![interpret europe — European Association for Heritage Interpretation]

Conference Proceedings

Sarajevo
2019

Interpret Europe's Conference 2019, **Engaging with diversity**, was held in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, from 31 May to 3 June 2019.

It was organised by Interpret Europe member, 2MB (www.2mb.ba), a partner in the field of ethical entrepreneurship in Bosnia and Herzegovina. With focus on new methods of promotion, 2MB contributes to the promotion of local entrepreneurship, protection and interpretation of cultural and natural heritage, socially responsible civil activism, freedom of press and respect of human rights and freedoms.

The conference included more than 30 presentations and workshops from participants, in addition to a selection of study visits. The following participants submitted full papers to be published in the proceedings:

Éva Birkás   David Ketz & Cody Jennings
Stuart Frost   İpek Karaoğlu Köksalan & Ufuk Serin
Emily Hyatt   Anna Kovarovics *et al*
Anne Ketz & Rachel Ketz   Charles Lennox *et al*

The abstracts of the other presentations are included after the full papers.

All opinions expressed are the authors' own and are not necessarily endorsed by Interpret Europe.

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Welcome address

Thorsten Ludwig, IE Managing Director

Dear representatives of UNESCO, of IUCN,
and of many other acknowledged stakeholder organisations,
Dear attendees and friends from Europe,
from Africa, from America, from Asia and from Australia,

What a great pleasure it is to welcome all of you here, at our conference, Engaging with diversity.

All who approached Sarajevo during daylight by plane, by bus or by car must have seen the stunning landscape of the Dinaric Alps. Colleagues from Bosnia told us that thousands of bears still inhabit these mountains and stroll along their rivers. Those rivers that disappear every now and then to create that amazing underground world of caves for which the karst region is so famous. And those of you who have already had a chance to walk through the old town, could hardly have escaped that rich diversity of tunes and tastes which earned Sarajevo its title, 'Jerusalem of Europe'. To many of us it feels exotic to taste hot, sweet tea while listening to the call of a muezzin, surrounded by mosques, churches and synagogues. There is hardly any country in Europe as diverse as Bosnia and Herzegovina, and although this is the first IE Conference taking place outside the European Union, no European town seems to be more suitable than Sarajevo to reflect upon the EU motto: United in diversity.

In Sarajevo, we are literally surrounded by heritage, and most of it is not frozen but alive. We experience that overwhelming diversity as one whole and colourful picture. But what is behind this picture? How could people keep their different identities through the centuries? When did they pull together? What conflicts arose from this mixture – and why? And what is needed to prevent such a colourful picture from turning into grey? Sarajevo can tell us many stories about this. Stories that shall help us, as thoughtful observers, in our search for answers to these questions that are relevant to all, especially in present Europe.

Like so many critical things in life, diversity comes with significant challenges. On the one hand, it can be a peak experience to try something new, to meet new people, to search for new answers, and to discover new approaches. On the other hand, as humans we are also hesitant to accept change, we feel the need for safe ground, we want to keep what we have, and we feel threatened if we get too far out of our comfort zone. The size and shape of this comfort zone can be different for different people. For sure, our own group of explorers, who travelled to Sarajevo from all around the world, is not representative. There are reasons why some happily embrace diversity while others feel overwhelmed quite quickly. But assuming that diversity is a universal concept of life, what can interpretation do to help people around heritage sites, visitors as well as residents, to engage with diversity? How can we encourage and enable ourselves as well as others to interpret this heritage in a way that fosters a rewarding future for all?

In 2016, when we prepared for our conference, Heritage interpretation for the future of Europe, in Belgium and felt that the European idea was on a test bench, Interpret Europe engaged more seriously on such questions. We sent our Call from Mechelen and one year later, the initiative, Engaging citizens, was launched for the 2018 European Year of Cultural Heritage. It had such a remarkable impact that it was awarded the Altiero Spinelli Prize by the European Union. You can find a publication about this in your conference bags. Last year in Hungary, we explored the theme of Heritage and identity, and now our journey leads us to Bosnia, where we are Engaging with diversity.

We all feel connected to heritage, but we should make sure that we don't cherish heritage just for nostalgic reasons. Natural and cultural heritage provokes us to reflect on who we are and where we want to go. Heritage is defined by interpretation, and how we interpret heritage is critical for our future. Let's turn this challenge into an opportunity; and let us not underestimate what relevance contemporary heritage interpretation can have for the future of Europe.

During the coming days, we will receive inspiration from three keynote speeches and from dozens of workshops and presentations many of you prepared for us – but as interpreters, we will also visit the sites where things actually happened. To get into a vivid exchange at these very sites is what makes heritage interpretation so valuable. I'm sure that this will be a rewarding experience for all of us.

Before we start this enterprise, I want to say a warm thank you to all our members who enabled this conference: to Bettina Lehnes, our Conference Coordinator, and to her team, to Jelena Močević as our Country Coordinator Bosnia and Herzegovina, who brought this conference to Sarajevo, to Stuart Frost and his team reviewing the papers, to Marie Banks and her news team who assured once more that you can find the conference proceedings on our website in time, and to Peter Seccombe and the scholarship team as well as to all who donated for scholarships. However, in the first place I want to thank Jelena Pekić and 2MB who agreed at very short notice to organise this conference for us. If you enjoy your experiences in and around Sarajevo, remember that all of this is based upon the dedication of this wonderful group of people.

And now let us lift the curtain to share a couple of exciting days. It is an honour for me to open our Interpret Europe conference, Engaging with diversity.

Live interpretation as a tool for presenting heritage from diverse aspects

Éva Birkás (Hungary)

Author
Éva Birkás is a museum educator. After she finished her master's studies at the University of Pécs, in the Department of Classical Philology and the Department of Literature and Linguistics, she began working at the Department of Classical Antiquities in the Museum of Fine Arts Budapest. Later she did a course in drama in education and became a drama teacher. She came into contact with live interpretation in 2005 when she had the chance to go on a study tour of the UK. Soon after that, Past Pleasures, a UK company specialising in live historical interpretation, delivered a course in live interpretation in Budapest in which she took part. Then, in 2008, she introduced live interpretation programmes to the Museum of Fine Arts. Since 2015, she has been a student in the Doctoral School of Education at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. In 2018, she completed Interpret Europe's Certified Live Interpreter course.
Contact: eva.birkas@mfab.hu

Abstract
In the Museum of Fine Arts Budapest we have been doing first-person interpretation in the Classical Antiquities Gallery since 2008. Characters from the ancient Greek and Roman world tell about their everyday lives, pleasures and troubles, circumstances and relationships, linking artefacts on display within their speech. The dramatic structure of these performances are elaborately composed, making it possible to present classical culture in its complexity. Our artisan-characters show how people, characteristically of slave and foreign origins and thus outsiders to citizenry, formed the artistic image of ancient times we now identify as ancient Greek and Roman culture. In performances with two well-chosen characters we can present issues from diverse points of view at the same time.

Keywords
live interpretation, drama, theatre, history

Live interpretation, often referred to also as living history (Jones, 2011; Peacock, 2011; the glossary of IMTAL Europe), living history interpretation (Roth, 1998), costumed interpretation (Roth, 1998) and museum theatre (Hughes, 1998; Jackson *et al.*, 2002) is an interpretation method built on theatrical techniques, used in museums and heritage sites. The terminology is not standardised, so within the umbrella terms of live interpretation, museum theatre or living history, resources list various kinds of activities, such as first-person interpretation, third-person interpretation, demonstration of historical crafts, storytelling and so on.

In this paper I will show how live interpretation, or more precisely, first-person interpretation, as I want to narrow the focus on it, is an appropriate tool for presenting diverse aspects of issues related to particular segments of cultural heritage, especially through its relationship with theatre.

The discussion must begin with reviewing the meaning of the term 'first-person interpretation'. Researchers agree that in this approach interpreters assume a particular role or a character (Hughes, 1998; Roth, 1998; Jackson *et al.*, 2002; Peacock, 2011; Beattie, 2014; Teunissen, 2016; the glossary of IMTAL Europe). Some of them emphasise that the characters are in appropriate period-costumes (Jackson *et al.*, 2002; Teunissen, 2016), while others do not consider this as a compulsory (the glossary of IMTAL Europe) or necessary criteria (Roth, 1998; Hughes, 1998; Jones 2011; Beattie, 2014). The historical character portrayed in the interpretation can be a real person or a composite one (Roth, 1998; Peacock, 2011; Beattie, 20014), that is, a

fictional character based on actual people, primary accounts, and demographic data (Roth, 1998). Some researchers emphasise that in first-person interpretation, interpreters avoid breaking the character (Roth, 1998; Teunissen, 2016).

Whether we regard first-person interpretation as a subcategory of museum theatre (Hughes, 1998; Jackson *et al.,* 2002; Venieri and Niki, 2015;) or as a co-ordinate term (Peacock, 2011, the glossary of IMTAL), it has much in common with theatre. Stacy F. Roth mentions the following similarities: both re-enact human behaviour, participants play someone other than themselves, both are performed before an audience, each requires spectators to suspend disbelief, while the sequence of preparation, performance and cool-down is also a common trait (Roth, 1998)[1].

Ashlee Beattie discusses the presence of acting in first-person interpretation (Beattie, 2014). She points out that on the continuum established by Michael Kirby, from behaviours used in performances identified as acting to those that are not, first-person interpretation presentations take place at the acting-end of the scale. There are five nodal points on this continuum that complex acting is one of the extremes of, and simple acting is right next to it. Simple acting focuses on one emotional and/or physical element, while in complex acting the actor must compound more than one such element (for example age, emotional expressions, etc.). Beattie argues that a first-person interpreter fits into the simple acting nodal point by doing simulation, impersonation and emotional work, but occasionally also "incorporates a number of elements (emotional, physical, improvisational, intellectual, educational, *et cetera*) and thus can deliver a complex performance of historical narrative" (Beattie, 2014).

She also touches on the elements of acting in first-person interpretation from a theatre semiotics approach. First-person interpreters create a type of structure corresponding to that of theatre actors. It is a three-part structure consisting of the actor, the stage figure (the function of an actor) and the dramatic figure (a fabrication that is created in the mind of the spectators). These structural parts are applicable to first-person interpretation, where the actor can be replaced by the interpreter who performs his stage figure and becomes alive in the imagination of the audience (dramatic figure) (Beattie, 2014).

These similarities are conceptualised from a theatre theory perspective. To get closer to the point of how first-person interpretation can present diverse points of views, the field of study has to be expanded to dramatic theories.

The relationship between theatre and drama is problematic in academic discussions (Hughes, 1998): it is controversial if drama should be defined from the perspective of theatrical art as a text for theatrical performances (Bécsy, 1988) and vice versa, if the proper definition of theatre is the place where drama is performed (Kotte, 2015). Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to take a position on this question, it is necessary to touch on issues described in dramatic theory, even if first-person interpretation in most cases does not use scenarios written in dialogue, but is usually a rehearsed improvisation (Jones, n.d.) or works with spontaneous or planned-but-unrehearsed dialogues (Roth, 1998).

In dramatic theories, conflict is often considered to be the main principle of drama (Bíró, 2004), in the sense of a clash between opposing forces. Other dramatic theorists draw attention to the fact that direct conflicts (also known as external conflicts) between characters, which can be verbal or physical, are presented only in particular periods in the history of dramatic literature, characteristically in the time when the greatest dramas were born (Bécsy, 2001; Bíró, 2004). Sophocles' Antigone and Shakespeare's Hamlet are good examples of this type of drama.

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[1] Stacy F. Roth also mentions differences between first-person interpretation and theatre, regarding their intent and execution (Roth, 1998).

There is also another type of conflict that can appear in dramas: indirect conflict (or inner conflict) (Bíró, 2004). In this case, characters suffer from inner turmoil, or the opposing forces are not of the same strength, there are unequal power relations, the protagonist cannot reach his antagonist, which rules out the possibility of a direct clash between them. This type of conflict can take the form of contrast. Contrast can pervade all elements of a drama, from the plot through the system of relations between the characters to dialogues (Bíró, 2004). The protagonist of such a drama can be a character in focus, representing a certain period or problem. The protagonist is a passive character, and the drama centres around the different relations towards him. Shakespeare's King Lear provides a good example. This drama model is increasingly appropriate for portraying complex relationships and social situations (Bécsy, 2001).

For first-person interpretation, contrast is a key concept. When aimed at telling a story from different perspectives and presenting a comprehensive picture of a particular historical period or event, the use of the above theatrical and dramatic elements can aid this process. Direct clashes can rarely be presented in this type of interpretation, but when developing a character or a plot, contrast as a principle can help explain the diversity of people's customs, values, ideals and beliefs.

In the following I will review some practical examples of how first-person interpretation performances based on contrast can be effective in presenting cultural heritage from diverse aspects. After examples taken from literature, I will touch on my own practice as well.

In the UK, Historic Royal Palaces, which runs five institutions[2] and provides live interpretation programmes on a daily basis at its larger sites, developed its own method for creating first-person interpretation scenes. One of their guidelines is using dramatic tension and contrast between the characters, from the simple social oppositions of man and woman, rich and poor, old and young to the more complex ones like black and white, master and servant, rising and down-and-out, etc. (Huth, 2010).

Colonial Williamsburg, which is a large living-history museum in the United States[3], is committed to teaching inclusive history and promoting education in citizenship. To this end, they offer various programmes based on performance art on a daily basis which contain first-person interpretation scenes as well. One of these programmes, The Revolutionary City, is entirely based on first-person interpretation, presenting scenes of historical events between 1774-1781. In these scenes, characters represent different perspectives. Visitors can see how the political situation on the eve of the revolution affected the commoner and the gentry, how enslaved people reacted to the offer of freedom if they joined the British army, a marginalised story of a commoner who enlists in the army to gain money for his family, what effect the war had on the economic situation of common people, and so on (Teunissen, 2016). Contrast is shown within the scenes where there are characters representing different status and/or opinions regarding particular issues, and between the scenes as well, throwing light on different segments of the history of the revolution.

In 2007, commemorating the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade in Britain in 1807, the Manchester Museum hosted an experimental performance of a promenade style where visitors walked through the museum spaces, met different characters and also encountered artefacts. Among the characters there were campaigners for abolition, slave traders and a cotton mill worker from Manchester (Jackson and Kidd, 2007). These characters bear similarities but also subtle differences in pairs: one of the campaigners for abolition is a black man, a freed slave from the USA, the other one is a white British man; one of the slave traders is a black African man, the other one is a white British person; the cotton mill worker's situation is not much different from the cotton-picking slaves in America (Jackson, 2011). By using theatrical devices,

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[2] Tower of London, Hampton Court Palace, Kensington Palace, Kew Palace, Banqueting House.
[3] It is run by a private foundation. In the 18th century, Williamsburg became the capital of Virginia for almost a century. The museum includes buildings from this period and also from the 17th and 19th centuries.

creating these characters and thoughtfully devising the performance, the project was successful in "engendering interest in … the life experiences of those considered 'other' from ourselves, or in giving voice to, and celebrating, the experiences of individuals or a community that finds itself marginalised or excluded from the grand narratives of conventional history" (Jackson and Kidd, 2007).

In the Museum of Fine Arts Budapest we have been doing first-person interpretation in the Classical Antiquities Gallery since 2008. Our performances are mostly one-character sessions, focusing, in the framework of the drama model of Tamás Bécsy mentioned above, on a protagonist. The relationship between the character and his/her social environment and also the contrasts in these relationships unfold through the protagonist's address to the visitors.

For example, our Roman sculptor talks about issues concerning ordinary people's fears in the time of the civil war, and the calmness that followed in the Augustan period, all embedded in his own life-story and shedding light on his own social situation. Thus, visitors can realise how people felt about living a more or less peaceful life under the reign of one powerful ruler, who they have to hurrah (and glorify with huge monuments if somebody happens to be a sculptor), and how different this must have been from the previous era when ordinary people often did not know who to take sides with in order to avoid death. This way, the sculptor presents the perspective of a common man in the period of the Early Empire, which is quite different from the historical narrative that describes the development of the Empire.

Figure 1 - István Sándor as the ancient Roman sculptor, 2012. (Photo: László Mátyus)

The ancient Athenian vase-painter receives visitors as potential customers in his workshop, and tries to convince them to order vases from him, showing them all the artworks around and also telling them about his everyday life, plans, pleasures and troubles. It unfolds from his chattering that he is a slave in a workshop of a master coming from another Greek city and settling in Athens. This was a common situation in ancient Athens, but the information that vase-painters who created black- and red-figure vases which are admired by people today were not regarded as artists in ancient times, only as craftsmen, is usually new for visitors. Again, the spectators of the performance gain insight into a period from a point of view that is different from the historical narrative, which runs along the actions of famous historical personalities.

Figure 2 - Erika Manyasz as the ancient Athenian slave girl, 2018. (Photo: László Mátyus)

In 2012, we developed a performance of two characters on a special occasion of an international cooperation project. The two characters in this show were a Roman senator stepping into the workshop of a stone-cutter in Pannonia in the 2nd century AD, and the wife of the absent stone-cutter, a liberated slave girl. The characters were very different in terms of their social status, gender and lifestyle, so when they engaged in conversation, their dialogue conveyed information both about the everyday life of people in the limes region, and the administration of the empire, as well as the emperor Marcus Aurelius and his age. They represented two different but equally valid perspectives of the same situation: the stone-cutter's family had to work hard to make ends meet, but from time to time they also had to take part in communal works, such as repairing bridges and roads that hindered them from filling their customers' orders in their workshop. In addition, they had to pay a lot of taxes, and they were not happy with it. The Roman senator argued that all these things were necessary for the empire to be able to defend people living in the limes region from the invasions of the marcomanni, a Germanic tribal confederation which was a real threat in the 2nd century. Roads had to be in good condition for the legions to be able to reach the farthest point of the empire in case of necessity. Visitors could thus see both sides of the same story.

Figure 3 - Orsolya Bagaméry as the wife of a stone-cutter, and István Sándor as the Roman senator, 2013, Komárom. (Photo: Zsófia Jurassza)

Conclusion

Using theatrical techniques and dramatic elements in museums and heritage sites, such as taking on roles, developing characters and dramatic structures, devising performances can contribute to presenting heritage from diverse aspects. First-person interpretation is especially appropriate to show different perspectives of particular historical periods or events due to its potential of including dramatic contrast.

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"Everything in this museum is stolen..." – Collecting histories at the British Museum

Stuart Frost (UK)

Author
Stuart Frost is Head of Interpretation and Volunteers at the British Museum, London, UK. He co-curated *Collecting histories: Solomon Islands*, a small exhibition and permanent gallery trail at the British Museum (June-September 2019). Prior to commencing his current role in November 2009, he spent almost eight years at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. He began his museum career in 1998 at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
Contact: sfrost@britishmuseum.org

Abstract
The colonial origins of significant parts of many museums' collections are currently the focus of intense global debate, with competing and conflicting points of view. This paper explores this issue by focusing on public perceptions of the British Museum. It summarises extensive recent visitor research which shows that there is a strong association in many visitors' minds between the British Museum and the British Empire. Qualitative evaluation with non-British visitors, analysis of social media posts, and qualitative formative and summative exhibition evaluation collectively reveal a complex, varied and nuanced picture. This paper will show how this visitor insight has been used to inform a forthcoming small, experimental British Museum exhibition that seeks to engage diverse audiences with varied colonial collecting histories, and to identify learning that can be applied to future projects.

Introduction

The British Museum's collection is global in scope, and ranges chronologically from deep history to the present day. There are about 80,000 objects currently on display in over 80 free admission permanent galleries visited annually by approximately 6 million people from around the world (Figure 1). The museum was founded in 1753 which means that its history is intimately linked to the history of the British Empire with which it coincided and coexisted.

This paper provides some insight into how the public perceive the museum's relationship to Britain's colonial and imperial past through various sources of visitor insight. Although the museum's collection has been acquired in a myriad of different ways, and although the museum continues to collect today, for the general public the association between the British Museum and the British Empire is – as will become clear – particularly strong.

This moment seems to be a particularly timely one to reflect on the public perceptions of the British Museum's relationship to the British Empire. Debates about colonialism and repatriation of objects are especially prominent.[4] The Africa Museum, Brussels, has recently reopened following a major redevelopment, generating a lot of debate in the media and the museum profession. In popular mainstream culture, the film *Black Panther* (2018), the third highest grossing movie in the USA, raised the issue of looting of African cultural heritage in a scene shot in an African display in a thinly disguised British Museum, reinforcing the perception that museum's collections have been acquired as the result of looting or colonial exploitation. During 2017, the French President,

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[4] For a more detailed discussion of why issues related to colonialism, empire and repatriation have become more prominent in recent years see Tiffany Jenkins, *Keeping Their Marbles: How the Treasures of the Past Ended Up in Museums - And Why They Should Stay There,* Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016.

Emmanuel Macron, tweeted that "African heritage cannot be a prisoner of European museums" and he subsequently commissioned a report that recommends that objects taken from African countries without consent during France's colonial era should be permanently returned.[5]

For the last ten years or so the British Museum has been undertaking regular visitor research, often driven by new permanent galleries or, most frequently, special exhibitions.[6] This evaluation offers insight into how the British Museum is perceived and valued by the public. References to colonial or imperial legacies arise frequently but usually indirectly, that is they arise unprompted during evaluation of other projects.
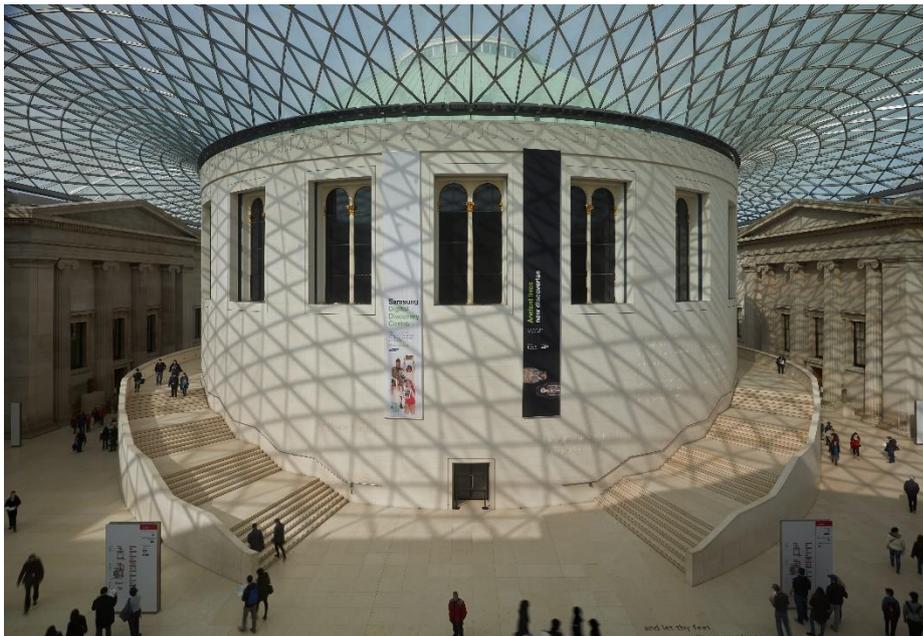
Figure 1 – The Great Court of the British Museum, London. Most of the 6 million people who come to the museum annually start their visit here. (Photo: Trustees of the British Museum)

Visitors to the British Museum
The British Museum's annual visitor figure can divided into two main groups.[7] Those that visit the free permanent galleries (predominantly consisting of first-time overseas visitors) form the largest segment; a much smaller proportion visit the special exhibitions which have an admission charge (predominantly regulars from London and the rest of the UK).[8]

It is clear from a series of interviews that I conducted with visitors arriving at the museum that many people bring with them a perception that its collection was removed from source countries by force or under duress as result of an unequal relationship during the age of empire. Whether these views are modified as a result of the subsequent visit is unclear, but at present – generally speaking – this is unlikely to be the case. To date, the history of the British Empire – and colonial collecting histories – have not been prominently highlighted in the majority of permanent galleries. As most visitors browse selectively – only stopping at a very small number of objects – it seems

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[5] Anna Codrea-Rado 'Emmanuel Macron Says Return of African Artifacts Is a Top Priority', 29 November 2017, The New York Times, www.nytimes.com/2017/11/29/arts/emmanuel-macron-africa.html, Accessed on 10 June 2018.
[6] For more information see the 'Visitor Research' section of the British Museum's website: www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/visitor_research.aspx
[7] Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, *A Change in the Air. British Museum Annual Visitor Report 2016/17*, Unpublished report, Manchester, May 2017.
[8] The audiences that visit the free permanent galleries and the admission-charging special audiences are distinct, and require different interpretive approaches. For a summary of how the British Museum caters for these audiences see J. Batty, *et al.*, 'Object-focused text at the British Museum', *Exhibition*, National Association for Museum Exhibition (Spring 2016), 70–80.

highly unlikely that the majority will encounter any new information or interpretation that challenges their initial perceptions. Social media comments posted during or after a visit suggest that those who arrive believing the museum is a 'bastion of colonialism' leave with the same views. For example:

> "Fascinating to see a lot of what is here but can't help thinking that a lot of what you see was stolen from other countries – I was conflicted."
> "Went to @britishmuseum to see some stolen stuff"
> "Everything in this museum is stolen from other countries. It is like a house of thievery done by colonists. But yeah, it looks good."

Social media comments
The British Museum's social media output has increased exponentially in recent years and it generates a great deal of online comment and debate. An analysis of direct messages received last year reveals that there is a significant emphasis on colonialism, primarily around collecting histories and repatriation claims. A significant number of public messages or comments refer generically to the issue of colonial loot or theft.

Unsurprisingly, the repatriation debate about the Parthenon sculptures features prominently and is the largest single group of direct messages. However, it is important to note that these critical comments represent only a fraction of the overall number received each year – about 8% of the feedback we receive relates to repatriation or colonialism.[9]

Special exhibitions
Formative and summative exhibition evaluation undertaken for two recent shows addressing colonial histories provide some useful insights. As noted above, the audience that visits admission charging special exhibitions is predominantly people from London and the UK. The majority of these people have been to previous exhibitions at the museum. Each exhibition visit – their main focus on that particular day – lasts around 70-90 minutes.

Indigenous Australia: enduring civilisation (23 April – 2 August 2015) provided an object rich history of Indigenous Australia through objects made by Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islanders (Figure 2). The exhibition sought to highlight the remarkable continuity, diversity and resilience of indigenous Australian culture. It featured objects drawn from the British Museum's collection, many of which were collected in Australia's early colonial period (1770–1850). The exhibition also highlighted how indigenous Australians have responded to dramatic change following the establishment of a British colony in Australia in 1788, the consequences of which remain profoundly significant today.

During the development of *Indigenous Australia,* focus groups were held to inform decision making. One of the participants reacted particularly strongly against the curatorial narrative highlighting contemporary issues and the legacy of colonialism: "I don't want to go and pay to have people tell me how awful I was or how poorly my country treated others." "I don't want to get involved […] and I don't want to read about it, it's … a topic that I just don't want to get."[10] For this participant, an older British woman, colonialism belonged to the past. She failed to fully appreciate the ongoing relevance of colonial legacies in Australia today – for her these sections of the exhibition reflected a 'politically correct' agenda. The summative exhibition evaluation, however, revealed an overwhelmingly positive response: "Great to see an exhibition dealing with the less comfortable issues of indigenous cultural histories." "It was brilliant and unexpected to

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[9] I would like to acknowledge and thank Coline Cau, former Visitor Insights Manager at the British Museum, for her assistance with this section.
[10] Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, *Turning the world upside down. A formative evaluation of the British Museum's Indigenous Australia exhibition*, Unpublished report, Manchester, March 2014.

see the effects of colonisation so emotively told." "Respect for frankness with which British Museum presented these issues."[11]

Figure 2 – The *Indigenous Australia: enduring civilisation* exhibition, 23 April – 2 August 2015 (British Museum, Room 35). (Photo: Trustees of the British Museum)

South Africa: the art of a nation (27 October 2016 – 26 February 2017) focused on a broad history through archaeological, historic and contemporary artworks. It generated similar responses. The summative evaluation revealed that for many visitors the exhibition introduced them to colonial history that was unfamiliar.[12] Although the majority of visitors accepted the curatorial narrative, a few dissenting voices challenged it. For example, one visitor felt that, "The exhibition had a highly biased narrative designed to support a simplistic thesis that European involvement in South Africa was uniformly negative [particularly British]." Another visitor advised the Museum to "Stick to facts: stop moralising." The majority of visitors though, like for *Indigenous Australia*, were overwhelmingly happy with the exhibition's approach.

It is clear from these two examples that special exhibitions can be effective at provoking discussion and debate about colonial histories amongst the audience that chooses to go to them. They both also suggest that UK audiences are not particularly knowledgeable about colonial history. A YouGov UK survey (July 2014) indicated that the majority of British public views the history of the British Empire positively. Around 60% felt that the British Empire was something about which Britain should be more proud of than ashamed.[13] The exhibition evaluation provides evidence that some members of the exhibition-going audience hold this more positive and naïve view of the empire, a view that also needs to be challenged and addressed by museums.

The visitor insight I've discussed here isn't comprehensive and the emphasis I've placed on it is misleading. The British Museum's annual visitor survey indicates that the majority of people enjoy their visit: 61% rate it as excellent, and the overall satisfaction level is 97%. There is also a high level of confidence in the museum's scholarship and interpretation: 90% of people trust the

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[11] Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, *Curating conversations. A summative evaluation of Indigenous Australia: enduring civilisations at the British Museum*, Unpublished report, Manchester, August 2015.

[12] Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, *A country's soul laid bare. A summative evaluation of South Africa: the art of a nation at the British Museum*, Unpublished report, Manchester, March 2017.

[13] Will Dahlgreen, *The British Empire is 'something to be proud of'*, 26 July 2014, YouGov United Kingdom website, https://yougov.co.uk/news/2014/07/26/britain-proud-its-empire/, accessed on 10 June 2018.

museum to provide honest and genuine information. 95% of people broadly feel that the British Museum is 'a museum of the world for the world.'[14]

Nevertheless, clearly a substantial number of visitors who cross the museum's threshold every day believe that most of what they will see on display there has been acquired as a result of theft and looting during the colonial period. Recent qualitative evaluation that I commissioned indicates that these perceptions also play a significant role in deterring people who are culturally active from visiting the British Museum at all.[15] These negative associations need to be both acknowledged and challenged across all of the museum's activity, but particularly through interpretation in the museum's permanent galleries. Although many objects in UK museum collections left the place where they were made during British colonial rule, the way objects reached institutions like the British Museum is more varied and complex than is often assumed.

During 2017, Hartwig Fischer, the current Director, announced long term plans for the British Museum to rethink, reinterpret and redisplay its permanent galleries. Fischer was quoted as saying, "…we need to make visitors understand how this museum came into existence – and how it became what it is today. We have to say where the objects came from and how they got here. There are many wonderful aspects to the museum, which has one of the greatest collections of world cultures, but there are also more critical aspects. These should be addressed and our institution should have that frankness."[16] This statement carries an implicit acknowledgement that to date, the museum has not been open enough in discussing its colonial histories. The proposed redisplay of the museum's permanent galleries offers an unprecedented long-term opportunity to openly and honestly engage visitors with collecting histories, including the way the museum collects today, and the way it now works collaboratively with institutions and communities around the globe.

Collecting histories at the British Museum
At the British Museum, I have been working with colleagues on a small special exhibition and permanent gallery trail to experiment with ways of engaging visitors with the complexities of colonial collecting histories. We have developed a modest exhibition at the entrance to the museum titled *Collecting histories: Solomon Islands* (20 June – 1 September 2019). This project has been informed and shaped by visitor insight that I've outlined briefly in the preceding sections of this paper.

The British Museum has an outstanding collection of objects from Solomon Islands, a country in the southwest Pacific consisting of six major islands and many smaller ones which are home to about 80 local ethnic groups. The islands were first united as a single country under British colonial rule. Solomon Islands were claimed by Britain as the British Solomon Islands Protectorate in the 1890s. During the 20th century, colonial government, plantation businesses and Christian missions transformed Solomon Islands, shaping the country that became independent in 1978.[17] Solomon Islands provides a thought-provoking case study of the ways objects left the country and were acquired by European museums. Solomon Islands has experienced a similar loss of material heritage to other countries colonised by European countries.

The exhibition is focussed on five key objects with supporting archival photographs.[18] Each object introduces a different theme, and collectively the objects illustrate the various kinds of relationships that brought such things to Britain.

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[14] Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, *A Change in the Air. British Museum Annual Visitor Report 2016/17*, Unpublished report, Manchester, May 2017.

[15] TWResearch, *Visitors' Perceptions of the British Museum: Qualitative Evaluation*, Unpublished report, London June 2018.

[16] Martin Bailey, 'We need to take into consideration the whole world, not only Europe' Interview with Hartwig Fischer, The Art Newspaper, 1 September 2017. www.theartnewspaper.com/interview/we-need-to-take-into-consideration-the-whole-world-not-only-europe Accessed 9 May 2019.

[17] Burt, Ben. *Malaita: A Pictorial History from Solomon Islands*, British Museum Press, London, 2015.

[18] Burt, Ben. 'Collecting Histories', in *British Museum Magazine*, Spring/Summer 2019, Issue 93, 42-43.

The first object relates to spoils of war. When the Royal Navy imposed British colonial authority on Solomon Islands, it sometimes attacked communities that resisted and on some of these occasions ships' crews removed items that they would have regarded as 'exotic curios'. A sculpture of an ancestor that belonged to a shrine was among the artefacts taken from shrines and houses in Roviana by the crew of the British warship HMS Royalist in 1891. The ship's captain, Edward Davis, later sold it to the British Museum.

The second theme relates to missionary activity. From the late 19th century, Christian missionaries challenged Solomon Islanders' reliance on the spiritual support of their dead ancestors, and missionaries often kept relics of the religion they were working to abolish. The museum's collection includes a consecrated bird float used on special nets to catch fish for festivals celebrating the ancestors. This particular example was given to Anglican missionary Arthur Hopkins in 1903. He later sold it to a collector who bequeathed his collection to the British Museum in 1944.

The third theme relates to resident British colonial officials who often collected artefacts, usually purchasing them from local people. In this instance we are displaying a dance shield, from Malaita purchased by District Officer Thomas Edge-Partington on one of his patrols around the island. His widow, Mary, gave it to the British Museum in 1921.

The fourth theme relates to commerce, reflecting the impact of foreign-owned plantations and other businesses, including making artefacts for export. In the second half of the 20th century, islanders developed new styles of carving for sale, especially to foreign visitors, in the new capital of Solomon Islands, Honiara, on the island of Guadalcanal. Some of the most popular carvings were figureheads like those formerly made for war canoes in western Solomon Islands. The display includes such a figurehead, purchased by a British Museum curator in a shop in the capital, Honiara, in 2004.

The final theme relates to Solomon Islands today. Following advice from Solomon Islanders based in the UK, we are displaying shell money. Shell money continues to be used in Solomon Islands, and is also depicted on the current currency. The ten-string money shown in the exhibition was presented to the Duke of Gloucester at Independence celebrations in 1978, and was subsequently given to the British Museum.

We want to use this exhibition to introduce visitors to some of the main broad categories of pathways that objects have taken to the British Museum from their place of origin during the colonial era. To help visitors make connections between what they see in this free exhibition and the rest of the museum, we've developed a temporary trail through the galleries on the ground floor of the museum. The trail highlights and interprets the collecting histories of 15 artefacts from other living cultures in the Pacific, Asia, Africa and the Americas. I'll briefly describe a couple of examples to illustrate the overall approach.

This earliest object to feature in the trail is a drum made over 300 years ago. It was acquired by a Reverend Clerk around 1730 in Virginia, at that time a British colony, now a state within the USA. He sold it to Sir Hans Sloane, where it became part of his vast collection recorded as Native America drum. In fact, we now know that the drum was made by Akan people in West Africa. We assume it traversed the Atlantic aboard a slave ship.

Sloane bequeathed his entire collection to King George II, including the drum, leading to the foundation of the British Museum in 1753. Sloane's career began on Jamaica, then a British colony. Whilst there, partly through the help of enslaved people, he built up a collection of plant

specimens, animals and what he regarded as 'curiosities'. Sloane married an heiress to Jamaican sugar plantations, the profits from which contributed substantially to his ability to collect.[19]

The largest and most spectacular object in the trail is a totem pole from British Columbia. The pole was originally at the front of a clan house in the village of Kayang. Around 1900, Haida Chief Wiah sold the pole to a medical doctor and naturalist. In 1903 this doctor sold the pole to the British Museum. By the time Wiah sold the pole, Kayang had been abandoned for nearly 15 years, its population devastated by epidemics of disease introduced by Europeans to Pacific Northwest Coast peoples. The trail is intended not just to highlight different collecting histories, but also to provide insights into the impact of colonialism on the people who came under British rule.

A dance costume from Kiribati, a group of islands that straddle the equator in the central Pacific Ocean, is another of the trail stops. The costume is part of a display that was co-curated with members of the Kiribati community based in the UK during 2016. The group wanted dance to be a prominent element of the display, and they selected an incomplete dance costume in the museum's collection to be part of it. Thanks to the contacts of the Kiribati co-curators, the missing items were obtained: some were donated, others were newly commissioned and made in Kiribati especially for the display.

In order to develop new permanent displays that meet the need of current audiences – and audiences of the future – we need to experiment with different approaches like this. The *Collecting histories* project will be evaluated to help the British Museum develop its approach to acknowledging complex colonial collecting histories, and the history of empire, in future permanent gallery displays and other special exhibitions.

Conclusion
Collecting histories: Solomon Islands – and the *Collecting histories* trail – are both small scale, short-term initiatives. It is clear that perceptions of the British Museum as a place where "...everything is stolen from other countries" are widely held and deeply entrenched. Modifying negative public perceptions of the museum, and building trust with alienated audiences, will clearly take time, requiring concerted effort across all of the museum's public platforms and a sustained long-term commitment across the organisation. The approach that I've outlined is small in scale and I'm sure there will be many people who will with justification regard it as inadequate or problematic. Nevertheless, my experience is that special exhibitions like *Collecting histories: Solomon Islands* – modest in size and budget – can nevertheless be effective as catalysts, generating debate and dialogue internally and externally, impacting on large numbers of visitors and helping to generate discussion and insights that can be invaluable in shaping larger, longer term projects in the future.

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[19] James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: The Life and Curiosity of Hans Sloane*, London, 2017. Delbourgo was recently involved in updating information on the British Museum's website about Sir Hans Sloane, explicitly highlighting the connections with Jamaica and slavery. See: www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/the_museums_story/general_history/sir_hans_sloane.aspx

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Norman Sicily, the Cappella Palatina, and the palimpsest: Interpreting transculturality over time

Emily Hyatt (Germany)

Author
Emily Hyatt holds a bachelor's degree in art history from Columbia University and is currently a master's student at Heidelberg University's Centre for Transcultural Studies. Emily researches contact between Italy and the Islamic world and the visual and material culture developing alongside these interactions. Before moving to Germany to continue her studies, she worked as a museum educator at institutions in New York City, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Children's Museum of Manhattan, and Brooklyn Historical Society.
Contact: Hyatt.emily.frances@gmail.com

Abstract
Under Norman rule, medieval Sicily was a land of dynamic syncretism, with many beliefs and languages combined. Latin was spoken alongside Arabic and Greek, and King Roger II commissioned his Cappella Palatina, or royal chapel, as a glimmering jewel box of Byzantine mosaics and distinctly-Islamic, painted muqarnas ceilings. In 2015, Palermo's Arab-Norman architecture was listed as UNESCO World Heritage, a testament to the flourishing creativity of the period. The diversity of medieval Sicily is justifiably celebrated. However, a closer examination of its extant tangible heritage offers a more nuanced interpretation. Over the centuries, Siculo-Norman art and architecture have been alternately repainted, effaced, and restored – processes that reveal complex negotiations of power and identity. This presentation considers the value of the palimpsestic qualities of the Cappella Palatina. It seeks to establish the palimpsest as an interpretive tool that reveals the finer details of transcultural exchange and contact over time.

Introduction

As the largest island in the Mediterranean, Sicily was a crucial node in the network of medieval courts, bringing the Muslim, Byzantine, and Latin worlds to its door. In the early years of Roger II's reign, Sicilians bore witness to great change: after two centuries of Islamic rule (827-1061), Norman invaders conquered the majority Arabic-speaking, Muslim population and instilled a Latin-Christian kingdom.[20] Sicily during the dynamism of the Norman monarchy can be understood as a 'contact zone,' which Mary Louise Pratt characterises as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power".[21] Furthermore, Palermo under the Norman monarchy was a city of enormous wealth, attracting flows of labour, capital, and creative impetus.

At the heart of this powerful civic node stands a building now known as the Cappella Palatina, a 12th century church whose structural and decorative plan speaks intimately to the transcultural aesthetics and diversity of the Norman court. The Cappella Palatina's patron was Roger II, the first king of Sicily (r. 1130–54), and, as its name suggests, it was built as a palace chapel. It sits within the Palazzo dei Normani on top of an earlier crypt, [22] a process of layering that points to a

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[20] Sarah Davis-Secord, 'Muslims in Norman Sicily: The Evidence of Imām Al-Māzarī's Fatwās', *Mediterranean Studies* 16 (2007): p. 48.
[21] Mary Louise Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone', *Profession*, 1991, p. 34.
[22] Vladimir Zorič, '*Arx Praeclara Quam Palatium Regale Appellant*. Le Sue Origini e La Prima Cappella Della Corte Normanna', in *Contrade e Chiese Nella Palermo Medievale.* (Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievale, 1999), pp. 31–139. Zorič first identifies

need for new institutions and symbols befitting a young kingdom. In a broad sense, the church can be visualised in terms of its spatial divisions, comprising an eastern sanctuary and an elongated western nave. Particular elements of the aisle and nave, most notably the Islamic palatial cycle of miniature paintings on the ceilings, create the impression of a boundary or frontier, whether between cultures or between the religious and the secular.[23] With these qualities in mind, the Cappella invites a reformulation of typical questions, as well as a reconfiguration of methodologically-bound constraints, such as the notion of style or the categories of 'medieval' or 'Islamic' art. Such inter-cultural contact creates new interpretive opportunities, opening space to study the impact of diversity on built heritage.

The following paper will investigate strategies for interpreting the transcultural relationships within the Cappella Palatina over time, using its painted ceilings as an encapsulation of this phenomenon. It will clarify established findings, then analyse existing research for methodological gaps that leave certain questions unformulated. Finally, it will bring in the interdisciplinary lens of the palimpsest to investigate how a transcultural and transtemporal interpretation of the site could be productive. The paper will conclude with a summary of findings and additional questions.

The wooden ceilings of the Cappella Palatina
As with the other structural and decorative elements, such as the nave and sanctuary of the church, the carved and painted wooden ceilings of the Cappella Palatina represent an indivisible component of the whole chapel ensemble.[24] They were likely finished by 1143 AD, merely three years after the signing of the foundation charter in 1140.[25] Although they are both made of wood and covered in miniature painting, the ceilings of the aisles and the nave are markedly different. Those of the aisles are simple: channelled, rectangular wooden panels slope downward in a linear pattern, toward the chapel's outer walls. Conversely, the central nave ceiling is spectacularly carved, with a perimeter *muqarnas* zone and 20 projected cupolas in the centre, surrounded by crosses and smaller domes, creating a gravity-defying geometric field. The ceilings of both nave and aisles are covered in miniature painting: human figures engaged in an array of palace entertainments, a diverse menagerie of both animals and fantastic beasts, scrolling vegetal and geometric ornament, and Arabic inscriptions.[26]

One of the interpretive difficulties of working with the ceilings of the Cappella Palatina is their inaccessibility to the visitor. The nave ceiling, in particular, is a soaring 11 metres from the marble pavement, and its geometric intricacy and richness of its painting are lost in the murky heights to a viewer on the ground.[27] The painted ceilings have generated praise, even in Roger II's time, drawing comparison to the celestial firmament, "the host of stars shin[ing] everywhere". [28] However, even in the 12th century, as Italian scholar Ugo Monneret de Villard remarks, due in part to poor visibility, "no one remembered that the architects of this marvellous ceiling were not Christians, but Muslims".[29] In efforts to interpret these ceilings and the diverse set of actors who produced them, it is clear that making available high-resolution images of the ceilings' paintings to visitors would be helpful.

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this area as a crypt, though later authors note that it is more accurately described as an earlier chapel. See: Jeremy Johns, 'Muslim Artists and Christian Models in the Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina', in *Romanesque and the Mediterranean: Patterns of Exchange across the Latin, Greek and Islamic Worlds c. 1000 - c. 1250*, ed. Rosa Bacile and John McNeill, (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2015), p. 59.
[23] Oleg Grabar, 'Review of *The Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina* by Ernst J. Grube and Jeremy Johns', *The Art Bulletin* 90, no. 1 (2008): p. 132. Grabar notes the concept of 'boundaries and frontiers' as a crucial element of the Cappella Palatina.
[24] The importance placed on an 'ensemble' comes from Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom*, pp. 10-17. Grube and Johns demand a closer reading of the ceiling in *The Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina*, see p. 15.
[25] Grube and Johns, *The Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina,* p. 7.
[26] Grabar's 'Review of *The Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina*' as well as Johns and Grube's *The Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina* aided me in conceptualising the ceiling's complex layout.
[27] This practical impediment was noted by Grube, *The Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina*, p. 17.
[28] Homily translated and reprinted in the appendix of *The Painted Ceilings of the Cappella Palatina*, p. 13.
[29] Original: 'Nessuno però ebbe a ricordare che gli artefici di questo meraviglioso soffitto non erano dei cristiani, bensì dei musulmani.' Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Le Pitture Musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1950), p. 22.

The same Monneret de Villard produced the first dedicated monograph on the ceilings of the Cappella Palatina: *Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, published in 1950. He posited that the wooden ceilings were indeed the work of Islamic artists working in Palermo and linked their painterly style most closely to a pre-12th century Fatimid Egyptian school.[30] On top of his findings, later investigations have also stressed the likelihood of local collaboration with these itinerant craftspeople. Sicilians working under the Fatimid artists may have learned from the newcomers or even supplied certain imagery themselves.[31]

His work opened discussion on the iconography of the ceilings' vast array of imagery. Much of it, from frontally-seated kings, chess players, musicians, wrestlers locked in combat, and a fearsome and diverse menagerie (lions, peacocks, serpents, and dragons, to name only a few) can be aligned with medieval Islamic 'princely cycles'.[32] Indeed, this great visual variety may be a primary message of the programme: such a wealth of images spoke to the worldly fluency of Roger II and, by extension, his kingdom. Thus, from the outset, the wooden ceilings of the Cappella Palatina feature a palatial cycle that is *enriched* by contact and by diversity. The ceilings are an art of the contact zone, and thus our ongoing difficulty in interpreting their full message is just one example of such places' vulnerability to mistranslation or incomprehension.[33]

Consideration of the creative potential of such a cultural borderland leads to another central question of this inquiry. How does the passage of time play a role in reshaping and re-signifying arts of the contact zone? Can we distinguish a distinct 'period eye' in various eras, a fixed way of seeing that contributes to how we respond to such works of art?[34] The three painted ceilings, like the Cappella Palatina as a whole, have undergone significant changes over the centuries. How well have these changes been documented, and how does alteration – whether repainting, effacement, or even restoration – create new interpretive readings of the site?

Despite existing research on the Cappella Palatina's ceiling, there is a glaring lack of scholarly attention paid to the presence of alterations and interventions across its surface. This aspect of the chapel is hidden in plain sight, unreported and unanalysed despite its proliferation. Compare, as an example, the portrait busts in three distinct, star-shaped coffers on the central nave ceiling. The tonality in colour and painterly style of busts repainted in later centuries are vastly different from the original 12th century painting. Publications tend to acknowledge changes made to the paintings over the years, but it is more of a cursory glance, tinged with value judgments. For example, Monneret de Villard comments that the new painting is both negligible and furthermore of no artistic value, which is precisely the explanation he gives for not reproducing any re-painted images in his monograph.[35] More recently, in their study of the ceiling, Jeremy Johns and Ernst J. Grube treat any overpainting or restoration to the central ceiling with indifference. They do not consider the iconography of a single repainted image. This decision is a loss for the coherency of the Cappella Palatina as a whole. An investigation of potential models for the overpainted images could reveal the motivations or intentions of later stakeholders, adding to our understanding of the monument throughout its long history.

Why is there such a dearth of documentation on living alterations to the Cappella Palatina? A potential explanation is a problem of art historical methodology: the alterations to the ceiling were executed in a variety of post-12th century eras in diverse painterly styles, and thus they do not

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[30] Monneret de Villard, *Le Pitture Musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo,*' pp. 16-17.
[31] See Johns, 'Muslim Artists and Christian Models', p. 65, for a brief discussion of iconographic similarities in the ceiling of Palermo's Cefalù cathedral, which he believes was painted by local Sicilian artists after what they saw at the Cappella Palatina.
[32] Johns, 'Muslim Artists and Christian Models', p. 73.
[33] Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone', p. 37.
[34] The notion of the 'period eye' belongs to Michael Baxandall, in *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2nd ed, Oxford Paperbacks (Oxford [Oxfordshire]; New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
[35] 'Ma è certo che la massima parte della ridipinture e dei restauri ai soffitti delle tre navate datano della fine del XV secolo, di così piccolo ed anze di nessun valore artistico, tanto che ho rinunciato a riprodurre le parti alterate.' Monneret de Villard, *Le Pitture Musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo,*' pp. 16-17.

contribute to the significance of the ceiling as a singular work of medieval art. The presence of repainting, moreover, along with historic efforts of conservation or restoration, are seen as irrelevant at best and irreversibly damaging at worst.[36] This value rests upon what James Clifford calls a TIME/space arrangement, wherein "the dominant temporal sense is historical, assumed to be linear and non-repeatable".[37] In this linear understanding of history, certain narratives (or forms of artistic output) are deemed valuable and must be safeguarded; that is, vestiges of an authentic past must be preserved. However, in choosing to preserve and exalt a specific narrative, other temporal relationships are necessarily suppressed. The quest for authenticity – in this case, one of the only extant, authentic princely cycles from the medieval Mediterranean tradition – forces the hand of conservators, art historians, and interpreters, paradoxically flattening the full spectrum of an artwork's biography.

The palimpsest
A certain 'salvage' paradigm and tendency toward periodisation are both unlikely to vanish from art historical toolkits, being methodological cornerstones of the field. However, there are alternative lenses that offer rich possibilities for an expanded reading of such temporally-variable works of art. A useful strategy, one that will be my focus for the remainder of this paper, is that of the palimpsest.[38]

The word palimpsest most commonly refers to manuscripts bearing layered traces of multiple texts produced at different times. The literary theorist Sarah Dillon's monograph on the metaphor proposes the neologism 'palimpsestuous', an adjective that considers intimacy and separation simultaneously, "preserving as it does the distinctness of its texts, while at the same time allowing for their essential contamination and interdependence".[39] As an interpretive framework, such a palimpsestuous lens can collapse many processes of contact – acculturation, translation, reaction – and render them simultaneously legible. It offers a solution to the competing temporalities of the Cappella Palatina and brings diversity to the forefront of its interpretation. It regards the ceilings as one creative whole, and yet also a complex overlay of distinct parts. These parts act upon one another, bearing traces of contact and power clashes despite protracted time scales.

In order to effectively apply the palimpsest as an interpretive lens, it is helpful to know what is available about the state of repainting in the ceilings of the Cappella Palatina. Though the art historical record is quiet on alterations, information is available in conservation reports. The most recent large-scale restoration of the Cappella Palatina was undertaken by the Würth Foundation in 2011. In their published volume, conservationists Paolo Pastorello and Carla Tomasi briefly identify the primary historical changes:

> Alterations to complete modules, especially the ceilings, [are] carried out from *as early as the 15th century and continue…up to the 18*th *century*. Interventions covering large areas of the *side aisles* can be unequivocally attributed to the *19th century*…[.][40]

Pastorello and Tomasi also clarify their decision to leave all earlier repainting undisturbed. They acknowledge that such changes to a monument can be "seen as historical events in their own right", thus keeping with trends in contemporary conservation practices. This allowance stresses the importance of the entire history of an object, given that its significance comes from its accumulated memory and network of connections, not simply its original state.[41]

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[36] Carla Tomasi and Paolo Pastorello, 'Conservazione e Presentazione Estetica', in *Die Cappella Palatina in Palermo: Geschichte, Kunst, Funktionen: Forschungsergebnisse der Restaurierung*, ed. Thomas Dittelbach and Stiftung Würth (Künzelsau: Swiridoff, 2011), p. 478.

[37] James Clifford, 'The Others: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm', *Third Text* 3, no. 6 (1989): 73.

[38] Thank you to Jennifer Pochodzalla, Heidelberg University, who suggested the palimpsest to me as an analytical strategy for the Cappella Palatina.

[39] Dillon, *The Palimpsest*, p. 3.

[40] Pastorello and Tomasi, *Die Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, p. 478.

[41] C. Gosden and Y. Marshall, 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (n.d.): p. 170.

However, shortly after, Pastorello and Tomasi miss an opportunity: they label all the repainting of the ceilings as attempts at restoration. They note that, in the past, "people responded to the material decay of the paintings by a series of *re-creations*, which differ stylistically but nevertheless *all seek to imitate the original*".[42] The faultiness of such an assumption is clear in a repainted panel of the *muqarnas* frame from the 16th century. Unlike its surrounding images, this panel has a bright blue background, with white and red geometric knots forming an interlinking pattern. A large, painted banner proclaims the year it was painted: 1553 AD. This alteration, although small, is not merely imitative. Rather, it engages its surroundings in dialogue, its vibrant colour and proclamation of the year almost serving the same function as graffiti tagging. It communicates continuity of use in the Cappella while marking its own difference from the surrounding paintings of the past. When analysing alterations such as these, it is clear that this overpainting is not neutral: it is engaged, attentive, and self-referential. Bringing such cases of repainting processes to the forefront of interpretation allows visitors to engage with the diversity of the site.

Another manifestation of this palimpsestuousness is a repainting dating from the 16th century on the *muqarnas* zone. Two panels in the otherwise-original painted cycle feature an eagle in profile, legs splayed, one on a background of red, the other blue. In posture and pose, both eagles, particularly the one in the red background, bear a striking similarity to the crest of the Aragonese monarchs, who ruled Sicily in the 16th century.[43] This could be a transtemporal expression of power, an Aragonese symbol plastered over older Norman-Fatimid paintings. Then again, it could also be unrelated to its surrounding images: these relationships are what Dillon calls involuted, that is, "intricately interwoven, interrupting and inhabiting each other" regardless of any explicit proclamation of power. Ambiguity and multivalent narratives are a unique challenge and benefit of a palimpsestuous interpretation.

The palimpsest, furthermore, asks us to consider that not all exchanges are violent, nor played out amid vast asymmetries of power, as in the standard reading of the contact zone.[44] Consider, for example, the curious cohabitation of images on the side aisle ceiling. At the top and bottom of each recessed wooden panel, there is a haloed figure. Between these poles, there are paintings of animals or geometric and vegetal medallions. Many of these figures are repainted, yet they make efforts to replicate the format of their earlier neighbours. Some newer additions even hold similar cups to the 12th century figures beside them. However, there are small alterations that speak to 'changes of opinion or taste' amongst their editors.[45] Newer haloed figures have wings, while their 12th century counterparts do not. Additionally, on the southern aisle ceiling, on the eastern-most longitudinal 'stripe', there are two repainted animals with distinctly biblical iconography: a winged lion, suggesting Saint Mark the Evangelist; and a white animal in profile with a halo, appearing to be icon of the Lamb of God. These two creatures differ markedly from the secular, 12th century lions on the panel west of them. These newer, explicitly Christian additions gaze directly at each other across the ceiling, establishing a connection and shared conversation across the larger, earlier Islamicate programme (of art not necessarily of Islamic religious origin).

Conclusion
Reading the Cappella Palatina through the lens of the palimpsest privileges not only transcultural, but also transtemporal contact. A transcultural approach considers the diversity of actors involved in the production of an artwork. A transtemporal take invites one to consider that actors may be separated from one other by hundreds of years, yet their interaction still produces tangible evidence of dialogue. Essentially, although these painted ceilings may be the best-preserved princely cycles in the Mediterranean, they are also fields on which temporally- and culturally-

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[42] Stiftung Würth, *Die Cappella Palatina in Palermo*, p. 478, italics mine.
[43] Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, *El escudo de España* (Madrid: Real Academia Matritense de Heráldica y Genealogía, 2004), p. 149.
[44] Pratt, 'Arts of the Contact Zone,' p. 34.
[45] Dillon, *The Palimpsest,* p. 15. Referencing De Quincey, p. 150.

distant peoples spoke to one another. These interdisciplinary methodologies help to challenge the hierarchies within periodisation and to value interventions from many eras as powerfully communicative. Going forward, it is crucial to note that these few selections account for only a small percentage of analysis pertaining to the repainting of the ceiling. The challenge here is one of accessibility, as many of these restorations are not widely published nor easily visible from the ground. Further in-depth studies on the repainting of the ceilings of the Cappella Palatina would likely provide greater insight to transtemporal interventions and enrich existing readings.

A final epitaph: the palimpsest does not have a linear ending, and we ourselves do not operate outside of its mechanics. The choices we make today regarding the Cappella Palatina, whether tangible restorations or revised interpretations, constitute decisive action as much as painting over the ceiling from the 16th to 19th century did. We remain in conversation with this 12th century vestige whose layers we can only obliquely comprehend, and in doing so, we unintentionally contribute to them. Thus, far from any 'monotonous finality' of interpretation, "writing about the palimpsest is a process of writing on the palimpsest - of partaking in its history and of adding another layer to the involution of texts that characterises that history" (Dillon).[46] Our own interpretations of these arts of the contact zone, despite certain mistranslation or even loss, can also spell new creative potential. For the visitor, such an interpretation can spark feelings of commonality between the diversity of medieval Sicily and that of our contemporary age.

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Truth and reconciliation through heritage management and interpretation

Anne Ketz (UK) and Rachel Ketz (USA)

Authors
Anne Ketz's career in heritage management and planning extends over 30 years and three continents. Anne is Vice President for the International Committee on Interpretation and Presentation (ICIP) for ICOMOS and an Expert Member of the Cultural Tourism committee (ICTC). Since co-founding the 106 Group, she has worked with a broad range of stakeholders, including slave descendants, immigrants and Native Americans.
Contact: anneketz@106group.com

Rachel Ketz is the International Development Associate at the 106 Group. Rachel's international experience includes teaching and serving as a cultural ambassador in China, teaching Buddhist monks in Sri Lanka and conducting marketing research in London, UK.
Contact: rachelketz@106group.com

Abstract[47]
The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which emerged during the dismantling of South Africa's apartheid system in 1998, developed four notions of truth as part of a societal healing process: factual truth, personal truth, social truth, and healing truth. These truths should form the fibre of our efforts as heritage professionals. To interpret heritage places appropriately, we must cultivate an understanding of the truths held by the communities with whom we work. Accounting for these multiple truths through dialogue and healing can lead to valuable outcomes for heritage management, including management plans, interpretive exhibits and visitor experiences.

The authors will share their work with African American slave descendant communities at the historic retreat home of the third U.S. President, Thomas Jefferson, and with the African American urban community in St. Paul, Minnesota, USA. Each project shows how meaningful public engagement, equitable collaborations and inclusive storytelling can contribute to societal healing.

Keywords
intercultural dialogue, fruition and enhancement, interpretation and presentation of local cultural promotion of the diversity of local cultural expressions

Introduction
We, as individuals, are convinced that our own explanation and perception of truth forms a valid, logical framework. We gain our knowledge of truth from what we experience first-hand and from that of higher authority. We also believe the truth stated in the context of our textbooks and the literature that we consume in our day-to-day lives. But whose truth are we talking about? And whose narrative are we presenting?

In 1998, during the dismantling of South Africa's apartheid system, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission developed the four notions of truth: factual truth, personal truth, social truth and healing truth. Serving as a justice assembly, the Commission created these four notions as part of a societal healing process. Dividing and defining truth into four different sections helps recognise the various 'true' answers as different perspectives of the same story that make up one

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complete truth. The first is factual truth which explains what happened to whom, where and when. Second, personal truth; the way you perceive or experience something first-hand. Third is social truth, which is the truth shared or preserved in a cultural community. And fourth, healing truth, which is events, such as slavery, that should never be repeated.

With an awareness of these four notions of truth, I had an opportunity with my business partner, David, who is also my husband, to visit Robben Island in 2007. Robben Island, a maximum-security prison, held many black political activists and leaders in the late 20th century who encouraged resistance and destruction of the apartheid system. This is the prison camp that incarcerated Nelson Mandela for 27 years. Now a World Heritage Site, this island has been turned into a major tourist destination located off the coast of Cape Town, South Africa.

Throughout our lives, David and I have shared a passion for travel. Together, we've explored the world through sampling exotic foods, creating new and exciting relationships with many inspiring people and visiting incredible World Heritage Sites such as Robben Island. While visiting historical places, we've learned, observed and absorbed as much information as we could during our visits. We've seen the various ways a site, and communities', history can be portrayed and told and how affective, or not so affective, is the interpretation that is presented to visitors. When visiting Robben Island, our haunting and powerful tour was led by two former prisoners on the island. One man conveyed anger and pain; the other was seeking a path of reconciliation with white people who represent his oppressors. Hearing and witnessing their pain and personal truths and experiences, as African men put in chains for fighting for freedom, brought the site to life in an unforgettable way. It forced us to ask ourselves: what would we have done in this situation? The four notions of truth were portrayed in powerful ways amongst the rusted cell bars on this island of suffering.

The four truths should be at the heart of our work and efforts as heritage and interpretive professionals. But how does this apply to a heritage professional's work in interpretation of places, history and culture?

The interpretive planning process
Interpretation, at its heart, shares a message and tells a story. No matter what is being interpreted, it should always be grounded in authentic, meaningful truths and collaboration. Firstly, a strong foundation for interpretive planning begins with understanding the unique needs of the historic site or affected community. Once that foundation is established, great interpretation occurs when a community collaborates, gathers and shares its diverse perspectives on the same topic to help create a more truthful and honest narrative. Secondly, through public engagement processes, interpretive plans can develop a communication dynamic that breaks down barriers of mistrust and fear and engages all stakeholders in a non-threatening, open and transparent forum.

Engaging individuals in the community also paves the way for continued stewardship and social inclusion. And finally, determine how the story will be conveyed to visitors, such as public programming, interpretive signage, technology or immersive exhibits. Selection of appropriate methods to convey stories requires consideration of the different ways people consume information, as well as awareness of barriers, whether physical, educational, or cultural, that may prevent access to a museum, site, or community's resources. This discussion-based and culturally sensitive approach is essential for successful and meaningful storytelling. The remainder of this paper illustrates how the process of meaningful public engagement, equitable collaborations and inclusive storytelling can begin to address the notion of truth and help find ways of healing historical traumas for two African American slave descendant communities and sites: first, at the historic retreat home of the third United States President, Thomas Jefferson, and second, for the African American urban community in St. Paul, Minnesota, which is located along the Mississippi River.

Case study 1: Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest

Thomas Jefferson, one of America's founding fathers and the third president of the USA, owned a retreat home and plantation amongst the rolling hills of the Blue Ridge Mountains in the state of Virginia. This retreat home, Poplar Forest, is located just shy of 80 miles from his primary home of Monticello, a well-known and well-visited World Heritage Site. Poplar Forest encompasses more than 4,800 acres and includes the main house, a service wing, privies, slave quarters and an extensive historic landscape. Archaeological remains enrich the landscape and reveal the stories of those who lived here. These stories consist not only of Jefferson and his grandchildren but also the community of enslaved men, women and children who lived and labored at Poplar Forest. By calling upon these resources to create well-conveyed interpretation, the story of Poplar Forest promises to bring the community together with a sense of our shared heritage; to attract local, national, and international visitors and to inspire people across the nation and the world to consider their own pursuit of happiness, the foundational concept of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence. Noting the downward trend in visitation and public support for historic houses, the Poplar Forest team realised that they too needed to build a stronger future. But how?

The planning process

Poplar Forest selected the 106 Group to develop a master interpretive plan and new exhibits. Key to this process, we facilitated outreach with the local African American, slave-descendant community to build relevance and a sustainable future for the site. The team went to the stakeholders, transferred ownership and authority to community members and facilitated safe forums for open expression on difficult topics. The inclusiveness of the planning and engagement work started Poplar Forest down a path of healing through enabling dialogue around all four concepts of truth. This holistic approach to community engagement resulted in a new vision and reestablished Poplar Forest as a site of national importance that is both meaningful and engaging to visitors of all backgrounds. Poplar Forest now includes the whole story of the plantation – the presidential and the enslaved – into the site's interpretation and exhibits.

The process of identifying stakeholders from the community began with building robust institutional partnerships. Poplar Forest reached out to Lynchburg's Legacy African American Museum (Legacy Museum) to partner on a workshop. The Legacy Museum invited leaders from the African American community, who provided local expertise and included Legacy Museum board members, a former mayor of Lynchburg, current and past presidents of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) local chapter, advocates from the Race & Racism Dialogue *Many Voices, One Community* and other community members.

The first workshop provided a safe environment where participants discussed how Poplar Forest related to societal paradigms and racial divides born out of slavery. To encourage active participation and clarify key issues, the 106 Group facilitated small group discussions. Ground rules were established immediately to address potential conflicts and state that anger can be acceptable but within a framework of respect and honesty. During the group discussions, our team prompted conversations with questions about why Poplar Forest matters to them; what visitors should know about Thomas Jefferson and the plantation; how Poplar Forest should convey the story of slavery and how the Poplar Forest site might have been different if it had been under African American leadership. The format of the questions helped participants focus their feedback through stories and experiences. Many participants had practical suggestions for integrating interpretation, while others were deeply reflective on the African American community's struggle, both historically and today.

The outcomes

Through the interpretive planning and active community engagement process, the four truths provided an informal framework for discussions. These conversations led to a more authentic, inviting and rich experience for all community members planning for and ultimately visiting and working at Poplar Forest.

Throughout the USA, Thomas Jefferson is known as one of the great American presidents, a founding father, the third president and a co-author of the Declaration of Independence; he remains a face on our currency today. He played a significant role in the creation of this nation and our concepts of freedom and democracy; that is the truth. But the fact that Thomas Jefferson was a massive slave owner is also a truth. But this fact has been absent from our textbooks. How should this fact alter the way we perceive him today?

The necessity for this information to be introduced in kindergarten through to 12th grade reading and educational environments is crucial, as students always deserve to know the full truth. The history of Jefferson was inevitably recorded by white men during the 19th century, yet we all know that history has been written by those in control. The curriculum should draw from the African American stories of resilience, resistance and power that took place at Poplar Forest as well.

Although concerns arise when illustrating Thomas Jefferson as a slaveowner and pointing out the great irony that the author of the notion that 'all men are created equal' was a slaveowner, this does not need to reduce his accomplishments as a founding father. However, a holistic view of his legacy that includes ownership of hundreds of slaves and fathering children with an enslaved woman is vital and should be shared as a part of our nation's history. Sharing the whole story shows respect towards the African American community and our ability as a society to be honest about our historical leaders and heroes. The stories of the slaves in the kitchen or in the fields at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest are just as important to remember as the man writing his great works in the study upstairs in order to create an authentic and more meaningful view of American history. We should not be afraid to embrace these broader truths.

Personal truths can be a powerful tool for interpretation and change the way we perceive basic facts of truth. For example, the fact that over 200 slaves worked at Poplar Forest will likely provoke less emotion compared to examining the story behind one of the slaves who lived and worked at Poplar Forest. By providing a personal story, visitors are more likely to connect to the hardships experienced. It creates empathy among audience members that might not have existed before arriving at Poplar Forest.

On 15 November 1818, Hannah, one of Jefferson's cooks, wrote a letter explaining the safe state of and care for his retreat home. She expressed her concerns for his poor health and missed presence at Poplar Forest. She ends her letter by stating, "…Master I doubt my ignorant letter will be much encouragement to you as know I am a poor ignorant creature, this leaves us all well adieu, I am your humble servant, Hannah" (Monticello Digital Classroom, 2019). Reading this personal letter makes the place and the people more real. When someone describes themself as a 'poor ignorant creature', as Hannah does, it provokes empathy and forces readers to question further the social dynamic between Jefferson and Hannah.

The Poplar Forest team shared the evolving interpretation and stories in multiple ways throughout the site and community. At the site, exhibits are being redone, African American docents (volunteer guides) are actively encouraged, and interpretive training for long-term docents is active and ongoing. We've sought input from broader partners, such as academics with topic expertise, and local businesses who use the site grounds for events. To strengthen our credibility further within the local community, we attended a service at Diamond Hill Baptist Church, a historical centre during the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, to provide a summary of Poplar Forest's efforts to include the African American voice in the new interpretation. These seemingly small actions highlight the importance of sharing the new approach to interpretation with the greater community. By sharing this new process and these hidden stories, it helps address the social truths of Poplar Forest.

The first step to healing truth is acknowledging that there are events in our past that are sensitive, heart-breaking, and angering to this day. Just because a truth makes us feel uncomfortable doesn't mean it shouldn't be shared. Acknowledging a painful truth in a respectful and open

manner is important. To make the site relevant to a broader community, the uneven interpretation of slavery at Poplar Forest had to be addressed. By telling the whole story of the site, Poplar Forest not only becomes more authentic, but it draws in a larger, more diverse audience of tourists. During our work at Poplar Forest, we facilitated ways to begin and continue this dialogue. Additionally, the institution of Poplar Forest had to become more open and accepting to the healing truth of this site. Therefore, the administration put effort into staffing the interpretive programmes, creating a diverse board of directors and informing staff and volunteers of these difficult topics. Addressing healing truths can be a long process but, in the end, it can mend past wounds within the community and allow more visitors to have a more meaningful experience.

Case study 2: African American urban community, St. Paul
St. Paul's African American community has long-established and storied roots. From the beginning, black people in Minnesota have had a tremendous impact on the state's economy, culture, and political development. Yet, despite over 150 years of African American presence and involvement in St. Paul, documentation of this history has been inadequate to sufficiently identify and preserve sites of importance for the community.

The Aurora-Saint Anthony Neighborhood Development Corporation (a neighbourhood group) received a grant to develop an African American historical and cultural context, the first context focused on a non-European cultural group in the city. The context would be foundational to future heritage planning activities. The neighbourhood group in Rondo, St. Paul's traditionally African American neighborhood, was well-established before the construction of a freeway, I-94, in the mid-1950s. That freeway divided the neighborhood by destroying its main thoroughfare – Rondo Avenue – along with hundreds of homes, institutions, and businesses, displacing thousands. Today, strong community cohesion persists, with annual celebrations, commemorative events and new efforts in the works to carry on the community's cherished values and contributions.

The planning process
Historical contexts are integral to preservation planning. This context lays the groundwork for regulatory bodies to conduct preservation responsibilities more equitably, ensuring significant African American resources are protected with the same due diligence as historic assets of groups with European origins. The context can serve as a tool for the African American community to capitalise on the social and economic benefits of heritage preservation, advancing preservation of resources and the community's stories in the process. As a pilot project for the city, the methodology used to develop the context extended beyond archival research to incorporate extensive community dialogue and input. This foundational, more comprehensive approach informs preservation priorities, identifies meaningful resources to the community, and addresses some of the inherent biases in preservation decisions.

This project's leadership consisted of an advisory group of over a dozen elders and other community leaders familiar with African American history and culture in St. Paul. Project planning included numerous project team meetings, advisory group meetings, and a community workshop. To ensure that places, people and themes of importance were addressed, community workshop participants steered recommendations to include preserving and protecting community resources; collaborating and building community, educating, interpreting and influencing policy, remedying losses, building local economies and cultivating leadership and accountability.

Engaging community leadership can be a powerful and effective path to meaningful identification, documentation and evaluation of historic resources. The St. Paul African American Historical and Cultural Context brought together community leaders and members, along with technical experts, to support an accurate and meaningful history that meets professional standards and guidelines. This approach helped avoid the pitfall of professionals unfamiliar with a community's history and culture potentially missing key information just because it's not readily available in regular sources. As heritage professionals, we must acknowledge the unique expertise that communities themselves hold. For this historic context, we regularly communicated with stakeholders to

ensure that the collective narrative being constructed was valid from their perspectives. This shared accountability ensured a productive, meaningful collaboration.

The outcomes
This cultural context study focused on a non-European cultural group and is the first of its kind in St. Paul. The report offers a solid foundation for preservation and heritage tourism of African American historic sites and provides tools to help promote African American cultural heritage for improved preservation practices and potential cultural tourism opportunities.

One of the city's heritage preservation commissioners stated he was "…impressed by the phenomenal history within the context, and the emphasis on the breadth of the African American history – that this history is not just Rondo, but throughout the city and the state." By bringing these additional facts and layers of significance to light through the incorporation of community expertise into the heritage preservation process, we can expand recognition of the cultural resources significant to the community. We have the opportunity to right past wrongs, fill in previously invisible gaps, and peel back the layers of history – arguably the most exciting and meaningful aspect of the work we do. As historian Na Li said, "historic narratives are by nature selective…understanding what and why we choose to forget is as revealing as what we choose to remember" (Li 2011).

As personal stories and truths have emerged due to this urban community context, there has been an increase in positive community feedback and desire to be involved in future preservation planning activities. Community members commented that the "intergenerational participation [at the workshop] was great", that the "passion for this [project] is visible, positive, and nourishing" and that it "feels like we are gaining traction". Acknowledgement of our history often creates a sense of pride and respect of self, and this is a story that deserves to be acknowledged.

The community itself had the opportunity to take control of its own history and resources by attending community workshops and joining advisory group-led processes. Having ownership of one's social truth is a very powerful experience for a community as well as an incredible opportunity and resource for the planners involved. Historical and cultural awareness within the Rondo community and throughout the city is increasing due to good planning, interpretive exhibits and historical documentation. With the local African Americans gaining control of their own stories, preservation of African American historic sites and promotion of African American cultural and heritage tourism will continue to rebuild this vibrant community.

Today, the African American community is starting to be heard. Finally gaining the attention that the community deserves, this historical and cultural context has helped identify a history that for too long has been ignored or misunderstood. This new recognition and understanding of the Rondo history is informing redesign of the existing freeway that did so much damage, impacting funding decisions at city hall, forcing policy makers and administrators to revisit existing practices for heritage site management and so much more. By exploring, re-interpreting and collaboratively sharing a community's history, people from all sides can think about ways to change things that can be changed, thereby promoting community healing.

Conclusion
Truth must be at the heart of all our work, whatever our profession. Applying the four notions of truth (factual, personal, social, and healing) should form the fibre of our efforts as heritage professionals. To interpret heritage places appropriately, we must cultivate an understanding of the facts, concerns, and experiences – i.e. the truths – held by the communities with whom we work. Accounting for these multiple truths through dialogue and healing can lead to more valuable outcomes for heritage management and in our management plans, interpretive exhibits and visitor experiences. Both Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest and the St. Paul's African American Urban Community case studies show how meaningful public engagement, equitable collaborations and inclusive storytelling have sought ways of healing historical traumas.

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Improving interpretive messaging and planning for diversity

David Ketz and Cody Jennings (USA)

Authors
David Ketz is an entrepreneur and visionary who excels at finding out-of-the-box solutions to complex problems. He is a world traveller and advocate for building local sustainable economies that support historical and cultural places. David built an award-winning heritage consulting firm, the 106 Group, where he has served as CFO and General Manager for 27 years. He has broad experience with cultural planning projects and is an expert member of the ICOMOS Cultural Tourism Committee, and a founding member of the American Cultural Resources Association.
Contact: davidketz@106group.com

Cody Jennings is Senior Planner at the 106 Group. His experience in tribal and community planning includes the development of the Akwesasne Tourism Infrastructure Plan which has led to a deep understanding of the interconnection among cultural, physical and environmental resources.
Contact: codyjennings@106group.com

Abstract
The tourism industry is one of the fastest growing industries in the world. It is estimated that two billion travellers will reach international destinations by 2030. The sheer volume of tourists will have both positive and negative impacts on the culture, environment and economies of host communities. The economic viability of the travel industry is dependent on the quality of the visitor's experience.

If a destination loses its attraction to the traveller, there will be significant impacts for all. A global tourist will expect quality interpretation and infrastructure that meet the needs of diverse cultures, ages and physical abilities. This provides an opportunity to improve interpretive messaging, translations and approaches to preservation, management and funding. The author will provide examples and discuss a collaborative planning process that engages stakeholders to develop management plans to protect communities, preserve heritage sites and enhance the visitor's experience.

Keywords
interpretation, diversity, planning, cultural tourism, heritage, community

Introduction
My wife and I share a passion for travel and visiting cultural heritage sites. Over the last 30 years, we have visited more than 50 World Heritage Sites and started a business specialising in planning for cultural tourism, community development and cultural resources management. Recently, on a cruise throughout Southeast Asia, we studied the relationship of the cruise industry to the local cultural tourism infrastructure and the interpretation of heritage sites. Throughout Southeast Asia we were impressed by how well-managed the World Heritage Sites were. However, the quality of interpretation was completely dependent on the language, personality and interpretive skills of the guides; self-guided interpretation was almost nonexistent. This trip reinforced our belief of the importance of comprehensive interpretive messaging as an effective tool to reach diverse audiences of global travellers

The growing number of global travellers will have wide-ranging effects on the tourism industry, local community and economic development and World Heritage Sites. If a destination loses its attraction to the traveller, there will be significant impacts on all. Moreover, a tourist will expect

quality interpretation and infrastructure that meet the needs of diverse cultures, ages and physical abilities. From our experience and perspective, this provides an opportunity to improve interpretive messaging and approaches to preservation, community planning, site management and funding.

This paper will demonstrate the value of interpretive messaging and a comprehensive planning process that includes all aspects of the community. Finally, planning recommendations will be provided to improve interpretive and community planning to achieve a diverse, sustainable tourism programme.

The rise of globalised tourism
Tourism is a complex global system that is interwoven into the fabric of our society. Dating back to our earliest ancestors, humans have been travelling and exploring new places for nearly a million years (McIntosh *et al.* 1995). We have an innate curiosity to explore new places, meet new people and experience different cultures. Reasons for the movement of people and travel have changed over time and continue to change within the tourism industry as more people are travelling today than ever before. According to the United Nations World Tourism Organisation, there are 1.3 billion international travellers each year with an estimated two billion by 2030 (UNWTO 2016). Many factors have contributed to a rapid expansion of tourism including the growth of income and wealth, improved infrastructure and transportation, globalisation, education, communication and information technologies and marketing (Matias *et al.* 2007).

The word 'tourist' has a range of definitions and is often associated with negative stereotypes. The tourism industry is studied by many academics and professionals from perspectives of psychology, geography, anthropology, urban and regional planning, business, law, ecology, economics and education. Moreover, definitions of tourism range from describing it as an art-form, business, attraction and movement of people. This has led to numerous definitions and wide-ranging views of what constitutes a tourist. The most widely accepted definition of tourism from UNWTO states, "A social, cultural, economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries outside their usual environment for personal or business/ professional purposes" (UNWTO 2007). Given the number of disciplines that study tourism and perspectives of what constitutes a tourist, it is not surprising that there are different attitudes and approaches to tourism. In fact, many heritage professionals don't even like the term tourist or admitting being associated with the tourism industry. One thing is for certain, tourism is a polarising word that strikes a nerve across many academic disciplines and professional fields of study. Whether one prefers to use the term 'tourist', 'visitor', 'excursionist' or 'traveller', tourism is essentially the movement of people for personal or business purposes and it is projected to continue to rapidly grow.

Regardless of one's affinity or dislike of the notion of tourism, humans have always travelled and the desire to seek and explore new destinations will continue. Today, tourism is one of the fastest growing sectors in the world and described as a global phenomenon that has significant economic, cultural and environmental impacts. The tourism industry accounts for nearly 10% of the world's gross domestic product (GDP) and has the potential to bolster local economies and create new jobs and businesses. "Tourism is one of the world's greatest and most significant social and economic forces. But government officials and business people must weight the economic benefits against the possible future degradation of human and natural resources" (McIntosh *et al.* 1995 p. 336). Thus, a holistic viewpoint is required when assessing community and tourism planning that integrate measures to protect and highlight culture and ensure environmental quality (Wheeler, 2004). Failing to adopt a comprehensive planning approach for all will result in conflicting land use, overcrowded streets, insufficient infrastructure capacity and the degradation of natural and cultural resources. As heritage professionals, planners, interpreters and travel enthusiasts, we have a responsibility to create spaces that connect people and places in authentic, diverse, and meaningful environments.

Planning for a positive visitor experience

Great cities, communities and visitor attractions rarely happen by chance. Rather, they are created from a vision of various stakeholders who are dedicated to creating places where people want to live and visit. The interconnection between planning for community and tourism development is critical to ensure the sustainability of the community and create a positive visitor experience. "Visitor experiences have been called the essence of the tourism industry; an opportunity to gain experiences is a major reason why people voluntarily leave their homes and travel to other destinations" (Taylor *et al.* 2017). Visitor attractions are evaluated by the quality of the experience and their success depends on the ability to attract locals and visitors. The type of visitor attractions can vary and include a mix of places, landscapes, heritage sites, monuments, visitor centres and people.

Attracting visitors is only one piece of the equation; the visitor must also have a positive experience while at the attraction and in the community. Thus, as governments and local officials continue to promote their regions and communities to attract visitors, a concerted effort among various stakeholders will be needed to create a vision for a successful community and tourism experience that includes interpretive messaging for diverse audiences within the community and at cultural and heritage sites. Failure to plan for a balance of community residents and visitors will ultimately lead to the overcrowding of streets, over-burdened infrastructure, alienated and priced-out residents, destruction to the environment and threats to culture and heritage (Jovanovic and Ilic 2016).

Interpretive messaging and community values

Interpretive messaging is a key component to providing a positive visitor experience. As a planning tool, it can enhance projects by informing site design by linking site history with contemporary uses. Interpretation can promote strong relationships through community and stakeholder engagement, address accessibility, cultural differences and promote diversity through different types of interpretive media. As a bridge between a site and the audience, interpretation is the community's voice of storytelling through tourism. It can connect people with stories and resources in tangible and intangible ways that promote stewardship and act as a builder of peace. As more people continue to travel throughout the world and interact in a globalised system, interpretive messaging provides the vehicle for different people, communities and cultures to have a dialogue and foster a respect and understanding for each other.

There are many factors that influence interpretive planning and messaging from understanding community values, determining how and what is appropriate to share, desired outcomes, regulations, policies, available resources and planning within the built and physical environment. Interpretive planning should include the following tenets to establish a strong framework. This process begins and requires an understanding of the community or site.

A case study

Let's turn to the Akwesasne Mohawk, a Native American Tribe in the United States and Canada, as a case study in effective planning. This community hired the 106 Group to develop their tourism interpretive and infrastructure plans. The Akwesasne established three primary goals that shaped their entire interpretive planning approach.

1. Operational Goal:
   By attracting and welcoming increased numbers of guests and sharing aspects of our proud culture and place, Akwesashro:non will continue to work together on the revitalisation of our culture and build a healthy economy.
2. Guest Experience Goal:
   Guests will gain an appreciation for Akwesasne through personal engagement built on our rich culture and community ("When they leave, they're friends").
3. Akwesashro:non Experience Goal:
   Through increased access to our history, traditions, and arts, Akwesashro:non will feel more comfortable to and confident in expressing our shared identity.

The Akwesasne Mohawk determined from the beginning that interpretation and cultural tourism, above all else, would serve the community. The facilities, stories and programming specific to interpretation would serve as the foundation for community members to learn and understand more of their own history and culture, as well as bring economic development opportunities to the community. This mission, which was established from the beginning of the planning process, helped create a strong and honest message; thereby providing an essential foundation to develop interpretive planning. Through community engagement, stakeholder input, site analysis and historical and audience research, interpretive plans can develop a communication dynamic that breaks down barriers of mistrust and fear. This process engages all community and stakeholders in a non-threatening, open, and transparent forum. The final step in the interpretive planning process is to determine how the story will be conveyed to visitors, such as public programming, interpretive signage, technology or immersive exhibits. Selection of appropriate methods to convey stories requires consideration of the different ways people consume information as well as awareness of barriers, whether physical, educational or cultural, that may prevent access to a museum, site or community's resources. This discussion-based and culturally sensitive approach is essential for successful and meaningful storytelling.

Following the interpretive plan, a tourism infrastructure development plan was prepared providing a roadmap for how Akwesasne can be developed as 'One Community' and ultimately become a world-class cultural tourism destination. To be effective, cultural tourism planning must understand the physical, cultural and historical heart of the community and work hand in hand to complement each other. Moreover, cultural tourism planning must be future-oriented, deliberate and action based, and balance the environment, economic and social equity of the community. The future of the Akwesasne Mohawk looks bright as they continue to plan thoughtfully and systematically for their future promoting their culture, heritage and home for visitors and tourists.

Tourism planning process recommendations
The following recommendations provide a guide for communities to begin a tourism and interpretive planning process.

Strategic planning – Where do you begin?
Establish a shared vision to set the foundation for success. The key components include:
- Assessment: assess the mission, vision and goals for developing and managing a tourism programme
- Marketing analysis: analyse the market potential and needs of actual and potential visitors
- Governance and leadership: ensure strong, visionary leadership for meaningful planning
- Funding strategies: nurture public/ private partnerships to provide a strong financial base to your programmes
- Stakeholder engagement: engage key stakeholders such as businesses, artisans, site managers and thought leaders

Asset development – What do you have?
Identify your resources to establish feasibility and credibility for the plan. The key components include:
- Cultural and natural resources inventory: know your resources, both tangible and intangible
- Market/ business development: small businesses need support to develop within a tourism programme
- Fundraising and grant writing: know how and where to find financial support
- Policy development: do policies need to be introduced or changed to manage tourism effectively?

Business case development – Prove it will work
- Public/ private partnerships: engage your community and communicate plans to decision-makers, stakeholders, business partners and interested parties

- Prove your case for community support among stakeholders, professionals and funding agencies
- Build enthusiasm for the community to take ownership

Programme management – How to ensure success

Connect the vision to reality – Ensure the planning document is implementable and action based. The key components include:

- Compliance: laws and regulations need to be understood and applied
- Evaluation: evaluate visitor experience, economic return and sustainability to ensure success
- Implementation support: identify what resources you need to implement the plan

Conclusions

Tourism is a complex and competitive system with the potential for many negative impacts on communities and resources. Moreover, global tourism is expected to continue to grow with an estimated two billion travellers by 2030. World Heritage Sites are the destination of global travellers and are under numerous threats, including over-tourism, under-funding and war.

A comprehensive planning approach among community and industry leaders, and cultural and heritage professionals, is required to create a unified vision for communities to prepare and mitigate impacts and build authentic, vibrant and sustainable destinations. A robust planning effort provides an opportunity to improve interpretive messaging, develop management plans that protect communities, attract broad funding support, preserve heritage sites and enhance the visitor experience.

To succeed, we must remove institutional roadblocks and incorporate a universal understanding of values, threats and solutions. This will require leadership among professionals to formulate a cohesive vision that unifies academics, industry professionals, government and non-profits. It should be our collective goal to protect cultural sites for the future and interpret these sites for diverse cultures, ages and physical abilities. Solutions should also include and encourage our youth and grass-roots movements to get involved. It is our responsibility as heritage professionals, planners and interpreters to create spaces that connect people and places in authentic, diverse and meaningful environments.

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Multicultural policies and heritage in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic: The case of Mardin

İpek Karaoğlu Köksalan and Ufuk Serin (Turkey)

Authors
İpek Karaoğlu Köksalanis an architect and MSc. Candidate in the Graduate Programme of Cultural Heritage, working with Associate Professor Dr Ufuk Serin at the Middle East Technical University (METU), Department of Architecture. She also works at Yuksel Proje A.S. in Ankara, Turkey. Her research interests include multicultural heritage, contested heritage, heritage on conflict and post-conflict contexts, identity and memory shaping through the built environment, power and place in the built environment, heritage politics and heritage management and policy.
Contact: ipekkaraoglu@gmail.com

Ufuk Serin is an Associate Professor currently teaching in the Department of Architecture at the Middle East Technical University (METU). She received her B. Arch and M. Arch from the Department of Architecture at METU and obtained her Doctoral Degree in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and Archeology from the Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana (Vatican City). Her research interests mainly include Late Antique and Byzantine art and architecture, interpretation and presentation of material culture, archaeology and heritage.
Contact: ufukserin@gmail.com

Abstract
Even though the Ottoman Empire's multicultural government policies were somewhat discriminatory, the autonomic structure allowed diversification. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Republic corresponded to the rise of the nationalist ideology. With the consequences of the Lausanne Treaty and the Republic identifying itself as a nation-state, minorities living in Turkey were started to be seen as 'subsidiary elements' added to the state through a treaty. The governmental policies regarding minorities have thus affected the production and conservation of architectural heritage of these groups. This presentation will evaluate the ways in which the 'national heritage' is challenged by multicultural heritage through the example of Mardin, with its multicultural attributes conserved since the early years of the Ottoman Empire.

Anatolia is a palimpsest of different periods and cultures, and it is not a surprise that empires and nations that lived in this geography have comprised of many different races, religions and ethnicities. Plurality has characterized Anatolia from the prehistoric era to the present. Even though far from perfect, the Ottoman Empire, like many other empires, was an embodiment of a 'multiculturalist' society. Its *'millet'.*[48] system not only allowed, but also encouraged plurality

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[48] The term *millet* in the Ottoman Empire referred to a non-Islamic religious community. The Turkish term *millet* originally meant both a religion and a religious community. Millet has its roots in early Islam, and the Ottomans used it to give minority religious communities within their Empire limited power to regulate their own affairs, under the overall supremacy of the Ottoman administration. According to the Qurʾan, Christians and Jews were people of the Bible, known as *dhimmi*, who were not forced to convert to Islam but allowed to live under the Muslim arrangement with certain prohibitions while practicing their religion and paying the *cizye* and military exemption tax. The Ottomans allowed the "religions of the book" to be organised in *millets*: the Orthodox Christians or Rums, the Armenians, and the Jews. Non-Muslims had to be part of a *millet* to be considered citizens of the empire. In the 19th century, *millet* additionally came to denote such modern concepts as nation and nationality. 19th century reforms in the Ottoman Empire changed the structure of the *millet* organisation. The regulations of the Greek community (*millet-I Rum*) were drafted and approved in 1862, and for the Armenian community (*millet-I Ermeniya)* in 1863. Submission of proposals

through its government policies that bolstered interaction between the diverse groups. Multiculturalism in the Ottoman Empire was also embodied within society; there were many different languages being spoken, religions being practiced, and schools that taught those languages and religions.

Similarly, the Republic of Turkey is a diverse nation, and hence a plural society. However, it is difficult to classify Turkey as a 'multiculturalist society' as its government policies are not very effective on managing the 'problem' of the existence of a number of different ethnic or religious groups within a single nation. In most nation states, the alternative histories and heritages of minority groups within societies may be seen to act as a challenge to the idea of a 'national heritage'. Some believe that 'national heritage' is threatened by multiculturalism and subaltern studies. As also noted by Rodney Harrison, "Nation states embrace the idea that societies must hold shared cultural beliefs and heritage in order to strengthen and root those beliefs, and the structures of power and authority that underlie them."[49] However, there is no doubt that today, all heritage is imperative to create memories that shape the way in which people see themselves and their environment in the modern world.

The city of Mardin is located in the southeast of Turkey and is an archetype of how pluralism has been treated and handled throughout the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. It is considered a transition area between Anatolia and Mesopotamia and has been the home of many civilisations and cultures throughout history. It is still a melting pot of different religions and ethnicities. What distinguishes the city of Mardin is that its history and culture is defined by multiculturalism and it managed to conserve most of its discrete characteristics until today. Even though it started to homogenise in the past few years, it has always been a city of diversity with Muslims, Armenians and Syriac Christians, Arabs, Kurds, Yazidis, Keldanis, and Shemsis living together. Mardin is an unprecedented example that one must study in order to understand how pluralism has been manifested in cultural heritage throughout the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey as this multiculturality is reflected in the city scape, architecture, music, food, fine arts and crafts as well as daily lifestyle of the residents.

In order to fully comprehend the development of how politically underrepresented groups in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic has been administered, one must understand the difference between the terms 'multicultural' and 'multiculturalism'. A 'multicultural' society is a society where more than one culture exists, and where these social groups of people are economically interdependent. Both the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic could be considered 'multicultural societies.' 'Multiculturalism', on the other hand, is about the recognition and integration of cultural differences both through governmental policy, and by the society.[50] Considering its *'millet'* system, the Ottoman Empire could be interpreted as a 'multiculturalist' society. However, looking at Turkey's government policies, and the society's views on underrepresented groups, it is difficult to classify Turkey as a 'multiculturalist society'.

Multicultural policies in the Ottoman Empire
Even though multiculturalism emerged as a novel concept in the 1970s among western industrialised nations,[51] it is certain that the Ottoman Empire, along with most other empires, was a multiculturalist nation.[52] Due to its imperialist demeanor, the Ottoman Empire consisted of diverse groups of people with different languages, religions and ethnicities. As long as everyone paid their taxes, the empire provided them autonomous living areas and security. When compared to western nations of its time, it is seen that the Ottoman Empire was somewhat more tolerant to diversity and differences.[53] Historian Stanford Shaw points out that the Ottoman

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for the reorganisation of the Jewish community (*millet-I Yahudiyan*), as required by the *Khaṭṭi humayun* (imperial decree) of 1856, was delayed due to internal dissension (Aviv, 2016, 1).
[49] Harrison, 2010, 164.
[50] *Ibid.,* 165.
[51] *Ibid.*, 166.
[52] The term 'multiculturalist' is used to indicate: pertaining to, or advocating multiculturalism.
[53] Kymlicka, 1998, 240; see also Anık, 2012, 119.

Empire never forced Christians or Jews to convert to Islam, nor enslaved them.[54] Some historians along with Shaw believe that both the reason why the Ottoman Empire was so successful, and the reason why it fell was due to the tolerant demeanor towards its plural society.

The rulers of the Ottoman Empire believed ethnic and cultural differences in a nation were sources of richness. When Jews were exiled from the Spanish Empire, Sultan Bayezid II welcomed them into the Ottoman Empire, and stated: "How can you tell me that King Fernando is 'smart' while he purposefully impoverishes his own country and enriches mine?" [55]

The Ottoman Empire conquered a large portion of North Africa and Eastern Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries, and had citizens with a range of different religions, languages, races and ethnicities.[56]

However, the term 'minority' usually referred to non-Muslims living in the empire.[57] These minorities were grouped according to their religious identities rather than their ethnic identities, and the largest of these minority groups which were given a *'millet'* status were Greek Orthodox Christians, Armenian Orthodox Christians, and Jews.[58] Undoubtedly, non-Muslims living in the Ottoman Empire were never treated as first class citizens, nor did they have political rights, but they were given the freedom to practice their religion, speak and teach their language, maintain the continuity of their traditions, and live their everyday lives the way they wanted in a secure manner.[59] They were allowed and encouraged to cherish their religious identities. The empire gave every minority group the freedom to practice their religions freely as well as allowing them to have their own law and court of justice. According to the *'millet'* system, each group resolved their legal matters according to their own law with the leadership of their appointed religious leader. The Ottoman government was only responsible for applying the decision made by that minority group's court of law.[60]

Compared to all other minority groups, Greek Orthodox Christians were more privileged as they were given important roles in international relations. Ottoman leaders were not fluent in western languages, so some Greek Orthodox Christian citizens were appointed to translate classified information to the imperial council.[61] This group of minorities were given diplomatic privileges and were exempt from taxes. With time, this led to the rise of an aristocratic Greek Orthodox group who mostly lived in the Fener area in Istanbul.[62] The former ambassador of Sweden, Erik Cornell, states that the Orthodox population preferred to be under the reign of the Islamic Ottoman Empire rather than being under the reign of a Catholic nation in order to conserve their religious identity.[63] Similarly, the Sephardi Jews who were exiled from Spain and Portugal, and Romaniote Jews who were exiled from Italy, were welcomed in the Ottoman Empire, and actually described the 16th century which they spent in the Ottoman Empire as their 'golden era'.[64] The renowned Turkish historian, Halil İnalcık, points out that the Ottoman Empire never followed an 'ethnic purification' policy throughout its rule. On the contrary, it acted as a large umbrella of sovereignty over all religious and ethnic groups in order to protect and maintain a peaceful empire.[65]
The Ottoman Empire's tolerant demeanor towards the minority groups was reflected in how these groups' architectural heritage was treated. Minorities were allowed to reside in all areas except

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[54] Shaw, 1976, 151.
[55] Şen, 1997, 244-245.
[56] Anık, 2012, 120.
[57] Ortaylı and Akyol, 2002; see also Kaya, 2007, 45.
[58] Shaw, 1976, 151.
[59] Demirdağ, 2002, 32.
[60] Anık, 2012, 121.
[61] Demirdağ, 2002, 17-20.
[62] *Ibid.*, 17.
[63] Cornell, 1998, 39-40; see also Anık, 2012, 23.
[64] İnalcık, 2000, 266.
[65] İnalcık, 2006, 210.

Mecca and Medina.[66] The government never interfered with the interiors of religious structures such as churches or synagogues. However, the government applied some restrictions on large maintenance projects of existing structures and the construction of new religious structures.[67]

The rise of the nationalist movement
The concept and ideology of nationalism developed in Western Europe in the 18th century, and stirred up the Ottoman Empire along with the whole world in the first half of 19th century.[68] The non-Muslim minority groups in the Ottoman Empire who were in good relations with the European nations started to revolt with the quest for independence, and some groups established autonomy. It is questionable whether the reasons why these revolts were so forceful and influential was because the Ottoman Empire never followed assimilating governmental policies.[69] Minorities were able to conserve their culture, religion, language and traditions, therefore, they never lost their identity, or the strong emotional connection to their roots. Perhaps, the rising nationalist ideology ignited this strong emotional connection, and along with other factors, dragged the empire into collapse.[70]

Before the collapse of the empire, the rising disturbance among minorities and pressure coming from the European countries inflicted the rulers to declare two edicts of reforms.[71] These reforms altered the multiculturalist understanding of the *'millet'* system, and brought every group together under the same legal structure. According to the new declaration, all citizens of the Ottoman Empire, no matter what their religion, were equal in every way. All of them were obliged to do military service and pay the exact amount of taxes. They could all own real estate and serve in governmental office. Rulers of the Ottoman Empire hoped that these reforms would mitigate the quest for independence coming from minorities. However, these reforms disconcerted minority groups even further as they lost their privileges that allowed them social, political and economic advantages.

Archaeology and cultural heritage in the Ottoman Empire
Since Anatolia has been a palimpsest of many different cultures, it immediately became a point of interest for first generation European archeologists. Ottomans lived among Ancient Greek and Roman antiquities for years, however, they long neglected these antiquities. On the contrary, they regarded them more as 'stones to be reused', and allowed foreign archeologists to take them out of the empire.[72] However, in the 19th century, with the westernisation process, some leading intellectuals were disturbed by the fact that historic artifacts were taken out of the country and argued that a museum should be established in the Ottoman Empire to house these artifacts. One of these intellectuals, and a preeminent figure in the history of archaeology in Turkey, Osman Hamdi Bey, had a great impact on the founding of the first museum, the Ottoman Imperial Museum, which is now called the Istanbul Archaeology Museum. Osman Hamdi Bey, and hence

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[66] However, after 1581, minorities were banned from residing around the Eyüp Sultan Mausoleum and Jews were evicted from the Ortaköy area, especially from around the Ortaköy Mosque (Refik,1930, 157-88).
[67] For example, the construction of a new annex on an existing structure was not permitted (Demirdağ, 2001, 27).
[68] Özdoğan, 1998, 116.
[69] Demirdağ, 2002, 32.
[70] *Ibid.*, 32.
[71] Series of reforms promulgated in the Ottoman Empire between 1839 and 1876 under the reigns of the sultans Abdülmecid I and Abdülaziz. These reforms were intended to effect a fundamental change of the empire from the old system based on theocratic principles to that of a modern state. This document called for the establishment of new institutions that would guarantee security of life, property, and honour to all subjects of the empire regardless of their religion or race. It also authorised the development of a standardised system of taxation to eliminate abuses and established fairer methods of military conscription and training. The promises of equality for non-Muslims (mainly Christians and Jews) living in the empire were not always carried out, but the balance of the changes provided for in the edict *(ferman)*, along with other reform measures, were implemented principally under the leadership of Mustafa Reşid Paşa, who served six terms as grand vizier. The reforms included the development of a new secular school system, the reorganisation of the army based on the Prussian conscript system, the creation of provincial representative assemblies, and the introduction of new codes of commercial and criminal law, which were largely modeled after those of France. These laws, moreover, were administered by newly established state courts independent of the *'ulema'*, the Islamic religious council. The Tanzimat reform movement came to a halt by the mid-1870s during the last years of Abdülaziz's reign. Under the Tanzimat effort to centralise administration, all legal authority became concentrated in the hands of the sultan (Bauer, *et.al.*, 2016).
[72] Özdoğan, 2003, 180.

the Ottoman Empire was especially interested in Ancient Greek and Roman civilisations and the establishment of this museum became the symbol of the westernisation process.[73]

Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire was never associated with nationalism.[74] However, with the rise of the ideology of nationalism, most newly established nations started looking for ways to root themselves in histories older than the empires they declared independence from in order to strengthen their identity. They inducted institutions on history, archaeology and cultural heritage.[75] Similarly, countries and nation states that recently declared independence from the Ottoman Empire developed a nationalist take on archaeology.[76] For example, Greece started archeological excavations almost one year after their independence, and specifically focused on the archaeology of the Hellenistic period.[77] This was a purposeful effort to root a recently established nation to an entrenched history.

Policies on multiculturalism, archaeology and cultural heritage in the Republic of Turkey
The Turkish Republic was established with great struggle after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The Republic signed the Treaty of Lausanne with the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Portugal, Belgium and Yugoslavia. The treaty considered and referred to non-Muslims as minorities, and only recognised Greek Orthodox Christians, Armenians and Jews as minorities.[78] After the treaty, non-Muslims were seen as additional elements affixed to the Turkish population through an international treaty rather than an authentic element of the population.[79]

After the establishment of the Republic, leading intellectual figures like Ethem Bey and Aziz Ogan followed in the footsteps of Osman Hamdi Bey.[80] When Osman Hamdi Bey's teachings were amalgamated with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's principles, a new approach to archaeology and conservation was developed.[81] Just like many other leaders of the time, Atatürk felt the need to create a national identity which is rooted to a history prior to the Ottoman Empire in order to strengthen the foundation of the new Republic. One of the main reasons why *'Türk Tarih Tezi'* [82] (Turkish History Thesis) was written was to prevent the perception of the Turkish Republic being the continuity of the Ottoman Empire.[83] The easiest way to do this was through Pan-Turkism, and associating the nation with the Turks in Central Asia. A large group of Muslims in the Ottoman Empire were already executing their nationalist views through this ideology. However, Atatürk was fully aware of the dangers that came along with this affiliation. This ideology could easily be taken too far, and the nation could abandon Anatolia and migrate to Central Asia.[84] In order for the Turkish Republic to embrace Anatolia as a motherland, the nation's history had to be rooted to Hittites and Sumerians.[85] With Atatürk's desire to thoroughly research and create a museum devoted to Hittite civilisations, the Turkish Historical Society initiated the first excavations undertaken by the Turkish archeologists in sites like Alacahöyük (the Hittite capital) and Ahlatlıbel. The departments of History and Archaeology within the University of Ankara and the University of Istanbul, and the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations *(Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi)* in Ankara was established as Atatürk believed that rooting the Republic's identity to these

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[73] *Ibid.*, 181. For the process of westernisation of the Ottoman Empire and the development of arts and archaeology in this period, see Cezar, 1995.
[74] Özdoğan, 1999, 195.
[75] Özdoğan, 2003, 181.
[76] *Ibid.*, 181.
[77] *Ibid.*, 182.
[78] Even though Syriac Christians are non-Muslims, they were not considered as a minority group in the Treaty of Lausanne at the request of their religious leaders. However, after wanting to establish their own schools, they filed a lawsuit to be considered as a minority. Since 2012, Syriac Christians are considered minorities (Kaya, 2017).
[79] Mahçupyan, 2004, 1.
[80] Özdoğan, 2003, 182.
[81] *Ibid.*, 182.
[82] For the Turkish History Thesis, see İnan, 1939, 245.
[83] Şimsek, 2012, 89.
[84] Özdoğan, 2003, 183.
[85] *Ibid.*, 183.

empires would help the nation embrace the history and the palimpsest of all cultures of Anatolia.[86]

When creating a nation out of the ruins of the multicultural Ottoman Empire, given the worldwide rise of the nationalist ideology, it was essential to formulate an attitude that would assure national pride and identity. Nation states, including Turkey, embrace the idea that societies must hold shared cultural beliefs and heritage in order to strengthen and root those beliefs.[87] However, this approach created further problems with the integration of minorities as the term 'nation state' assumes that the whole society is made out of people with the same religion, language and ethnicity. According to this definition, outsiders are marginalised.[88] Similarly, the cultural heritage of those who are 'outsiders' can sometimes be ignored or disparaged since the heritage of minority groups may be seen to act as a challenge to the idea of a 'national heritage'.[89]

The case of Mardin
During the Ottoman period, the city of Mardin had a large non-Muslim population. When historic documents and the tangible cultural heritage in Mardin are studied, it can be seen that minorities were integrated into daily life and the culture of the city rather than being assimilated.[90] These diverse groups lived in Mardin as neighbours for hundreds of years, and adopted a mutual demeanor, outlook, lifestyle and traditions.[91] Not surprisingly, Mardin's built environment reflects this diversity, with an abundance of Islamic and Christian and some Jewish religious structures. The Muslim population of Mardin was composed of Turks, Kurds and Sunni Arabs while Christians were mostly composed of Syriac Christians and Armenians as well as Keldani Catholics and Protestants.[92] Even though there were some Jews living in Mardin during the Ottoman era, most of them have migrated to other cities today.

It is important to point out that Mardin was a significant city for Syriac Christians and that this group had a great impact on the cultural heritage of the city.[93] After Christians settled in Mardin in the 4th century, the area became the spiritual centre for this group. It is known that most Syriac Christian churches and monasteries were built in the 6th century.[94] These structures, along with schools and cemeteries are crucial for public memory.

Syriac Christians were not given a *'millet'* status by the Ottoman Empire, however, they engaged in governmental bureaucracy through the Armenian Patriarchate until they could represent themselves in 1927.[95] As implied by this example, there was a social, political and economic interaction between most non-Muslim groups in the Ottoman Empire. This is also the case today. Since there is only a small number of Armenians living in Mardin, most of them go to the Syriac Christian churches for prayers and religious rituals.

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[86] İğdemir, 1973. For a synthesis of these issues, see Serin, 2008, 218-219.
[87] Harrison, 2010, 164.
[88] *Ibid.*, 165.
[89] *Ibid.*, 164.
[90] Kaya, 2007, 46.
[91] Işık and Güneş, 2015, 449.
[92] *Ibid.*, 452.
[93] *Ibid.,* 450. For example, the masonry architecture which characterises the city is a Syriac Christian tradition.
[94] *Ibid.*, 455. For religious architecture in this region, see also Palmer, 1990.
[95] Şimşek 2003; see also Kaya, 2007, 46.

Figure 1 – Mardin, Deyrulzafaran Monastery, (Photo: İpek Karaoğlu Köksalan)

Figure 2 – Mardin,Deyrulzafaran Monastery, (Photo: İpek Karaoğlu Köksalan)

Similarly, the number of Syriac Christians living in Mardin has also diminished significantly. Most of the neighborhoods occupied by this group until the 1980s are now abandoned since most of the population migrated to Istanbul and even other countries due to economic and security related issues.[96] Syriac Christian religious structures in Mardin which are still in use include Deyrulzafaran Monastery, Mor Gabriel Monastery, Meryem Ana Monastery, Mor Yakup Monastery, Mor Malke Monastery, Kırklar Church, Mor Yakup Church, Mor Şmuni Church, Mor Barsovmo Church, Mor Had Bsabo Church and Mor Kuryakos Church.[97]In addition to churches and monasteries, there are a number of mosques still standing today. These include Merkez Ulu Camii and Zeynel Abidin Camii, which are wonderful examples of Artuqid architecture. Even though it is known from the written resources that there was a synagogue in the Jewish neighborhood, it has not survived. However, a fountain called Ayn-i Yahud, which was built by the Jewish community, still survives.[98]

Figure 3 – Mardin, Ulu Camii (Photo: İpek Karaoğlu Köksalan)

Conclusion

Just like in many historic towns, Mardin's astounding built environment epitomises the palimpsest of cultures that have lived there. The city managed to conserve its plural characteristic throughout the Ottoman Empire due to the empire's multiculturalist policies. However, with the rise of nationalism and the indirect consequences of the Lausanne Treaty, the tolerant demeanor towards the non-Muslim groups has changed. This change was reflected in the demographics of Mardin and the population became more and more homogeneous during the Republican period.

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[96] Işık and Güneş, 2015, 451.
[97] *Ibid.*, 455. See also Palmer, 1990.
[98] Işık and Güneş, 2015, 455.

Multicultural heritage continues to present a challenge to many nations, including Turkey, as they feel the need to produce cohesive heritage narratives to create a single, unified image.[99] However, the multicultural aspect of Mardin is what makes it so momentous as a symbolic hub of coexisting religions, ethnicities, cultures and traditions. The city's absolute conservation is only possible when every authentic aspect, including the diverse population, is maintained. It is understandable that acknowledgement of plural forms of heritage may appear as a challenge to unified national discourses.[100] Therefore, there is no doubt that the role of cultural heritage in multicultural societies will continue to be controversial. However, the first step towards resolution is to embrace the idea that cultural heritage does not only belong to the group that identifies with it, but belongs to the whole of humanity as every piece of cultural heritage is a glimpse of our common history.

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[99] Harrison, 2010, 197.
[100] *Ibid.*, 197.

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The border triangle of the Alps-Adriatic region – Where natural and cultural heritage collide

Anna Kovarovics, Lisa Schmied, Lisa Wolf (Austria)

Authors
The authors work for E.C.O. Institute of Ecology in Austria. As part of the communication team, they create innovative visitor attractions. The team translates complex issues and scientific findings into attractive and target group-oriented information and products. The offering gives visitors a tangible experience of outstanding local features and facilitates innovative learning and extraordinary nature experiences.
Contact: schmied@e-c-o.at

Abstract
We often interpret borders as a symbol of barriers, separation, or a clash of attitudes and ideologies. The EU and its residents, however, have found that they can also provide an opportunity for mutual benefit and expansion of cultural and social diversity. This is particularly noticeable in border triangles within the EU.

The EU spreads the idea of its motto, United in Diversity, through its Interreg projects which aim to overcome the interpretation of borders as a limiting factor. One example which shows the impact of Interreg and deals with borders as a positive influence is the Interreg-SI-AT-project, Alps-Adria Karawanks. It covers the extraordinary border triangle of Austria-Slovenia-Italy, where the three largest Indo-European language families meet. The showcase aims to visualise different perspectives on the idea of borders. A theme trail reflects on natural, historical and national borders, points out how they apply to plants or animals and that cultural and linguistic borders become indistinct.

Keywords
border triangles, EU, Interreg cooperation, Alps-Adriatic region, Karawanks

Introduction
Situated in the heart of Europe, Austria has eight neighbouring countries – Germany, Hungary, Italy, Liechtenstein, Slovakia, Slovenia, Switzerland and the Czech Republic. Each of these countries reflects a different historical development, political system, ideology, a specific culture, language and belief(s). Recent, ongoing debates across Europe are trying to generate a picture of insuperable barriers, separation, a clash of attitudes and ideologies that will never fit together. But as many examples show, these limiting boundaries are a product of human perception and have only little to do with actual separation (Wolf 2017, 8f). Borders and especially border areas, such as the Alps-Adriatic region, have a potential and are also examples of mutual benefits and the expansion of cultural and social diversity (Wohlmuther & Wintersteiner 2018, 92).

This paper aims to show how borders add value to a region and how they positively influence regional development, using the example of a very special border triangle – the Alps-Adriatic Region Triangle. The case study of the Interreg-SI-AT-project, Alps-Adria Karawanks, at the border triangle of Austria, Slovenia and Italy demonstrates the impact of transboundary cooperation. At this extraordinary site, where the three largest Indo-European language families meet, different perspectives and thoughts about the idea of borders regarding history, nature, culture and language, are visualised through a thematic trail.

Alps-Adriatic region border triangle

The Alps-Adriatic region describes the area around the border triangle, where the country borders of Austria, Slovenia and Italy meet in the Karawanks, a mountain range of the Southern Alps. This is the area where these three borders meet around the border point (Moritsch 2006: 12). The country borders of the regions Carinthia (AUT), Gorenjska (SVN) and Friuli (ITA) share a common past. A history of separation, deformation, change and finally unification, as the motto of the Alps-Adriatic triangle, Ohne-Grenzen - Senza Confini - Brez Meja (the Austrian, Italian, Slovenian translates as "without borders"), testifies. There, the borders were not always so strict as they are today.

Historians proved that Slavonic natives lived in that area long before the Roman Empire ruled over the continent. 1,200 years ago, the Alps-Adriatic region of today belonged to the Slavonic Duchy, Karantanien (Bogataj 2008: 46f). After years of battles between emperors and the church, the Habsburger came into power in 1359. During the 15th century, the language border we know today slowly developed. But national borders had not yet become clear, because the Austrian-Hungarian Empire divided today's nations into different principalities. The Austrian-Hungarian Empire fought against the Osman Empire for years. These battles finally ended in one of Europe's most brutal wars – World War I (1914-1918). Through the state contract of St. Germain in 1919, today's national borders became obvious.

Following a national referendum in 1920, Carinthia decided that the south of the region should remain in Austria and this aroused discussions about the Austrian Slovenian border once again. This area of Austria was always bilingual, but the stigma of speaking a non-German language remained (Resman 2014: 144f). In World War II, the Nazi regime deported the Slovene minority. Hitler and Mussolini's pact instead settled a German-speaking minority from Italy in this area. After the war, many deported Carinthian Slovenes came back, and it took up to two years for the German minority to leave the occupied houses (Bogotaj 2008: 121ff und Resmann 2014: 222f).

Following World War II, the idea of a multilingual society decreased, and more people became monolingual (Wohlmuther & Wintersteiner 2018, 14f). Numerous initiatives, and especially Interreg projects, are trying to transform these thoughts of separation into a common identity of an Alps-Adriatic region, united under the symbol of the border triangle. This extraordinary space within Austria, Slovenia and Italy unites the three largest Indo-European language families: Germanic, Slavonic and Romanesque.

Figure 2 – Map of the border triangle with its three regions and important landmarks (E.C.O. Institute of Ecology)

Many residents along the border triangle have overcome the subjective language barriers, not least because of the Schengen Agreement. They share traditions and friendships. Children are raised bilingual and learn several languages in school. But still, the regions Carinthia, Gorenjska and Friuli are dominated by the characteristics of their geography and politics. Then, in 2015, because of the migration from Syrian refugees, the border issue raised its head again as it became impossible to cross the border between Austria and Slovenia without a passport or ID control.

A cooperation tool: Interreg

Interreg – European Territorial Cooperation – projects are a tool implemented by the European Union to overcome the interpretation of borders as a limiting factor on different scales. The idea behind Interreg is to provide a framework for the implementation of joint actions and policy exchanges between national, regional and local actors from different states (Federal Ministry of Sustainability and Tourism 2019b). Regional and local governments along borders aim to work together in solving common problems and sharing solutions. Austria currently has seven ongoing cross-border cooperation programmes with its neighbouring countries, three transnational cooperation programmes and four EU-wide interregional networking programmes (Federal Ministry of Sustainability and Tourism 2019a und 2019b).

One specific example which shows the impact of Interreg and deals with borders as a positive influence is the cooperation programme, Interreg V-A Slovenia-Austria. The western region of the Karawanks has big potential for tourism development. But so far, there is no cross-border approach for the development of a sustainable tourism strategy. The Interreg V-A Slovenia-Austria applies this approach with the general goal of sustainable development of an Alps-

Adriatic experience region. Based on a comprehensive analysis, the project will establish a sustainable tourism offer for hiking, cycling and winter experiences. The project, which involves 12 project partners from different nations, is promoted by the European Regional Development Fund. It will run for three years until spring 2020 with a budget of about 2.5 million euros. The Alps-Adria Karawanks project is part of the Interreg V-A Slovenia-Austria.

Interpretive trails
In the municipality of Arnoldstein, (one of the partners in the Interreg project), the focus is on the development and implementation of tourism infrastructure for hiking, focussing additionally on the rich history, borders, culture and people of this special spot through an interpretive trail. These trails, also called theme-, educational-, thematic- or experience trails, are walkways designed for a specific topic (Amt der Kärntner Landesregierung 2003). They guide visitors from point to point and explain certain topics with information panels and interactive elements (Deutscher Alpenverein 2016).

The Palisade Interstate Park in the USA established the first educational trail in 1925 (Erdmann 1975). It was designed to inform visitors about the natural environment and make them more aware of their natural surroundings. Traditionally, educational trails work with their immediate environment and inform about the special features of flora and fauna. Over the last century, the topics and approaches of thematic trails changed and added interactive approaches to make the trails an adventure for visitors of all ages (Eder & Arnberger 2007). Today, the combination of educational trails and environmental interpretation informs visitors about the natural, historical and cultural characteristics of an area through experiences, adventures, sensitivity and compassion.

We must consider various criteria when designing such an interpretative trail — based on fundamental research and literature by Megerle (2002), Wiener (2003), Eder & Arnberger (2007) and Navratil & Picha (2013). The E.C.O. Institute of Ecology developed a set of criteria for the design and the evaluation of thematic trails. The three main criteria are shown in Figure 2 (Kreimer *et al*, 2011).
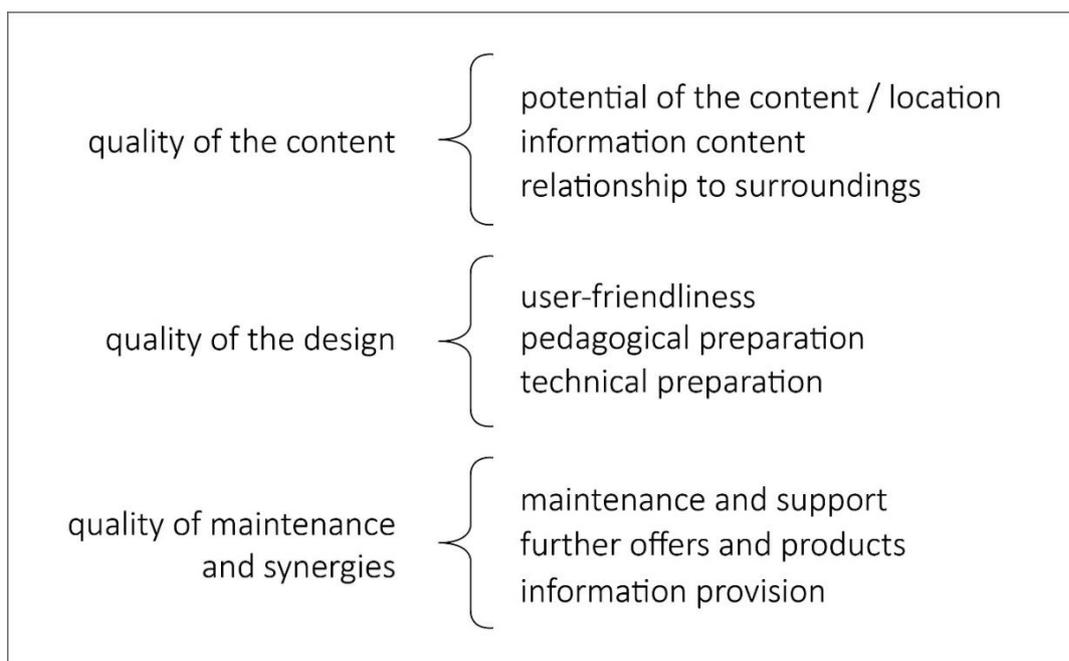

Figure 3 – Criteria for thematic trails (E.C.O. Institute of Ecology)

Heritage interpretation
"[Heritage] Interpretation enriches our lives through engaging emotions, enhancing experiences and deepening understanding of people, places, events and objects from past and present," (Association for Heritage Interpretation (AHI) 2018). This quote from AHI refers to a certain concept of providing information to visitors of educational, natural or recreational sites. It deals with nature, origin and purpose of historical, natural or cultural resources, objects, sites or phenomena and uses different personal and non-personal methods, such as guided walks, staffed stations, displays, artwork or audio-guides for mediation. With its roots in US nature parks, its goal is to improve and enrich the visitor experience of certain sites by helping them to understand the significance of the place (Tilden 1957; Ludwig 2014).

The Alps-Adria Karawanks project invites visitors, through appealing interactive information along the theme trail, to learn and think about their experiences along the border region. It enables the visitor to establish a connection between the given information and their previous perception.

Interreg-SI-AT-project Alps-Adria Karawanks
In detail, the theme trail of the project visualises different perspectives on the idea of borders. It reflects natural, historical and national borders, points out how they apply to plants or animals and how cultural and linguistic borders become indistinct. Divided into two sections along the theme trail, 12 experience stations with information and interactive tools offer different perspectives on the topic of borders. With a welcoming platform at the beginning, the first part of the trail deals with nature without borders. On different information panels, visitors get to know the animals and plants of the region that do not understand national borders. The Austrian part of the cross-border triangle with landslides and river landscapes is an impressive example. Along with the information on offer, interactive tools invite visitors to experience the topic for themselves.

The second part of the trail deals with borders in the historical and national sense. Timelines explain how border demarcation has changed throughout history, influenced by national takeovers, war and reunion. A viewing window visualises the border line between the countries and shows examples of former smuggled goods. Speech bubbles show words that regions of the border triangle have taken over from the other two language families. The final destination of the trail is the cross-border triangle itself, where impressive outlooks and information about the three regions and relaxing benches invite visitors to spend some time at this extraordinary spot.
All in all, the theme trail invites visitors to immerse themselves in the diverse world of borders. A world in which borders do not only stand for barrier and separation, but also for common development, mutual benefit and expansion of cultural and social diversity.

Conclusion and prospect
The Alps-Adriatic region with its very special border triangle represents a unique area that unites three different language families and a common history. The region, with its wide range of traditions and cultural aspects, reflects the potential of diversity. It is essential to communicate these different points of view to local people and visitors to the region. One way is through a theme trail. The Alps-Adriatic Border Triangle attracts both tourists and locals to explore. Now, they can all learn from each other and together. Countries all over the world can take this example and implement it in special places along their borders. It is an opportunity not to forget what has happened throughout history, what has separated the countries, but also to remember that borders are only lines drawn on a map.

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Building a heritage interpretive network across diverse cultures – Bringing interpretation to Siberia

Charles Lennox (USA), Svetlana Kuklina (Russian Federation), Elena Weber (Russian Federation)

Authors

Charles (Chuck) Lennox is the Principal and owner of Lennox Insites (www.lennoxinsites.com) a US-based consultancy focused on the visitor experience. He is a Master Trainer with the National Association for Interpretation (NAI) (USA) as well as a Certified Interpretive Guide, Host, Trainer and Planner.
Contact: chuck@lennoxinsites.com

Svetlana Kuklina is a senior lecturer at Irkutsk State University, a trainer with the newly formed Siberian Association for Interpretation (SAI) in the Russian Federation and a Certified Interpretive Guide (CIG) through NAI (USA).

Elena Weber is an Associate Professor at Irkutsk State University, a trainer with the SAI in the Russian Federation and a Certified Interpretive Guide and Trainer through NAI (USA).

Abstract

Lake Baikal, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and Irkutsk, the capital of Eastern Siberia, nicknamed the 'Paris of Siberia', attract thousands of tourists within Russia and from around the world. How could this region tell its story to international and national visitors in a way that was respectful and engaging? Heritage interpretation was a potential strategy but was previously unknown in Russia. Introduced to Siberia over the last ten years through the support of a series of international grants that organised exchange programmes and training courses with experts from the USA's National Association for Interpretation (NAI), heritage interpretation is a tool that has been embraced by Russians in Siberia. A dedicated group of Russians have formed a vibrant network by establishing the Siberian Association for Interpretation (SAI) that now provides training courses, professional development and university courses across Siberia, the Russian Far East and, increasingly, across Russia.

Introduction

Reaching across international boundaries to form partnerships across diverse political boundaries, cultures and histories strengthens the heritage interpretation profession. We learn more about ourselves when we understand more about each other.

Siberia – Heritage and culture

Siberia is a unique place where Eastern and Oriental cultures cross, creating cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity. Beginning in the 16th century, Russian explorers and fur-trappers entered this vast territory as they searched for new sources of fur-bearing animals. The furs were broadly used instead of currency at growing European trade fairs. As a result of this exploration, Russians and the indigenous populations started active exchanges of cultures, traditions, and even religion, with Orthodox missionaries baptising many nomadic hunters into Christianity. All that lead to a peaceful coexistence of the earlier Siberian peoples with newcomers, with mixed marriages and the formation of the diverse multi-ethnic communities that we see today in the Russian Far East.

Siberia is also notorious as a dreaded place of exile of political opponents, a practice that started immediately after Siberia became part of Russia and continued through Stalin's bloody era of gulags (or prisons) described in classic literature by Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Instead of imprisonment, however, some exiles were simply required to live the rest of their lives in Siberia. These individuals came from different parts of this huge country, and many brought their religions and culture with them. Their heritage made Siberia a place where today one can see sacred buildings of almost every faith – Christianity, Buddhism, Judaism, Islam – and where a visitor can meet peoples representing more than 100 different nationalities. Almost every aspect of life – architecture, cuisine, traditions and culture – was enriched and given a new unique shape in this 'melting pot'. Indeed, Irkutsk, the capital of Eastern Siberia, famous for its unique wooden and stone architecture is nicknamed 'The Paris of Siberia'.

Siberia – Nature and wildness
Within a few hours' drive of Irkutsk is Lake Baikal, a World Heritage Site designated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Called the 'blue eye', 'pearl' or 'well' of the planet, Lake Baikal contains 23% of the world's freshwater. This inland sea is also home to a freshwater seal – the nerpa. Irkutsk attracts a growing number of international visitors with this globally important natural wonder on its doorstep. The seemingly endless taiga forest that surrounds the lake also creates a sense of remoteness and isolation in this vast country. Visitors are fascinated to learn how people have made this region home for thousands of years despite its harsh climate.

Bringing heritage interpretation to Siberia
In the late 1990s and early 2000s, with growing tourism, various local, regional and international groups and individuals discussed the idea of building a trail around Lake Baikal. The Great Baikal Trail was created as an opportunity for visitors to explore Lake Baikal but also potentially for local villages to realise income from these visitors. But how could Siberian villagers connect with these growing numbers of international visitors?

Heritage interpretation was a potential strategy but was previously unknown in Russia. Introduced to Siberia over the last ten years through the support of a series of international grants that organised exchange programmes and training courses with the USA's National Association for Interpretation (NAI) experts, heritage interpretation is a tool that has been embraced by Russians in Siberia. The formality of the Russian educational system has been the model for walks, talks and tours where the leader is the expert, and there is only one-way communication – the expert talks and the visitor listens. Heritage interpretation brings two-way communication, and the leader/guide must understand the needs of the audience and address those needs. Heritage interpretation gives a leader tools to be a different kind of teacher, guide and leader. Many Russians, especially the younger generation, have begun to embrace this concept and want to know more about heritage interpretation.

With increasing numbers of Russians around Lake Baikal trained in heritage interpretation, there was a strong interest in forming a network to continue making a connection with each other and to practice their new skills. A dedicated group of Russians have established the Siberian Association for Interpretation (SAI), a vibrant network that now provides training courses, professional development and university courses across Siberia, the Russian Far East and, increasingly, across all of Russia.

The staff of parks and protected areas and museums, as well as university professors, private tour guides and tourism professionals, are now able to attend training courses about heritage interpretive principles and practices and build skills that will better connect with visitors. Over the last ten years in the USA, interpretive professionals from several organisations and a federal agency have also been collaborating in support of the Russian endeavour.

Cross-cultural experiences are only valuable when all parties learn from each other and take away positive and enriching experiences. We've learned the differences between a tea culture (Russian Federation) and a coffee culture (USA)! We've learned how much in common we have as people on this Earth struggling to ensure a future for all of our children. And we've learned to work together as citizens of two major countries whose governments might be in conflict but whose people can work together to interpret culture, heritage and nature for extraordinary visitor experiences.

Next steps
As our partnership grows, we are beginning to explore what other opportunities might help strengthen heritage interpretation in the Russian Federation. One of our Russian members is exploring the establishment of an academic programme in heritage interpretation. Because of the increased demand for information and training about heritage interpretation, SAI is exploring options about transitioning from being volunteer-led to hiring staff. From the USA, trainers new to the Russian experience have been recruited and will be training an additional set of students in the Autumn of 2019.

Conclusion
Heritage interpretation is beginning to take root in Russia thanks to this ongoing collaboration between interpretive professionals in the USA and Siberia. Through CIG courses and other NAI-related training courses, study tours in the USA as well as the training provided by Americans in Russia, we – both Russians and Americans – have learned much about each other's countries, cultures and people, as well as about collaboration itself.

Partnerships of any kind, but especially international ones, are challenging to develop and sustain over time. They require the building of trust among diverse constituencies, strong financial and administrative support, participants willing to give time and resources to a common cause, and a willingness to begin a journey without knowing what the end result will be.

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Abstracts of other presentations

Festival of Walks and Maribor is the Future: Good practices of local tourism
Katja Beck Kos (Slovenia) with Jure Golež, Barbara Izlakar

Maribor, the second biggest city of Slovenia, has difficulties competing with Ljubljana. Not to wait for the local tourist bureau, an NGO powered programme, Rajzefiber, organised the first Festival of Walks, where local stories are presented by locals to the public. The walks present different, mostly forgotten, cultural heritage. It started in 2018 and was an instant hit with locals, but also presented a good invitation to Maribor for Slovene incoming agencies and other stakeholders. Lots of the walks developed and became a well-known local tourist offer. Furthermore, it triggered the next step: six NGOs are now developing a sustainable local ecosystem of creative tourism, where we want to build a stabile local network, at least ten new local creative tourism products and a new platform for promotion.

Katja is the producer/ programme leader for Maribor is the Future / Rajzefiber / House! Society for people and spaces.

One rock can tell more than a geological map: Geodiversity and interpretation in Geopark Karavanke
Mojca Bedjanič (Slovenia) with Lenka Stermecki, Darja Komar, Gerald Hartmann, Martin Vernik, Aljoša Šafran, Simona Kaligarič

Karavanke UNESCO Global Geopark territory lies in the alpine region. Free time and touristic activities are mainly connected with mountains (mountaineering, mountain biking). Hence geodiversity is a key topic of this region, although it was previously left out from the touristic, free time and educational offers of the region before the Geopark was established. Hiking and alpine guides usually focused on the mountain flora and fauna, but often avoided the most important story teller of the mountain – the rocks. The reason is that these stories demand knowledge and very good interpretational skills. Geodiversity interpretation is a hard skill for geologists and interpreters. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that one rock can tell more than a geological map. In the presentation we will present practical examples of the geodiversity interpretation at the emerging new long-distance geo-hiking path around the Geopark, as well as present the training plan for geopark-guides.

Mojca is a nature conservation counsellor at the Institute of the Republic of Slovenia for Nature Conservation (project NaKult).

Value your visitor!
Árpád Bőczén (Hungary)

Everyone involved in planning heritage interpretation knows that target group orientation is one of the key aspects of a successful programme. But there are also other reasons which make it necessary to know more about our audience and visitor research is becoming more and more important for different cultural and natural heritage sites around the world year after year. This presentation introduces a Hungarian initiative with the aim of promoting the need for evaluation and also the appreciation of the visitors in cultural and natural heritage sites. You will learn the conclusions of a small research project carried out in three interpretive locations and the results of a professional forum with 164 participants. There will be an opportunity to get to know a mobile application prototype as well, which was developed to make visitor observations more easily.

Árpád is a heritage expert for KÖME, the Hungarian Association of Cultural Heritage Managers.

Interpretive apps for diversity
Anna Chatel-Messer (Germany)

They are omnipresent in our everyday lives and, apart from communication and information, smartphones provide enormous resources for learning about our local environment and the diversity around us. We can see phenomena from different perspectives and analyse them with diverse methods. Integrating GPS tools, they even link interpretation with spatial patterns and allow us to understand relations and locations in the context of spaces and places. We have initiated some empirical research projects to learn about how effective the implementation of smartphone-apps is in the teaching and learning process and how it can contribute to multiperspective thinking. Students have developed innovative outdoor interpretation apps for the general public. Evaluation has shown clearly that exploring und interpreting your environment and communicating the findings to other target groups can contribute to seeing phenomena from different perspectives and lead to appreciation of diversity.

Anna is an academic lecturer and researcher at the University of Education, Freiburg.

Embracing change, acknowledging fear: Interpreting heritage in flux in an age of migration
Nicole Deufel (Germany)

We are said to live in an age of migration (MeLa Project 2015): in a globalised world, concepts of heritage, identity and belonging as one-dimensional and static are no longer considered valid and have been replaced by notions of flux. This presentation argues that current theoretical framings of interpretation do not yet go far enough to accommodate this flux. Practices that flow from current theory, particularly those aimed at single interpretive messages, must be superseded by practices that acknowledge multidimensionality and reflect polyvocality. The very purpose of interpretation must be reconsidered: not the conservation of heritage but rather facilitation of its collaborative production must be the aim. Drawing on insights from a cross-sectoral, international project on inclusion of migrants through cultural practices, this presentation proposes a new foundation for interpretation and associated practices, for example to address conflict and fears in light of cultural change.

Nicole is the Head of Museums, Collections and Galleries for the City of Oldenburg.

Karst heritage in Slovenia and Croatia: Development of sustainable tourism in the karst landscape
Mirna Draženović (Croatia) with Aleš Smrekar

The Krasn'krš project is funded by the Interreg Slovenia-Croatia programme, runs from 2017-2020 and has seven partners. With the knowledge of geology, biology, tourism and heritage interpretation, they are developing new cultural and tourist products with karst heritage as an umbrella theme. The karst stones, which make up the main part of the Dinarides, were created by stone remains of marine animals from the ancient ocean, witnessing geological changes over millions of years and creating specific karst forms, such as caves and sinkholes. Karst phenomena has enabled the shaping of rich cultural heritage in human lifestyles, customs, construction of drystone walls and houses. This project aims to preserve and evaluate natural and cultural karst heritage by creating a new visitor infrastructure: interpretive centres and thematic trails where visitors can learn about the phenomenon and significance of karst in four locations in Slovenia and Croatia.

Mirna is a museologist and Cultural Manager for Muses Ltd.

Western Balkans cultural routes – The awakening of heritage
Milena Filipovic (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

The Regional Cooperation Council's Triple P project aims at regional tourism development and promotion embarking upon creation of three cultural heritage trails.
The Balkan Monumental Trail is dedicated to the art and design of World War II monuments. Set in dramatic landscapes, visually stunning, abstract, modernist, and sophisticated, these works of art are both unique and universal in their other-worldly designs.
The Western Balkans Crossroads of Civilisations has a regional umbrella identity – the diversity of civilisations that left their mark and mixed with the region's culture and traditions, and the empires that influenced each other.
The Roman Emperors and Danube Wine Route – Illyricum Trail – uncovers the Roman period, which marked one of the longest periods of cultural dominance over the Western Balkans. Scattered across the region, archaeological sites tell the tale of ancient warriors, military doctrines, tactics, and the rhythm of communal life, arts, crafts, and the foundations of European development.

Milena is a cultural tourism expert for the Regional Cooperation Council.

You can engage with diversity, but does diversity engage with you?
Michael H Glen (UK)

The conference theme refers to, among other topics, engaging with the diversity of people visiting heritage sites bringing 'different knowledge, experiences, beliefs, values systems, world views and identities'. It is a challenge to interpret our heritage - natural or cultural - to a diverse audience; the bigger challenge is to ensure they engage with this heritage. We so often fall into the trap of using 'tethers' from history or landscape that we, as host communities, relate to subconsciously or, at least, consciously. But these 'pegs' on which we hang our interpretation are often meaningless to visitors from other cultural backgrounds. This presentation will take some generic and specific examples and seek the views of delegates on how best to avoid the trap of insufficient references or explanations of the seemingly obvious. Referring to 'our king' or 'our mountain' may resonate at high volume with us, but do our visitors even catch an echo?

Michael is a wordsmith.

Whose heritage is in this white cube? Travelling with Baš-Čelik (Steel-Bar Shaw) to Gulliver and back
Selma Harrington (UK)

The paper discusses the Museum of Revolution, today the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Sarajevo, as a case of modernist heritage and a national monument since 2012. Rooted in the early period of renewal and construction after World War II, like many similar institutions in Socialist Yugoslavia, it sought to embody the aspirations of people who had reclaimed the space for a shared future. The outline of the key events and processes in the timeline of the museum will demonstrate today's significance.

Tracing the symbiotic relationship between public history and an urban and architectural context, the paper examines the appropriation of the museum's contextual modernism in dialogue with the international Modernist and critical heritage discourse and its revisions. Mimicking the 'like for like' principle in conservation, the relevant international public history precedents are examined, among the museums from Ireland, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Belgium and Croatia.

Selma is an architect and PhD candidate (Architecture) at the University of Strathclyde.

Overlapping spaces: Interpreting Jewish tradition in Budapest
Andrea Hübner (Hungary)

What is the visitor impression of a small surviving old city nucleus in Budapest themed around a renowned Hungarian writer? The commerce and hospitality permanent exhibitions of the little museum housed in the writer's former home was one of three sites of our research in a 1.5-year-long visitor study project conducted by DBU-KÖME (Hungarian Association of Heritage Managers)-Kont-Tiki Büro-Budapest Business School. In September, a small temporary exhibition on Jewish merchants and businessmen between the so-called emancipation act of 1867 and 1918 was opened in this museum. We investigated visitors' experiences and the nature of the information where they were left alone with the densely packed and text-heavy little interior compared to the situation of a narrated guided interpretation tour. The research was extended and the focus moved to the neighbouring synagogue, which is the oldest one in Budapest, marking the centre of a once densely populated Jewish quarter of the city.

Andrea works for KÖME (the Hungarian Association of Heritage Managers).

Heritage literacy through alternative education and public archaeology: A Philippine perspective
Andrea Natasha Kintanar (Philippines)

Tuklas Pilipinas Society is a non-profit organisation that aims to spread awareness of archaeological heritage in the Philippines through alternative education and public archaeology. This presentation discusses various examples of archaeological heritage education initiatives conducted by Tuklas in the Philippines that have been effective in engaging local communities in heritage management and preservation of their archaeological sites. Involvement of local and national government is reviewed, and the importance of close interaction between the local community, archaeologists, and heritage practitioners is emphasised.

Andrea is the Executive Director of Tuklas Pilipinas Society, Inc.

Belarussian 'Miastechka' as a multicultural melting pot
Valeria Klitsounova (Belarus)

The Belarussian 'Miastechka' is an old term roughly meaning 'market town'; it used to be a special kind of 'free economic zone' located within the Pale of Settlement in the Russian Empire with predominantly Jewish population (shtetl). For centuries it attracted traders, craftsmen, peasants who worked together for mutual prosperity. Jews were responsible for trading and blacksmithing, Belarusians and Polish for agriculture and weaving, Tatars for vegetable growing. Miastechkas were also an excellent example of religious tolerance. This phenomenon used to be a melting pot of different cultures which influenced languages, cuisine, folklore, craft, habits and the mentality of locals. Nowadays, Miastechkas are rather an abstract issue with sentimental flavour. Local communities try to find their identity and tell the story of their past by organising festivals, developing thematic programmes, interactive museums, etc. There is an initiative to develop a cross-border shtetl route together with Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania.

Valeria is Chair of the Board of Country Escape, the Belarussian Association of Agro- and Ecotourism.

How can Heritage Interpretation foster social cohesion in diverse societies?
Patrick Lehnes (Germany) with Peter Seccombe (UK)

Heritage Interpretation for Migrant Inclusion in Schools (HIMIS) was an exciting and ambitious Erasmus+ project to help young people from diverse backgrounds become more integrated and included in their schools and communities. Its core idea was to use heritage interpretation (HI) to:
- foster a sense of belonging beyond socio-cultural differences.
- actively involve students as co-creators in the planning of HI.
- provoke reflection on the historical roots of values, such as non-discrimination, equality and tolerance towards minorities and migrants.

After an introduction to HIMIS, this workshop will investigate how to transfer the HIMIS approach to participatory planning at museums, sites and protected areas. You will be active in role-plays, group discussions and exercises. The results of this workshop will be relevant for the DELPHI project which aims to integrate the value dimension of heritage interpretation into training of interpretive planners.

Patrick is a researcher at the University of Freiburg.

The Roman Frontier today and yesterday – the Living Wall, Roman Frontier Gallery in Carlisle, UK
Nigel Mills (UK)

This presentation explores the contemporary resonance of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site as an example of contentious diversity and of Freeman Tilden's principle that "The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation." The Outstanding Universal Value of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site (FRE WHS) reflects issues such as diversity, conflict, identity, the imposition of Imperial power, cultural exchange, movement of peoples, economic stability and disparity. Symbolic of occupation, conflict, migration and division, the FRE WHS provides an ideal context through which to explore issues of diversity, understanding, toleration, co-operation and respect in modern Europe.

The Living Wall exhibit in the Roman Frontier Gallery at the Tullie House Museum sets modern frontiers alongside the Roman frontier of Hadrian's Wall. The exhibit encourages visitors to explore the impact of frontiers on people and their diverse perspectives – the builders, the divided, the protected, the excluded. Visitors are invited to leave comments on their thoughts and experiences. It is clear from analysis of over 600 comments that the interpretive device of juxtaposing modern and ancient frontiers is a powerful stimulus to reflection and emotion.

Nigel is a heritage interpretation consultant at Nigel Mills Heritage.

Engaging citizens through heritage – Case studies from the Western Balkan region
Jelena Mocević (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Bojana Sekulić (Montenegro)

What is the unique perspective on cultural and natural heritage in the region of Western Balkans? Is there a way of engaging citizens and communities into creating a platform of multiple narratives around heritage? How can this be achieved when heritage is often contested and in the framework of low sustainability, both in financial and management areas?

This interactive workshop gave the opportunity to see some of the inspiring examples of heritage interpretation in the Western Balkans region, exchange views on how to encourage first-hand experience, if they actively involve visitors and local stakeholders, and how heritage really touches people. The diversity and richness of not only heritage, but perspectives on almost every

item of said heritage is something that is specifically related to the region. Working in smaller groups/pairs with IE country coordinators from the region, participants had the opportunity to contribute to the vision of how these engagement efforts can be improved and what is missing when it comes to perspective that the Western Balkans is providing to the external world.

Jelena is the CEO at Creative Consulting Balkans and is IE's country coordinator Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The role of storytelling: What should a Transylvanian destination count on?
Florin Nechita (Romania) with Alin Puiu, Adina Nicoleta Candrea

Storytelling is a strategic destination branding technique, and a tool that local guides may use in order to enhance tourists' experiences. The present study investigates the attributes associated with the image of a Romanian city, and the stories which had the biggest impact on foreign tourists' perceptions of the destination. The methodology includes a content analysis of reviews on Romanian travel networking sites, as well as research based on self-administered questionnaires among foreign tourists who visited the destination. The findings have practical implications on how the historical facts have to be correlated with stories disputed by historians, such as the controversial link between Dracula and Vlad the Impaler, due to their strong impact on visitors' perceptions. As storytelling has an indirect long-term impact on destination brand, destination managers have to continuously evaluate the impact of different stories told by local guides.

Florin is a PhD lecturer at the Transilvania University of Brasov.

Sharing Stories: Increasing ethnic minority participation in European Heritage Days
Jennifer Novotny (UK)

This paper reports the results of a four-month pilot scheme funded by the Council of Europe and European Heritage Days. Sharing Stories worked in partnership with community groups in Scotland and England with the aim of better understanding levers / barriers / enablers to ethnic minority participation in local heritage. The project included an initial survey to gauge awareness of and subjective experiences with local cultural heritage, followed by focus group consultations and workshops with community groups, including Action for Children's Heritage & Inclusion project, The Glendale Women's Café, and LGBT Health & Wellbeing's Queer Transgender Intersex People of Colour group. This paper also describes how these groups moved beyond passive consumption of cultural heritage to active creation of new content and interpretation of their own by making a video, organising a banner march, and drawing a community map.

Jennifer is the Project Officer - Diverse Heritage for the Scottish Civic Trust.

Disability and the exhibitionary complex: The sight of difference
Jenny Anghelikie Papasotiriou (Greece)

If "the fundamental event of the modern age is the conquest of the world as picture" (Heidegger), how does that work for visually impaired people? Treating heritage interpretation as the space where thinking subjects encounter talking objects, we will create tools that enable this encounter for visually impaired participants, discussing and working through ethical, aesthetic and practical considerations in the delivery of audio-description resources and guided tours. We will try to transfer the mechanisms of perception, observation and intuition into verbal content and choices that lend eyes to individual participants without depriving them of their own individuality and freedom of choice. Drawing on ordinary language philosophy, we will examine the blurred

borderlines dividing description, interpretation and investigation, triggering mechanisms of investigative description, that treat artworks, landscapes, buildings or museum objects as open questions.

Jenny is an education curator.

Engaging biodiversity with rural production – Integrating rural production in biodiversity
Evangelos Pappas (Greece) with Eleni Vretzaki, Evi Alexandropoulou, Andreas Panitsas

In a remote mountainous area in Crete, there is a unique natural and cultural landscape creating intense and contradictory feelings and logic. From the cultural and mythological view, this place is where the richness of nature was embodied in a goat, Amalthia, an emblem of production and lifestocking culture. The goat is also the face of overgrazing, the biodiversity devil. For a conservationist, it is an overgrazed degraded ecosystem resulting from human interaction with nature. It is evolution over the years leading to the ecological and cultural landscape of today and a culture that leads to future production and development. The questions arising for this area are: Can we imagine this landscape differently? How can we interpret this natural and cultural potential in favour of the people today? These questions have led to a project which employs interpretation as a tool for development and sustainability aiming to bring together biodiversity, culture and production for the benefit of all.

Evangelos is a biologist, working in environmental management, and is the director and main shareholder of OikoM Ltd.

Journey to the Beginnings: Moving forward while reaching the past
Bama Petrányi (Hungary) with Árpád Bőczén

Journey to the Beginnings is a collaborative project involving four key prehistoric heritage sites as sources of inspiration. Contemporary artists create digital interpretation tools and playful live performances with common elements for Lepensky Vir (Serbia), Gârla Mare (Romania), Vučedol (Croatia) and Százhalombatta (Hungary). Archaeologists, IT experts, museum professionals and heritage managers collaborate with them to make the final products an integrated part of the local offers. The presentation will briefly introduce the diverse characteristics of the concerned sites and the approach which makes a partly unified interpretation concept possible. The audience will have the opportunity to try out elements of the digital tool and to learn the methodologies which are used to establish a mutual understanding of the cooperating professions with different terminologies and mindsets.

Bama is a cultural manager.

Once upon a time – universal concepts and diversity in storytelling
Janja Sivec (Slovenia)

It feels like storytelling is the ultimate tool in the market at the moment. The tourism sector is talking about it, marketing is using it brilliantly (just think about that commercial that touched you or made you laugh), we raise children based on it and it is the basis of heritage interpretation. So why are stories so powerful and storytelling such a popular tool? Are stories universals and if so why do we find such a variety of the same stories?

In this workshop we will explore universal concepts behind stories and their diversity in plot, meanings and usage. We will share stories, condense them to basic facts and meanings and analyse our favourite stories for the hidden meanings. We will explore universal concepts and try

to find them in the folk stories. We will talk about Joseph Campbell – hero of a thousand faces – and try to use his principles in storytelling.

Janja is a freelancer.

Personal interpretive guiding techniques – an IE training programme taster
Janja Sivec (Slovenia), Sandy Colvine (France), Pjotr Idziak (Poland)

Maybe you've heard about IE's training programme but not had the chance to take a course yet or perhaps you want to find out more? This practical workshop starts with a short presentation of the courses on offer and then gets to grips with some really useful personal interpretation techniques.

Personal heritage interpretation embraces diversity and opens up doors regardless of cultural backgrounds, making it a valuable tool to render your work even more effective and memorable. We'll show you how to appeal to the head, hands and heart, to create that all-important meaningful engagement that goes far beyond facts and figures. You'll also have some fun too! No need to be a guide, this workshop is designed for anyone who works with the public in whatever capacity, face-to-face or not. So, come along and find out more as there are always ways to make visiting heritage sites even more enjoyable for visitors, and yourself, of course!

Janja is a self-employed trainer, guide and consultant. Actively involved in promoting interpretation in her home country, Slovenia, Janja has particular experience in combining youth work and interpretation with young people and youth workers. She is also an IE certified trainer and IE´s Country Coordinator for Slovenia.

Sandy Colvine is Interpret Europe's Outreach Coordinator and an IE certified trainer and certified interpretive writer. With a background in rural development, heritage restoration and tourism, he works as a self-employed consultant near Avignon in France where he combines interpretive guiding.

Piotr Idziak is a Polish sociologist and cultural anthropologist. He creates exhibition narratives for museums and heritage routes, works in the planning and promotion of cultural tourism and co-creates development plans for museums. Piotr is also an IE certified interpretive guide and soon-to-be certified trainer.

Intrepreting industrial heritage: The case of Pappas' Mill Wheat & Flour Museum
Evgenia Stavraki (Greece)

On the foot of Mount Olympus – on top of which, Demeter, the goddess of agriculture and earth fertility, used to reside – lies Thessaly, the greatest wheat production plain of Greece. In the centre of Larissa, the capital of Thessaly, Pappas' Mill is located. It was founded in 1892 and through its course of operation it incorporated the great technical advances that took place in the flour milling industry of Europe and USA. Since 1998, the factory has been the property of the City of Larissa, which intended to turn it into a cultural centre. Having an economy largely based on agriculture and an agricultural tradition traced back to ancient Greece, the city decided to create a museum of wheat and flour. Our team was appointed to deliver the interpretive plan, the architectural design and the visual identity of the new museum. This presentation will take you through the process of developing a unique and dynamic industrial flour-mill museum at the heart of Thessaly.

Evgenia is a museologist.

A survey of cultural monuments in Albania: (Post)socialism's effects on religious material diversity
Inesa Sulaj (Albania) with Kailey Rocker

Our presentation explores religious diversity in Albania via the cultural monuments list curated by the Albanian Institute of Monuments of Culture. As a living document, the list features monuments added as early as 1948 and demonstrates the effects of different socio-political regimes. We focus on Albania's socialist (1944-1992) and post-socialist periods (1992+) and ask how the country's religious material heritage was affected by pivotal moments, such as the socialist government's 1967 declaration outlawing religion in Albania or the election of the first opposition party in 1992. Our presentation draws on a content analysis of the cultural monuments list and interviews with local historians; it focuses on two regions – Shkodra in the north and Berat in the south, the latter of which includes a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Through this comparison, we tease out why some regions have more religious cultural monuments and reflect on the process of identifying cultural monuments in Albania.

Inesa is a tourism and cultural heritage expert for Creative Business Solutions.

It's complicated: Negotiating the diverse needs of stakeholders at living religious heritage sites
Katelyn Williams (Germany) with Clara Rellensmann

Participants will work together to challenge some of their conceptual assumptions related to religious heritage. They will then use these new understandings to build a working vocabulary for the session and explore the complicated issue of interpreting living religious heritage sites, where the interests of a diverse array of stakeholders often compete with those of the core user communities. The Living Heritage Approach developed by ICCROM will be introduced as a potential lens through which to handle these particular cases.

Using real examples and a role-playing activity, we will explore the following questions:
- Who are the possible stakeholders for sites of living religious heritage?
- What are their different needs and interests, and how might they conflict with each other?
- Should there be a hierarchy of stakeholder interests and needs?
- How do we negotiate the rights and needs of the various stakeholders so that they don't negatively impact those of the core user communities?

Katelyn is a PhD student at Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg.