pigeons, crows and ravens. Outside the rich and diverse visual documentation of the Omphalos' birds there is no positive verbal documentary evidence for the similarity between maritime navigational and *Omphalos* birds. One open hypothesis is that the specially trained birds, like carrier pigeons offered practical and/or ritualized connections between sanctuaries of the ancient world.

In this writing we look at the human relationship to specially nurtured birds as one of the ancient methods of finding one's way around and in the known world of the *Mediterranean, the Middle Sea*.

*Utnapishtim* or *Ziusudra* of the Assyrian pre-Biblical deluge stories sends forth birds to seek dry land, similar to the Biblical Noah. A striking similarity also exists between the Mesopotamian *Utnapishtim* and the story of *Deucalion*, son of *Prometheus* and *Pronoia*, and his wife *Pyrrha* who were saved by warning of the deluge by a deity and were advised to build an ark. In the emergence of maritime needs to traverse greater expanses of the sea, mariners formed relationships with sighting birds, particularly homing pigeons, crows and ravens.

We also get a glimmer of the ancient orientation practice through birds in the flood story of Noah's Arc. In the biblical story of the catastrophic flood Noah begins to send out birds. Probing the levels of inundation he sends out a raven several times. After the raven he releases a dove every seven-days. The first time the dove simply returns, while the second time she caries an olive branch in her beak. The third time when she does not return, Noah knows that the dry land has re-appeared out of the water and the flood may be ending.

The Ark Legend's resolution through the birds' assistance presumes pre flood usage of birds for navigational and sighting purposes.

As navigational archeology is almost nonexistent, an indirect hint of navigational use of birds may be found in the obscure and little documented comparative history of Omphaloses, the earth navels and their association with birds.

The trained birds were ether partially carried by the mariners or crossed the Great Sea by themselves. In the English language the tallest part of the ship is called the Crow's Nest. Crows, ravens and carrier pidgins mentioned earlier were nurtured and cherished as extensions of human sight in the quest for Geographical and devotional orientation. Non-verbal sources confirm this human bird relationship on a number of significant artifacts from the classical and pre classical Mediterranean.

The ancients certainly observed the miraculous ability of birds to navigate over large areas, particularly at the time of their migration. Modern science has just begun to represent the mechanism of these navigational skills. In the summary of their paper, *The Magnetic Sense of Animals*, T. Ritz and K. Schulten write: "Animals have several types of magnetic organs, often separately specialized for determining direction versus location. Recent results offer hints about how these once-unimaginable detectors may have evolved." The authors also write:

> Although the use of the geomagnetic field for directional information is well established experimentally, it is not known by which biophysical mechanism magneto-reception is achieved. The magnetic sense is maybe the last perception mechanism for which the nature of the receptors and of the biophysical mechanism remains unknown. How can the geomagnetic field be perceived? (Ritz, 2009: 609-614)

In the illustration for their paper T. Ritz and K. Schulten represent the perceptual sensitivity of birds to the overall *earth magnetic field* almost as an infra read glow from the south.

The tools, focus and language of navigation have changed, but actual and implied traces of sophistication and keen observation of the ancients leads us to imagine a very special relationship of humans and birds when it came to the navigational partnership in sighting land from the air. Not dissimilar to dogs and horses on land that also have a keen homing instinct. Reflecting upon this specific relationship of humans and birds to specific location points to intricate networks over vast territory. Is this practice of breeding land sighting birds the background of some of the great dove breeding columbariums' found in many coastal areas of the Mediterranean?

When we viewed the Mediterranean coastal sub-structure in the last glacial period (occurring about 110,000 years ago and ending about 9,600 - 9,700 BCA) we see the region as an above water landscape, with connections over land and transportation with shorter sea journeys. Once the water level rose, it brought with it as a response: *the maritime culture of the Mediterranean.*

Earlier we quoted R. R. Holloway in analyzing connections in the Mediterranean – "… the central Mediterranean, the Aegean and western Anatolia were fundamentally unified, although in a way not emphasized by the archaeological record" He continues in saying – "The Sea was the essential unifier of this region of villages." (Holloway, 1997: 1-5)

In the Mediterranean post glacial, Bronze -Age there were the archaic maritime festivals and lore that survives in some form to this day. *Crossing the line* and *De-naming ceremony* are such examples. The reasons for maritime ceremonies range from appeasing the gods, celebrating successful enterprises, landing safely, surviving a turbulent journey or simply finding one's way.

In attempting to articulate the ambiguities of multiple centers and their connectivity in the *Mediterranean Region,* the ancient navigational relationship of humans to birds opens a vast cultural vista beyond any particular national or territorial bias.

## 5. CLOSING REMARKS - INTERPRETING HERITAGE SITES AS GENERAL EDUCATION

### 5.1 Reconstructive Archaeology and Tangible Heritage

Interpretation of heritage is and can be made closer to the branch of archeology that is reconstructive and experimental and its discipline and rigger are suitable for meaningful reconstruction of ancient practices. This *Reconstructive Archaeology* offers possibilities to test hypotheses. In the informed and careful re-creation of ancient place making and production methods, *Reconstructive Archaeology* uses historically accurate materials as much as possible and with the acute awareness of contemporary limitations of the observers' world view. The physical archeological reconstructions and their rigorous methodology can be a model or partner for similarly disciplined portrayals of the past for narratives shared with the non-specialist public.

### 5.2 Oral Traditions and Intangible Heritage

Although Oral Traditions are considered outmoded and un-scientific in their approach to knowledge retention and transmission, heritage narratives delivered to visitors of historic sites are a form of oral communication.

In these concluding remarks it may be of interest to look briefly at some aspect of performative cultures solely dependent on oral tradition and hypothesize about their potential relationship to heritage narratives.

In the ancient world *the singers of tales* were the essential and central carriers of cultural values and reassuring, edifying expressions of communal sharing. The epics were the focus of events celebrated outside places of worship. This cultural form flourished in the pre-industrial era and was in evidence in more remote regions well into the beginning of the 20th century, replaced by radio, film, television etc. The *Singers of Tales* performing vast repertoire entirely from memory can be found in ethnographic and musicological research documents from Central Asia, Caucasus, Black Sea regions, Anatolia, and the Balkans.

In the seminal book on oral tradition and epic poetry by A. Lord, *The Singers of Tales* there is a translation of a live interview with one of the last oral epic singing practitioners surviving among mountain regions of Bosnia, recorded in the 1930's by M. Parry:

> When I was a shepherd boy, they used to come [the singers of tales] for an evening to my house, or sometimes we would go to someone else's for the evening, somewhere in the village. Then a singer would pick up the gusle, [bowed string instrument typical of the Balkans used specifically to accompany epic poetry] and I would listen to the song. The next day when I was with the flock, I would put the song together, word for word, without the gusle, but I would sing it from memory, word for word, just as the singer had sung it… Then I learned gradually to finger the instrument, and to fit the fingering to the words, and my fingers obeyed better and better… I didn't sing among the men until I had perfected the song, but only among the young fellows in my circle [*druzina*] not in front of my elders… (Lord, 1960: 39)

Now imagine any contemporary teenager first listening to an epic for several hours and then repeating it the next day from memory. How many graduate students or doctorial candidates can do that with their thesis? By contrast, the non-literate shepherd boy was equipped with the necessary plasticity and capacity of brain independent from written record and entirely confident in the ability of comprehension, retention and reproduction through oral means alone.

The example from A. Lord's book may help us understand the dynamics of the oral traditions, something the Singers of tales were deeply at home with. The recitation is approached from the general thematic *over-sense* to the particulars of the *events of the story*. The epic is held as a whole and also as parts simultaneously, as a spatial and temporal continuum in the narrator's internal space. In a similar way traditional music was thought, practiced and performed within the oral tradition of skill training and memorizing vast amounts of music from a variety of sources. This is the point where cultural osmosis, sharing and retention take place.

The other part, which obscures oral traditions' intellectual discipline and rigor, is the fact that most of the singers of tales were "illiterate" in a sense of not using reading and writing as a mnemonic and means of communication. The emphasis on literacy is a product of institutional learning, state or imperial control of knowledge and the values imparted in that worldview that stigmatizes *illiteracy* by denying a person any intellectual worth.

The poetic source, the communicative esthetic of orally expressed and transmitted narratives, like in any art form comes from the uncertain edges of remembered or half remembered memories and lived experiences. The deep understanding of the material presented generates motivation to present the narratives in the framework of received and practiced oral tradition but also creating the story anew each time. Experientially even in written histories what is written may be a fragment of what it is left outside the text.

For us, as intellectual history scholars, the complicated elusive case of sources, interpretations and delivery of orally transmitted, embodied and dramaturgically coherent stories may offer an interesting starting point for understanding the dynamics and potential of heritage narratives delivered *in situ* among the archaeological remains and historic buildings/places.

### 5.3 Municipal Wonders as Destinations

In the tradition and methodology of Artship Comparative Cultural Studies' papers we summaries with an example and brief critical discourse to avoid generalization and reductionist statements that have lost connection with the subject matter of the paper.

As a context for heritage interpretation, the closing statements reflect on the culture, needs and psychological underpinnings of the tourism phenomenon as *wonder experiences.* The writings of historians of the classical period concerning the seven wonders of the ancient world addressed the *out of the ordinary* character of a number of the heritage sites of Greco-Roman world.

The Mediterranean and Greco- Roman Characteristic of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World although being culturally, politically and geographically biased are part of the conceptual heritage framework of the region. In this summary reflection for the conference on *Mediterranean Cultures and Societies Knowledge Health and Tourism* they have particular function in briefly exploring the concept of wonder and the travelers' experience.

The great traveler of the ancient world Herodotus (484-425 BCA) wrote in his second book of his nine part work *Histories,* titled *Euterpe* (the presiding Muse of that section) about methods of building the Pyramids and transporting the stones on the Nile. Giving more information to his readers who shared the awareness of pyramids being one of the wonders of ancient world

Another traveler, systematic observer and chronicler of the Classical Greater Mediterranean was Strabo (63 BCA-24 CA). His life's work *Geographies - Book XVI* deals with Assyria. In it he mentions the wonder of *the Hanging Gardens* as feature of Assyrian prosperity.

For the culture, needs and psychological underpinnings of the tourism phenomenon as *wonder experiences* we cite a contemporary example that articulates these issues. The title of that project is *The Egg-Shaped Clock Tower at a Tilt of 45 Degrees (a possible Capital City's municipal wonder).*

*The Egg-Shaped Clock Tower* proposal is contextualized by notions of time and measurability expressed by one of prominent critics of *Modernity* Lewis Mumford (1895–1990) who we cited in the introduction to this paper. The questioning of time, measurability and mechanization was one of Mumford's central ideas as a public polemist.

L. Mumford introduces his observations about the social function of mechanization that includes clocks by reflecting on the remarkable technologies that existed in ancient China, Egypt, Mesopotamian, Greco - Roman and the Medieval Arab world. Mumford delineates a difference through pointing to abstraction and commodification of measuring particularly in relationship to time. In *Technics and Civilazation* Mumford writes:

> The clock, moreover, is a piece of power-machinery whose "product" is seconds and minutes: by its essential nature it dissociated time from human events and helped create the belief in an independent world of mathematically measurable sequences: the special world of science. (Mumford, 2010: 15)

Example of *The Egg-shaped Clock Tower at a tilt of 45 Degrees (a possible Capital City's municipal wonder)* helps our discourse. The Clock proposal won the *Art into Landscape Competition* in 1974, sponsored by the Royal Institute of British Architects, the British Arts Council and the London Sunday Times. The competition called for ideas addressing urban decay and wastelands in modern inner cities. The winning project explored possibilities of including symbolic representation of time in the structural and tectonic arrangements of the piece. The intention was to communicate through a public monument not only the multi-dimensionality of time and/or "to brighten up a patch of waste land" as to make a possible contribution to popular education, which has been very much neglected in the twentieth century. The catalog of the exhibition in the description of this project carries the statement:

> Popular education is the greatest wasteland we have today. Popular education that includes architectural and planning amenities in the modern city may offer inclusive respite, thought and poetic delight. (Noebert, 1974: 24)

By proposing a mechanized sculpture whose main function is reinterpreting time as a symbol, the project subverts the dehumanizing aspect of automation and by placing it in the urban park links it to seasons and vegetation as its enviromental context and socially including passersby, local citizens and tourists.

**Figure 6. Invisionig Drawing for the The Egg-Shaped Clock Tower at a Tilt of 45 Degrees - 1974**

Source: Artship Foundation Archives and Copyright

## 6. CONCLUSION

The paper posits open hypotheses of whether *wonder experiences* are not only a search for stimulus and entertainment but also for meaning and embodied experience. This paper explores through examples and reflections questions of interdisciplinary research, variety of methods, deeper historically and psychologically based interpreting narratives. The paper also points to the possibilities of attempting to understand the diversity of motivations for building the ancient sacred, often monumental sites. Related questions of possible inner devotional journeys of the ancients as a source of the inspiring, human made destinations are also explored. Strategies of interpretation that acknowledge and attempt to understand the original motivations can enrich the experiences of contemporary visitors.

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# CUT-OUT ANIMATION AS A TECHNIC AND DEVELOPMENT INSIDE HISTORY PROCESS

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## ABSTRACT

Art of animation has developed very rapidly from the aspects of script, sound and music, motion, character design, techniques being used and technological tools being developed since the first years until today. Techical variety attracts a particular attention in the art of animation. Being perceived as a kind of illusion in the beginning; animations commonly used the Flash Sketch technique. And then tools like Magical Lantern, Thaumatrope, Phenakisticope and Zeotrap were developed and started to be used intensely in the first years of the art of animation. Today, on the other hand, the art of animation is affected by developments in the computer technology. It is possible to create three dimensional and two dimensional animations with the help of various computer softwares. Cut-out technique is among the important techniques being used in the art of animation. Cut-out animation technique is based on the art of paper cutting. This study titled "Cut-out Animation as an Technic and Development Inside History Process" will embrace the art of paper cutting, the relationship between the art of paper cutting and cut-out animation, its development within the historical process, animation artists producing artworks in this field, important cut-out animations and their technical properties.

Keywords: Cut-out; Paper-cut; Animation; Illustration.

JEL Classification: I29

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, people seek out the different ways for self-expression, and they succeed their desire through different methods and materials. One of these materials is paper. It is not merely a means for artistic expression but also it meets some needs in many areas, including packing to the money bill.

When the root of *kağıt* is analyzed, it came from the words of *kağat* or *kagas* in Uyghur language. In the western languages, the words of paper, papier, papel, paperi are derived from papyrus (Poşul & Görcelioğlu, 2004).

What we know consider paper invented by Cai Lun, who was a Chinese, during the Eastern Han Dynasty in the first century BCE. The paper which developed by Lun differs from previous versions in terms of inclusion of essential new materials that significantly improved its durability and production. Lun's paper was created using a process in which fibers of bark, hemp, and silk were suspended in water. A sieve-like screen would then be used to gather the fibers, and this pulp would dry into a thin, matted sheet. Over the course of the two thousand years, the craft and tools used have become more complex, but the basic principle and process remains same (Gildersleeve, 2014). The manufacture of paper had been a secret in Chine throughout the centuries. Afterward, it spread out to Central

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Asia, Iran, and the Arab world by following the Silk Road (citation from Ainsworth; Poşul & Görcelioğlu, 2004).

## 2. PAPER-CUT

Even though paper-cut exists in many cultures with different names, its origin is rooted in the Far East. The art of cutting paper designs is called as Fuyang in Chine and Kirigami in Japanese (Koç, 2017). Fuyang is a city in which located eastern region of the People's Republic of China. Paper-cut is very common in Fuyang. The meanings of **Kiri** is paper and **gami** is cutting in Japanese (Kayaoğlu, 2014).

The translations of paper-cutting, in some sources, are "L'art de la Silhoutte' and 'Decoupage'" in French language; "Efshan" in Persian; "Paper filigree", "papercut" or "Silhoutte cutting" in Engish, "Silhouettenkunst, Scherenschnitt" in German language (Özsayıner, 1995).

There are different views about the history of paper-cut. According to Zhan, archeological findings show that the beginning of paper-cut is traced to an early date, during Northern Dynasties (Zhang, 1980). Another view claims that the beginning of paper-cut was before the invention of paper.

> "Paper-cut is an important form of Chinese folk art which can be traced back to an era before paper had even been invented, where artisans patterned fastidiously intricate veins into leaves of gold or silver foil, leather or silk through engraving, embossing and cutting. The invention of paper during the Han Dynasty prompted the transposition of these skills to the new material, giving birth to modern paper-cut" (Wang, 2013).

It is known that paper-cut produced in different forms based on intended purpose. It was used for many aims such as ornament, religious beliefs, and social customs. "Approximately the size of one's palm, paper-cuts are commonly called 'window flowers.' The designs are cut out from red-colored paper with scissors and pasted as decorations on wooden-framed windows made of rice paper" (Wu, 2015), (Figure 1).

**Figure 1. Window Flowers in Yan'an, 2004**

Source: Author's photo
"Paper-cuts in ModernChina: The Search for Modernity, Cultural Tradition, and Women's Liberation" Ka-ming Wu, 2015, Vol. 41(1) 90-127

It is also known that paper-cut is related to individual's feelings. Paper-cuts have different meanings based on patterns on them. Happiness, longevity, wealth, and nobility are some of these meanings (Figure 2a, b).

**Figure 2.** **(a) Happiness, longevity, (b) wealth and nobility paper-cut examples**

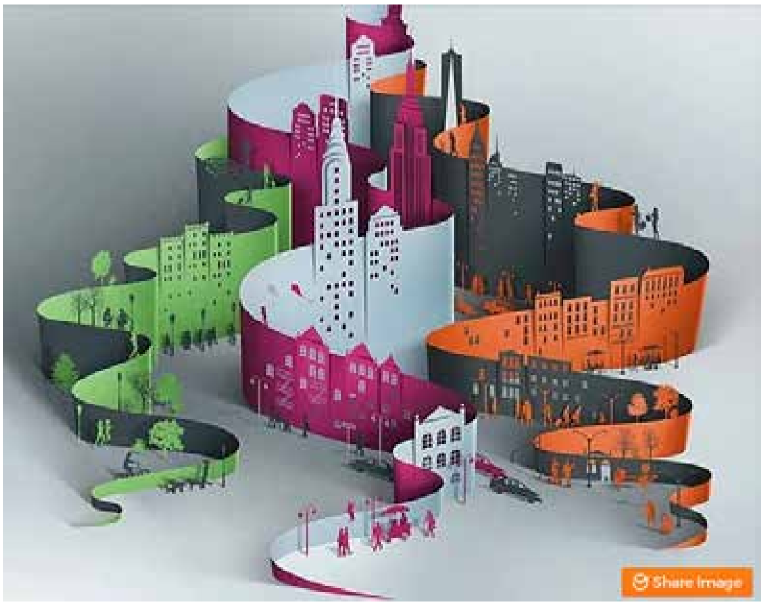

Source: Xuxiao WANG, Lucky Motifs in Chinese Folk Art: Interpreting Paper-cut from Chinese Shaanxi, Asian Studies I (XVII), 2 (2013), pp. 123-141

Paper-cut is traced to religious ceremonies in the ancient times. Chinese people burnt or buried human and animal figures which made by paper with the dead. These figures in the form of paper, according to the belief, go along with the dead forever (CRIonline, 2017). Paper-cut was also related to social customs. "In the past, women in rural regions of Chine generally gathered after harvest in autumn and they made ornaments of paper-cutting. This was an indicator of the capability and skill of all young girls and brides" (Clearharmony.net, 2012). In the manufacture of paper-cut, papers and varied sized clippers, which depend on its pattern are used as materials.

Paper-cut continues its existence with different names in many countries. In this context, there is the art of kat'ı in Turkey. The art of kat'ı is performed by stenciling the example of any inscription or ornament from a thin paper or leather. This art has an important place in Turkish book arts (Mesera, 1998). Special knife or clippers are used in cutting. The emergent pattern after cutting is pasted on the surface by a proper adhesive (Toktaş, 2012).

Paper-cut, nowadays, is accepted as art branch and exhibited in various museums. Many designers, aside from traditional practices, use paper as a material and benefit from the technique of paper-cut. One of the artists who use paper-cut in illustrations is Eiko Ojala. Estonian artist successfully uses paper in his own designs. He influentially represents the depth of three-dimension (Figure 3). Another artist who uses paper-cut is New Yorker, Made White. In White's illustrations which made with snap off knife, embroidery on paper and richness in detail attract notice (Figure 4).

**Figure 3.** **One example from Eiko Ojala's, Estonian artist, paper-cut illustrations**




Source: https://onedio.com/haber/kagit-kesme-sanatinin-en-guzel-ornegi-292979. Access: 10.03.2017

**Figure 4. New Yorker Made White's paper-cut illustration / The art of paper cut**


Source: http://www.cnnturk.com/fotogaleri/kultur-sanat/diger/kagit-kesme-sanati?page=13. Access: 10.03.2017

Yulia Brodskaya is also one of the designers who uses paper-cut in illustrations. Brodskaya was born in Russia. She has lived in London since 2004. Her interest about paper-cut causes to develop an original style. Brodskaya applies modern paper-craft and this helps to gain an influential customer list (Figure 5). These customers are Hermès, Starbucks, Target, Sephora, and the New York Times magazine (Gildersleeve, 2014). It is possible to show the effects of Kirigami, Japanese paper-cut art, on her illustrations.

**Figure 5. Yulia Brodskaya's paper-cut illustration**

Source: Gildersleeve, Owen. (2014). *Paper Cut An Exploration into the Contemporary World of Papercraft Art and Illustration,* Beverly: Rockport Publishing, s.27.

## 3. PAPER-CUT AND ANIMATION

Many different materials and techniques have been used up to now in the production process of the animation, which basically relies on the principle of arranging pictures of 24 frames successively. Among the some of the materials used are clay, puppet, sand, ink, acetate and paint. Today, computer and computer software are widely used. The other material used in the production process of the animation is paper. Paper, which was found thousands of years ago and used for different purposes, has been one of the important materials of animation since the early 1900's, and allows the acquisition of original narration forms.

Paper-cut is also used in the field of animation. Although starting point of paper-cut was the People's Republic of China, China does not have any cut-out animations and films, which are well-known throughout the World. In 1958, Chinese artists start to produce animation films by using the technique of paper-cut. They also united paper-cut and Chinese ink art in the film-making. These films are accepted as Chinese school. Yet these films were limited due to high cost (Li, Yu, Ma & Shi, 2007).

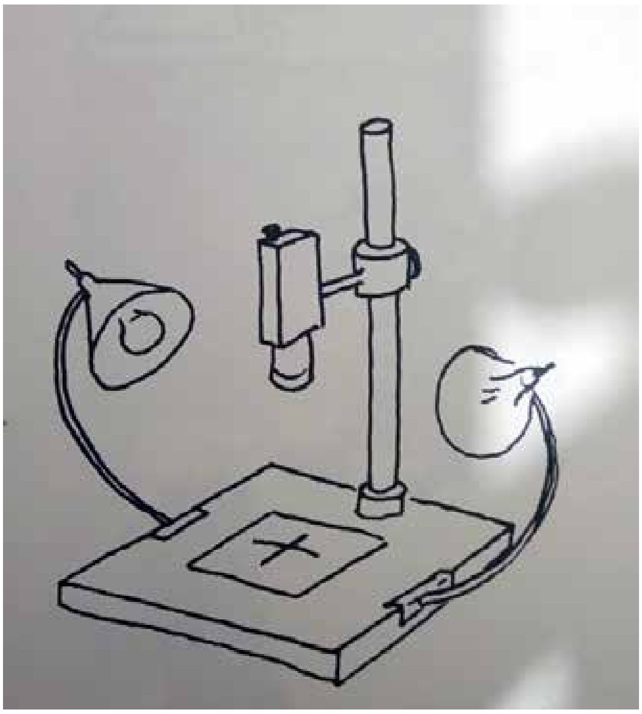
In the sector of animation, professional animators and commercial studios produced only films composed of cell animations. These films, unfortunately, were difficult and time-consuming for independent animators. Because of this, independent animators found out cutout animation, which enables to efficiently work about character and scenario. Thanks to cut-out animations, independent artists can reach many creative opportunities (Laybourne & Palmer, 1998).

German artist, well-known throughout the world, Lotte Reiniger was one of the artists who benefited from the opportunities of the cut-out. Even though Reiniger was a Western artist, he successfully united and advanced animation and an Asian folk art. The adventures of Prince Ahmed, one of the well-known films of Reiniger, is accepted as the world's oldest surviving feature-length silhouette film. The characters of the film, which created by the National Film Board of Canada, set in painted backdrops and glass table is lightened from below and shoot the film from above. The most succeeding feature in the silhouette film is to hide the join of characters from viewers by the technique of camera. The contrast between cut-outs and lighted backdrops easily camouflages the join of characters. Lotte Reiniger, who had enormous elegance, was accepted as the pioneer of these simple techniques (Laybourne & Palmer, 1998).

Jan Lenica's "Labyrinth // 1962", Jean Francois Laguionie's "La Traversee De L'atlantıque A La Rame // 1978", Terry Gilliam's "Monty Python's Flying Circus", Rene Laloux's "La Planete Sauvage // 1969-1973 were some films made by the technique of cut-out.

Daniel Greaves's animation, "Flatworld" (1997), is another cut-out film. All humor in the film is based on paper and two dimensions of paper. Matt Phlatt, one of the characters in the animation, shaves his own beards with an eraser on the morning and cuts the asphalt with clippers to repair cables. In this film, fire is absolutely prohibited. When someone strikes a match, the alarm raised. The injury is only composed of tearing and the treatment is possible with sellotape (Samancı, 2004). These examples are some senses of humor about paper in this animation film.

**Figure 6. A mechanism for cut-out animation**



Source: Kit Laybourne and Dave Palmer (1998). *The Animation Book,* NewYork: Three Rivers Press, s. 59.

Paper, clippers, and a mechanism that records the movements are required for cut-out animation. In this mechanism, camera situated directly above level in which characters are animated. As shown in figure 6, a simple duplication table or tripod can easily hold a camera and the light is put into both sides for well illuminating (Laybourne & Palmer, 1998).

## 4. CONCLUSION

In this article, "Cut-out Animation as a Technic and Development Inside History Process", the development of paper-cut in the historical process and the effects of paper-cut on animation and graphic design are studied. Contemporary designers are inspired by paper-cut as an ancient folk art. They create different and original products by adding technical features of paper-cut into the design process. In the education of graphic design and animation, giving information about traditional arts could enable the production of more original designs. The idea to reach modern through tradition should be adopted both in the education of art design and design processes.

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