



Heritages and Memories from the Sea

1st International Conference of the UNESCO Chair in
Intangible Heritage and Traditional Know-How: Linking Heritage
14-16 January 2015. Évora. Portugal
Conference Proceedings

Filipe Themudo Barata and João Magalhães Rocha (Eds.)



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Organization and Scientific Committee

University of Évora, CIDEHUS and Department of Architecture, Portugal
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CONTENTS

EDITORS' PREFACE

Heritages and Memories from the Sea	7
Filipe Themudo Barata, João Magalhães Rocha	

Acknowledgements	9
------------------------	---

INTRODUCTION

Towards a science of sea space (keynote lecture)	12
Tiago Castela	

1. UNCOVERING HERITAGES AND MEMORIES

Salted fish industry in Roman Lusitania: Trade memories between <i>Oceanus</i> and <i>Mare Nostrum</i>	21
Sónia Bombico	

The Legacy of Ampurias in modern L'Escala Anchovies, the living tradition of salted fish from Antiquity	42
Raquel González Bermúdez	

Naval Muslim analysis of Gharb al-Andalus	49
Alessia Amato	

<i>U-35</i> operations off the Sagres coast, Algarve, Portugal First World War heritage and memories from the sea	56
Jorge Russo, Augusto Salgado	

2. THE FLOATING MEMORY OF RIVERS AND SEAS

Rivers and memory (keynote lecture)	66
Matt Kondolf	

'Afloat beauty' of the Delta: Study on traditional boats of Bangladesh	73
Sajid-Bin-DOZA	

3. ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO HERITAGE AND MEMORY

Photography and memories from the sea in Nazaré Art, documentation and intangible heritage	87
Dóris Santos	

Afurada – Anchor identities The festivities of S. Pedro da Afurada	100
Cátia Oliveira	

Memories of salt and sea: Anchovies made from sardines Olhão, an industrial village	111
Nídia Braz	

Speaking of the sea in the Azores islands: We sometimes went for lapas	118
Alison Laurie Neilson, Carlos de Bulhão Pato, Rosalina Gabriel, Ana Moura Arroz, Enésima Mendonça, Ana Picanço	

The fable of the cod and the promised sea About Portuguese traditions of <i>bacalhau</i>	132
António José Marques da Silva	

4. OTHERNESS AND CLOSENESS IN CULTURAL HERITAGE

Sea-shaped identities

Italians and others in late 19th-century Italian Navy travel literature	147
Fabiana Dimpflmeier	

The role of artists in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage of coastal communities in Brazil: Between preservation and tourism promotion

An interdisciplinary action-research study on the interaction between the artist, the tourist and the local community	157
Natalia Borek	

The impact of Hôi An as heritage from the sea

A platform for Vietnam's traditional maritime know-how	166
Nguyen Dac Nhu-Mai	

5. ON THE RELATIONSHIP OF MATERIAL AND IMMATERIAL HERITAGE

Domesticating and harvesting shrimps – Fisher communities and the sea

Blue Ocean Strategies, translation processes and the UNESCO paradigm of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage	176
Marc Jacobs	

Intervention in Forte do Guincho

Sea heritage – Conservation and architecture project	192
Sofia Salema, Pedro Guilherme, Isabel Imaginário	

First bastion fortifications of Portugal's overseas expansion

João Barros Matos	208
--------------------------	-----

Heritagisation and social time – Safi: A city of resilience and resilient people

Ana Neno	214
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BIOGRAPHIES

Authors' biographies	225
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Editors' preface



HERITAGES AND MEMORIES FROM THE SEA

EDITORS' PREFACE

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These are the proceedings of the first international conference organised by the UNESCO Chair in Intangible Heritage and Traditional Know-How: Linking Heritage, dedicated to the theme “Heritages and Memories from the Sea”.

This international meeting, as well as the chosen theme, seeks to address the need to discuss the present situation of sea heritage, deconstructing past ideological representations with a view to developing a sense of a common history and a shared future.

In the following lines, we would like to explain this choice more clearly. Part of Portuguese, European and world history was built around the capacity to access the sea and control maritime routes. To look no farther, the Romans were organised around a sea they called their own, the city-states of Italy and the North Sea left their mark on history by controlling maritime traffic, and the European colonial empires were largely maintained by their ability to control trade routes and strategic areas such as straits. In the Indian Ocean, the Omanis and many Indian states, as well as the Chinese in their cyclical expansionist movements, also regarded the sea as a key element in their strategic policy.

As is known, these expansionist or territorial defence policies – often undertaken for military purposes, or driven by a clear religious proselytism – eventually gave rise to an extraordinary architectural heritage that includes forts of pioneering military engineering, religious temples of the most varied origins and port infrastructures of different dimensions.

However, the legacy that is the subject of this meeting goes far beyond these constructions, hence the use of the plural form: ‘heritages’.

Every sea and ocean has always secured the livelihoods of families, groups and communities. It is no wonder, therefore, that there is a special correlation between this strong link to the sea and the maritime economy that sustained it, or the social practices attached to it. This aspect makes maritime heritage a very special case in which various ‘heritages’ almost merge together into the definition of local identities, and places and the sea itself merge with the intangible heritage associated with it. Perhaps due to the dangers involved in sea activities, these social practices are mixed with religious and cultural expressions – particularly interesting, even striking, phenomena for those who experience or observe them.

But these were not the only reasons for the choice of the conference theme. Indeed, in the contacts made by members of the Chair team in several countries during research work – from San Francisco and Boston in the US, to Cape Verde, Morocco and Italy – the strong connection of the Portuguese to the sea was frequently evoked. Although this image is strongly anchored in the architectural heritage, built and spread across

the five continents from the beginning of the 15th century onwards, it clearly transcends this legacy.

In many Moroccan cities and regions the Portuguese were regarded as fortress builders, but also fishermen and partners in the pioneering industry of fish preservation. In California, the Portuguese – in particular from the Azores – were the formidable fishermen who taught the art of whaling, at a time when the early days of the Azorean diaspora left indelible marks in Hawaii, before the gradual migration to the Californian coast. In the Indian Ocean region, though, what remained is a history of war and conquest, the taking of markets and military power, mixed with the memory of cordial, peaceful relations, and a culturally friendly environment, as in the case of some regions of present-day Bangladesh and Vietnam. In this context, important documents such as *The Suma Oriental* of Tome Pires: An account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515 need to be pointed out, not to mention the importance of cartography as a unifying element between science and the art of representation in the various regions where the sea is a central element.

Today, Portugal – the country with the largest Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) in Europe – is gradually becoming aware that the resuming of this connection to the sea is of particular importance, though it has not yet managed to turn this into a clear advantage. In this respect, drawing attention to the ‘heritages’ of the sea is also a way to support this process and a reminder for the future. Academic research, particularly in the fields of the social sciences, history and architecture, can decidedly contribute to an enhanced knowledge of that heritage and, at the same time, help in building a real and sustainable ‘economy of the sea’. Establishing a relationship with this vast cultural sea heritage – the main part of our geography – will lead us to discover a common heritage and a privileged meeting place full of memories.

This book is organised into broad subject areas which are the responsibility of the editors and intended to arrange the variety of papers presented at the meeting into thematic lines:

1. Uncovering heritages and memories
2. The floating memory of rivers and seas
3. Anthropological approaches to heritage and memory
4. Otherness and closeness in cultural heritage
5. On the relationship of material and immaterial heritage.

The views on the sea proposed by the various researchers prove that this legacy is a dynamic historiographical element of particular interest and relevance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is not possible to organise a meeting of this kind without the efforts and dedication of many people. As one can imagine, this support varied in nature and extent. It is now our turn to publicly acknowledge these contributions.

Our first thanks go to all those who registered and participated in the conference; above all, it is for them that these proceedings were published. The success of this meeting would not have been possible without the participation of the invited keynote speakers who kindly agreed to open the various sessions, setting the tone and covering important agenda items that helped to enhance the quality of the discussions. Thus, we owe special thanks to Tiago Castela from the University of Coimbra (Portugal), Matt Kondolf from the University of California, Berkeley (USA) and Hiram Morgan from the University College Cork (Ireland).

We also wish to thank our colleagues Ouidad Tebbaa from the Cadi Ayyad University in Marrakech (Morocco) and João Lopes Filho from the University of Cape Verde (Cape Verde) – whose institutions are both part of the UNESCO Chair network based in Évora – as well as Matt Kondolf from UC Berkeley for accepting to join the Scientific Committee.

With regard to the UNESCO Chair's efforts to establish a closer relationship with UC Berkeley, we would like to express our gratitude to all those who so warmly welcomed and supported us during our visit to San Francisco: Professor Deolinda Adão, Executive Director of the Portuguese Studies Program at UC Berkeley; the Portuguese Consul General in San Francisco, Dr Nuno Mathias; and Dr Manuel Bettencourt from the Luso-American Education Foundation, who was our guide to the heritage sites of Portuguese origin in the area of this great American west coast city.

But the conference, its preparation and these proceedings would not have been achieved without the work of Chair collaborators and staff from the University of Évora, namely the technical assistance and expertise of team member Cornelia Fischer and the unyielding support of PhD and master's students linked to the UNESCO Chair: Monalisa Maharjan, Ferhana Nizam Chowdhury, Sajid-Bin-Doza, Sónia Bombico and Ana Neno.

Finally, we are indebted to the University of Évora and to CIDEHUS for helping us to organise this event.

Filipe Themudo Barata

João Magalhães Rocha

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Photos illustrating field visits, conferences and events that took place during 2014-15 within the UNESCO Chair's work.

Introduction



OPENING KEYNOTE LECTURE

TIAGO CASTELA

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It is an honor for me to present this reflection at the start of the first international conference *Heritages and Memories from the Sea*. As João Rocha told you, I am an urban historian and my work focuses on the history of urban planning knowledge in late 20th-century Portugal and its then colonies. I aim at articulating a critical conception of space through my historical research. My objective is to promote future modes of urban planning knowledge that are not inimical to political democratization as a process. My perspective on the issue of intangible heritage is thus informed by this concern with a theory of space, as a way of foregrounding an understanding of the built environment not as a geometrical space, but instead as a plural assemblage of spatial representations, practices, and imaginations.

INTRODUCTION: SEA SPACE AS INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

I thus start this brief reflection by asking: Can sea space – which I will later attempt to define – be understood as an intangible heritage, beyond the conventional definition of so-called “cultural spaces associated” with intangible heritage (UNESCO 2003, 2)? And if there are ways in which sea space – including the built environments associated with the sea – can be understood as an intangible heritage in itself, how can we do research on the intangible heritage of sea space with theoretical perspectives and methodological tools that acknowledge the specificities of sea space?

My reflection will start by exploring the idea of a science – i.e., a knowledge – of sea space. I will draw explicitly from the writings of two French philosophers in the 1970s, Henri Lefebvre and Gilles Deleuze, as well as implicitly from coeval debates on the future of urban planning by architects like José Forjaz and Júlio Carrilho in newly independent Mozambique. From Lefebvre, I recall the idea of the social production of social space, and the project of a science of space, notably introduced in the book *The Production of Space*, published in the French language in 1974 (Lefebvre 1991). Regarding Deleuze, I evoke the idea of “nomad science,” as opposed to a science serving the state apparatus; as well as the concept of the sea as a territory both “smooth” – i.e., stateless – and in process of “striation” by state apparatuses, addressed in the book *A Thousand Plateaus* co-authored with psychoanalyst Félix Guattari and published in the French language in 1980 (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). Both philosophers wrote following the end of the late French Empire, due to defeat in various wars, which was part of the end of the global hegemony of Atlantic European states and the emergence of subordination of all of the states of the European region to two other imperial states at the time: the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As the Berkeley geographer Richard Walker noted at the 2010 conference *Spaces of History / Histories of Space* I organized with a group of colleagues while at Berkeley, perhaps because of this loss of an actual occupation of space, there was an emergence of highly innovative thought regarding space in 1970s France.¹

¹ Walker suggested this in his unpublished commentary as a moderator of the first keynote session of the conference. Richard Walker (commentary on keynote session #1, *Spaces of History / Histories of Space* conference, Berkeley, CA, 30 April–1 May 2010).

I would add that such contributions by Lefebvre and Deleuze unknowingly dialogued with similarly innovative experiments in the professional field of urban planning in late 1970s Mozambique proposing a future decolonization of spatial knowledge, i.e., a disarticulation of modes of spatial knowledge from the persistent logic of colonialism. I argue in work I have presented elsewhere that such experiments centered on the need for the state planning apparatus to acknowledge plural spatialities, i.e., diverse modes of practicing space, for a decolonized life.² In addition, we may interpret the contributions by Lefebvre and Deleuze as heralding a decolonization of spatial knowledge that started being explicitly and thoroughly theorized in English-speaking universities 30 years later, in the 2000s, by scholars like geographer Jennifer Robinson (2002; 2006), urbanist Abdoumalig Simone (2004), and urban planner Ananya Roy (2004; 2011).

I thus believe that it is useful for us to recall these 40-year-old texts by Lefebvre and Deleuze today as potential theoretical points of departure for a knowledge of sea space as an intangible heritage that is freed from colonial rationality, that is to say, disenthralled from a mode of reason that emerged from the colonial project, was integral to its maintenance, and possibly hinders political democratization in postcolonial times, both in Europe and elsewhere.

After exploring the idea of a science of sea space, I will briefly and in a fragmental manner interrogate the concept of heritage as defined in the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO) by remembering the diverse conceptualizations of “heritage” developed within tradition studies during the 1990s, including Nezar AlSayyad’s exploration of the role of “manufacturing heritage” in state formation (2001), Nelson Graburn’s defense of a research attentive to situated definitions of heritage (2001), and Dell Upton’s argument for studies that address “episodes of encounter and transformation” (1993, 14).

I will conclude by arguing that a science of sea space as an intangible heritage can be a “nomad science,” a practice of knowledge creation that enables citizens in their situated struggles regarding sea space, that can help experts working for state apparatuses to consider the distinction between technical and political questions regarding the sea, and that can support an understanding of state heritage that is integral to political democratization, instead of fostering normative inventions of national communities. For such a “nomad science,” it is crucial to deploy research methods drawing from various disciplinary fields that address sea space as a plural assemblage of spatial representations, practices, and imaginations.

Let me end this introductory section by recalling the words of Alvina, a fisherwoman from Northern Portugal, as recorded by anthropologist Sally Cole in her 1991 book *Women of the Praia*, in order to convey what I mean by an understanding of state heritage that is integral to political democratization. This would be a state heritage based on the idea that in our states there are no sea spaces without history:

² Tiago Castela, “Peripheries in a history of urban futures: Planning for the government of informal spaces in late colonial Mozambique” (paper presented at the 16th International Planning History Society conference, Saint Augustine, FLA, 20–23 July 2014).

I always wanted to work on the sea, and when I was 14 and old enough I persuaded my father to take me into Vila do Conde to the Capitania [Captaincy] for my license . . . For the test I had to swim across the Rio Ave [the Ave River], but I didn't know how to swim, so my father gave the man from the Capitania a coin and I got my license. After that I fished with my father and my brother, and when the weather was too bad for fishing I worked with my mother and sisters for the *lavradores* [the farmers] in the fields . . . And that was my life day in and day out until my marriage. (Cole 1991, 29)

THE SEA AS SOCIAL SPACE AND ITS KNOWLEDGE AS A NOMAD SCIENCE

So, what do I mean by “space”? Following Lefebvre's 1974 work *The Production of Space*, I conceive space not as a geometrical space, but as a social space that is socially produced (1991, 26). Please note that the idea of socially “producing space” implies that it is disabling to conceive an aprioristic space, supposedly empty, that is then animated or filled through the social. Social space exists in and through its social practice. In order to research this social space as a plural assemblage, it can be concluded from Lefebvre's work that we need to go beyond the limitations of disciplinary perspectives (1991, 41), with architectural history focusing exclusively on professional representations of space through formal analysis, anthropology foregrounding more permanent symbolic orderings of spaces, and actual, everyday spatial practice (which includes experience) being usually neglected in research.

Taking Lefebvre into account, what then can the sea be as social space? It may be many spaces, both actual and virtual, and all of the following may be plurally researched by focusing on representations, symbolic orders, and practice:

- the liquid space inhabited by human bodies – spaces themselves – directly and fleetingly, for example at the beach;
- a territory crossed by mobile spaces like boats or ships on everyday commutes, or on long oceanic journeys for commerce, war, travel, or migration;
- island spaces, bounded and isolated like moored mobile spaces, where the sea as a territory is a permanent presence too;
- harbor spaces or other social spaces adjacent to the sea, interfaces between the land and the sea as a territory; and
- the sea as a virtual space of the imagination.

In all these cases, the sea as a social space can also be understood through the frame of intangible heritage. Many of the papers at this conference address such sea spaces. Presentations about travel writing explore sea space as a space of state warfare and state formation (in the case of the paper by Fabiana Dimpflmeier or the keynote lecture by Hiram

Morgan), or reveal island spaces as nodes in networks of unequal power relations, formed through the passage of mobile spaces for migration and commerce (like in the work of Miguel Moniz). Papers on island life explore both representations of the state apparatus and memories of everyday practice and symbolic orderings (like the papers by Vicente Benítez Cabrera or by Margarida Donas Botto and Sofia Salema). In addition, island life is also examined through a valuable attention to diverse expertises and situated conceptions of heritages of the sea (like the paper by Alison Neilson, Carlos de Bulhão Pato, and their co-authors at the University of the Azores). Sea spaces are also addressed in the conference in relation to other broad topics:

- the sea as a space of fishing, encompassing forms of industrialization, discourses on national culture, or situated religious practices;
- the sea as a space of knowledge formation; and
- the sea as a space of war.

It must be noted that researching contrasting perspectives on sea space is in itself evidently not a new idea, although the issue has been rarely addressed explicitly in the literature. For example, in the 1995 article titled “The Water is not Empty” Australian geographer Sue Jackson argued that research had hitherto neglected the ways in which the Aboriginal idea of “caring for country” also encompassed sea space, an aspect neglected by a legal apparatus originated in the European occupation of Australia (1995). Nevertheless, I argue that reading Lefebvre’s critical conception of social space and of its “lived, conceived and perceived realms” (1991, 40) in relation to Deleuze’s notion of “nomad science” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 368) entails methodological implications for a truly plural research on sea space that goes beyond dichotomies of supposedly bounded domains of the cultural.

How did Deleuze conceptualize the sea in relation to “nomad science,” and what did Deleuze mean by “nomad science”? As I mentioned previously, in *A Thousand Plateaus* Deleuze conceptualized the sea as a territory that is “smooth,” or beyond the control of states and state apparatuses, and in process of “striation,” described thus by Deleuze: “But the sea is also, of all the smooth spaces, the first one attempts were made to striate, to transform into a dependency of the land, with its fixed routes, constant directions, relative movements, a whole counterhydraulic of channels and conduits” (ibid., 387).

Deleuze goes on to argue that contemporary state apparatuses have reconstituted “smooth space” through the formation of a “worldwide war machine whose organization exceeds the state apparatuses and passes into energy, military-industrial, and multinational complexes” (ibid.). Thus, while Deleuze defends a “nomad science” as opposed to a science serving a state apparatus characterized by persistencies of authoritarian and colonial regimes, he also provides us with a warning regarding the purported benevolence of a nomad science.

For Deleuze, “the way in which a science . . . participates in the organization of the social field, and in particular induces a division of labor, is part of that science itself” (ibid., 368). Indeed, what Deleuze calls “royal science . . . derives from a society divided into governors and governed, and later, intellectuals and manual laborers” (ibid., 369; emphasis added). In contrast, “nomad science” imagines “another organization of work, and of the social field through work,” searching not for laws or constants, but “seiz[ing] or determin[ing] singularities in the matter” (ibid.). He adds that “nomad sciences do not destine science to take on an autonomous power” (ibid., 373). I suggest that we can collectively reflect on a concept of a science of sea space that is a “nomad science,” albeit one that does not serve the “worldwide war machine” that has reconstituted sea space. Instead, a science of sea space can create knowledge through work with subjects as fellow experts on sea space, a space continuously produced through practices that are intangible. What are the ways in which we can frame such practices as heritage?

THREE PROPOSALS FOR HERITAGE RESEARCH WITHIN TRADITION STUDIES

Let us return to the definition of “heritage” in the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage:

The “intangible cultural heritage” means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledges, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and *cultural spaces* associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (UNESCO 2003, 2; emphasis added)

As I suggested previously, I believe that it can be enabling for us to reflect on this definition by recalling and deploying the diverse conceptualizations of heritage developed within tradition studies at Berkeley and elsewhere during the 1990s, including the exploration by architectural and urban historian Nezar AlSayyad of the role of “manufacturing heritage” in state formation (2001), the defense by anthropologist Nelson Graburn of a research attentive to situated definitions of heritage (2001), and the argument by architectural historian Dell Upton on future vernacular landscape studies that address “episodes of encounter and transformation” (1993, 14). While this 1990s debate on heritage within tradition studies does not necessarily challenge the later UNESCO definition, recalling may present some challenging questions for present-day research. In the 1993 article “The Tradition of Change,” Upton reflected on two disabling categories in vernacular landscape studies: “the vernacular as a static category of experience” and “a belief

in the authenticity of the object” (ibid., 9). He defended that “we should turn our attention away from a search for the authentic, the characteristic, the enduring and the pure, and immerse ourselves in the active, the evanescent and the impure, seeking settings that are ambiguous, multiple, often contested, and examining points of contact and transformation – in the market, at the edge, in the new and the decaying” (ibid., 14).

Paraphrasing Upton, I ask: How can a science of sea space focus on “episodes of encounter and transformation”? How can we explore “intangible heritage” as necessarily contested?

By 2001, in the introduction to the edited volume *Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism: Manufacturing Heritage, Consuming Tradition*, AlSayyad provided one response to Upton’s challenge: an attention to the role of “manufacturing heritage” in contemporary state formation, notably by postcolonial state apparatuses. AlSayyad argued that “many nations . . . are resorting to heritage preservation, the invention of tradition, and the rewriting of history as forms of self-definition” (2001, 2), noting that “if tradition is about the absence of choice, as Yu-Fu Tuan argued some years ago, heritage then is the deliberate embrace of a single choice as a means of defining the past in relationship to the future” (ibid., 14).

Inspired by AlSayyad, we can ask: How can a science of sea space then foster the imagination of plural heritages while acknowledging the productive role of heritage preservation in the political autonomization of states and of individuals? How is heritage preservation political? Whose lives are benefitted, and are certain modes of living endangered through actual preservation practices, since modes of living are “constantly recreated,” as the conventional definition rightly notes?

In the same volume, Graburn provided a contrasting proposal regarding plural heritages based on the anthropological project, by defending an ethnographic perspective on heritage inspired by psychoanalysis. Graburn defended an attention both to “the individual level of the personal story of heritage and tradition” (2001, 68) and an exposition of “the sources and variety of attitudes towards those things called heritage in the modern world” (ibid., 81). We can thus ask: To what extent is the UNESCO definition of heritage understandable as part of a situated epistemology that is framed as universal? Can we draw inspiration from a comparative exercise regarding languages and even epistemologies, an exercise that may problematize heritage? As an example, Indonesian architectural historians like Abidin Kusno and Rina Priyani are currently contributing to this discussion with valuable work on the ways in which translations and mistranslations illuminate the messiness of manufacturing heritage in Southeast Asia.³

³ Abidin Kusno, “In whose tradition? Jakarta meets the new governor” (keynote lecture, biennial conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 14–17 December 2014). Rina Priyani, “Postcolonial architecture in urban Indonesia: Jengki architecture and the Chinese–Indonesian builders” (paper presented at the above-mentioned biennial conference).

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS A SCIENCE OF SEA SPACE

In conclusion: I have begun by arguing that the sea can be understood as a social space, including a diverse set of sea spaces that can be

researched as intangible heritage in themselves, not as mere “cultural spaces” associated with intangible heritage. I have also argued that knowledge of such sea spaces can correspond to what Deleuze called a “nomad science,” a form of knowledge that aims at deploying theories and methods that emerge from the specificities of the representations, practices, and imaginations that constitute sea spaces. Such a science of sea space can be enabling for those involved in disputes around sea spaces. Finally, I have argued that recalling debates within tradition studies on heritage is one of the ways in which we can work together towards a theorization of an intangible heritage of the sea that is a necessarily contested domain; as a kind of shipwreck characterized both by damage and treasures. I will thus finish with the words of the late Adrienne Rich, in her 1972 poem “Diving into the Wreck” (2008, 100):

I came to explore the wreck.

The words are purposes.

The words are maps.

I came to see the damage that was done
and the treasures that prevail.

Thank you.

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1

**Uncovering Heritages
and Memories**



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ABSTRACT

Initiated by Augustus, Rome's Atlantic policy seems to have been consolidated in the age of Claudius, with the acknowledgement of the economic potential offered by the Atlantic region. It is in this context that we must understand the development of the salted-fish industry in Lusitania. In the same geographical contexts, and in close relationship with fish-processing factories, are known about 20 pottery centres producing amphorae, located in the regions of Peniche, Sado and Tejo valleys, and the coasts of Alentejo and Algarve. This production extended in time beyond the end of the Western Roman Empire and up to the end of the 5th and 6th centuries, according to the archaeological data of some amphora kilns and fish-processing sites. The identification of Lusitanian amphorae in distant consuming centres and several shipwrecks in the Mediterranean basin confirm the long-distance commerce and the total integration of this "peripheral" region into the trade routes of the Roman Empire.

KEYWORDS

fish products, maritime routes, Lusitanian amphorae, shipwrecks, underwater cultural heritage

SALTED FISH INDUSTRY IN ROMAN LUSITANIA: TRADE MEMORIES BETWEEN OCEANUS AND MARE NOSTRUM

THE "CONQUEST" OF THE ATLANTIC FACADE

The inclusion of the *Lusitania* Province and the northwestern Iberian Peninsula into the Roman Empire allowed for the existence of regular long-distance contacts with other provinces and especially with the Mediterranean. The spreading out of Rome's power to *Britannia* and *Germania Inferior* – a process completed in the middle of the 1st century AD – inevitably provided the Roman Empire with a wide Atlantic coastal area.

The trade networks established along the Atlantic facades of the Iberian Peninsula supplied not only the cities but also, and above all, the fixed military camps located in the northwestern Iberian Peninsula. The archaeological data suggests a preferred relationship with the *Baetica* province and the port of *Gades*, where the supply of corn, wine and olive oil was controlled by the state (Remensal Rodríguez 1986, 111; Morillo Cerdán and Salido Domínguez 2010, 148). Those military supply networks can also be related to the more recently established routes towards *Britannia* and *Germania Inferior* (Fernández Ochoa and Morillo Cerdán 2010, 115; García Vargas 2010, 65).

Actually, despite some sailing difficulties, the Atlantic route constituted the best choice considering the distance/cost relationship (Carreras Monfort 2000; Blot, M.L. 2003; Fabião 2009a, 53). However, international studies have valued the importance of the Gallic isthmus and the Rhone and Rhine routes, underlining the supposed Hispanic peripheral condition and depreciating the Atlantic route (Carreras Monfort 2000, Fabião 2009a).

The lack of shipwreck records on the Atlantic coast from Cadiz to La Coruna in the work of Parker (1992), coupled with a somewhat non-contextualised analysis of *Ora Maritima* (ca. 4th century), has contributed to an increased skepticism regarding the Atlantic navigation of the Romans. Cadiz, described by Strabo (ca. 1st century) with enthusiasm, lay in ruins three centuries later, according to Avienus (Mantas 2000).

Nevertheless, in the last decades, archaeological underwater discoveries in maritime and fluvial contexts (Bombico 2012, Cardoso 2013, Blot and Bombico 2014) along the Atlantic facade have contributed to a better understanding and characterisation of settlements and sea routes.

Initiated by Augustus, Rome's Atlantic policy seems to have been consolidated in the age of Claudius, with the acknowledgement of the economic potential offered by the Atlantic region (Mantas 2002–2003, 459; Fabião 2005, 84). In fact, between the middle of the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, the quantity of archaeological evidence

indicative of Roman presence in the western Iberian Peninsula grows exponentially, confirming data found in classical literature sources (Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Strabo and Avienus). Thus, Pliny wrote that “the cities worthy of mention on the coast, beginning from the Tagus, are that of Olisipo, famous for its mares, which conceive from the west wind; Salacia, which is surnamed the Imperial City; Merobriga; and then the Sacred Promontory, with the other known by the name of Cuneus, and the towns of Ossonoba, Balsa, and Myrtili”.¹

The complexity of the Atlantic environment makes it particularly difficult to recognise ancient port facilities and calls for a reflection on the concept of harbour space. In fact, these vestiges are not always materialized in specific harbour equipment. Sometimes, it could be that, as described by Strabo regarding the Tiber River, ships were unloaded through the use of smaller vessels (Blot, M.L. 2003, 22).

The historical and archaeological data collected in the last decades suggest the following scenario:

- the existence of a significant exploitation of marine resources (mainly fish products) correlated with amphora kilns;
- an interest for estuaries and the influence they had on the development of Lusitania’s maritime cities;
- the proliferation of archaeological records related to transport and circulation of goods by sea along the Atlantic coastline (such as the pattern of distribution of some amphorae and *terra sigillata*); and lastly,
- the identification of archaeological remains of ancient navigation (lead anchor stocks, shipwrecks and lighthouses).

The main Roman *viae* in Lusitania seem to arise, on the one hand, from the necessity to link maritime cities among each other, and, on the other hand, from the necessity to connect them to the fluvial routes that penetrated the territory (Mantas 2002–2003). This means that roads combined maritime routes and oceanic *termini* with inner *termini* (Blot, M.L. 2003). These elements suggest an ancient economy based on both agriculture and fishing to which sea trade was added. The development of salt exploitation, linked to fishing activities, allowed for the production of salted fish, one of the most important industries in Roman *Lusitania* (Edmondson 1987, Fabião 2009b).

Jaime Cortesão was the first Portuguese author to suggest the existence of an “Atlantic settlement process” in Roman times (Fabião 2009a). Later studies have further analysed that topic (Edmondson 1987, Mantas 1990, Blot, M.L. 2003). It is interesting to note that the cases of the Sado and the Tagus rivers seem to confirm Jaime Cortesão’s supposition and, indeed, there are indications of coastal settlement (or coastal settlement increase) in Roman times (Fabião 2009a). It is in this context that we must understand the development of the fish products industry in *Lusitania*.

¹ Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 435.21.

FISH PRODUCTS AND AMPHORAE FROM ROMAN LUSITANIA

The ancient Lusitanian maritime installations were made up by a set of harbours, the so-called “harbour complexes” (Blot, M.L. 1998, 154; Mantas 2000; Blot, M.L. 2003), integrated into the same navigable geographical reality, such as an estuary. In the same geographical contexts, and in close relationship with fish-processing factories, are known at least 18 pottery centres producing amphorae, located in the regions of Peniche, Sado and Tejo valleys, and the coasts of Alentejo and Algarve (Mayet 2001, Fabião 2004). In perfect geographic relationship with the kilns, and dependent on fishing and the extraction of salt, were developed the fish-salting workshops (Fabião 2009b) (Figures 1 and 2).

Although the classical authors do not mention this kind of production in *Lusitania*, the importance of the salted fish industry is evident given the extensive structural remains of *cetariae* distributed along the southern and western coasts of the province, indicating a significant production volume (Fabião and Guerra 1993, 999; Étienne and Mayet 1993–94, 218). Moreover, with 25 identified fish-salting workshops, Tróia was one of the largest production centres in the Roman world (Vaz Pinto, Magalhães and Brum 2014, 156).

The oldest evidence of a fish products industry and its containers dates from the beginnings of the Principate and is generally associated with ovoid amphorae from the Julio-Claudian period, particularly with the workshops of Abul and Pinheiro (Sado valley), and Morraçal da Ajuda (Peniche) (Fabião 2004, Fabião and Morais 2007, Fabião 2008).

Between the middle of the 1st and the end of the 2nd centuries AD the Dressel 14 amphora dominated the production in Lusitanian kilns. During the 2nd century begins the production of a new type of amphora in the pottery centres of Sado and Tagus, the Lusitana 3. This type, characterised by its flat bottom that seems to be inspired by the Gauloise 4 type, has been typically associated with the transportation of wine.

Between the end of the 2nd century and the beginnings of the 3rd century, profound changes in the production of fish products in *Lusitania* took place, changes that occurred at the level of organisation of fish processing units and the pottery workshops, and which made themselves felt in the import records of Lusitanian amphorae in the port of Ostia (Panella and Rizzo 2014), the city of Rome (Panella *et al.* 2010, Rizzo 2012) and progressively in the majority of Western Mediterranean sites.

This transition period is marked by the abandonment of some production units and by the restructuring or subdivision of the salting tanks. This discontinuity in the Lusitanian production is comparable to the occurred within the “Círculo del Estrecho” (Villaverde Vega 1990, Lagosténa Barrios 2001, Bernal Casasola 2008) and arises in correlation with the global set of economic and political changes that occurred in the Roman world between the end of the 2nd century and the beginnings of the 3rd century.

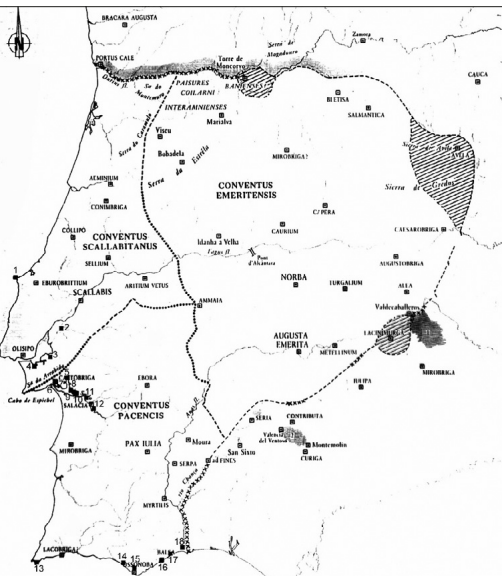


Figure 1 – Pottery centres: 1-Morraçal da Ajuda; 2-Garrocheira; 3-Porto dos Cacos; 4-Quinta do Rouxinol; 5-Zambujalinho; 6-Largo da Misericórdia; 7-Quinta da Alegria; 8-Pinheiro; 9-Xarrosinha; 10-Abul; 11-Bugio; 12-Barrosinha; 13-Martinhal; 14-Quinta do Lago; 15-S. João da Venda; 16-Torre de Aires; 17-Manta Rota; 18-S. Bartolomeu de Castro Marim. (Fabião 2004, 389)

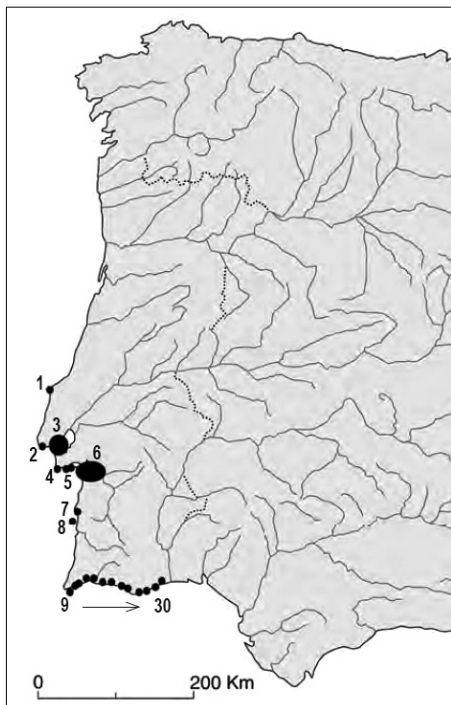


Figure 2 – Fish-salting workshops: 1-Peniche (?); 2-Cascais; 3-Tagus estuary: Casa do Governador da Torre de Belém, Baixa de Lisboa, Porto Brandão and Cacilhas; Sado estuary: 4-Creio; 5-Rasca; 6-Comenda, Setubal and Tróia; 7-Sines; 8-Ilha do Pessegueiro; 9-Beliche; 10-Ilhéu da Baleeira (?); 11-Salema; 12-Boca do Rio; 13-Burgau; 14-Senhora da Luz; 15-Lagos and Meia Praia. 16 - Vau; 17 - Portimões; 18 - Baralha 2; 19 - Ferragudo; 20-Armação de Pêra; 21-Cerro da Vila; 22-Quarteira; 23-Loulé Velho; 24-Quinta do Lago; 25-Faro; 26-Olhão; 27-Quinta de Marim; 28-Torre de Aires; 29-Quinta do Muro and 30-Cacela. (Fabião 2009b, 565)

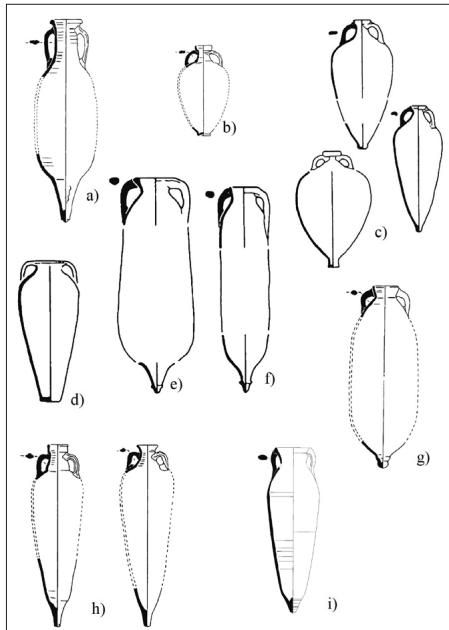


Figure 3 – Lusitanian amphorae types: a) Dressel 14, b) Lusitana 3, c) Almagro 51c, d) Lusitana 9, e) Keay XVI, f) Almagro 50, g) Keay 78/Sado 1, h) Almagro 51 A&B and i) Sado 3

In the course of the 3rd century we are witnessing a resumption of exploration and exportation, which reaches its peak during the 4th century. While the major centres at the rivers Sado and Tagus continue in operation, new centres emerge, especially in the Algarve (Fabião 2009b, 576). This new phase of production is characterised by a diversification of amphorae types² (Figure 3). Between the 3rd and the 5th centuries AD, Almagro 51c replaced the Dressel 14 as the dominant form, and throughout this period three successive versions of this form were known. At the centres of the rivers Tagus and Sado, the Almagro 51c, Almagro 50 and Keay XVI forms were produced, as well as the Keay 78 form, at the Sado, and the flat-bottomed Lusitana 9, from the Tagus estuary. In the course of the 4th century appears the Almagro 51 A&B (Mayet 2001, Fabião 2004 and 2008). The Sado 3 form appears in the late 4th century or in the 5th century and its production is documented in the pottery workshop of Pinheiro (Mayet and Silva 1998 *apud* Fabião 2008, 742). The Beltrán 72 form, long considered as a production of the Algarve, was subsequently excluded from the Lusitanian productions by most authors and assigned to the late productions of the Cadiz Bay area (Fabião 2004, 397). However, current archaeological studies continue to refer to forms of this type with Lusitanian fabrics, which leaves the question open to discussion (Garcia Vargas 2007, 343; Bombico *et al.* 2014).

The fish products industry continued, beyond the fall of the Roman Empire, up to the 6th century, according to the archaeological data of some amphora kilns and fish-processing sites (Fabião 2008, 740 and 743; Fabião 2009c).

The data available for the study of the distribution of Lusitanian products are, for the most part, confined to the study of fish amphorae. This fact leads us to consider fish as the main food product produced and exported by the province, relegating the possible wine export to a secondary position. Unfortunately, the epigraphic tradition (stamps) is hardly present in the Lusitanian productions (Fabião and Guerra 2004) and the only *titulus pictus* known is the LIQ (*uamen*) in a Dressel 14 *parva* from the Arles-Rhône 3 area (Quillon 2011, 108).

Some fish bone remains from processing tanks in *Lusitania* and Mediterranean shipwrecks, as well as the diversity of the amphorae forms, indicate that the province had produced and exported both salted fish (*salsamenta*) and fish sauces (*garum*, *hallex*, *liquamen*, *muria*, etc.), thus turning the rich sea life of the Atlantic waters into an economic advantage.

On the basis of faunal remains, a clear pattern emerges in the spectrum of species used in the preparation of fish products in Roman times. The fish sauces were produced mainly from clupeiform fishes: sardines *all itlaics*, sardinella (*Sardinella* sp.) and, to a lesser extent, anchovies (*Engraulis encrasicolus*). Sea breams (*Sparidae*) were also regularly used, albeit usually in smaller proportions. For *salsamenta*, the Spanish mackerel (*Scomber japonicus*) was preferred, although the use of scad (*Trachurus* sp.) is also documented (Van Neer *et al.* 2010, 162).

² More information on forms, typologies and the characteristics of the materials can be obtained through the References cited below and <http://amphorae.icac.cat/tipol/geo/map> (Amphorae Ex Hispania).

The archaeological evidences, from mid-1st century BC, reveal a major utilisation of Spanish mackerel in the Baetican production (Desse-Berset and Desse 2000; García Vargas 2006, 41). On the other hand, fish bones of sardines have been found in several Lusitanian amphorae from shipwrecks (Fabião and Guerra 1993, 1005–1006; Desse-Berset and Desse 2000) (Table 1). In addition, sardine (*Sardina pilchardus*) was the principal component of the contents found in the tanks from Lusitanian factories: “Casa do Governador”, Rua dos Correeiros, “Mandarin Chinês”, factories I and II of Tróia, Quinta do Marim (Olhão) and Travessa do Freire Gaspar (Setúbal). All the analysed fish remains came from a later phase in the use of fish vats, between the 3rd and the 5th centuries (Desse-Berset and Desse 2000, Assis and Amaro 2006, Gabriel *et al.* 2009). Thus, it seems that, at least in Late Antiquity, sardine was a most important element in the manufacturing of fish products in *Lusitania*.

Nevertheless, the identification of processed fish remains is a complicated task, and there are still discrepancies between the archaeozoological evidence and the one provided by epigraphic and literary sources (Van Neer *et al.* 2010, 162).

UNDERWATER MEMORIES FROM MARE NOSTRUM: SHIPWRECKS AND TRADE ROUTES

As an event that occurs at a single point in time, the shipwreck presents a very narrow chronological spectrum. Isochrony is one of the main characteristics of the goods transported by a ship and found among a shipwrecked cargo (Blot, J.-Y. 1998, 118). It is an exceptional archaeological context. “Each underwater shipwreck site that has been excavated and published provides a snapshot of the trade of its time, as we may

Shipwreck	Amphora type	Chronology	Fish species	Medium Size	Fish product	References
L'Anse Gerbal (Port-Vendres 1, France)	Almagro 50	End of the 4 th century AD	Sardine (<i>Sardina pilchardus</i>)	22-25 cm	Salted Fish (entire sardines - salation)	Desse-Berset and Desse 2000, 92
Randello (Sicity)	Almagro 50	4 th century AD	Sardine (<i>Sardina pilchardus</i>)	11-18 cm	Salted Fish (entire sardines - salation)	Desse-Berset and Desse 2000, 93
Cala Reale A	Sado 3 and/or Beltran 72	Second half of the 4 th century – beginnings of the 5 th century AD	Sardine (<i>Sardina pilchardus</i>)	–	Salted Fish (entire sardines - salation)	Delussu and Wilkens 2000, 60.
	1 Almagro 51 A&B				<i>garum</i> ?	
Punta Vecchia 1	Almagro 51c	Late 3 rd century and mid-4 th century AD	–	–	Probably entire fish	Leroy de la Brière and Meysen 2007a, 88 and 89
Planier 7	Almagro 50	4 th century AD	Some of these amphorae have shells of <i>pectunculus pitosus</i>	–	Shells and probably entire sardines	Benoit, 1962, 159

Table 1 – Faunal remains in Lusitanian amphorae

Note: In the shipwrecks of Catalans (Marseilles) and Sud-Lavezzi 1 have been identified remains of Spanish mackerel (*Scomber japonicus*) associated to the Almagro 51 A&B/Keay XIX amphora type, probably from a South-Hispanic fabric, non-Lusitanian.

deduce that all objects being transported were contemporary; if not produced in the same year, they were at least sold at the same time” (Mayet 1998, 83).

Amphorae play an important role in the study of maritime trade, as they are containers specifically designed for maritime transport (Carreras Monfort 2000, 32). The importance of the amphorae found in the marine environment is linked to their context and conservation state. When conserved as a whole, which happens in many cases, it is possible to define their shape, size and capacity. They often preserve stamps and *tituli picti* that provide us with relevant information regarding origins, contents and trading processes. On the other hand, they allow us to infer navigation and maritime traffic routes that can be defined not only by the shipwreck location but also, and mainly, by the combination, in the same load, of archaeological materials of different origins. That is to say that, in some cases, the arrangement of different goods on board of a wrecked ship provides insight into the route of its final voyage, or the use of entrepôts (Parker 1992b, 89).

The data included in this paper is part of a wider research project that is currently under way within the scope of the doctoral thesis of the author. The data presented here represents only a small sample of the data available for analysis, which corresponds to more than 40 shipwreck sites. Based on the published data (Edmonson 1987, Lopes and Mayet 1990, Parker 1992a, Étienne and Mayet 1993–94, Fabião 1996 and 1997), we are trying to update the inventory of shipwreck sites containing Lusitanian amphorae. In the late 1990s, Carlos Fabião presented an updated inventory with a total of 33 shipwreck sites that contained “Lusitanian type” amphorae (Fabião 1997), a much greater number of sites than the previous inventory from F. Mayet, which recorded 17 shipwrecks (Lopes and Mayet 1990, Étienne and Mayet 1993–94). More recently, Andrew Philip Souter, based solely on the above-mentioned published data, reintroduced a distribution of Mediterranean shipwrecks that contained Lusitanian amphorae (Souter 2012, 156). However, in the last 17 years, a set of new underwater archaeological works allowed for the adding of new shipwreck sites to the inventory (Bombico *et al.* 2014 and Bombico, in press).

For this paper, only a small number of sites have been selected. They seem to correspond to different models of commerce and transport that fall largely within the east–west routes departing from the Iberian Peninsula towards Rome. The global analysis of the available data suggests a much more complex set of routes that include the Central and Eastern Mediterranean, but we will not address this here.

Shipwrecks constitute a primary source for studies on the circulation of goods; however, they pose limitations. Shipwrecks have been described as closed deposits, and yet there may be elements of disturbance or contamination, especially in port contexts or ship graveyards, such as some sites in the Strait of Bonifacio. In some cases, mistaken topography and insufficient information about the material found or the

site itself cause serious problems for the archaeological interpretation (Parker 1981, 332).

The set of shipwrecks traditionally associated with the presence of “Lusitanian type” amphorae is, overall, a set of ill-characterised underwater sites. Those are, for the most part, sites where occasional surface sampling (with poor location records and lacking scientific rigour) took place, where a systematic archaeological intervention has never been carried out, and where results have been published in an incomplete way. The big challenge here would be to clarify these data, which, ideally, would entail the re-examination of all the amphorae that have been identified in all of the shipwreck contexts. Such challenge, however, will not be totally met within the scope of the aforesaid doctoral thesis, mainly for reasons that have to do with the time available to perform the investigation, and the ample geographical dispersion of the finds, and of the collections. On the other hand, much of the material recovered during the 1960s, the 1970s and the 1980s cannot be located.

But perhaps the biggest problem in analysing these data is the recognition of Lusitanian fabrics. Their identification has proved problematic, mainly because of developments in the archaeological research of Hispanic pottery workshops. Today, we know that “Lusitanian type” amphorae (amongst which are the forms of wider distribution Dressel 14, and the Almagro 50 and 51 series) were also produced in other parts of southern *Hispania* (Bernal Casasola 1998, Bernal and García Vargas 2008, Fabião 2008). In order to clarify their origin it is necessary to reassess, in the light of the new data, the ceramic assemblages that were published in particular up until the 1990s and the inventories held in museums. On the other hand, it remains difficult to identify Lusitanian productions amongst the vast set of published data, as it is very common to find generic classifications of origin, such as “South-Hispanic” or simply “from the Iberian Peninsula”.

It should also be taken into account that fish products were, in some cases, a secondary cargo that could have been part of a subsidiary and free trade system whose volumes did not come close to the ones of the redistribution of wheat, olive oil, wine, metals or marble, promoted by the state, and bound for the two great markets of the Roman world: Rome and the military camps (Tchernia 2011). In addition, the underwater archaeology data have emphasised the presumed complementary role of the diffusion of Lusitanian productions in relation to other regions, namely *Baetica* (Mantas 1990, 170 and 191; Lopes and Mayet 1990, 299 and 300).

The set of shipwrecks with amphorae of Lusitanian production on board is quite heterogeneous. There are cases in which Lusitanian amphorae constitute the main cargo and cases in which they are secondary or supplementary cargo. There are also some examples in which their small quantity seems to indicate that they would have been part of the crew’s belongings. However, in any case, their presence allows us to establish chronologies and understand routes (direct, redistribution,

long distance, cabotage, etc.). And in some cases, the remains of the hull may indicate the size and capacity of the vessel.

The heterogeneity of the shipwrecks allowed us to conjecture a few different models of circulation and transportation. We have sought to build a comprehensive image of the diversity of existing cases over, i.e., from the middle of the 1st century AD to the end of the 5th century AD. Similarly to what has been recently done by Giulia Boetto (2012, 156), we have selected a heterogeneous sample of wrecks and applied hypothetical models of “commercial routes” to them (Figure 4).

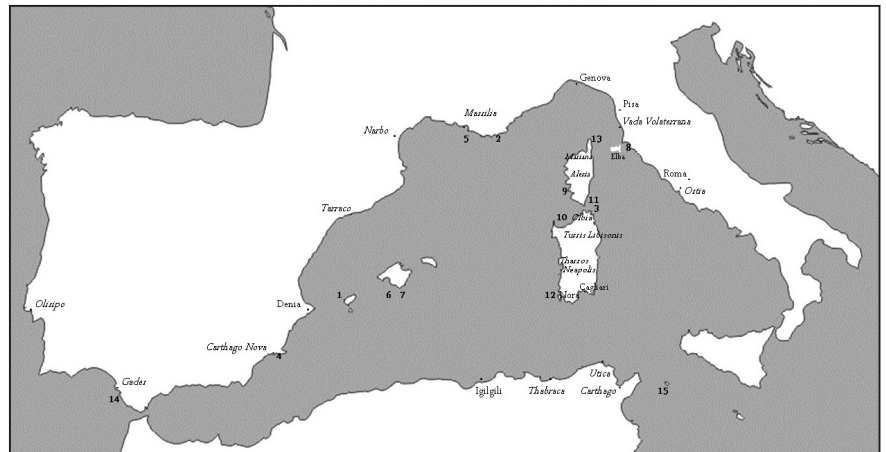


Figure 4 – Shipwrecks containing Lusitanian amphorae and discussed in the text:

1st/2nd century: 1-San Antonio Abad; 2-Cap Bénat 1; 3-Punta Sardegna A; 4-Escombreras 4; 5-Tiboul-en-de-Maire

3rd century: 6-Cabrera I; 7-Cabrera III; 8-Punta Ala A; 9-Porticcio A

4th/5th century: 10-Cala Reale A; 11-Sud-Lavezzi 1; 12-Fontanamare A/Gonnesa Sito A; 13-Punta Vecchia 1; 14-Sancti Petri; 15-Scauri

The transportation of Lusitanian fish products must have occurred by way of a homogenous shipment that is loaded at the same time in a major port – located near the area of production of the cargo – and then sent through a direct route to another major port. This model is likely to have been used for transport between, for example, the port of *Olisipo* and *Gades* or *Olisipo* and *Carthago Nova*, and less likely to have been used in very long distance routes, such as the ones between *Olisipo* and Rome, although the shipwreck of Cala Reale A, in northern Sardinia, with a predominantly Lusitanian cargo, may suggest such model. Yet, it is very likely that a significant part of Lusitanian fish products may have been exported via *negotiatores* based in the port of *Gades* (Lopes and Mayet 1990, 300; Étienne and Mayet 1993–94, 216; Mantas 1998, 208 and 213). Therefore, we believe that shipwrecks with predominantly Lusitanian cargos can correspond to a model which is somewhat different from the one previously described and would originate from a South-Hispanic port, such as *Gades* or *Carthago Nova* – i.e., a homogenous shipment that is loaded at the same time in a major port – far away from the area of production of the majority of the goods – and sent through a direct route to another major port. The wrecks of San Antonio Abad/Grum de Sal (Ibiza), Cap Bénat 1 (Var, France) or Punta Sardegna A (Strait of Bonifacio), all with a homogeneous main cargo of Lusitanian Dressel

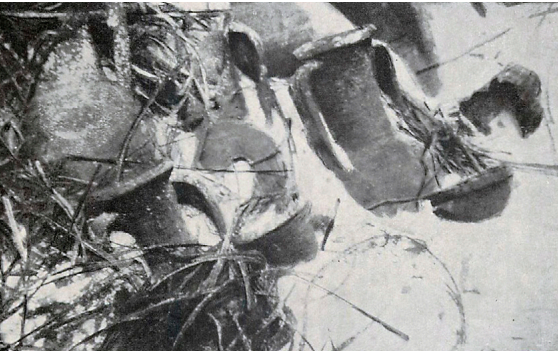


Figure 5 – Dressel 14 amphorae from San Antonio Abad shipwreck. (Vilar Sancho and Mañá 1965, Lamina XLVII)

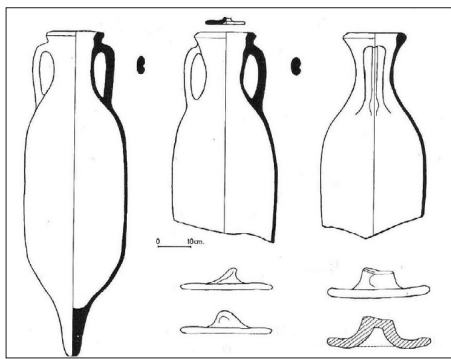


Figure 6 – Dressel 14 amphorae and *opercula* from Cap Bénat 1 shipwreck. (Calmes 1973, 143)

14 amphorae, which are datable from the second half of the 1st century to the middle of the 2nd century AD, fit into this type of route parting from the south of the Iberian Peninsula and heading to one of the larger ports of the south of Gaul or to the ports of Rome.

In the summers of 1962 and 1963, archaeological campaigns were carried out at the shipwreck site of San Antonio Abad (Ibiza). Several amphorae belonging to the Dressel 14 type (Figure 5), containing a fish-based product, were retrieved, as well as some *opercula* (Vilar-Sancho and Mañá 1964 and 1965), the remains corresponding to a vessel with no less than 25 meters in length (Vilar Sancho and Mañá 1964, 187). Later, during the 1980s and 1990s, the site was again subject to archaeological works, and the ceramic materials were stored in the deposit of the Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza y Formentera.

The shipwreck site known as Cap Bénat 1 had its first intervention in 1971. With the exception of two different fragments, a flat-bottomed amphora and a PE 25 from Ibiza, the total of the materials observed and retrieved belonged to the same amphora type. The formal description and the drawings allow us to identify the amphorae as being Dressel 14 (Figure 6), and the description of the fabric indicates a probable Lusitanian production (Calmes 1973, 142). There were also three *opercula* retrieved (Calmes 1973, 137–140). The majority of the retrieved pieces are presently in the Dépôt de Saint-Raphael (Fréjus); however, we were able to examine a rim fragment and a spike of Dressel 14 of Lusitanian fabric in the Dépôt archéologique régional d'Aix les Milles.

The site of Punta Sardegna A is located in the Maddalena Archipelago, in the southern part of the Strait of Bonifacio. This place has recently undergone underwater archaeological works carried out by the Università di Sassari, under the supervision of professor Pier Giorgio Spanu. Based on the work performed on the site, we can assume that the shipwreck was a vessel carrying mostly Lusitanian amphorae of fish products from the Dressel 14 type. But also a spike of Dressel 7-11, a handle of Dressel 20 from *Baetica*, a spike of Dressel 2-4 Italic and two *opercula* were recovered from the site (Porqueddu 2013, 86–90, 114–115; Porqueddu, Giarrusso and Spanu, in press).

Until the mid-2nd century AD, archaeological records also present cases in which Lusitanian Dressel 14 amphorae were a secondary cargo, a residual cargo, or simply objects that belonged to the crew. We have chosen two examples: Escombreras 4 and Tiboulen-de-Maire.

The site of Escombreras 4 is located on the coast of *Carthago Nova*. It is presumed to be the shipwreck of a merchant ship coming from *Baetica* with a main cargo of Haltern 70, Dressel 8 and 9, and some Beltrán IIB and Lusitanian Dressel 14, from the second half of the 1st century AD (Pinedo Reyes and Alonso Campoy 2004, 131–133). A specimen of these amphorae, which we were able to observe, is deposited in the MNAS (Arqua-Cartagena) (ESC-I/17.17/2/10354).

The site of Tiboulen-de-Maire is located near a small island, to the south of Marseille. The site has undergone two underwater archaeological campaigns carried out by DRASSM (Département des recherches archéologiques subaquatiques et sous-marines) in 1977 and 1978. Since 1999, survey and excavations have been undertaken yearly at the site. It is a presumed shipwreck with a main cargo of Baetic olive oil amphorae Dressel 20 (70%), and a heterogeneous secondary cargo including: fish sauce amphorae types Beltrán IIA and IIB (14%), and Dressel 14 (2%); wine containers Gauloise 4 (4%), Dressel 28 (3%) and Dressel 2-4 from *Tarraconensis* (3%), two Forlimpopoli amphorae; a North African amphora and a Dressel 7-11 (Djaoui 2011, 625). The cargo materials establish a chronology between AD 130 and AD 150, and the archaeological works of the last decade allowed for the study of the remains of the hull (Ximénès and Moerman 2006). More recent campaigns, undertaken mostly after 2005, have confirmed that more than 80% of the transported goods were from *Baetica*, particularly olive oil. We can assume that there was a home port located in that region, with a hypothetical use of a redistribution port, such as Narbonne or Marseille (Ximénès 2007, 10; Djaoui 2011, 629). At the Dépôt archéologique régional d'Aix les Milles there is a top part of a Dressel 14 of Lusitanian fabric, retrieved from this shipwreck.

The two following cases outline the maritime exports of Lusitanian fish products throughout the 3rd century AD. These were shipments of different product ranges, loaded at the same time at a main redistributing port and most likely headed for another main port. Lusitanian amphorae shared cargo space on board of the ships with Baetican and North African containers. This presents a peculiar scenario, since, within this chronology, there are no shipwrecks in which Lusitanian amphorae were the main cargo. This may be connected to the above mentioned period of transition, documented through the levels of archaeological finds related to the fish processing factories and amphora kilns in *Lusitania*.

The shipwreck of Cabrera I was surveyed between 1978 and 1979 and is located at about 60 meters from Cabrera III. According to records from the time of the survey, it was possible to identify several amphorae of types Almagro 50 and 51C, Beltrán 72, and Africana II variants B and D. This cargo is identical to the one of Cabrera III, which dates the shipwreck to AD 300–325 (Guerrero Ayuso and Colls 1982; Bost *et al.* 1992, 13; Parker 1992a, 80).

The site of Cabrera III was also surveyed in 1979, having been later excavated in 1985 and 1986. The shipwreck was dated to the year AD 257, based on the treasure of coins aboard the ship. According to naval architecture data, this was a ship of about 35 meters in length. The cargo was stacked in two layers and was composed of Baetic olive oil amphorae Dressel 20 and Tejarillo I, Africana II variants B and C, Almagro 50 and 51C from *Lusitania* and a small number of Beltrán 68 and Beltrán 72. The cargo also included ARS types A and C (Guerrero Ayuso and Colls 1982; Bost *et al.* 1992; Parker 1992a, 81). The specimens from the types Almagro 50 and 51c, exhibited in the Museo de Cabrera, have Lusitanian fabrics.

The archaeological works carried out at these sites led to the conclusion that, on the basis of the disposition of the containers, all had been shipped at the same time. So, considering the apparent Iberian provenience of much of the cargo and the location of the wreck in the Balearic Islands, it seems that the ship was in route from the Iberian Peninsula to Italy, with *Gades* as its most probable port of departure, and *Ostia/Portus* as its likely destination (Bost *et al.* 1992, 200–202).

The 3rd century reveals yet another interesting shipwreck context: the site of Porticcio A, located on the west coast of Corsica. This shipwreck contains a very heterogeneous cargo, probably loaded at the same time at a main redistributing port and transported along a redistribution route to a secondary port. The location of the shipwreck and the characteristics of its cargo suggest that this was a cargo that had been ordered. The site was discovered in 1990 and was subjected to archaeological works from 2001 onwards. The quite heterogeneous cargo includes amphorae from the eastern and western Mediterranean, ARS type C, common ware and African cooking ware, some *mortaria*, one lamp, over 100 glass objects and several fragments of marble statues (Alfonsi 2008a and 2010). The shipment of amphorae is mostly Kapitan II, with a smaller amount of Africana II and Kapitan I. The great variety of amphorae types also includes a smaller presence of the following types: Africana I, Forlimpopoli, Agora M254, Almagro 51C, Almagro 50, Dressel 20, Dressel 23, Agora F65/66, Crétoise 2, Dressel 30, Dressel 28, Beltrán 72, Amphore Égyptienne, Empoli, Tripolitana, Peacock & Williams 60 and Zemer 57, besides other unclassified types. The re-examination of the materials of the deposit of Sartène confirmed the presence of three rims and of a spike of Almagro 51C of Lusitanian fabric. Amongst the marble pieces, fragments belonging to two monumental statues stand out: a bust representing the Emperor Philip the Arab, who reigned between AD 244 and AD 249, and another one likely belonging to his wife, Empress Marcia Otacilia Severa (Alfonsi 2007, 93; 2008a and 2008b). Remains of the hull of the ship were also identified (Alfonsi 2003, 79 and 2006, 94). The two coins that were discovered, one from Philip I and another from Philip II, provide a *terminus post quem* of AD 248–9 for the shipwreck (Alfonsi 2006, 91). In this specific case, the Lusitanian amphorae are residual in a very heterogeneous cargo. Considering the description of the cargo, the most likely origin of this vessel was the port of Carthage. Michel Bonifay (2007, 257) compares this shipwreck to the one of Ognina Sud 1, dating to the first half of the 3rd century, in which a shipment of eastern Kapitan I and II amphorae completes a shipment of mostly Africana I. According to the author, these two shipwrecks suggest that the joint commercialisation of African and eastern types could have been done from the North African ports.

During Late Antiquity, the number of shipwrecks containing Lusitanian amphorae is quite larger. This supports the archaeological data from *Lusitania*, which reveal a considerable increase in the production of fish products throughout the 4th century, and at the outset of the 5th century (Fabião 2009b, 571). Between the end of the 3rd century and the

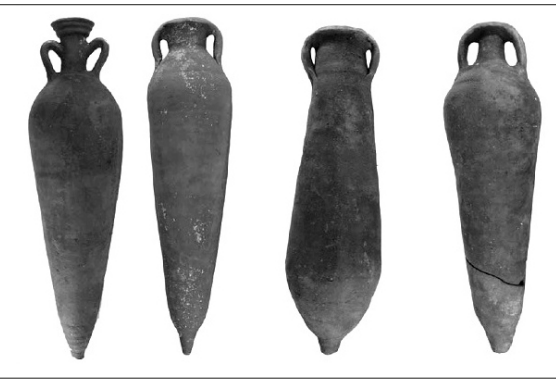


Figure 7 – Amphorae from Cala Reale A shipwreck. From the left to the right: Almagro 51&B, Sado 3, Beltrán 72 and Almagro 51C (Gasperetti 2012, fig.8)

beginning of the 5th century, a quite varied set of shipwrecks sustains the evidence of distinct cargo typologies and of different circulation scenarios, likely contemporaneous. However, the main commerce routes that led from southern *Baetica* to *Ostia* and *Portus* via coastal *Tarraconensis* and southern *Narbonensis* were generally kept, as were the variants that used a process of island hopping (Balearic Islands, Corsica and Sardinia) on routes that led towards Italy via the Strait of Bonifacio.

We will analyse three distinct types of cargo. Firstly, the Cala Reale A shipwreck (Strait of Bonifacio), in which the Lusitanian amphorae were, apparently, a homogeneous main cargo. (Figure 7). After its discovery, in 1995, the site has undergone various underwater archaeological campaigns. From what was published, we are able to confirm the existence of amphorae belonging to types Almagro 51 A&B, Almagro 51C, Beltrán 72 and Sado 3 (Spanu 1997, 111 and 112). Some of the amphorae still contained *in situ* their original cork stoppers and also some traces of fish-based products (Spanu 1997, 112). In addition to the amphorae, the archaeological works allowed for the recovery of two North African lamps, of African cooking ware, of a pitcher, of a considerable number of vitreous paste *tessellae*, and of two coins, one dated from the year 173 and one from the reign of the Emperor Valens (364–7). The set of materials that were retrieved allows us to establish a chronology for the shipwreck between the late 4th century and the middle of the 5th century. The total quantification revealed a cargo of around 2,000 amphorae. No remains of the vessel were identified during the whole excavation process. This vessel was likely bound for the port of Ostia and sank while approaching *Turris Libisonis*, possibly due to stormy weather or to touching bottom in rocky shoals (Gasperetti 2012, 301–303). During our visit to the Antiquarium Turritano and to the Centro di restauro e conservazione dei beni culturali di Sassari we were able to confirm that the totality of the above-mentioned forms was of Lusitanian origin.

Also located on the Strait of Bonifacio, the shipwreck of Sud-Lavezzi 1, discovered in 1975, suggests a model in which the Lusitanian amphorae are the main cargo, along with other Hispanic products – Baetican in this case. Parts of the remains of the hull and some iron anchors were still preserved. The cargo, estimated at 450 amphorae, was arranged in two overlapping layers. Liou (1982, 437–444) studied this cargo, comprised of: 194 Almagro 51 A&B amphorae of varied profiles and capacities; 113 flat-bottomed amphorae of different sizes; 83 cylinder-shaped body amphorae from type Almagro 50 [or Keay 78]; some small amphorae of type Beltrán 72; 6 Almagro 51C and 3 Dressel 23. The splitting of the finds between the company Comex and the DRASSM resulted in the loss of some of the assets, aggravated later by the theft of the materials stored in the DRASSM deposit in Bonifacio. Liou suggests a time frame for the shipwreck somewhere between the 4th century and the middle of the 5th century (Massy 2013, 132–134). A small number of pieces are presently stored in the deposits of Milles and Sartène, allowing us to re-examine 13 specimens. We were able to identify the following Lusitanian fabrics: 3 Beltrán 72, 3 Almagro 51 A&B, and 2 Keay 78.

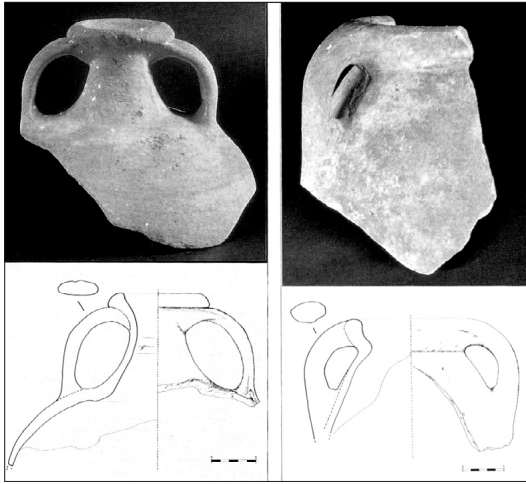


Figure 8 – Amphorae from Fontanamare A shipwreck: Almagro 51C and Keay 78 (Dell’Amico *et al.* 2001–2002)

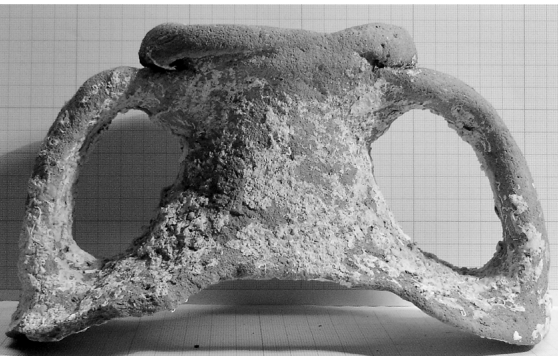


Figure 9 – Almagro 51C from Punta Vecchia 1 shipwreck. Photo: Sónia Bombico

The third model corresponds to a main cargo of Lusitanian fish products with North African products, Africana II variants B and D, and ARS types C and D. Two examples will be highlighted.

The site of Fontanamare A/Gonnesa Sito A was excavated for the first time in 1972; however, the material that was retrieved remained unpublished until the late 1990s (Dell’Amico *et al.* 2001–2002). Three types of amphorae were documented on this site: Almagro 51C (the most abundant), Almagro 50 and/or Keay 78 (Figure 8) and Africana II variant D. Between 1997 and 1999, survey work took place on the site (Salvi and Sanna 2000). At least one third of the cargo appears to have been ARS, in this case the more typical forms of type C (second half of the 3rd century) and the more ancient forms of type D (beginnings of the 4th century AD). This site also revealed another set of interesting archaeological remains, among them: two amphorae cork stoppers; two lamp fragments and some common ware, probably belonging to the crew; *tubuli* and *tegulae*; metal pieces; and also some remains of the ship itself. Lastly, it is also worth mentioning that an important set of coins was found, with a chronological scope from AD 260 (*Gallienus*) to AD 294 (*Maximianus*), thus establishing the *terminus post quem* of the shipwreck (Dell’Amico *et al.* 2001–2002, 23, 45, 46, 52, 71, 83, 86, 87 and 127). The joint analysis of the recovered materials indicates that the shipwreck occurred within the first few decades of the 4th century AD.

Dell’Amico and Pallarés suggest several hypotheses regarding the port where the ship that sank at Fontanamare was loaded. The first one presents the possibility that the loading took place in one of the redistribution ports on the southern coast of Spain. These were ports to which North African products converged via the so called “Phoenician Route”, a route that moved from east to west along the North African coast (Dell’Amico *et al.* 2001–2002, 142). This hypothetical scenario is similar to the one suggested for the shipwreck of Cabrera III (Bost *et al.* 1992, 200 and 201). Another hypothesis is that Carthage was the ship’s port of origin (Dell’Amico *et al.* 2001–2002, 144). In this case, the ship would have been moving in the opposite direction, meaning that Lusitanian products were being brought into the port of Carthage through routes established along the North African coast.

From the site of Punta Vecchia 1 (Cap Corse), numerous amphorae fragments were recovered between 2004 and 2007, amounting to a total of 65 pieces. Amphora tops (rims, necks and handles) and spikes of Almagro 51C of two different sizes (67%) (Figure 9), one handle that could be of the Keay 78 form, possibly a spike of Almagro 51 A&B, another possible spike of Beltrán 72, and fragments of amphorae of Africana II, variants D and B (17%). The materials that were recovered point to the shipwreck having occurred between the late 3rd century and mid-4th century AD, with a predominately Lusitanian cargo. Small remains of wood were also identified during the works (Leroy de La Brière and Meysen 2004; Leroy de La Brière 2006, 87; Leroy de La Brière and Meysen 2007a, 88 and 89; Leroy de La Brière 2007b and

Massy 2013, 110–114). The re-examination of the materials, performed in November of 2013 at the Dépôt de Bastia (DRASSM), confirmed that the totality of the fragments of Almagro 51C were of Lusitanian fabric.

This shipwreck, along with the Punta Ala A one (Dell’Amico and Pallarés 2006), confirms the circulation of Lusitanian amphorae on the circuits of the Tyrrhenian Sea and of the Ligurian Sea. Travelling along this route, ships would leave Rome, frequently with return cargos or cargos for redistribution, and when reaching the Strait of Bonifacio, would head north along the coast of Tuscany. Sailing through the Strait of Bonifacio from east to west was hindered significantly by the winds blowing from the west, so that travelling between *Ostia* and *Gallia* was done mostly through Cap Corse (Arnaud 2005, 165). A set of underwater archaeological data also documents that ships sailed in the opposite direction, along the northern coast of Corsica and of Cap Corse. This suggests an alternative route for the passing of the Strait of Bonifacio, not only for the vessels coming from *Gallia*, but also from the Iberian Peninsula (Arnaud 2012, 136–138). This might have been the case of the ship sunk in Punta Vecchia 1.

The continued export of Lusitanian fish products during the 5th century, already substantiated by the Cala Reale A shipwreck, is also reliably documented in two other contexts: Sancti Petri (Bay of Cadiz) and Scauri (Island of Pantelleria) (Alonso Villalobos *et al.* 1994, Baldassari 2009a and 2009b). In spite of the evidence – revealed by these two sites – regarding the continuity of the exports of Lusitanian salting fish preparations during the 5th century, underwater archaeology has not yet been able to provide direct proof of its circulation after the fall of the Western Roman Empire.

The shipwreck sites used to illustrate the different scenarios of the circulation of Lusitanian amphorae allow us to develop some hypotheses regarding navigation routes. Using as reference the work of Pascal Arnaud (2005) – *Les routes de la navigation antique, Itinéraires en Méditerranée* – a work that contains, in our opinion, all of the relevant information gathered in the last decades, added to by the analysis of the works of Antiquity geographers such as Strabo and Pliny, we can now present the major sailing routes departing from the Iberian Peninsula with courses set for the ports of Rome (Figure 10).

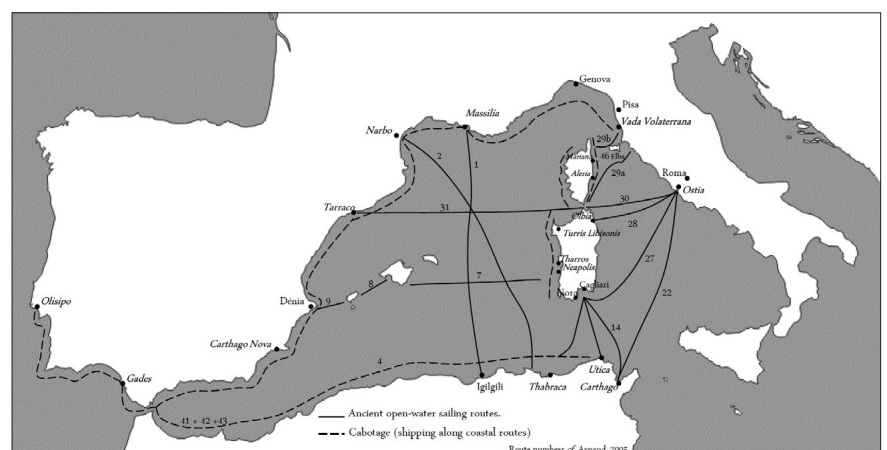


Figure 10 – Ancient sailing routes.

CONCLUSION

The shipwreck sites selected and described in this paper depict the circulation of Lusitanian fish products throughout the main navigation routes along the Western Mediterranean. As we pointed out, the transportation models are highly diversified, being perfectly adjusted to the major tendencies in trade and to the economic transformations that, throughout the years, took place within the Roman Empire. Between the early part of the 1st century and mid-2nd century AD, Lusitanian amphorae mostly circulated alongside Hispanic food products from *Baetica* and *Tarraconensis*, namely olive oil (Dressel 20), wine (Dressel 2-4, Haltern 70 and Dressel 28), fish sauce (Dressel 7-11, Beltrán IIA and IIB, Dressel 14A and 17), as well as ingots of lead or copper. From mid-3rd century AD, it becomes quite frequent for Lusitanian amphorae to be found alongside with North African products, transported in *Africana II* amphorae, variants B, C and D, used for the transportation of various fish goods (Bonifay 2004). This is further supported by their discovery on the Cabrera III shipwreck where fish remains were still visible (Slim *et al.* 2007, 40). This reflects the economic changes that, during the Late Antiquity period (Rice 2011, 85), transformed the African provinces into the great suppliers of food products destined for Rome. Shipwrecks, such as Cabrera III, may be considered as the logical outcome of the institutionally established supply chain to the Empire's capital, based mostly on olive oil. The Lusitanian salted fish preparations were therefore an additional cargo, stored in the vacant space on board of the ships, thus allowing for the establishment of a free trade. Nevertheless, as we demonstrated, a wide set of alternative scenarios may have to be considered, especially regarding the Late Antiquity period.

Shipwrecks are only some of the pieces of the complex puzzle that is the distribution process of Lusitanian amphorae throughout the Mediterranean. Recreating a global scenario is a difficult task and will necessarily have to include the archaeological data from land contexts of the main maritime cities, coastal enclaves, ports and mooring places. In so far as this research is concerned, it has revealed the presence of Lusitanian amphorae in numerous archaeological contexts throughout the Western Mediterranean (Bombico *et al.* 2014 and Bombico, *in press*).

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ABSTRACT

The harsh and rocky nature of the so-called Costa Brava provides a suitable habitat for many species, especially bluefish such as sardines and anchovies. The Greeks founded Ampurias around 600 BC; the Romans installed a camp nearby in the 2nd century BC, then built a new city and eventually unified the entire area under Augustus around the turn of the era: probably the former, and definitely the latter, were producing salted fish in the region. The fishing and fish-salting traditions were kept over the centuries, spurring the development of the present-day village of L'Escala ("port" in Latin) as a fishing settlement in the 16th century. The construction of a salt warehouse in the 17th century and the royal monopoly of this indispensable good gave some prominence to the village. Today, this intangible heritage lives on in its fine anchovies.

KEYWORDS

Ampurias, Greeks, Phocaeans, anchovy, salted fish, *garum*, *cetaria*, Alfolí de la Sal, Mediterranean diet

THE LEGACY OF AMPURIAS IN MODERN L'ESCALA

ANCHOVIES, THE LIVING TRADITION OF SALTED FISH FROM ANTIQUITY

MIXED HERITAGE AND LANDSCAPE

In 2004 the Mediterranean Facet of the Pyrenees was submitted jointly by Spain and France to the UNESCO Tentative List of Mixed Heritage sites. The area on the side of the Iberian Peninsula stretches to the archaeological site of Ampurias (itself a candidate to the World Cultural Heritage List as a Greek Archaeological Ensemble for its uniqueness and its role as gateway to the Romanization of Hispania):

This is the cultural landscape comprising the area where the Pyrenean mountain chain meets the Mediterranean Sea. A rocky, steep coast (...), it is a natural landscape of exceptional quality, rich in biodiversity in both its marine and terrestrial environments. (...) A territory marked by the human presence and the Mediterranean exchanges since the most ancient times, with important historical remains (Greek, Roman, medieval and modern) and associated with the work of a number of the most prominent European artists of the twentieth century in search of light and colour.

In addition, in 2011 the Bay of Roses was accepted as a member of The Most Beautiful Bays in the World international club, a distinction which carries the endorsement of UNESCO. The bay is bordered to the north by the Cap de Creus Natural Park, to the south by the Montgrí Natural Park, and comprises the Parc Natural dels Aiguamolls de l'Empordà.

HISTORY: FROM AMPURIAS TO L'ESCALA

The Greeks became a regular presence in the Pyrenean region as part of a number of western settlements. Only the Phoenician and the Greeks from Phocaea (Asia Minor) had settled so far from their country, on the opposite extreme of the Mediterranean Sea. Underlying this phenomenon was the need to find products and natural resources in the widest possible area: especially minerals, but also wheat, fish sauces and salted fish – basic essential goods which were traded by the Phocaeans (Rouillard 1991).

The city of Emporion was established in the south of the Bay of Roses around 600 BC. It was located by a natural harbour, in an area of salt marshes, well connected to the inland territory by two rivers: Ter and Fluviá. Probably arriving from the foundation of Massalia (modern-day Marseilles), the Phocaeans settled in a small island or isthmus, Palaiapolis or "the old town" (nowadays mainland, where Sant Martí d'Empúries is located), and soon also more to the south, at the other side of the port (Miró 2006).

As the name states, Emporion was a commercial enclave, a meeting point for merchants coming from the sea, and the Iberians who were thriving in

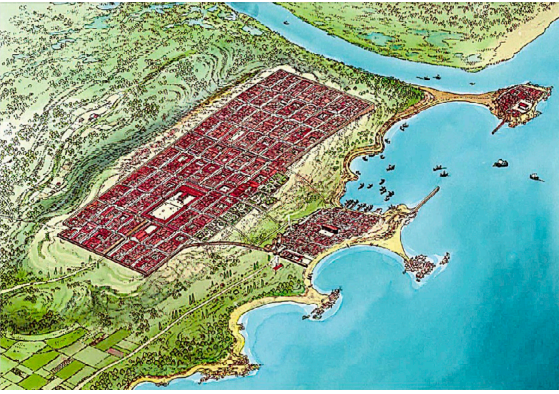


Figure 1 – Restitution of the *Municipium Emporiae* (1st century). Author: F. Riart. MAC – Empúries

the interior areas. The Phocaeans lived alongside indigenous populations that already inhabited that same place. According to the analysis of the ceramics studied, fish dishes were the most exquisite meals, most likely based on Greek recipes (Delgado and Ferrer 2013).

The Romans arrived at the end of the 2nd century BC. In the 1st century BC they established a military camp on a hill farther from the coast to control the Greek city, its port and territory. At the time of Augustus the whole region was unified under the name *Municipium Emporiae*. The former urban settlement, called Neapolis in the 20th century, became a district of merchants, artisans and fishermen (Aquilué 2005), with initially a fish-salting factory, and later also a fish shop (*taberna*) dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD, which was possibly run by a fisherman according to the excavation finds of a wide range of weights, used to hold nets on the seabed, as well as large hooks, probably used for big fish such as tuna (*El Punt Avui. Comarques Gironines*, 27 July 2012, page 17, seen online).

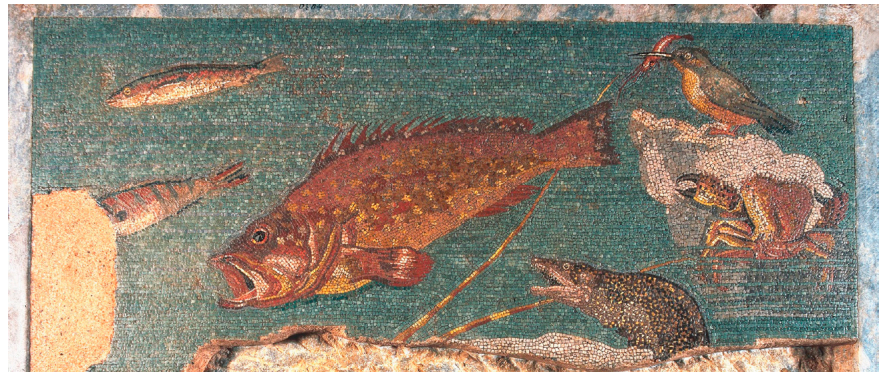


Figure 2 – Original Roman mosaic. MAC – Empúries

Mackerel, horse mackerel and clupeids such as sardines or anchovies were usually salted and sold in Roman towns. In Roman Lusitania their consumption was very high, and remains of salted anchovies have been preserved in some tanks, later abandoned by its manufacturers: from *Iulia Traducta* – current Algeciras – to the very *garum* workshop in Pompeii, we can find examples of these foods that most probably were at the basis of the population's daily consumption, and which show widespread habits of fish consumption in the old *Mare Nostrum*. (Bernal 2014, 23–24)

The first symptoms of the economic crisis that affected Ampurias began to emerge in Neapolis, and it seems that in the 1st century BC there would be already some abandoned areas, as can be deduced from the installation of some new water cisterns disrupting the previous structures (Tremoleda *et al.* 2014).

By the beginning of the 4th century the entire population lived in the old settlement of Palaiapolis. Despite this new urban reality, Ampurias retained its importance as a political and administrative centre, remaining an episcopal see until the arrival of the Arabs, and capital of the Carolingian county during the Frank conquest. In the 15th and 16th



Figure 3 – “Alfolí de la Sal”, National Cultural Heritage



Figure 4 – Houses with stones from Ampurias. Photos by the author

centuries the castle witnessed several occupations and battles, and in 1675 the town was abandoned and plundered (Badiá 1985).

The settlement of L'Escala must have started with a few barracks next to the port. In 1660 the place had 20 houses, and 80 people lived there in 1680. Its origin was probably due to the fact that the ancient harbour of Sant Martí d'Empúries had become buried, which may have caused the progressive movement of the fishing population. Thus, Sant Martí d'Empúries must have developed into a farming village despite being by the sea, as it is still today (Badiá 1985).

THE “ALFOLÍ DE LA SAL” (SALT WAREHOUSE)

The lintel of the main door of this old storehouse bears the date of 1697. According to some studies, the original building was a 16th-century, two-storey construction which was expanded and refurbished to its current structure at the end of the 17th century. It must have been one of the first important buildings in the village, which at the time was still a small, scarcely-populated hamlet (Badiá 1985).

The salt warehouse is a “homestead” structure, with a basilica plan covered by a gable roof. The ground floor is covered by a thick barrel vault, while the others have wooden beams. The top floor is a *terrabastall* (in some farmhouses, especially in the Ampurdan, a room just below the roof made of logs, often used to store straw or as a bedroom), which is connected to a beautiful gallery of three semi-circular arches topped by a horizontal moulding. The walls are made of unfinished stone, with ashlar quoins, and simple rectangular openings are framed by well-worked limestone. The lintels of the majority of the openings have discharging arches and one of the *patios* has a porch with basket-handle arches (*ibid.*).

In the village of L'Escala there are 18th- and 19th-century houses (“casals”) built with ashlar limestone, possibly from the ruins of Ampurias, such as Can Maranges, near the old port (today the Platja: the beach par excellence in the village).

THE FISH-SALTING FACTORY OF AMPURIAS

It is well known that numerous fisheries and tunny fisheries were regularly distributed over areas of Phoenician influence in the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula and around the Straits, where these products were manufactured and then exported at least to mainland Greece and Asia Minor. Nonetheless, also the Greeks excelled in the elaboration of these food preparations and, although no source states this explicitly, it is very likely that much of the Hispanic preserved fish arriving to Greece was not of Phoenician-Punic origin (as it is always assumed), but produced in the Greek (or clearly Greek-influenced) colonies and factories of southern Gaul and Catalonia's coast. We know that Marseille had a large number of fishing boats operating both in ponds and

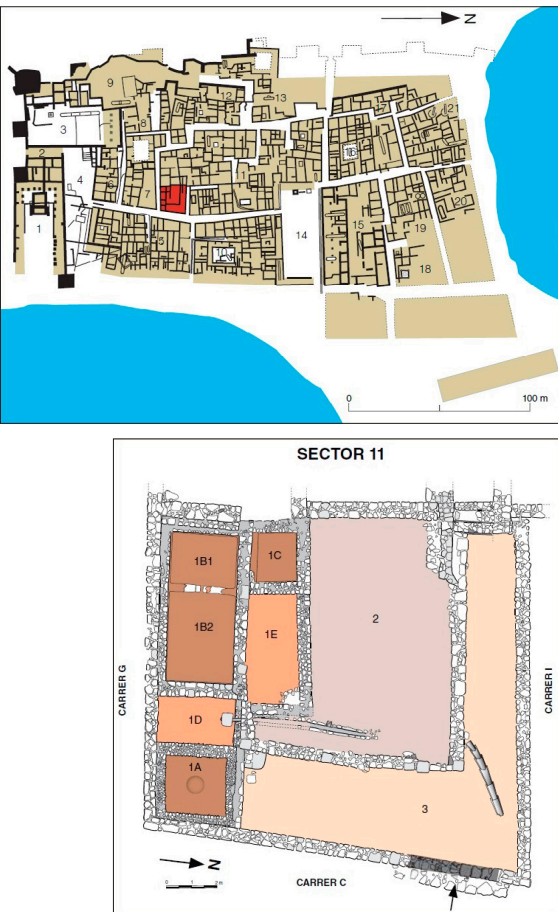


Figure 5 – Neapolis and the salted fish factory plan. MAC – Empúries.

inner lagoons and around the mouth of the Rhone, and that the catches of the fleet (including tuna) were the basis for preserved fish produced with the salt collected from the delta of the river; this was a relatively profitable activity, which employed quite a lot of labour. Strabo (VI 1, 1 [C 252]) also cites the salted products of Velia, another city founded by the Phocaeans (...). For all these reasons, one might imagine that Ampurias also was home to specialists in this industry and that this type of merchandise was often shipped from their docks. (Fernández Nieto 1999, 34–35)

In the Greek city of Emporion, from its very beginning, the salting technique was certainly used to preserve the surplus of fish for later consumption. However, no archaeological evidence of this activity, nor of the production of fish sauces, have been found until Roman times, when at an indeterminate moment during the 1st century BC or sometime in the 1st century AD, a fish-salting factory (*cetaria*) was built in Neapolis (Aquilué 2006). It was situated in the central insula (C, or sector 11), at the intersection of the main street and the street leading up to the high neighbourhood (Tremoleda *et al.* 2014).

A preceding structure was partially removed when the factory was built, as evidenced by the remains of a broken cistern in the NW angle and the razed walls visible under the plan. It was excavated by Emili Gandia in 1917 (SE angle), and the rest of the building in 1934, but there is no information from this excavation except its inclusion in the city plan of that year; therefore, there is no reliable scientific data available about its construction, its operation or the time of its abandonment. On the other side of the same bay, the factory in Rhode is a testimony of the survival of these activities in the region, dating to 4th–5th centuries AD (Mar and Ruiz de Arbulo 1993).

The building has an approximately square plan (15 × 14 m max) and a typical distribution. The entrance of the factory is located on the main street, and leads to an L-shaped porch room with an open courtyard. In the south part there are three tanks (one is double) of different dimensions and about 80-cm deep, as well as two other spaces (slightly lower than the patio level), all of them covered with *opus signinum* (hydraulic concrete), which ensured impermeability and cleanliness. The smallest room has a drainage system which passes beneath the pavement of the courtyard and the storage room until the street sewage. The L-shaped covered room would be a warehouse to keep the salt and utensils for the production of salted fish and derivative sauces, as well as the finished products for sale, probably in amphorae. The tanks or vats would contain fish pieces for maceration with salt and fresh water to create the semi-liquid sauce of *garum* (a process which usually took 2–3 months). The central courtyard would be reserved for the tasks of manipulating, washing and cutting the fish, and the upper spaces would facilitate the task of loading the tanks with fish, salt and water, as well as the final extraction of the finished product (Aquilué 2006).



Figure 6 – “Casa de la Punxa” and terraces in the “Platja”



Figure 7 – A current factory of anchovies. Photos by the author



Figure 8 – Departure of sardine boats (sardinal) from the old port of L'Escaló. Author J. Esquirol. Historic Archive of l'Escaló.

According to Pliny (NH, 31, 93), the first *garum* was prepared only with *gáros* or *garus*, a small fish, difficult for us to identify, which could be anchovy or a similar species. Ordinary *garum* was produced from the entrails of fish, i.e., fish waste of many different species marinated in salt. Quality *garum*, however, was obtained exclusively from small fragments of fish (Tremoleda *et al.* 2014).

The large number of Roman fish-salting factories in the Iberian Peninsula shows the spectacular increase in production that took place especially in the first two centuries of our era, with more than one hundred cases confirmed. There were more tanks than in previous times, they already existed almost everywhere, and they also were larger than before (Bernal 2014).

PRESENT DAY

In the historic centre of L'Escaló, a tourist destination since the 1960s, around the area where the port used to be, one can still find old fishermen houses (one is open to the public as a local museum), a few buildings of salt depots in disuse, the building of the former ice factory (“Casa de la Punxa”) and the salt warehouse itself, under restoration for some years.

The Museum of Anchovy and Salt (MASLE) houses a comprehensive exhibition on traditional processing methods and organizes numerous touristic and cultural tours, as well as other events – such as, in particular, the Salt Feast (every September for the last two decades) – to keep the memory of the past. The MASLE shares both building and staff with the Municipal Archive, which houses a collection of pictures of historic value from the beginning of the 20th century, most of them by the local photographer Josep Esquirol, portraying fishermen and their activities as well as the first institutional excavations at the archaeological site of Ampúries.

Also from L'Escaló was Catalina Albert y Paradís, a contemporary writer known by the pseudonym of Víctor Català, who wrote about her village and rural life, and also followed the excavations with considerable interest.

The ancient remains have their own museum, which belongs to the Archaeological Museum of Catalonia (MAC), along with other sites in Gerona and Barcelona.

And last but not least, at the other side of the village, in the present-day port, L'Escaló has a Fish Interpretation Centre, housing a permanent exhibition and other activities, such as group visits to the auctions at the fish market and boat tours to admire the coasts or even to fish.

Today, L'Escaló is well known for its anchovies, which are recognized with a seal of quality since 1987, a fact that shows that the tradition is still very much alive, keeping several companies and their factories in operation.



Figure 9 – Monument to the sea people, L'Escala.
Photo by the author

THE MEDITERRANEAN DIET

A millenary tradition, salted fish is part of the Mediterranean diet, which was inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by Spain, Greece, Italy and Morocco in 2010, and also by Portugal, Croatia and Cyprus in 2013:

The Mediterranean diet involves a set of skills, knowledge, rituals, symbols and traditions concerning crops, harvesting, fishing, animal husbandry, conservation, processing, cooking, and particularly the sharing and consumption of food. Eating together is the foundation of the cultural identity and continuity of communities throughout the Mediterranean basin. It is a moment of social exchange and communication, an affirmation and renewal of family, group or community identity. The Mediterranean diet emphasizes values of hospitality, neighbourliness, intercultural dialogue and creativity, and a way of life guided by respect for diversity. It plays a vital role in cultural spaces, festivals and celebrations, bringing together people of all ages, conditions and social classes. It includes the craftsmanship and production of traditional receptacles for the transport, preservation and consumption of food, including ceramic plates and glasses. Women play an important role in transmitting knowledge of the Mediterranean diet: they safeguard its techniques, respect seasonal rhythms and festive events, and transmit the values of the element to new generations. Markets also play a key role as spaces for cultivating and transmitting the Mediterranean diet during the daily practice of exchange, agreement and mutual respect.

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ABSTRACT

The subject addressed in this paper is closely linked to a research the author conducted as a PhD student at the University of Coimbra, Faculty of Letters, Department of Archaeology. The study was financed both by the FCT, the national funding agency that supports science, technology and innovation, under the responsibility of the Ministry for Education and Science, and through an individual scholarship granted by the European Union. The compiled documentation related to the research on the *Meio Aquático* (Water World) encompasses several fields of study: Topography and Geomorphology, Literature and History, and last but not least, Archaeology. In the field of Archaeology, the study enunciates all leads that help to trace the environment of Muslim maritime activities and boats, in particular of the Arabic *qarib*, the contact vehicle at several stages of cultural and technological development. The inspiration for this work came, without any doubt, from the pioneering work of Portuguese maritime research, which is the reason why it is a profound obligation to remember the great Doutora Maria Luísa Pinheiro Blot to whom these pages are humbly dedicated.

KEYWORDS

Gharb al-Andalus, aquatic archaeology

NAVAL MUSLIM ANALYSIS OF GHARB AL-ANDALUS

ASPECTS OF THE GHARB AND ITS MARITIME VOCATION

This study defines its specificities within the chronological order of the Muslim occupation of the Iberian Peninsula, and particularly with regard to the development of the southern region of Portugal, situated between the lower Tagus basin (Lisbon) and the Algarve. The analysis of the relationship between its inhabitants and the sea is focused on a period that precedes the Age of Discovery, which, from the end of the 15th century onwards, sees the Christian reign of Portugal engaged in a global venture of intensive maritime exploration, i.e. engaged outside the Mediterranean basin and the classical circuits that had their exclusive attention until then. During the Islamic period (8th–13th centuries) the vitality of the port cities and the development of nautical activities, including naval construction in shipyards, are mentioned by Arab authors such as Al-Razi, Al-Bakri, Ibne Mozaine and al-Idrisi. Various descriptions made by Arab historians and geographers express a common vision of these territories, considered to be a prolongation of the eastern Arab world, reachable through the North of Africa and most likely via navigation along the coast. Al-Razi proposes an important division of Andalusia into Ax-Xarqi and al-Gharb or, in other words, into eastern and western Andalusia. Al-Gharb corresponds to current southern Portugal.

Although the Arabic literary sources and the corpus of the Medieval Arabian geography constitute the primary sources for information on the use of the coast and shipping lanes during the Arab dominion of southern Portugal, the main maritime cities have revealed large quantities of imported ceramics dating from the Islamic period. The ancient geomorphology of the Portuguese coast benefits from a strategic location between the Mediterranean world and the Atlantic. Inserted into the geographical space of the Atlantic, the Portuguese coast still preserves many Mediterranean characteristics. Up to the 15th and 16th centuries AD, the design of the west coast of the Iberian Peninsula would have been more irregular than the current one, more indented, and there would have been more bays and river mouth. Blot (1998, 1999, 2004) summarizes the evolutionary process of the Portuguese coast in three aspects: the gradual connection between ancient islands and the continent, forming peninsulas; the closing of ancient coastal embayments and the formation of coastal lagoons, and the siltation of estuaries and subsequent inland adhesion of former coastal areas. Siltation is a gradual process that, over centuries, has been increasing in most Portuguese waterways and estuaries, decreasing their navigability.

Historical cartography is commonly used to study the geomorphologic changes of the Portuguese coast. However, the results should be interpreted with caution. These kinds of documents often pose problems, such as the inaccuracy of the outlining of the coast, the

small scale and the omission or enlargement of certain details, such as an embayment. Cartography analysis is also affected by chronological contradictions and mistakes resulting from the fact that some maps are copies of previous works. The complexity of the Atlantic environment makes it particularly difficult to recognize ancient port facilities and requires reflection on the concept of harbour space. Thus, it is necessary to identify the relationship between harbour typology – recognized since Antiquity – and eventual corresponding archaeological vestiges. In fact, these vestiges are not always materialized in specific harbour equipment. Early mariners certainly understood the necessity of waiting for high tide before entering estuaries. These mooring places, naturally sheltered by high cliffs, are still today deep and secure mooring sites while boats are waiting to enter an estuary (Blot 2010, 84). Besides nautical artefacts such as lead coated anchors, evidence from Portuguese waters includes products that were imported and exported by Muslims and which were also found in archaeological excavations on the shore and on land. Some of the cities where this is the case are Lisbon on the Tagus river, Alcácer do Sal on the Sado river, Silves on the Arade river, Tavira on the Ria Formosa and Mértola, on the river Guadiana. They provide important information regarding the capacity of overseas transport, and regarding social, economic, and cultural factors related to marine activity. The evidences of Muslim maritime activities are used to compensate the lack of archaeological findings and the impossibility of comparison with current ethnographic evidences that might express a continuity of ancient practices and use of the same sites. In the post-Lusitanian period, the ports, as areas of trade and cultural exchanges, would be the privileged sites for contact with naval technology information, opening the way for its emergence and diffusion in shipyards, mooring places or arsenals. With regard to medieval Islamic times, and especially when it comes to traces of maritime activity, we must distance ourselves from outdated readings that see naval archaeology as a limited source of knowledge when it is deprived of its object of study: the ship (Barata 1996, 15).

To counter this idea, at least partially, we examined the studies that have contributed to the overcoming of these limitations, including those that are attributed to the Roman period. From the presently known sources of the Islamic period, works of nautical nature dedicated to history and historiography (Picard 1997), such as collections of naval warfare, ship's logs and detailed descriptions of the coastal dangers, especially stand out. Nevertheless there is a lack of references to trade and exchange, a gap that is bridged by the etymology of the places, whose names testify to their Islamic origin, and by the forerunner of the caravel, later transformed into an institutional ship (Fonseca 2003) for the future conquest of unknown seas. In the specific case of the identification of wrecks or vessels structures, the problem is aggravated by the lack of attention that they have received. An example of this is the work of A.J. Parker (1992) where the focus on medieval shipwrecks is somehow vague and does not highlight any differences

in Arab-Islamic boat structures. This study also presents limitations with regard to geographic space, considering predominantly the *Mare Nostrum* in detriment of the Atlantic. The lack of literary sources and archaeological remains seems to indicate a real decline of Muslim maritime policy. This has contributed to a simplistic view of Islamic and Roman naval history by assuming that their sea exploration was based on unplanned and adventurous navigations, and thus contributing to the theory of an autonomous emergence of the 15th century expansion.

This study covers the ports included in the area between the estuary *olisiponense*, on the banks of the Tagus river, which defined the boundaries of Strabo's Mesopotamia (Geography III, 2, 4), and the Guadiana river, which allowed access to the mines of the interior through the Algarve. The numerous and fascinating testimonies of geographers and other contemporaneous chroniclers of the kingdoms of the Gharb narrate a reality that opposes the one established in the mid-13th century. Some documents, such as Forais II and Charters of the King of Portugal, can be related to a geomorphologic moment of accentuated siltation process, which may be related to the massive deforestation implemented by D. Dinis's agricultural policy. Since the so-called Christian Reconquest, the port entities suffered restrictions of political and social nature, with the probable goal of limiting contacts with the North African Islamic coast. Besides this long-term problem, the administrative priority of the Portuguese Kingdom seems to have been the remodelling of coastal boundaries, manifest in the transfer of port competences from the main Islamic centres to the north central coastal cities, but keeping nautical characteristics and types of transport. At a crucial moment of a national identity formation, the establishment of southern ports might have been felt as a menace to the Muslim's determination to control the seas, but it was considered by Christians the only way to conquer the regions that were still perceived as hostile. Arabic language is also present in the harbour space, resulting from the presence of merchants, and the communication and interaction between the previous occupants of the southwestern peninsula and the new conquerors from the territories of the Portuguese dynasties. Muslims master carpenters also admitted Mozarabic craftsmen at their service, thus turning over the secrets of Moorish construction techniques and contributing to the likely evolution from the *qarib* to the *caravela*.

From documentary data we have also developed an approach to the subject of vessel construction. Knowledge of the existence of old vessels, shipyards and arsenals is mainly due to the information obtained from written sources, since we know that the recoveries from underwater archaeology have been limited as a result of the complexity of methodologies and techniques. The parallel between nautical archaeological remains (also shipwrecks) and graphical representations of boats used in documentary or iconographic sources is, therefore, still an open field for a number of different interpretations, and often a starting point for the identification of a certain type of vessel.

In 1892, H. Lopes de Mendonça, in reference to art documentation, pointed out the overlooking of ancient documentation regarding navigation, especially paintings, sculptures and written sources. However, attention must be drawn to the proper way of how to read and use these documents. An example of this exercise is the ethnographic map of Duarte de Armas. The *115 folio* of his work clearly restores the physiognomy of a land on the river banks where, despite the geographical proximity to Galicia, one can recognize the same elements that can be found along other medieval coasts, including the Iberian Peninsula. The simplicity of this type of structure can still be seen today in many parts of Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts, pointing to a secular continuity in the naval context. To overcome the lack of objective evidences on Portuguese territory, we use the example of the *bacini* from Mallorca and the *ataifores* from Iberia, describing the longitudinal profiles of a similar set of boats, from which most of the information for the reconstruction of the hypothetical *qarib* is obtained. Three plate models – number 292, number 19, from the San Michele degli Scalzi church in Pisa, and a third corresponding to number 59 from San Pietro church in Grado – dating from the last quarter of the 10th century, are to be seen in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, Italy. The most obvious problems in interpreting the given examples lie in the hollow support of the plates, causing a distorted representation that had to be adapted to the available forms. Numbers 59 and 19 are particularly important for an initial graphic reconstruction. The sum of these ceramic elements, together with other data collected during our study, inevitably raises etymological, structural and logistic questions, especially in the absence of remains (wooden boats), which has a negative impact on the work in progress. From these it is then possible to derive elements of the technique that are not always retainable by naval archaeology because of the fragility of the conditions in which the site is formed. In order to retrace the common merchant vessel called *qarib*, it has to be examined in the context of the extensive territorial margins that were shared by the trafficking peoples of Arabic language.

Should Muslim ships have dominated the Mediterranean – with a sudden peak around the 11th and 13th centuries – it would not be correct to think of all these sailors as being attentive scholars, concerned with an accurate description of the precise points on the nautical charts and the correspondences between the stars. These charts served, in fact, as a reminder of the distances between the various places of orientation in relation to the coastline and entrance points in the ports. Similarly, we do not have details on the type of construction techniques employed; instead, we derive the components from iconography and representations of the time, and by comparing them with subsequent artistic legacies. With regard to the beginning of the Islamic period, the number of ceramic basins found in the Western Mediterranean must be referenced, as well as the contact with the Byzantine world, the most fortunate archaeological findings, and even the lexical continuity in the naming of the caravel

that probably sailed the seas as far as India in 1509, alternating with the lengthy warships.

In order to surpass the inherent shortcomings, we have to rely on numerous types of support, contextualized within the medieval period. *Ataifores* and *bacini*, open ceramic forms, miniatures obtained from archives and libraries – with several references to ships bearing only one master, Latin sails and representations of axial rudders.

Another clue can be found when comparing the examples of *graffiti* from the Islamic site of Mértola, Gharb al-Andalus. The housing complex near the banks of the river port, from where the *graffiti* under study comes from, and which chronologically belongs to the 12th century, bears similarities with those of Medina, though it is closely linked to the port context of the site. The *graffiti* was preserved due to the fact that the stone had been laid with the decorated face upside down. In one of the sets, three registers can be noted. Two lines resembling Arabic calligraphy appear at the top, but it is impossible to decode their meaning. A boat appears immediately below these lines, exhibiting a mast fitted with a square sail but collected at the bottom (*graffiti* A). The only part of the vessel that was drawn emerges from the water with a rather elevated stern and the bow; in the stern we can clearly notice two large oars, a rudder to steer the boat that would be driven by nine oars. Other incised lines, imprecise and blurred, certainly from an earlier draft, interfere with the design, making it difficult to read. This hypothetical previous design allows for a glimpse at the bow of another boat. In another part of the same stone, a third boat is noticeable, better designed than the other two (*graffiti* B). It is also a vessel of one mast and square sail collected at the bottom, with a two paddle-wheel.



Fig. 1 – Graffiti on stone slab, Mértola “Casa do Arrabalde Ribeirinho”, CAM. (Kind permission Hugo Pires)

This example includes ten paddles and only the emerging part of the hull, with bow and stern curved towards the interior of the vessel, has been drawn. The incisions in graffiti show, moreover, a certain familiarity with the boats and their manoeuvres, revealing knowledge in skilful ship driving, and crews forced into long periods of inactivity. The graphical depiction thus shows its “sailor” origins, justifying the *graffiti*’s

greatest asset as a historical document, which is the fact that it reflects the contemporary view of the author and of his own free expression motivated, probably, by a personal drive. The *graffiti* may therefore present an elongated conformation that immediately leads us to interpret it as being a possible representation of the *saetta*, an even finer lined model of the galley. The *saetta* or *sagitta*, a kind of chase/hunting ship, gets its momentum through extremely long oars. It is for this reason capable of achieving high speeds and is suitable for surprise incursions. From this we can conclude that the unifying element of this research lies in the continuous use of the aquatic areas. The urban centres and developed areas of the coast are the essential starting point for an interdisciplinary approach in seaboard analysis, studied from the standpoint of geographical, geomorphological and anthropogenic evolution. The literary and iconographic historical sources reflect technical developments over the centuries, hypothetical signs of interaction with the unexplored material components. The inconsistent boundaries of the Algarvian territory, at the end of the Islamic domination, and the evident linguistic assimilation that occurred in most populated areas, both at the Atlantic and the Mediterranean coasts, was reflected in the use of techniques and designations that were similarly employed in Muslim working places and by the Christian lords of the 13th century. It is from this coexistence that arose the expansionist desire of the 16th century.

With regard to our present knowledge of the Gharb al-Andalus, the archaeological evidence of arsenals and shipyards is clearly insufficient, despite the evident functional importance of these areas, their logistics and etymological continuity. The main limitation of our research is actually the main reason why it is performed: the ephemeral character of wood reduces the still open possibilities of analysis, carried out in the hope of rebuilding the ancient maritime activities and of confirming the narratives of medieval Muslim authors. In the words of Professor Vasco Gil Mantas “Most cities that performed important sea port functions during the Roman dominion continued to perform such functions until today” (Mantas 2002–2003, 466), which means that they also did so throughout the Muslim period.

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ABSTRACT

On 24th April 1917 the imperial German submarine *U-35*, after crossing the Straits of Gibraltar, positioned itself near Cape St Vincent, in the Algarve, Portugal. A few hundred metres from the Portuguese coast, the *U-35* sank four merchant ships that day: three steamers and a sailboat. Nearly 100 years after this episode from World War I, three of these vessels are now silent testimonies for divers that visit them every year. They are silent, not because they do not have a name correlated with the ships sunk on that fateful day, but because their history and story, which were published ten years ago in a diving magazine, have only now attracted the attention of academics and are not being brought into the wider world of the diving and non-diving public. It is imperative that their history and our studies frame divers' views during their deepwater exploration of these wrecks. Soon to be covered and contextualised by the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage, which Portugal has ratified, they should then be a matter of public awareness about the value and meaning of cultural heritage, primarily for *in-situ* preservation, as a form of appreciation and knowledge, and *in situ* recorded and studied as multidisciplinary cultural, historical and archaeological information. They should also be promoted *in situ* for general public access, disseminated to the general public through educational measures and monitored for interference. In other words, they should be given back to the community as cultural heritage, which means giving them a public and social collective character and bringing them to fruition, in its full cultural dimension, i.e., more than objects, they are witnesses of a historical era and culture, with touristic and economic potential. The CINAV-PT Navy Research Centre/Portuguese Navy, together with the municipality of Vila do Bispo, the Portuguese Minister of Defence, and SUBNAUTA are developing a historical and archaeological project with the purpose to study the wrecks and to fulfil the entire spirit of the Convention, which also means to motivate and encourage other projects – national and inter-

U-35 OPERATIONS OFF THE SAGRES COAST, ALGARVE, PORTUGAL

FIRST WORLD WAR HERITAGE AND MEMORIES FROM THE SEA

INTRODUCTION

U-35, an imperial U 29-class U-boat (Fig. 1), under the command of Lothar Von Arnauld de La Perière (1886–1941), left the Adriatic base of Cattaro, presently Montenegro, on 31 March 1917. It crossed the Straits of Gibraltar on 12 April bound for the busy shipping route between Britain and the Mediterranean, which was vital to the English and French operations. On 24 April, *U-35* halted several ships and sank four of them off the southwest coast of Portugal.

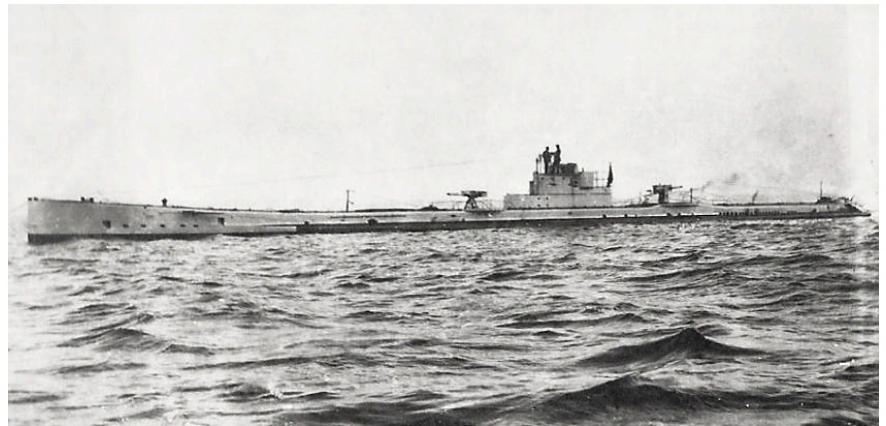


Figure 1 – *U-35*: photograph from the family album of Richard Berger, a crew member, courtesy of his grandnephew Allan Hunt, an American citizen.

At 08:50 am, the 1,055-ton *SS Nordsöen*, a Danish merchant ship under British charter bound for Genoa from Bergen with a cargo of herring, was sunk, followed at 09:15 by the 1,667-ton *SS Torvøre*, a Norwegian steamer bound for Naples from Swansea with a cargo of locomotive coal bricks.

The explosions were heard at the nearby city of Lagos and the Portuguese armed tugboat *Galgo* was sent to Sagres to investigate. Detecting the German submarine, it immediately attacked *U-35*. *Galgo* was a private tugboat¹ commissioned by the Portuguese Navy to defend an extensive part of the south coast of the country from Lagos to Cape St. Vincent. This was a huge area to cover for the small 25-meter-long, 75-ton steam tugboat, built in 1887 by Ross & Duncan of Glasgow. Armed with a single 37-mm Hotchkiss, *Galgo* was no match for the 105-mm guns of *U-35*, so the exchange of gunfire that took place had no consequences for either. That day and the day after, the Portuguese tugboat limited itself to rescuing the crews from the sunken steamers, delivering them to Lagos.

At 10:40 am, the 3,715-ton *SS Wilhelm Krag*, a British-chartered Norwegian merchant ship, was sunk in front of Praia da Luz while sailing in ballast from Genoa to Barry. Meanwhile, the *SS Nordsöen* needed

¹ Owned by João António Júdice Fialho.

national, through reciprocal contribution – and to focus on a multicultural and multinational humanistic approach, beyond the merely academic one.

KEYWORDS

First World War, *U-35*, Lothar Von Arnauld de La Perière, submarine warfare, underwater archaeology, submerged cultural heritage

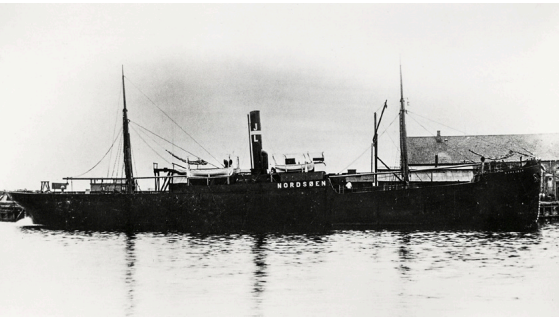


Figure 2 – *SS Nordsöen*. Courtesy of the M/S Maritime Museum of Denmark.

an extra explosive charge after running aground on the coast following the morning attack. In the afternoon, at 04:10 pm, the 265-ton Italian sailing ship *Bieneimé Prof. Luigi*, sailing from Genoa to Fowey with a cargo of china clay, was halted, inspected and sunk.

All four ships sunk were recorded in *Lloyd's War Losses* but not erased from *Lloyd's Register of Ships*, to avoid war propaganda.

U-35 returned to its home base and passed back through the Straits of Gibraltar that same evening, sinking no more ships on the way back to Cattaro, where it arrived on 6 May with only 24 gun shells and no torpedoes left.

All these four ships were sunk without a torpedo being fired, but only by using demolition charges set by the submarine's crew, or by gun-fire, after water, food, fuel and supplies were taken from them.

The mission lasted 36 days and covered a distance of 5,551 nautical miles. Nine torpedoes and 541,105-mm calibre shells were fired and 29 demolition charges used. Twenty-three ships, totalling 67,989 tons, were sunk – 16 enemy vessels (12 British and 4 Italian) and 7 neutral vessels (3 Greek, 2 Norwegian, 1 American and 1 Danish) – with 44 lives lost.

U-35's mission was not exceptional in the general context of the First World War and did not bring any particular new aspect to the macro history already well documented and extensively written on submarine warfare. But it is exceptional from the perspective of Portuguese history and very relevant to the local history and economy, and a very good example of a multinational and multicultural historic and cultural event.

However, there is also another relevant aspect to this episode, because *U-35* had a cameraman on board who recorded the entire mission on film, in particular the second attack using demolition charges on the *SS Nordsöen* (Fig. 2) and the coast of Sagres in 1917, which is very different from today. Apparently, La Perière liked to film his missions as the next *U-boat* he commanded, *U-139*, also had a cameraman on board who recorded the fight and sinking of the Portuguese Navy mine-hunter *Augusto Castilho*.

In 2017, the wrecks of these ships will come under the protection of the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage, which Portugal ratified in 2006. Apart from an article published in an already extinct Portuguese diving magazine, more than 10 years ago, where the relationship between three wrecks and the First World War *U-35* episode was suggested for the first time, no research or scientific study has ever been conducted, historically or archaeologically. To put it simply, we do not know, scientifically, if these wrecks indeed correspond to the ships sunk by *U-35* in 1917. Neither do we know their actual condition and state of preservation, the real impact of diving tourism, the prime threats they face, or the impact and the role of the wrecks on the environment. Also unknown to us are the location of the remains of the Italian sailing ship, what happened to the crew

of the sunken ship after being brought ashore in Lagos and the local footprint of the event.

The CINAV planned a four-year project that started in May 2014 with an EMEPC² ROV operation aimed at locating the sailing ship at a depth of more than 650 metres. This first operation was undertaken on board the Portuguese Navy hydrographic ship NRP *Gago Coutinho*. This was followed by a field mission, in September 2014, related to the three steamers, centred on SS *Torvore*.

These actions, which were conducted up until October 2014, were only possible through the goodwill of the EMEPC, the support of the municipality of Vila do Bispo which was formalized with the signing of a long-term protocol, and a collaboration agreement with the SUBNAUTA diving centre.

After only one week of fieldwork, the Project had already obtained two important results:

- a) the definitive identification of the SS *Nordsöen* wreck location;
- b) the complete archaeography of the wreck correlated as the SS *Torvore*, enabling the correlation wreck-to-ship and the study of its steam technology, and the opportunity to contribute to the Stroke Project (Russo 2012).

What will be briefly discussed here are the objectives, methodologies, cultural heritage aims, fruition model for the wrecks and the first results of the project.

THE PROJECT OBJECTIVES

The CINAV *U-35* Project objectives can be divided into two different categories: historical and archaeological.

At the historical level, the project intends to research the full event, including the makeup of the *U-35*'s crew on that specific mission, the sunken ship's crew and what happened to it after being brought ashore by the tugboat *Galgo* at Lagos and the footprint of the event at the local level. All of these aspects will be looked at from a multinational and multicultural heritage perspective.

At the archaeological level, the project intends to collect material evidence that will allow the wrecks to be positively or negatively correlated with the sunken ships, the steam technology of the wrecks to be studied and, consequently, to make a contribution to the Stroke Project, and, finally, the sailing ship to be located at a depth of more than 650 metres.

To achieve these aims, together with a geophysics survey, a different archaeographic methodology is being developed and tested to record the wrecks. All of them are at a depth below 30 metres and have a significant verticality, a fact that makes the traditional trilateration method unfeasible.

² *Estrutura de Missão para a Extensão da Plataforma Continental – Task Group for the Extension of the Continental Shelf.*

It is hoped that the project results will contribute to the local history and cultural heritage, as part of the local historical identity; contribute to the development of the local economy and cultural tourism through the diving industry; and strengthen cultural tourism related to “wrecks with history”, from a human interest perspective, well beyond mere iron and steel objects. Ultimately, we aim to make these wrecks and their cultural heritage, with their strong multinational and multicultural dimension, a significant part of the local identity, to make the divers who visit the wrecks ambassadors and co-owners of this important underwater cultural heritage, and to make them aware of the need to participate in the *in-situ* monitoring and conservation efforts and fruition, implementing the ethos of “*Take and leave nothing but pictures and bubbles*”.

THE METHODOLOGY

To research the event and the wreck’s history, at the local, national and international level, a classical approach will be used: in-depth study of primary sources, including wartime documentation, newspapers, the film taken on board *U-35*, as well as secondary sources. Great attention will be given to tracking down people related to the event.

Archaeologically, a team of closed-circuit technical divers was assembled, as two of the three steamers sunk are at a depth below 30 metres. In order to perform all of the tasks planned at that depth, long bottom times are imperative and, as a result, long decompression periods needed.

The team members are not just divers. They are divers with skills critical to the project’s data processing, software operation and methodology development and testing.

In the absence of extensive and recent archaeological projects on contemporary wrecks, especially at that depth, the baseline/offset survey method was adapted. This adaptation was conducted and tested on the alleged *SS Torvore* wreck, during the first week of September, and involved more than 3,500 minutes of diving.

The almost 80-metre-long wreck was divided into three components: stern, engine-room and bow sections. The stern and bow sections were recorded by using a baseline marked every metre with tags through the ship’s central axis. The engine-room was recorded by surveying the engine and boiler. The wreck’s profile meant that the baseline could not be linear in Z so the depth of every single tag had to be recorded.

To record and calibrate all depths, the Lowest Astronomical Tide method was followed, which allowed us to take depths and measurements on different days, at different times of the day and at different gauges. The PO (calibrating point) was defined as the centre of the low-pressure cylinder at the engine, the highest point of the wreck and a very robust one.

From the baseline tags, we measured direct distances, both to starboard and port, to the most significant edge of the wreck and, at each edge

point, to the respective bottom point. With this, we acquired the wreck's plan and profile.

We followed this methodology because, as mentioned above, the two wrecks are at a depth below 30 metres and have significant verticality, and we believe that the traditional trilateration method is unfeasible. The geophysics survey will allow us to verify the effectiveness of this archaeographic methodology.

With the data collected by the archaeographic survey and the analysis of the engine-room machinery and cargo, it is hoped to be able to make a positive or negative correlation between the wreck and one of the ships sunk in 1917.

This methodology was developed, tested and used in the case of the merchant steamer *SS Dago*, sunk off Peniche in 1942 (Russo 2014).

With the measurements made on the wreck's engine, it is also hoped to add some precious data to the Stroke Project mentioned above.

Regarding the location of the Danish steamer *SS Nordsøen*, the objective was to clarify the contradictory information that existed, placing the wreck in different locations depending on the source, person or diving guide. We were able to confirm the ship's resting place by comparing the geomorphology of the coast from the footage filmed by the *U-35* in 1917 with that of today (Fig. 3).

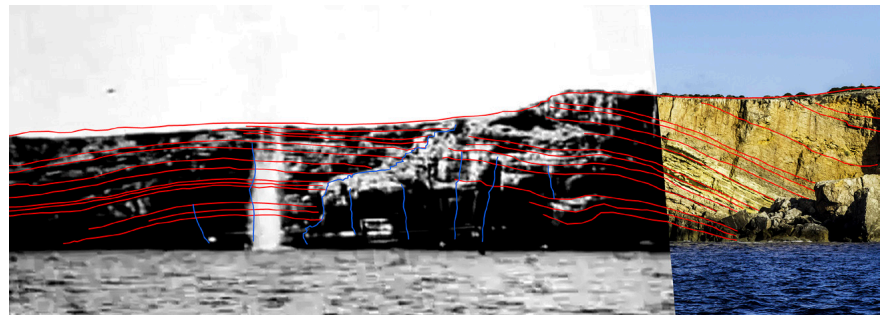


Figure 3 – Geomorphology comparison by team member Tiago Dores

In order to locate the Italian sailing ship *Bieneimé Prof. Luigi*, we joined an EMEPC mission on board the Portuguese Navy hydrographical ship *NRP Gago Coutinho* and used its deep ROV – *Luso* – on three different targets previously identified using a multi-beam survey. This search was done in the proximity of the coordinates from the *U-35*'s War Diary, at a depth of more than 650 metres. It was the first time that a ROV had been used in a Portuguese archaeology project. During this ROV dive, a wooden structure was located (Fig. 4) at one of the investigated targets, but it is not possible to say whether the structure is somehow related to the Italian sailing ship sunk by *U-35*.

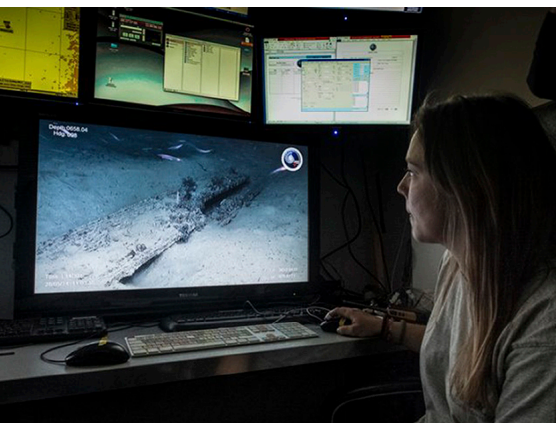


Figure 4 – A wooden structure identified during the ROV dive. Photograph by Augusto Salgado.

In this new type of approach, even the plan of the municipality of Vila do Bispo to accommodate and feed the team was very interesting and in accordance with the spirit of the project. Instead of just paying the team, the municipality contacted the hotel industry and local restau-

rants and proposed that they accommodate and feed the team, involving them directly in the project. And the response was far beyond even the municipality's expectations. The team was accommodated in two local hotels, at much reduced or even no cost, and provided with lunch and dinner at more than 14 different restaurants, each very welcoming. The range of restaurants was wide, from a fishermen's tavern, family style restaurants, or a state of the art historical inn (Pousada do Infante) to and an excellent Italian restaurant at the Martinhal Beach Resort.

We believe this approach was very significant, not only because the team was extraordinarily well accommodated and fed, but also because it was possible to introduce an historical and archaeological theme to the local economy that was taken up energetically.

This proves beyond any doubt that it is worth seeking the local community's logistical support for scientific projects. The project was very well supported and provided stimuli to the local economy, in a true symbiosis. We believe that from that moment, this project became their project as well.

The Vila do Bispo municipality also implemented an extensive media communication programme. The result was very good, with two of the three Portuguese TV channels covering the project on prime time TV news and dozens of articles in the national and local press. The field season was preceded by an article in National Geographic Magazine (Salgado and Russo 2014) on the ROV mission.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE AIM

As mentioned, the aim is to ensure that the results of the project are fully returned to the local, national and international community. The project is not simply intended to summarize the usual academic and scientific aspects. The idea is to turn it into a long-term project which benefits both divers and non-divers.

It is not the wrecks as objects that we are studying and want to give back; it is the history of the men who built and sailed the vessels and both attacked and were attacked, while always remaining fully aware of the multinational and multicultural dimension and value of the event as cultural heritage, and its economic potential, which needs to be self-sufficient.

It is also about the families related to the crews and what these wrecks and their history mean in terms of identity, in terms of a sense of cultural belonging without frontiers, a cultural bond with Portuguese cultural heritage through these people. Locally, to increase the inhabitants' responsibility towards their cultural heritage, the aim is to encourage them to be proud of being part of a community which has this important legacy and instil the need to preserve it and be part of the measures that we all need to adopt in order to guarantee its preservation and fruition.

The definitive proof of the emerging importance of cultural diving tourism, if one were still needed, is the fact that on 6 September we dived down to the alleged Norwegian steamer *SS Vilhelm Krag* with five British divers who had travelled to Portugal specifically for that purpose. They already knew about its history and had researched it in advance.

A PROPOSED FRUITION MODEL

In Portugal, there are only two known examples of wrecks with archaeological itineraries: the *Lidador* (Monteiro 2007) and *L'Ocean* (Blot and Blot 2013), in the Azores and the Algarve, respectively. To this could be added the American Second World War B-24 airplane that crashed at Faro, in the Algarve (Guerreiro 2008), and which is under the exclusive responsibility and care of a local diving centre. We feel that the first two were “simply” put together but no real effort was made to promote or to include them in the diving industry. Only the diving company SUBNAUTA, operating from Portimão, Algarve, is taking any active measures to maintain the site of the *L'Ocean* and to publish the ship's history (Blot and Blot 2013).

With the *U-35* wrecks we would like to create a constant, long-term, living and dynamic fruition model. To achieve this, we need everyone's involvement: Government, UNESCO, academics, Portuguese Navy, municipality, diving industry and divers. We would need proper heritage-safe anchoring spots and equipment, a permanent local exhibition, a continuous linked cultural programme, professional and trained dive leaders, well-documented and informed divers that are properly briefed, a responsive and integrated hotel and catering industry, and interlinked tourism institutions. To put it simply, we would need an adequate cultural network aimed at creating a formal submerged cultural heritage as part of a broader programme of cultural heritage. All wrecks, not only these in the project, should have adequate and properly maintained cultural itineraries.

All of this is very clearly problematized in the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage and PENT – the National Strategic Plan for Tourism.

It is not uncommon to find divers who, after having dived the alleged *SS Torvore*, ask us if the wreck has an engine, and others who mention that the *Vilhem Krag* has a fantastic engine. The alleged *SS Torvore* has a huge engine, the most distinctive object on the wreck, and the alleged *SS Vilhem Krag* has no standing engine, its remains almost unrecognizable to the untrained eye. It is also common to find non-divers who would very much like to see these wrecks but have no hope of ever doing so.

For all of these people, we need a public-oriented communication strategy and plan that is suitable and very well executed. It must not be ephemeral but permanent and updated, in which virtual archaeology is a real asset, applied with respect for scientific rigour as stated for example in the *Seville Principals on the Virtual Archaeology* (n.d.), or



Figure 5 – An aspect of the survey of the wreck of the *SS Nordsöen*. Photograph by Augusto Salgado.

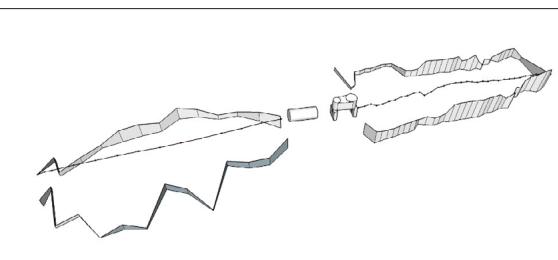


Figure 6 – Three-dimensional outline of the alleged *SS Torvöe* wreck (software operation by team member Paulo Carmo)

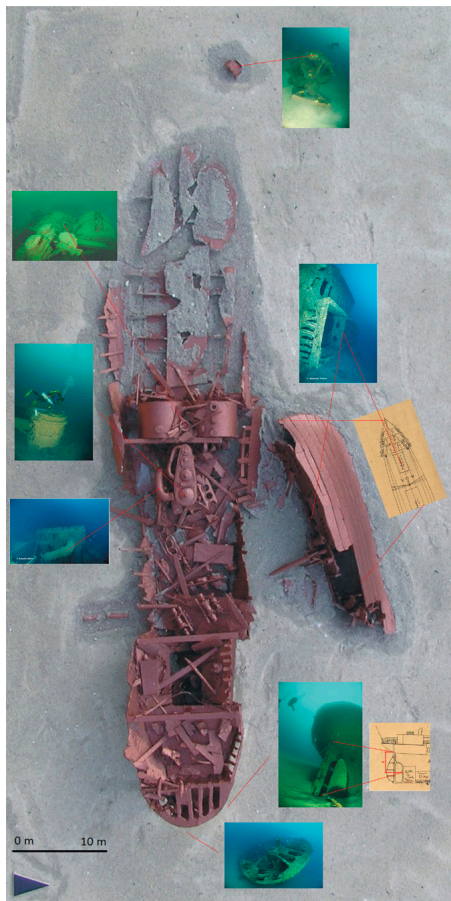


Figure 7 – The *SS Dago*:1:100 scale model by Jorge Russo.

the *London Charter for the Computer-based Visualisation of Cultural Heritage* (2009).

We should not forget education. The project and results must be taken to schools, where the language must be adapted. We should make presentations adapted for children, youth and university students, not forgetting the elderly, and also fishermen, those with a unique relationship to the sea and, by association, wrecks. We should not forget that there are fishermen who have knowledge of the location of what they call *peguilhos*, obstacles to their fishing nets on the seabed, very often ship wrecks.

FIRST RESULTS OF THE FIELD WORK

After only one week of field work, there are, we believe, already some interesting first results. These are of course all preliminary, as the data collected is still being analysed and discussed, and the final report is far from completion. However, being able to clarify the location of the remains of the *SS Nordsöen* was very important, not only from a historical and archaeological point of view, but especially for the local economy. Now, the diving industry is able to provide the many divers looking for cultural heritage in the Algarve with an accurate history of that specific wreck, with no error or doubts. When asked about the *SS Nordsöen*, they can take divers to the exact and correct diving spot (Fig. 5). And local diving guides can now be amended.

The more than one thousand measurements taken from the alleged *SS Torvöe* were transformed into a first draft of the wreck's three-dimensional model that allowed us to see its full and first accurate main outer dimensions (Fig. 6). What we are looking for in this first model is just to comprehend the outline and the shape of the wreck; no details about the structure are yet available. A detailed 3-D model is planned using virtual archaeology, something never attempted in Portugal before, even less so for a contemporary wreck of this size and at this depth. The aim is also to build a real 1:100 scale model, like the one produced for the *SS Dago* (Fig.7).

From the data already collected, we believe that the possible correlation wreck-to-ship for the *SS Torvöe* is very strong, since the engine, boiler, cargo and overall length all match so far. Nevertheless, the research is in progress, so we need to be cautious.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we believe that this First World War episode and the three related wrecks are a rare and extraordinary opportunity to fully implement a submerged cultural heritage project, and a multicultural and multinational cultural programme, fulfilling the entire content of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Submerged Cultural Heritage. With it we aim to implement a fruition and conservation project and to develop the local economy, tourism and culture, not forgetting

the international dimension and potential of the project and programme. The project has a large historical and archaeological potential that can contribute to a better understanding of submarine warfare during the conflict, multinational trading and routing, the local impact of the First World War on Portugal and on the Portuguese Navy defence system, and its naval capability and constraints.

From the archaeological point of view, the project can be very important as a methodology providing the grounds for dating contemporary steam ships and steam technology, field steam machinery research and correlation wreck-to-ship methodologies. It is hoped that the project and programme can truly contribute to turn the history of *U-35* and the ships sunk into First World War heritage and memories from the sea.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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2

The Floating Memory of Rivers and Seas



KEYNOTE LECTURE

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Figure 1 – A former meander bend of the upper Green River, Wyoming, now largely filled with sediment but retaining distinctive soil characteristics and hydrology, and consequently supporting different vegetation than the adjacent uplands. (Photo by author, 1982)



Figure 2 – Aerial view of the Carmel River, California, showing a meander bend cut off by the Monterey County Public Works Department to straighten the road in the 1960s (bottom of photo). In the subsequent years, the river eroded a sympathetic meander bend to the south (top of photo) to compensate for the loss of sinuosity. (Photo by author, 1983)

INTRODUCTION

Rivers have long histories and their current forms reflect not only present forces but also the legacy of past. Viewing the land from above we can see the traces of former river channels, such as meander bends long ago filled with sediment but still reflecting different soil conditions and vegetation (Figure 1). Traumatic events such as deforestation and massive flooding can cause the river to adopt a new channel, to re-occupy an old one, or to utterly change character. More subtly, changes in the supply of water and sediment from the catchment to the river can continue to influence river processes and form for decades. Building subdivisions in the uplands, converting forest to agriculture, building dams, or diking-off floodplains can all change the independent variables that influence river behavior. Even when the event itself is no longer legible, its influence may persist. For this reason we say that rivers have memories.

Agriculture was hard on the lands of the eastern seaboard of the United States in the 19th century. Farming practices not only exhausted nutrients from the soil, but indiscriminate plowing led to massive soil erosion and the transfer of sediment from upland fields to river bottomlands, where it is easily eroded by the modern river (Meade and Trimble 1974). These factors explain why the load of suspended sediment carried by these rivers did not decline in the 20th century despite soil conservation practices and the dramatic reductions in upland erosion rates. Thus, the legacy of sediment from 19th-century land management still contributes to the making of present-day rivers, the persistent influence of a traumatic memory.

Humans routinely alter rivers for convenience, but rivers remember their true nature and when the time is right, they may reassert it. To allow the straightening of a busy county road alongside it, the Carmel River in California was straightened in the 1960s. The engineers cut off a meander bend to the north and lined the south bank of the newly straightened river with rock. The river then developed a “sympathetic” meander bend to the south to compensate for its lost sinuosity (Figure 2). The Walla Walla River in Washington was also artificially straightened, but it too did not forget its meandering pattern and in subsequent floods reasserted its original course (Figure 3).

THE MEMORY OF RIVERS IN THE CITY

Humans have settled along rivers for reasons of transport, power, water supply, fishing, and the availability of level fertile lands. Although in developed countries other sources of transport, power, and even water supply have largely supplanted their utilitarian value, rivers still exert a strong pull on the human psyche, as evidenced by the strength of the urban waterfront renewal in numerous cities (Otto *et al.* 2004).

¹ This contribution is adapted from Chapter 5 in *Spatial Recall*, Marc Treib, editor, Taylor & Francis (Routledge) 2009.



Figure 3 – Aerial view of the Walla Walla River, Washington. The river was straightened between two dykes, but during a flood in 1965 it broke through these dykes, reasserting a meandering pattern. (Photo courtesy of the US Army Corps of Engineers)



Figure 4 – Strawberry Creek emerges from an underground culvert in Berkeley, California. The creek was exhumed from the pipe in the 1980s, an early and influential example of urban stream “daylighting”. (photo by author, 1992)

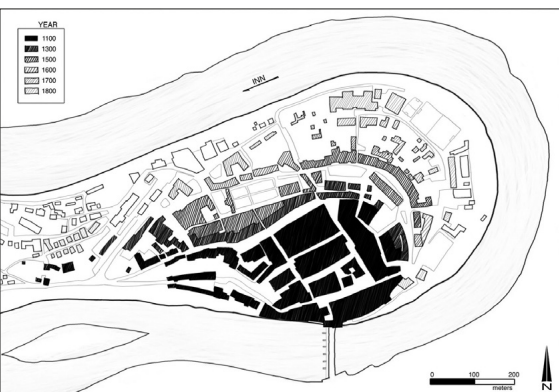


Figure 5 – The urban form of Wasserberg, Bavaria, reflects its history of urban growth onto an accreting point bar, as the channel migrated away from the city and the point bar grew. Newer buildings were constructed on more recently deposited sediment. (Adapted from *Flüsse und Bäche, erhalten-entwickeln-gestalten, Wasserwirtschaft in Bayern*, Oberste Baubehörde im Bayerischen Staatsministerium des Innern, Heft 21. München, 1989, used by kind permission of Walter Binder)

As cities have urbanized, the smaller creeks have been buried in underground culverts and are largely forgotten – that is, until the culverts begin to fail and we are reminded that there are creeks beneath them. Buried rivers in London and Philadelphia, for example, are still evident in their urban form (Barton 1962, Spirn 1998). In Berkeley, California, most of the creeks were buried in the 20th century, but sensing their loss, a local creek group has stenciled patterns on curbs to show the underground course of buried streams in the city – a way of retaining the memory of these lost waterways. And in recent years it has become increasingly more common to “daylight” these buried creeks and restore them as free-flowing surface channels (Figure 4). In addition to breaking up and removing the concrete pipes that had contained the streams, daylighting projects may involve varying degrees of channel design and development of adjacent parks or commercial areas.

Given the close historical dependence of cities on rivers it is not surprising that the basic forms of many cities have been inherited from the fluvial landforms upon which they were built. Meander bends typically have an eroding, high bank on the outer edge of the bend, with a lower point bar forming as the channel migrates across its floodplain. The city of Wasserburg, Bavaria, was built on a point bar of the River Inn. As the river bank across from this point bar eroded, the point bar grew into the former channel. Wasserburg grew outward on the newly created land, resulting in bands of urban growth each younger than the one before (Figure 5). In the early 20th century, engineers placed rock at the base of the eroding bank, halting the migrating of the River Inn – but the basic urban form remains a legacy of the river process. Like Wasserburg, the urban form of Paris clearly reflects its fluvial heritage. The basic pattern of its boulevards were inherited from historical city walls, but these, in turn, had been built parallel to the course of the river along which the city was constructed. The Marais district was a swamp (*marais*), part of a former channel of the river, and the striking relief of the hill of Montmartre derives from a high bank at the outside of an ancient meander bend of which the Buttes Chaumont were also a part (Figure 6). The Seine has long since migrated southwestward from this bank, one of the city’s most striking physical features, within an urban form inherited from the river.

When we look at a river, we are inclined to accept it as it is, as if it had always been this way. But what looks like a pristine, natural form may be an artifact of profound changes wrought by human agents. Along the Eygues River, a pre-Alpine tributary to the Rhône River in southeastern France, the riparian forest has been designated by the European Union as a site of ecological interest under the *Natura 2000* program. Stemming from this classification the river has been granted priority for preservation, and has been named as a reference site for restoration. In fact, the riparian forest so treasured today is an artifact of historical landscape changes. In the 19th century, the rural population density was several times greater than it is today, both in the mountains, where wood cutting and sheep grazing devegetated

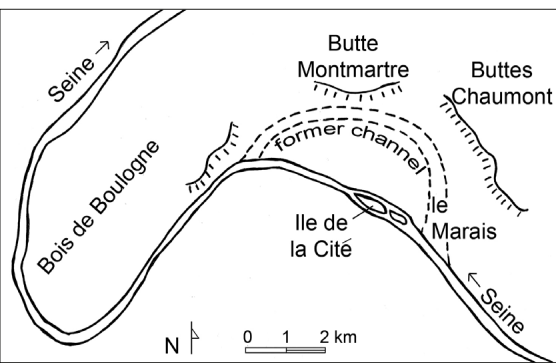


Figure 6 – Physical features underlying the urban form of Paris. The hill of Montmartre, affording superb views over the city, is the high, outside bank of a former meander bend of the Seine. (Adapted from “The site and growth of Paris,” *Geographical Journal*, 1941)

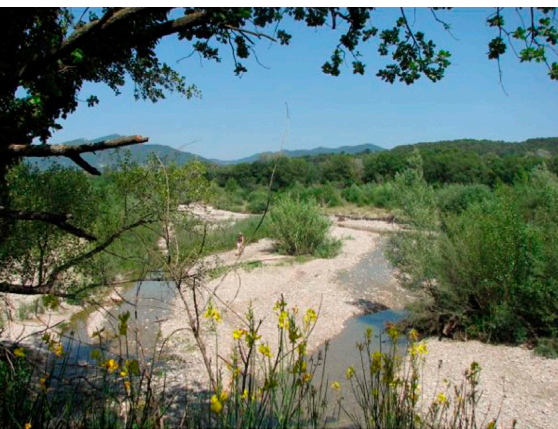


Figure 7 – Dense riparian corridor of the Eygues River, in the commune of Vinsobres, France, seen from the confluence of Le Rieu, a north-bank tributary, 5 km downstream of Nyons. All of the riparian forest seen in this view developed since the 19th century on the former river bed. (Photo by author, 2008)

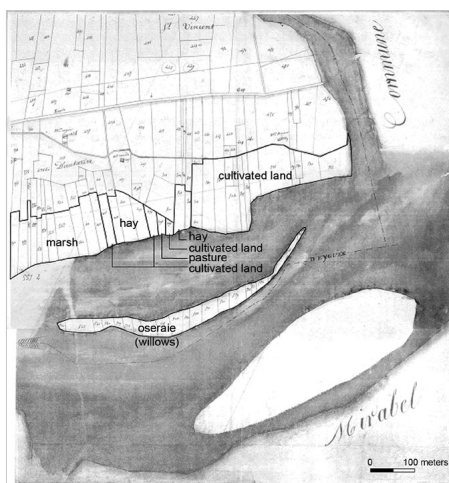


Figure 8 – The Napoleonic cadastral map of 1830 depicting the lower Eygues River in the vicinity of the 2008 photo shown in Figure 7. Land-use types by parcel are superimposed on the cadastral map. (from Kondolf, Piégay, and Landon, “Changes since 1830 in the riparian zone of the lower Eygues River, France,” *Landscape Ecology*, 2007)

and destabilized slopes, leading to high rates of sediment delivery to the river, and along the river banks where virtually every square meter was put to use: for orchard, cultivated land, pasture, or *oseraie* (willow thickets cut annually to yield material for baskets and vineyards) (Figures 7 and 8). The Industrial Revolution triggered a migration from rural to urban areas that reduced human pressure on the catchment and allowed the forests to return to the slopes, a process accelerated by a further reduction in sheep grazing after World War II. Consequently, erosion and sediment delivery to the channel declined (Kondolf *et al.* 2007). The wide, dynamic, unvegetated sand-and-gravel river channel of the early 19th century – typically about 350m wide and well-documented on the Napoleonic cadastral maps – had narrowed to half that width by the late 20th century. As the channel narrowed, willows, poplars, and alders took hold in the former channel area, creating the riparian forest so ecologically valued today. Ironically, the officials who designated this channel as an ecological reference site were almost certainly unaware of its 19th-century form, a landscape memory largely forgotten by the current inhabitants but nonetheless shaping the present environment.

RIVER RESTORATION AND MEMORY

With the improvement in water quality since the implementation in the United States of the Clean Water Act – with comparable legislation in other countries – river restoration has become increasingly common in the developed world. Through 2004, in the US alone, there were over 37,000 documented projects undertaken at a cost of over \$17 billion (Bernhardt *et al.* 2005). Of these, three-quarters are in Pacific coastal drainages, reflecting the magnitude of efforts to restore habitats for the Pacific salmon now threatened with extinction.

The habitat values of freshwater river channels depend in large part on their renewal by dynamic fluvial processes. For example, as meander bends migrate, concentrated flow along the eroding outer bend creates deep pools; trees fall into the channel increasing complexity and providing cover for fish; gravel deposits provide sites for spawning; and sloughs and side channels provide shallow-water habitat for juvenile fish. Migrating salmon remember their natal streams and return to exploit these habitats for spawning and rearing. Where dynamic processes are stifled, as below large dams that control flows and trap sediment supply from upstream, or where riverbanks are stabilized by rock revetments, fish habitat degrades. Fine sediment collects in stream gravels without being scoured by floods, a simplified channel develops, the nooks and crannies needed by fish are lost, and the proportion of invasive exotic fish increases at the expense of native species. A growing body of scientific literature indicates that dynamic, actively migrating channels provide the best ecological habitats, and that ecological value diminishes with decreased flow and channel dynamics (Ward and Stanford 1995). Thus, where feasible, the most effective long-term restoration strategy



Figure 9 – Uvas Creek, Gilroy, California. View downstream from Santa Teresa Boulevard bridge. (a) in January 1996, two months after a channel reconstruction project, showing symmetrical meanders, with outside bends protected by boulders and log revetments, typical of such projects. (b) the same view in July 1997, after a modest flood (return interval about 6 years) washed out the reconstructed channel, reestablishing a form more typical for its Mediterranean-climate setting. (from Kondolf, Smeltzer, and Railsback, “Design and performance of a channel reconstruction project in a coastal California gravel-bed stream,” *Environmental Management*, 2001)

would be to restore fluvial processes. This, in turn, will maintain the habitats needed by salmon and other species (Wohl *et al.* 2005, Kondolf *et al.* 2006).

Interestingly, one of the most popular river restoration approaches in the United States uses a form-based classification to determine the “proper” form for a given section of a river and to construct a single channel whose correct shape and dimensions will produce a stable form. (This approach implicitly assumes that stability is desirable, despite evidence that dynamic channels are more valuable ecologically.) This method involves inventorying and classifying stream “types” according to the Rosgen classification system, selecting structures suitable for stream types, and then reconstructing the channel according to this ideal form (Rosgen and Fittante 1986, Rosgen 1994). In projects so designed, large boulders and the butt ends of trees typically stabilize the outsides of the meander bends, and include boulder structures within the bed – even in channels composed of smaller sediment where boulders would not naturally occur. Despite criticism from the scientific community, this approach has proved popular with managers because they can quickly train staff and begin undertaking projects using a step-by-step “cookbook” approach without the delays that a real scientific study might entail (Miller and Ritter 1996, Doyle *et al.* 1999, Juracek and Fitzpatrick 2003, Malakoff 2004, Simon *et al.* 2007). The classification system typically specifies a single, stable meandering channel as the “proper” geometry for a given site. The popularity of these single-thread meandering channels reflects an unrecognized but profound cultural preference for such forms, a shared cultural memory of such channel forms in Atlantic-climate northern Europe. Attempts to impose this northern European aesthetic on dynamic, Mediterranean-climate rivers have been unsuccessful (Kondolf 2006).

A very imageable example of this preference is evident in a channel reconstruction project on Uvas Creek, in Gilroy, California. Completed in November 1995, the channel was a typical Rosgen-type restoration project, with symmetrical meanders, its outside bends protected by logs and boulders, with rock weirs across the channel (Figure 9a). The restoration resembled the meandering channels common in the pastoral landscapes of Northern Europe. The design – and fate – of these efforts were essentially identical to a dozen such projects in northern and central California in the 1990s. Three months after its completion, the “restoration” washed out in a modest flood: Uvas Creek cut across the constructed floodplain and, in effect, ignored and abandoned the structures designed to lock the channel in its designed bends (Figure 9b). When we examine the restoration plan for the project, we find that the designers believed: “The channel was once a stable C4 channel;” here, they referred to an alpha-numeric designation under the Rosgen classification system for a single-thread meandering channel. However, 19th-century maps and early aerial photographs suggest otherwise. They show a multi-thread, braided channel typical of streams draining the California Coast Range,

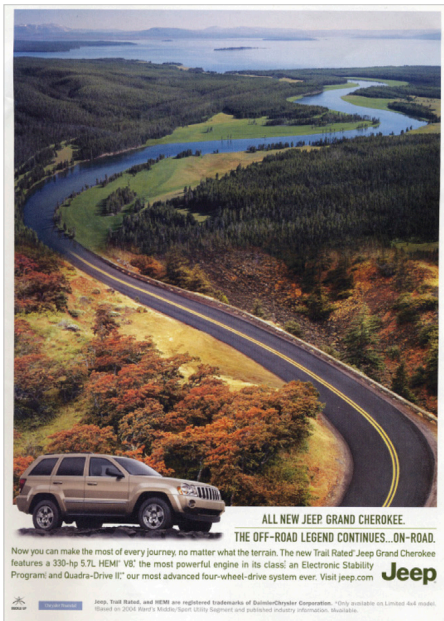


Figure 10 – Advertisement for Jeep sport-utility vehicle from 2004. (used by kind permission of Chrysler Corporation and BBDO Detroit)

reflecting its episodic Mediterranean-climate rainfall and runoff, and high sediment loads (Kondolf *et al.* 2001). While less appealing than the tidy meandering channel, such a scruffy channel better reflects the dynamic conditions prevailing in this environment. In effect, the river remembered its true nature and rebelled against the imposed form derived from an idealized cultural memory.

The cultural preference for meandering channels is reflected in the work of 18th-century theorists of beauty such as the English artist William Hogarth (Hogarth 1753), who believed that:

The eye hath this sort of enjoyment in ... serpentine rivers whose forms ... are composed principally of what I call the waving and serpentine lines ... that leads the eye in a wanton kind of chase, and from the pleasure that give the mind, entitles it to the name of beautiful.

Such notions were put into practice by 18th-century English landscape designers such as Capability Brown, who constructed serpentine channels on the estates of his clients, and continued in the 19th century in road designs by Frederick Law Olmsted (Myers 2004). Landscape and psychological research suggest that curved streets are preferred over straight ones because of the anticipation of what lies around the corner (Cullen 1961). More broadly, “deflected vistas” (be they valleys, paths, or rivers) are preferred (Appleton 1975). The serpentine line has been used in more than one advertisement for sport utility vehicles, most notably a recent ad for Jeep Cherokee that featured a sinuously-bending highway that transitioned into a meandering river (Figure 10). This aesthetic preference for the single meandering channel, given continued cultural reinforcement, may counter scientific reasoning, however, as we have seen.

CONCLUSION

Our landscape is shaped by rivers and memory. The form of our cities, built along rivers, reflects the fluvial processes that have shaped those alluvial landscapes. The streams buried in the course of urbanization and largely forgotten, increasingly reassert themselves as their culverts leak and collapse. As we remember these hidden veins of the landscape, more and more we seek to restore them to their rightful place on the surface. Just as the salmon returns to her natal stream to spawn, we find our society drawn to restore rivers and streams. While the instinct is essentially healthy, we see many projects that seek to rebuild river channels in the image of meanders from a pastoral landscape of our collective cultural memory from Northern European landscapes. These efforts often fail because the projects are realized in landscapes where such idealized forms had never existed in nature. In these cases, the river usually remembers and eventually reasserts its true nature, which is often more dynamic and messy than the imposed, idealized form given it by its human engineers.

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ABSTRACT

Seventy percent of the planet is covered with ocean. To start a story about the heritage and memory from the sea, what first comes to our mind is the image of a giant floating element, of an open vastness, with the exception of ships and boats. In the several thousand years of maritime history, boats got their place in the narrative of 'times gone by', independently of their being related to the sea, the oceans or the river. When it comes to constructing and floating boats on rivers or the oceans – be it for trade, the conquest of a coastal strip or for the discovery of a new piece of land – ancient and medieval times are the most popular field in maritime heritage. Although this is supposed to be only a small story of maritime heritage on the planet, it takes place in a country that has the largest delta of the planet, derived through the sedimentation of the rivers that since millions of years are coming down from the Himalayas (River Ganges) and Tibet (River Brahmaputra). Its name is Bangladesh, previously known as Bengal, crisscrossed by riverbeds, involving people and the land at its margins with their endless streams of water, the huge rivers widening like a sea and surrendering themselves into the mouth of the mighty Bay of Bengal. The ocean in the southeastern region of the subcontinent has been a very potential maritime route since the time of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Thus, it is no wonder that boats, rivers, sea and alluvial lands are coming to our mind when we are talking about Bangladesh. Fishing is the primal occupation in its coastal region. The trading in frozen fish is an important economical asset, with the country exporting frozen fish into different parts of the world. The deltaic coastline is about 580 kilometres long. The territorial water of Bangladesh extends for 12 nautical miles (22 km), and the exclusive economic zone of the country is 200 nautical miles (370 km). This explains why the coastal line of Bangladesh is vibrant with fishing tradition and boat crafting, as well as an infinite source for apprenticeship and cultural tradition.

Boat manufacturing and crafting is a traditional practice that is inherent to this area. Particularly the versatile fishing boat of Bengal demonstrates a series of different morphological aspects. The skill of crafting a fishing boat is a not widely known intangible form of heritage, an art that is still practiced and passed on to the descendants of the ancient fishermen. Yes, the

'AFLOAT BEAUTY' OF THE DELTA: STUDY ON TRADITIONAL BOATS OF BANGLADESH

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

From time immemorial riverine communication played a vital role to commute people from one place to another. The river network captivates the people of this delta land; it is part of their daily life pattern and distinguishes the cultural activities of this region. The largest delta in Bangladesh is crisscrossed by a great number of rivers which surrender into the Bay of Bengal. The 'boat' as maritime transportation has a rapport of thousands of years, not only in our cultural heritage, but already since prehistoric times. In many ways, since ancient times in this delta land, boats have been considered the foremost vehicle, as is evident in old manuscripts, ancient drawings, terracotta plaques (Figures 1–2) and ancient literature. These boats were suitable for different water courses and hierarchically floated on the river to the sea. The history of Bengal is filled with boats, rivers and the lifestyle of its people.



Figure 1 – Historical reference terracotta, embedded into a wall of the famous Hindu temple Kantajeeer (16th century AD)



Figure 2 – Precious terracotta plaque at the Jor-Bangla temple showing the festival with boats (16th century AD)

The deltaic plane has several versatile floating vessels; around 50 different floating elements were available all over the mainland of Bengal. Most of them are now extinct or decaying from lack of interest in crafting these beautiful examples of cultural longing. The different kinds of boats were constructed for a particular purpose and shaped to serve well. For instance, the fishing boat of the river, compared to that of the sea, would have difference in morphology and in the applied scientifically based knowledge of construction techniques.

It must be mentioned that boats have undergone some changes due to the impact of industrial development and its related phenomena. In any case, the traditional way of boat crafting is about to disappear and with it the varieties of boat manufacturing processes in different coastal regions and contexts, even though the contextually embedded 'form of art' of crafting the water vessel was still widely known just about two decades before. Nowadays, due to machine and

legacy of sculpting these traditional regional coast-line boats, together with the scientific knowledge of how to make them float safely in the middle of the river as well as in the sea is still in place, and practiced whilst people go for fishing for a couple of days or months. About 20 or 25 years ago, the riverine Bangladesh still maintained a series of versatile boat types floating along river routes. Then, more than 50 different boats and vessels cruised the rivers and the sea, of which almost 90% are extinct. The aim of this paper is to document some of the beautifully crafted and specialised vessels that still could be seen a few years back, as well as the development of traditional fishing boats particular to certain communities. It intends to analyse how the construction is carried out, what the materials for the building of this floating element are, and how craftsmanship continues to rely on traditional methods, thus documenting the splendour and the beauty of the boats that are the subject of this research. Additionally, the paper will present a scientific analysis in terms of navigation mechanisms and fishing processes in the open sea.

KEYWORDS

afoat, ocean, sea heritage, traditional fishing process, boat, manufacturing and crafting, Bay of Bengal, navigation mechanism, memory of the sea, cultural heritage, workmanship, craftsmanship, intangible heritage

engine adaptations, this fact is obscured and aggravated through the disappearance of traditional knowledge. In a very near future, the definition of ‘floating beauty of water, rivers and the sea’ will eventually be reserved only to museums.

Since thousands of years people of this delta have been building boats whose variety of shapes reflect both regional inputs and the fact that traditions related to water-based communications have always been rich in Bangladesh. This is all because of the geography of the country, home to a most densely populated nation. About 60% of Bangladesh is fissured into a vast river system.¹ Waterways and boats are thus understandably an integral part of the country’s communication system. In the last couple of decades, the fishing boats of Bengal have changed in shape and form: sea vessels from the Bay of Bengal adopted overseas styles due to the influence of foreign merchants. This paper will address this reality by showing the changing pattern of the mother form, or the ancient art form of the fishing boats. The wooden boats of the inland waterways developed their shapes and forms free from foreign influences. Meanwhile, all these boats were appreciated by the local craftsmen communities of the costal or riverine hinterland of deltaic Bengal.

In the process of building boats, the craftsmen showed scientific reasoning which proved to be intelligent throughout time. Another part of this paper will put emphasis on the cataloguing of the scientific elaborations behind the building of these sea and river bound vessels. At the same time, this beautiful craftsmanship is getting lost; very soon the ordinary people of Bangladesh will no longer partake in the glorious tradition of building and using boats. The tremendously valuable practice of crafting boats, transmitted from generation to generation, is part of the intangible cultural heritage of this riverine deltaic region. These traditional practices are in need of proper documentation so as to preserve the ancient knowledge and this part of Bengali cultural identity. The practice of how to build boats by using the skills and technologies that have been passed down orally by generations of boat builders is a valuable intangible heritage asset.

It should be mentioned that there are a series of other intangible cultural activities related to the act of making a boat: while crafting and building a boat, the craftsmen often sing in order to have a good time at work and to concentrate. On the other hand, the sailor of the boat also sings a song which is group-based, and this song is dedicated to the mighty river named Vatialee² – telling about the river, the sailor and the horizon. All these remarkable traditions and performances are fading day by day from the simple life of rural Bengal.

Until the mid-20th century³ the riverboats of Bangladesh remained the same. But around the 1980s two big technical revolutions took place which suddenly changed the riverscape of Bangladesh from the colourful scenery of hundreds of sails to a bare noisy one. With the advent of cheap diesel engines the first revolution was the sudden

¹ <http://www.friendship-bd.org/>.

² The Bhatiyali folk song is a traditional boat song of eastern Bengal. It is sung by boatmen during the journey on the river. *Bhatiyali* means ‘downstream’ or ‘ebb tide’. Beginning with an endearing address, the voice of the singer uses a strong flight of top notes. Gradually, the tune slides down to lower notes. Bhatiyali songs are also mentioned in Sri Krishna Kirtan.

³ <http://www.friendship-bd.org/page/exhibition-bangladesh-national-museum-2010-75>.



Figure 3 – Delta land; beautiful boats are floating on the rivers, throughout the horizon the sails are dominant. Unfortunately, this picturesque view is now just an image of what remains in our memory. Photo by Dick Durance (<http://mybeautifulbangladesh.blogspot.pt>).

motorisation of traditional boats. This enabled the crew to save on costs of masts and sails. However, this technological change caused the disappearance of marvellous riggings in less than five years. The second one was the change of boat-building material, from wood to tin and welded steel sheets. On account of rural electrification and the political will of preserving the forests, boat builders were encouraged to use these sheets to build their new boats. Wooden boats soon became too expensive and less economically viable. Almost inescapably, these sudden changes are bringing an end to this rich cultural heritage and technological know-how of Bangladesh. A thousands-of-years old tradition that has been passed on from generation to generation is on the verge of being lost. This is also changing the lives and expectations of the families involved in the art and ritual of boat building. It has now become our moral duty to preserve the millenary sailing traditions, technologies and crafts of the carpenters, sail makers, rope makers, bamboo specialists (for the roofs), blacksmiths and many others, involved in the creation of the largest and unique fleet of the world known as ‘the floating beauty’

FLOATING SCULPTURE OF BANGLADESH

Since ancient times, boats have been attached to the life of the Bengali people. Many ancient settlements grew by the side of the river in this delta land, and boats became the only available means for trade and the conquest of new land. Many riverine cities contained facilities for boat anchoring, a scenario that we can come across in historical studies. There is the case of Mahasthan, the ancient capital of Bengal (3rd century BC to 12th century AD), which still has the trestles of a huge landing terrace for boats, an infrastructure so huge it seems that numerous boats used to arrive for trading and the commuting of people. The river Karatoa was known for its many currents and the boats were different in shape and size in order to resist the river.

Old documents show that riverine cities used to be vibrant with a great number of boats in versatile forms. Bengal is blessed with such ample water networks that the river and the sea become deserted without boats; thus, the boats are the floating beauty in an aqua-based landscape. It was an image of picturesque beauty when big sails were raised and blown at in the air, as a big fleet of sailing boats travelled the Turag River in September 1972 (Figure 3). But we cannot see this kind of spectacle nowadays. Rivers became narrower and less navigable, at the same time that the engine-operated boats started to replace the traditional ones.

Deeply rooted in the life of the Bengali people, boats have been an inseparable part of the landscape. Numerous poems, literature and folk songs are well known to the ordinary people of Bengal. Rivers, sea, sails and boats are an integral part of studies and subject for painters in the discipline of Fine Arts. The boat has become an image in the mind of the people of this country, even if of fading glory, from a once rich



Figure 4 – A boat has a multipurpose use in the hinterland; it is part of life and culture, embedded into the very pattern of each Bengali's existence. Sketch drawn by the author.

and vigorous cultural continuity. The profession of boat carpenters is almost extinct, and with it the cultural heritage of a core tradition that, in times, created these vibrant floating pieces on the waterways. Their existence is closely related to the life of this particular group of skilled workers. Boats also influence the lifestyle of fishermen in the deep sea, where they are fishing, sailing, or staying – and keep watching and waiting, according to the elements they are facing and the challenge that the big sea currents present.

CATEGORIES OF VARIOUS VESSELS AND FISHING BOATS IN RIVERINE LOCALITIES

Fishing boats vary in form and shape, depending on the context of their usage, the customs of people from different localities and, more importantly, the nature of the river, which ultimately shapes the crafting of the fishing boats. It should be mentioned here that the heritage and the memory of the boat of Bengal is closely linked to the river network and its way to the mouth of the sea, which justifies the order in which the different morphology of the boats will be explained.

Fishing boats on lakes and river are very common vessels for fishermen. More easily controllable surfaces such as lakes and the small branches of rivers are fit for any kind of tiny boats. The *Dingi* (see Catalogue) and other kinds of fishing boats were crafted to great extent, but have become really rare now. In the northwestern, southern, southeastern and western part of Bangladesh, this type of fishing boats could be seen in the smaller channels or in the main course of the river. Besides this, there are some specialised kinds of fishing boats in the most southern and southeastern parts of the mainland, which only had their morphology transformed for the motorised version. But these fishing boats had an original shape of beautiful crafting. Usually this kind of fishing boat does not need a sail, since the waves of the sea make it go faster. In the construction of this boat different wooden patterns are used so that it can resist the strong hits of currents. This kind of boat remains with an open deck which does not have shades.

The *Sampan* (see Catalogue) was the original boat form in the south-eastern coastal region. Under the same name it is known as a most common type of small boat in Chinese waters, but has been constructed in Bangladesh in a variety of designs. Some boats have sharp bows, and nearly all have large sterns, with the after portion of the gunwale and deck nearly always raised. *Sampans* are usually rigged for sailing, sometimes with two masts; otherwise they are rowed with large sweep-type oars. They are usually open or partly decked, with a shelter or cabin aft. In Japan, Hawaii; and Taiwan; a powered boat has been developed out of the traditional Japanese *Sampan*, with a flat-bottomed midsection.⁴

The ancient Bengal maintained connections to naval routes from many parts of the world, but the shapes and size of the *Sampan* boat evolved through the craftsmanship of this costal bay. Two types of *Sampan*

⁴ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/520651/sampan>.

could be seen in the region, a small and a big one. The latter is a very different type of boat, fit for heavy waves and able to move across the sea very comfortably. Very specialised and skilled boatmen row these vessels into the sea, loaded with fishing equipments and extra fuel, since these boats have all been transformed into the motorised type.



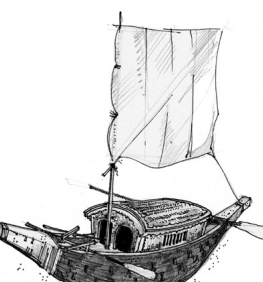
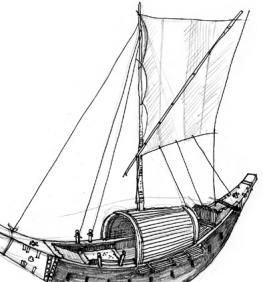
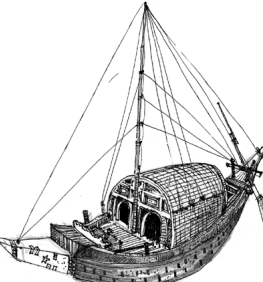
The *Shampan* (small) is a tiny vessel of different qualities. It is a multi-purpose transportation boat that serves to carry people and goods, as well as for fishing. Usually, this small floating element could be seen at the junction of a river and the sea, where the waves are high and serious. Most of these vessels were built out of wood, originating from the jungle of the southern region or sometimes imported from Myanmar. The *Gorjon* wood tree is the best for building and crafting boats in the delta region. It is a strong wood that becomes seasoned in the water before it is painted.


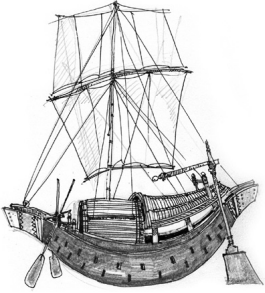
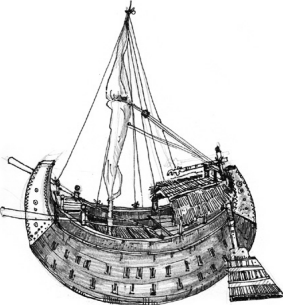
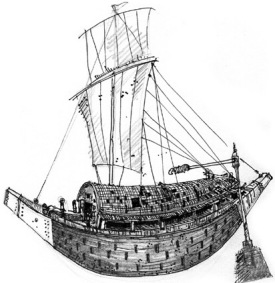
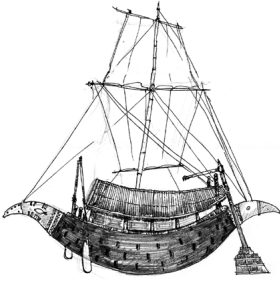
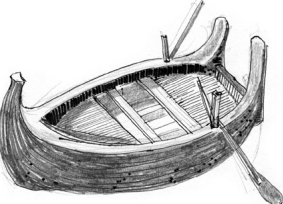
The *Shampan* (big) is a huge vessel which is extinct now. This giant vessel used to operate in the junction of the river mouth and the sea in the southeastern and southwestern navigation route. Designed for the purpose to float on the sea and on the river, it was used to carry goods and for trading. A big *Shampan* was built with a giant deck, used to stock goods and fishes. The upper deck exhibited eye-catching curved, thatched and bamboo built canopies. The huff part was higher and the frontal shade was shallow in size. A huge triangular sail testified to the glory of the sea and the river. It is really tragic that this boat is no longer floating on the waters. Where once localities of craftsmanship and maintenance were, people either migrated from their land or shifted to other occupations. About 15 or 20 years ago this beautiful, colossal fleet used to be a part of Bengal's landscape.





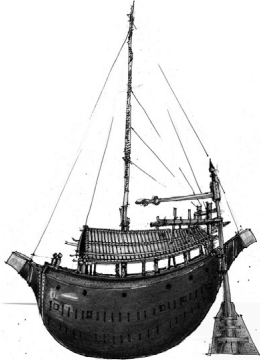
The *Shuluk* (see Catalogue) is another kind of gigantic vessel of the sea and the river. At times it was a sort of trading boat on the Bay of Bengal and the nearby naval route. It also served as fishing boat. Its huge hull deck used to carry frozen fish and other goods for trading. This was one of the quickest boats of the sea and the river. This vessel was designed with double sails, both triangular in shape to control the wind flow at sea. The front mast is higher than the other one. Sometimes this vessel contained two decks for multiple purposes. This gigantic boat is also extinct, because of its weight and the quantity of material that was needed to build it.

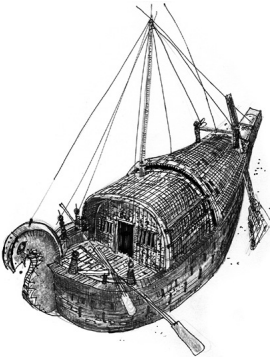
The fishing boat at the southern fringe of the coastal island (Chittagong) has no sail, but this vessel floats easily at sea. The single-layer deck contains storage room for fish. This kind of vessel allowed for the catching of fish in the sea just for one day. The original morphology of the boat has changed; it became much more curved and less wide during the practice of boat crafting.

CATALOGUE OF SOME TRADITIONAL BOATS, INDICATING THEIR CONTINUOUS EXISTENCE OR CIRCUMSTANCES OF EXTINCTION

local name of the boat	dimension and material	locality and navigation route	purpose	presence of sail and status of existence
 <p>DINGI</p>	<p>L: 5.5–6 m W: 1.2–1.5 m <i>Gorjon</i> wood with girder ribs, nails and bamboo</p>	<p>Northeastern riverine route of Bangladesh (Pabna, Sirajgonj)</p>	<p>Especially for fishing and sometimes for carrying people and goods Rivers Padma, Meghna and Yamuna</p>	<p>Single, rectangular Still exists</p>
 <p>Fishing boat</p>	<p>L: 7.39–9.10 m W: 1.55–1.80 m <i>Gorjon</i> wood, wooden nails and bamboo. Very common type of vessel on the rivers of Bangladesh. Crafting this boat is popular almost everywhere in the southern part</p>	<p>Central south and southeastern part of the river routes and at the mouth of the Bay of Bengal (Barisal)</p>	<p>Prominently fishing in waterways of the interior</p>	<p>Single post, rectangular sail Still exists</p>
 <p>PALKI</p>	<p>L: 9.2–12.2 m W: 3–4 m A medium-size, beautifully decorated vessel, with a comparatively wide lower deck. The most attractive part of this boat was its hood, with a well-ornated frontal and side facade. It was just like a floating sculpture on the rivers of Bengal</p>	<p>Upper southern and southeastern part of Bangladesh Used on the major routes of the rivers. Especially crafted for members of the elite or for other personal use (Chandpur)</p>	<p>For carrying people, personal use and special purposes</p>	<p>Single slender mast, holding the inclined, rectangular sail that makes the boat float faster Extinct</p>
 <p>CARPAI</p>	<p>L: 12–15.2 m W: 3.6–4.5 m <i>Gorjon</i> wood with nails, well crafted by skilled carpenters</p>	<p>Upper southwestern part of Bangladesh. (Gopalganj) Mostly floats on the river Padma and its river branches</p>	<p>Special type of decorated upper deck arrangement for passengers. Sometimes this boat is used for individual purposes</p>	<p>Single post with additional inclined spar and rectangular sail Exists</p>
 <p>GHASTI</p>	<p>L: 12.3–18.5 m W: 4.5–6.5 m <i>Gorjon</i> wood, wooden nails. The front upper deck is decorated with ample wood crafting</p>	<p>Upper south and southeastern part of the river routes of Bangladesh (Chandpur). This locality is part of a trade network that links the river to maritime routes, but unfortunately this vessel is disappearing from the riverscape of Bangladesh</p>	<p>Prominently for hire and personal use</p>	<p>Single post, rectangular sail Nearly extinct</p>

local name of the boat	dimension and material	locality and navigation route	purpose	presence of sail and status of existence
 <p>GOSTI</p>	<p>L: 9.2–12.2 m W: 3–4 m</p> <p>Heavily wood-crafted vessel with seating facilities. A classical type of maritime vessel that served members of the elite, including feudal landowners</p>	<p>This boat was mostly seen in the upper eastern part of Bangladesh (Sylhet), on the major river routes of this region. It used to navigate the big Haor wetland, as well as the river Surma and adjacent river branches</p>	<p>Specially crafted for carrying people, such as members of the elite or other individuals, and additional specialised utilisation</p>	<p>No sail added as the vessel could float gently by rowing</p> <p>Extinct</p>
 <p>CHANDPUR (fishing boat)</p>	<p>L: 9.15–11.85 m W: 2.80–2.95m</p> <p>The construction of this special type of vessel required craftsmen with artistic skills, who used to build this heavy boat with giant joists of <i>Gorjon</i> and other hard woods</p>	<p>The Chandpur region is still famous for trading in fish and frozen fisheries. During the Monsoon season, fishes used to come to the river for reproduction and could then be collected by this kind of boat, fully equipped with fishing accessories and instruments</p>	<p>This fishing boat is big, the lower deck is like a bowl and huge to contain fishes. The boat is hooded with twin shades and only purpose of this vessel was fishing</p>	<p>Single mast with vertical twin sails used to cruise in the river as well as in the sea. Having a huge lower deck and big sail it used to float in the sea</p> <p>Extinct</p>
 <p>PODI</p>	<p>L: 15.25–21.35 m W: 3.65–7.65 m</p> <p>The crafting of this huge traditional vessel and its scientifically based morphology is related to its use by a particular group of people who were cruising the sea in the southern region of Bangladesh. For this strongly built vessel, <i>Gorjon</i> wood was the material of choice</p>	<p>The southern region is full of crisscrossing rivers that empty into the Bay of Bengal. So most of the time this boat was used at sea and also at river mouths.</p>	<p>Mostly carrying goods for trade in the southern coastal region. Its deep huge lower deck helped to store goods for import and export</p>	<p>Heavy single mast supported by strings and a vast rectangular sail</p> <p>Extinct</p>
 <p>POTOL</p>	<p>L: 9.10–15.25 m W: 2.30–3.90.5 m</p> <p><i>Gorjon</i> wood, wooden nails. The front upper deck is embellished with heavy wood crafting. The continuous hooding with heavy bonding is what gives identity to this giant vessel which – with its deep and curved lower deck – comfortably floated on the river and in the coastal area</p>	<p>Lower southern and southwestern riverine region of Bangladesh (Faridpur). This vessel used to roam close to the nautical route</p>	<p>Specially used for the trading of goods</p>	<p>Single-loaded mast, framed with two rectangular sails</p> <p>Extinct</p>
 <p>BIK</p>	<p>L: 12.20–15.25 m W: 3.30–3.80 m</p> <p>The entire hull of the vessel is curved on both sides. The ornamental and strongly built lower deck has wooden jumpers. Both the front and rear parts of the hull are well ornated with copper coating. The identifying part of the vessel is its hooding, which is bended parallel to the hull curvature</p>	<p>Lower southern and southwestern riverine region of Bangladesh (Faridpur). Frequently, this vessel cruised the mouth junction of wide rivers, and sometimes it appeared on the sea.</p>	<p>The primarily purpose of this vessel is to take passengers from one place to another. In times it belonged to feudal elites</p>	<p>Vessel with well-proportioned and heavy mast supporting the big sail.</p> <p>Extinct</p>
 <p>SHAMPAN (small)</p>	<p>L: 5.40–6.10 m W: 1.40–1.55 m</p> <p>Wooden plaques and nails</p>	<p>The <i>shampan</i> is popular both in the southeastern and southwestern parts of Bangladesh (Khulna, Chittagong). Special high ribs exposed from three directions, and the main frame is held by a tripod structure</p>	<p>To commute people and carry goods. For multipurpose activities</p>	<p>No mast and sail</p> <p>Still exists</p>

local name of the boat	dimension and material	locality and navigation route	purpose	presence of sail and status of existence
 <p>BALAM</p>	<p>L: 15.25–18.25 m W: 3.25–3.35 m</p> <p>Specially designed for the sea. Boat building was taken care of by skilled craftsmen whose different schooling depended on the region where this kind of boat was built. Based on scientific calculations, the well-designed, proportionate curvature is embellished with magnificent carpentry</p>	<p>Kutubdia, which is located at the extreme end of southeastern Bangladesh, is one of the biggest costal islands in the Bay of Bengal.</p> <p>This sea floating vessel can navigate in a wide range of junctions at the mouth of the Bay of Bengal</p>	<p>Mostly for carrying goods and to trade on navigation routes. Its deep and huge lower deck helped to store goods for import and export in the riverine landscape of the southern region</p>	<p>Heavy single mast, secured with ropes and equipped with a vast rectangular sail</p> <p>Extinct</p>
 <p>Fishing boat</p>	<p>L: 15.10–22.25 m W: 4.30–4.90 m</p> <p>This fishing boat combines exotic stylistic appearance with a deep curvature of its front hull, so that it could cross the sea even among steep waves</p>	<p>Skilled carpenters are in charge of building this kind of vessel. The huge, lower container of the double deck is usually designed for storing big fish. This boat has an extra ice storage room where the fish is kept fresh, since the fishing expedition can take more than a month</p>	<p>Fishing in the deep sea</p>	<p>No sail</p> <p>Exists</p>
 <p>TEDI BALAM</p>	<p>L: 15.25–18.25 m W: 3.30–3.35 m</p> <p>This kind of boat is like a small ship, constructed by skilled, specialised carpenters and workforces. This mighty vessel used to have a central hull gutter to strengthen its body properly. Constructed totally out of wood, it had wooden plaques applied to the strong frame of the structure</p>	<p>This vessel sailed on the extreme southern navigation route, on the mouth of the Bay of Bengal. It was also used on river junctions for trading and for the export and import of goods</p>	<p>To commute people, carry goods, personal use, and touristic purposes</p>	<p>Two triangular sails. One is attached to the central hull by a strong mast; the other is based on the front hull and pushed backwards by strong ropes</p> <p>Extinct</p>
 <p>SULUK</p>	<p>L: 15.25–18.25 m W: 3.5–4.5 m</p> <p>This is the heaviest among all of the boats that are discussed here. This vessel used to navigate the sea and river routes. The central rib is designed with a heavy frame of <i>Gorjon</i> wood and constructed according to similar patterns of other heavy boats with a deep hull</p>	<p>The extreme southern coastal region (Chittagong) was the territory where this giant vessel was in use</p>	<p>Carrying passengers and goods, trading in the costal belt</p>	<p>Heavy double masts secured with ropes and equipped with a vast triangular pair of sails</p> <p>Extinct</p>
 <p>BALAR</p>	<p>L: 12–19 m W: 3–5 m</p> <p>Traditionally designed with bulbs and deep hull, in order to obtain a different type of in-between storage under the big deck. The upper deck is covered with a beautiful bamboo thatch roofing, bended to follow the hull's curvature</p>	<p>Central upper south part of Bangladesh (Kustia)</p> <p>The rivers Padma and Yamuna were the main route where this huge vessel has been afloat</p>	<p>Transportation of people and various goods for trading</p>	<p>Single solid mast with two huge sails</p> <p>Nearly extinct</p>

local name of the boat	dimension and material	locality and navigation route	purpose	presence of sail and status of existence
 <p>TEDI BALAM</p>	<p>L: 10.65–18.25 m W: 2.65–4.55 m</p> <p>This unusual form of giant vessel was built with traditional local craftsmanship. The shape and width of the boat was rather different from others, with its heavy wooden joists, reinforced with solid wooden beams in some special cases. The deep hull had an elaborated double hood, exhibiting a frontal ornate figure which created the ambience of a glorious, ceremonial boat</p>	<p>This elegant vessel used to cruise on the eastern part of Bangladesh (Sylhet) and to float on the river Surma and its adjacent branches</p>	<p>Used by the well-situated families, and sometimes to carry people or goods for trading</p>	<p>Single heavy mast with two rectangular sails</p> <p>Extinct</p>

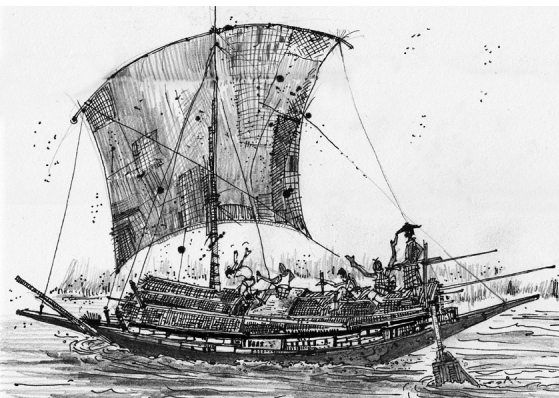


Figure 5: The Bedi-Bashori is a fine vessel that is no longer to be seen on the river Padma, Rajshahi. Sketch by the author.

VERSATILITY – DIFFERENT KINDS OF BOATS IN LOCAL TERMINOLOGY

Dingy (Pabna), Bazipuri (Barisal), Podi (Khulna), Fishing boat (Barisal), Palki (chandpur), Potol (faridpur), Ghashi (Chandpur), Bik (Faridpur), Kosha (Barisal/Pabna), Fishing boat (Chandpur), Carpai (Gopalganj) Tedi Balam (Kutubdiau), Balam (Kutubdiau), Cargo boat (Chittagong), Shampan, (small, Chittagong), Shampan, (big, Chittagong), Shuluk (Chittagong), Fishing boat (Chittagong), Tempo, (Chittagong), Gosti (Sylhet), Tabori (Manikgonj), Kosha (small, Manikgonj), Baidar boat (Savar), Palowari (Savar), Paltai (Savar), Dinghy (Savar), Donga (Gazipur), Raptani (Narayangonj), Raft, (Pabna), Goina (Rajshahi), Pinash (Rajshahi), Bedi (Sirajgonj), Balar (Kustia), Melli, (Kustia), Goina (Kishorgonj), Mayurponkhi (Mymensingh), Goghi (Sylhet), Tabori (Manikgonj), Patam, (Kishorgonj)

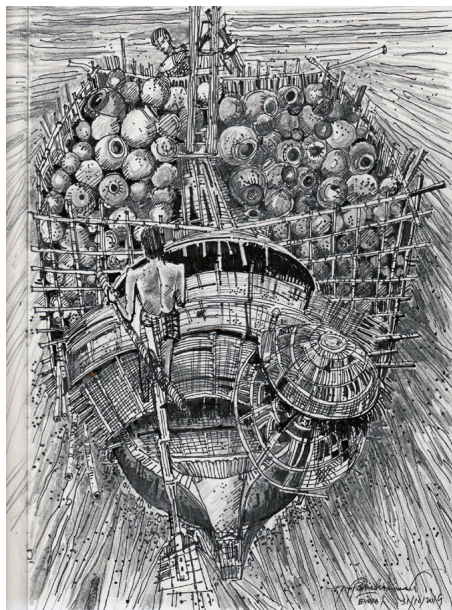


Figure 6: The name of this boat is Roptani. It used to float with heavy goods for trading on the river Sitalaksha, Narayangonj, Dhaka

On the open sea, one can come across another kind of fishing boat, which is now carrying a motor engine. Before this modern assemblage it was another traditional fishing vessel without sail, where fishermen occupied the upper deck of the boat and used the lower deck for the preservation of the fish. This gigantic fishing boat used to stay for several weeks in the sea, but after having been powered by an engine, it was able to stay for a couple of months with all infrastructural supports. It is still carrying the powerful design that it exhibited during previous decades.

There are also the fishing boats from Kutubdia Island, at the farthermost south to southeastern coastal fringe, bounded by the Bay of Bengal on the north, south and west. The name of this traditional type of fishing vessel, used by the local community of fishermen, is *Balam* (see Catalogue). The boat is heavy and the hull is spread towards the girth to keep unremitting balance while fishing in the deep sea. The strongly built structure, with a single triangular sale, allows it to float quickly in the sea as well at the junction of rivers and open sea. Based on scientific principles, the hull of the boat is deeply curved to crossover the current and to remain stable in the heavy, deep waves. This ‘applied physics’ – since thousands of

years improved and practiced by the craftsmen of this coastal region – is usually enhanced with artistic shape and rationality.

Fishing boats have greatly changed these days, since they have been subject to much technological and other contemporary advancement. Identical considerations apply to the changes in art form. Traditional fishing boats like *Balam* and *Shampan* have not only been adjusted in shape and form at their particular localities, but also in relation to the traditional spirit. The craftsmanship changed and with it the passion of carpenters insofar as more fishes were needed to satisfy the demand of the markets. Fishing is a challenging occupation in the deep sea. Certain communities, like those of the fishermen, would like to protect their own life and that of their family from any disaster or undesired situation. Since a couple of decades, fishing boats have been changing their recognised expression and taken up the shape of contemporary mass products, suffering from the lack of coordination between traditional craftsmen and contemporary boat builders.

THE DILEMMA OF IMPLEMENTING POWER ENGINES INTO THE TRADITIONAL BOATS OF BANGLADESH

This is an eminent socio-cultural issue. Whilst the crafting and building of boats by a particular community was previously carried out with traditional techniques, this building process was challenged by the contemporary need to accommodate cheap diesel engines. So, in this situation, are older carpenters ready to face this adaptation? Is there any possibility to preserve and maintain the actual methods of crafting boats? Are these boats felt as being part of our cultural heritage, as linked to our reputation as a nation since immemorial times? When are new adaptations and incorporations appreciated? One might think that their appreciation will come when the changing pattern is aligned with the skills of the carpenters and their community, as well as with the neighbourhood's stylistic tradition. In this the adaptations might find some buffer to orient them under present circumstances.

TRADITIONAL BOATS TOWARDS THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Boats of deltaic Bangladesh gained the status of 'inner meaning' in respect to cultural heritage. They are an eternal part in ordinary people's lives, a shining cultural gist in the lively pattern of riverine life. A rich tale of vestiges and endurance, these boats are still floating on the river and the sea, where they have been serving since prehistoric times. The lifestyle pattern of the delta region used to depend on these floating elements that still are a prominent attraction for the rich and vigorous art and literature of Bengal. The ancient terracotta plaques in historic temples remind us of our glorious past with its river culture and boats. At the Bengali New Year festival, celebrations take place in association to boats, and then there is the popular boat race during the rainy season, a game that evolves alongside the river banks with interactions on the landing steps where crowded people gather and watch the gigantic



Figure 7 – A popular riverine boat race in Bangladesh. Photo: Courtesy of Sudipto Das.



Figure 8 – Alongside the crowded bank of the river, vibrant participants are watching the traditional boat race. Photo: Courtesy of Sk.Kabirul.Hashan.

vessels while boatmen sing the heart touching *Vatialli* song, a joyful chant invoking our memory, full of respect for our motherland.

The floating beauty of the sea and the rivers is now fading into a black hole, leaving our familiar water landscape day by day. Apart from being a widespread means of communication in the coastal area, these boats are a distinctive category of cultural heritage and their crafting is closely linked to the intangible cultural heritage of this society. A great number of intangible cultural heritage issues are associated with boats, such as the songs of the river, the boat race, the New Year festivals, social interactions, fishing, etc. Boat crafting has been a secondary occupation in agrarian Bengal, often alongside with agriculture and, as elsewhere, with fishing. Each region has had its own characteristic boat types, adapted to local conditions. It is imperative to keep the traditional know-how in crafting the vessels open to present-day requirements. The skilled carpenters are required to be in tune with new technological advancements while crafting their beautiful traditional fishing boats. However, the process of preserving the maritime cultural heritage of Bangladesh is still very much behind. With regard to traditional boat industries, almost 20 years of erroneous policies have passed, and if these practices continue, we might lose our precious cultural heritage and nothing will be left for our future generations. We also will have to face the story of a pathetic historical miscalculation. Almost all the year round, this society is directly confronted with the riverine topography of this country, where high tides and floods grab settlements; a country that is a victim of climate change and which, above all, is a land where settlements and civilisation grew along river banks. Again, this is a land where transportation routes have always been closely linked to riverine environments, a land with a rich maritime knowledge and sailing heritage which the nation should take the necessary steps to preserve and enhance.

The maritime industry of Bangladesh is famous and has a glorious history. In times, the country's large delta was home to a great number of vessels, on rivers and at sea, and it is astonishing how a series of boats are still surviving in Bangladesh's waterways despite neglect and uncoordinated efforts in their preservation. Because no one is taking care of cataloguing the boats and of recording the knowledge of their crafting, there is a real danger that valuable know-how will be forever lost.

CONCLUSION

Since ancient times, boats have contributed to the growth of small villages, neighbourhoods, trading hubs and beautiful riverine cities. Boats influenced the way of living in a settlement and on the maritime routes of Bengal. Through the passage of time and industrial development this valuable cultural heritage is disappearing. Now it is time to secure it at any cost. A great number of intangible issues are related to boats, their crafting, usage and occupation. The song of the boatman, fishing, boat manufacturing and wood crafting on the boats are precious intangible heritage matters belonging to the riverine culture of Bangladesh.

Here are some measures that could be applied to secure traditional practices:

- **Ensuring that only intangible cultural heritage recognised by communities or groups is inventoried.** Here an inventory with an exact listing of the boats of Bangladesh is required. Field visits should be carried out by a special team in charge of the preservation of these boats, with the task to document still existing ones and to produce video documentation on the cultural longing experienced by those who were/are actively involved in their making and use.
- **Ensuring that free, prior and informed consent of the communities or groups is obtained for the process of inventorying.** Throughout this process the local and traditional communities should be able to participate in a workshop where older craftsmen pass on their knowledge and important advice regarding the traditional ways of constructing a boat. At the same time, the community should also receive instruction on industrial advancements that could easily merge with the traditional know-how of crafting.
- **Ensuring the consent of communities when non-community members are to be involved.** During the workshop sessions it is necessary to involve the traditional craftsmen, in order to record the process of building and its results, as well as members of other communities which are not directly linked to the process, so that both tangible and intangible heritage issues can be communicated from one group to the other and thus be preserved in memory.
- **Respecting customary practices regarding access to intangible cultural heritage.** Customary practices are defined as practices inherited from the past that are accepted and respected by the members of a community. In this case, the boat crafting tradition represents a sort of training, a knowledge transmitted from ancestors to successors, which could be received by newcomers who are mainly involved with industrial production, in order to introduce them to the traditional context of boat crafting.
- **Actively involving local or regional governments.** Adopting and following a code of ethics that should take into account the lessons learnt from good practices worldwide:
 - provide general orientation to the mass of people living at the boat landing areas of the rivers about the value of their cultural heritage, about local boats and the merit to retain their originality;
 - pass a regulation on the traditional boats of Bengal, establishing that no manually crafted boats should receive a motor engine, and defining admissible adaptations, such as a steel hull;
 - ensure that the traditional boatman receives a subsidy from the ministry in charge;

- prepare a list to authenticate all kinds of traditional boats of Bangladesh, and implement a marine museum where people could find both replicas and ample information on the glorious ‘floating beauty’ of the Bengal;
- create a boat museum where people can see and participate in the building of traditional vessels.
- **Research into the development of boats.** A proper source of reference is needed to uphold the cultural heritage matter on the traditional boats of Bangladesh. In-depth research by interested specialists from various fields should be supported immediately, so that these floating vessels can return to the river and the sea. The Bangle Academy, the Shilpakala Academy, the Archaeological Survey of Bangladesh, the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh and, last but not least, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Tourism have plenty of capabilities to raise pertinent research issues among interested scholars and researchers. A research centre in sea heritage might have the capacity to support the communities linked to traditional boat building and to create awareness among the general population.

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Illustration and sketches by Sajid-Bin-Doza.

3

Anthropological Approaches to Heritage and Memory



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ABSTRACT

Traditional coastal communities are recognized for inspiring artistic representations, justifying the interest in analysing the role of art in the image production that is related to them. In this paper we aim to understand the interference of photography in the production of maritime memories, with focus on the Portuguese town of Nazaré. This picturesque fishing village attracted many Portuguese and foreign artists, who contributed not only to the visual representation of this community but also to the construction of a national identity by conveying a poetic image that linked the homeland to the daily struggle with the sea. We propose to reflect upon the photographic appeal that Nazaré represented in the first half of the 20th century by examining the thematic focus of these pictures, the balance between their aesthetic value and their iconographic and documentary parts, and the practices that have changed, but continue to determine the maritime identity of Nazaré.

KEYWORDS

Photography, fishing communities, Nazaré, memory

PHOTOGRAPHY AND MEMORIES FROM THE SEA IN NAZARÉ

ART, DOCUMENTATION AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

Traditional coastal communities are recognized for inspiring artistic representations, justifying the interest in analysing the role of art in the image production that is related to them, and which is often limited to laudatory or historicist views.

First of all, we have to clarify the relationship between Portugal and the sea, an affinity that is closely linked to the national heritage status, since its understanding includes both “past-memory” and “future project”.

The sea is one of the most strongly engraved images that the Portuguese people have used to construct their identity as a nation (Peralta 2008, 78), upon which a series of defining discourses have been drawn up – from the greatness of the overseas explorations to a nostalgic feeling of loss and decay (Garrido 2009, 5), or from an “epic and glorious sea” to the commonly shared memories of fishing and other related activities.

Although this “memory built on fetish” in no way resembles the reality of fishing experiences, we must recognize the undeniable perception of the sea as part of the “Portuguese national heritage” (Peralta 2008, 77–82).

However, this heritage needs to be “activated” to exist; it is a social construction which produces a particular identity through the selection, interpretation and exhibition of events, places, expressions and rituals that are recognized by the community (Thiesse 1999, Hobsbawm 2005). Since the criteria for such triage change over time, the past ends up being a product of the present that organizes it (Connerton 1993). Nevertheless, this notion of heritage, which retains an “idealized version of a culture”, brings great richness to the notion of the sea “as a national identity discourse” and as “pure memorial” (Peralta 2008, 82), and justifies the aim to understand how this speech has been constructed. For this “activation” we here consider, among other possibilities, the role of art, including photography as an artistic object *versus* its documentary status.

THE SEA AS AN INSPIRATION TO ART

The way the sea has served as creative inspiration shows the “umbilical relationship” (Pereira 1998) that man established with it and which manifests itself in terms such as “seafood”, “seaway”, “sea menace”, “sublime sea”, “sea meditation” or “sea leisure”. We must examine how this connection and its strong visual component have been translated into the national artistic repertoire.

The introduction of fishing practices and the often humble people who carry them out is a relatively recent phenomenon in the fine arts in general and, in particular, in Portuguese arts (which concern us here). The sea itself, as individualized plastic element, only belatedly received the honours of being a main element in the pictorial composition.

It is mainly from the mid-19th century onwards that painters and sculptors, followed by photographers, made their way to the coast, giving greater attention to the landscape and daily life captured outdoors, which also reflects a new and closer relationship that man, for therapeutic reasons or leisure, developed with the sea.

This movement to the coast led to the discovery of an “exotic” world by the bourgeois and aristocratic elites, a perception that significantly changed the landscape and the economy of local communities, bringing with it new social habits and a taste for the pictorial representation of these spaces and the moments of leisure and summer holiday associated to them.

The fishing scenes (and rarely the scenes from the bathing season), captured from the fishing communities between Setúbal and Póvoa de Varzim for the more bourgeois circles of Sintra and Cascais, began to emerge with full autonomy on canvases and in sketchbooks of Portuguese artists, a fact that corresponds to the greater attention that was paid to landscape and folk customs by the late-romantic and naturalist generation, influenced by European tendencies, especially from France.

After the second and third decades of the 20th century, the representations of the sea and the fishermen generally reflected more social and humanistic concerns, although we have to conclude that Portuguese artists chose to paint the sea with realism, rather than convey their inner impressions (Garrido 2008), thus satisfying the taste of the bourgeois society who gifted themselves with pictorial representations of a peaceful relationship between man and sea. This elegy of the fishing people was easily transformed into an element of the heroic vision of the New State (*Estado Novo*) and its nationalist discourse on popular culture, becoming a more effective means of propaganda than it had been under the First Republic, especially when applied by the Secretariat of National Propaganda (*Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional*) and the National Secretariat of Information (*Secretariado Nacional de Informação*), under the direction of António Ferro (Melo 2001).

THE SEA OF NAZARÉ IN THE VISUAL ARTS

In this study on Portuguese artistic creation inspired by the sea and, above all, by local fishing communities, we seek to demonstrate the interference of pictorial and photographic figurations in the production of maritime memories, exemplified through the paradigmatic case of the Portuguese town of Nazaré. “Nazaré is the sea. The immense, eternal sea which is carried in the hearts of all Portuguese”, proclaimed the photographer Artur Pastor (1958, 39). In this traditional village, an economy based on fishing and the exploitation of resources provided by the sea created a “culture of maritime vocation”, assimilated by the community and recognized, on national and international level, for its almost idyllic permanence in the industrialized post-war Europe of the mid-20th century.

This picturesque fishing village – “the Artists-Haven”¹ – attracted Portuguese and foreign artists alike, who enormously contributed not only to the visual representation of this community but also to the construction of national identity by conveying a poetic image that linked the homeland to the daily struggle with the sea.

As emphasized by James Elkins, “there is no such thing as just looking” (cit. in Martins 2011, 88); the images have to do with ways of seeing; they are more like *screens* that interpose themselves between men and the world (Vilém Flusser, cit. in Martins 2011, 88), suggesting and inspiring perception models that can form the basis of collective phenomena, such as nation-building or the construction of a collective imaginary.

This reflection is essential to our understanding of how the “Nazaré identity paradigm” has been generated, which is indeed very visual; an identity that is rooted in the vision of a “Nazaré of the fishermen” and its folklorization, especially since the 1930s (but whose roots we have already met in the previous two decades; Leal 2000, Carepa 2002). The artists, consciously or unconsciously, participated in the production, dissemination or conservation of its outlines, reproducing a standard based on the faces of fishermen, dressed in long johns and chequered shirts, and their wives, wrapped in black cloaks or wearing the colourful outfit of several skirts; standing in individual pose, looking at the viewer, or in group, occupied with the entrance or exit of boats, patching the nets and fishing gear or preparing fish and related primary activities – in a unique space, the beach bounded by the promontory.

Joining the intellectuals who wrote about Nazaré from the early 1900s onwards, such as Raul Brandão, Afonso Lopes Vieira, Bernardo Santareno, Branquinho da Fonseca, Miguel Torga and Alves Redol, numerous painters (and some sculptors) gave shape to a significant production – now spread over museums (especially art museums) and private collections – which helped to underline the singularity of Nazaré’s fishermen. Naturalist, modernist and neorealist artists (Thomaz de Mello (Tom), Lino António, Almada Negreiros, Stuart Carvalhais, Abel Manta, Guilherme Filipe, Eduardo Malta, Lázaro Lozano, Júlio Pomar, Abílio Mattos e Silva, among the most cited) chose Nazaré and its landscape and boats as subject matter, but especially the people and customs of a community that lives forever related to a certain group of symbols, very much fed by a tourist demand that almost assigns them the task of substantiating the overall relation of the Portuguese man with the sea. In 1958, António Lopes Ribeiro pointed out that “(...) Nazaré gave images and pictures, stories and cases, that really helped to shape this ‘imagery’ of Portugal that today runs the world and makes the World start coming here” (Mello 1958, 9).

With regard to films that focus on the village and its sea, we can draw attention to the documentaries *Nazaré. Beach of Fishermen* (*Nazaré. Praia de Pescadores*, 1929) and *Maria do Mar* (1930) by Leitão de Barros – the latter a film that marks the history of the Seventh Art at

¹ J. Barry Greene in a tourist leaflet published by the Comissão de Iniciativa da Nazaré in 1936.

national and even European level – and *Nazaré* (1952) by Manuel Alves Guimarães, with a screenplay written by Alves Redol.

Apart from painting, the image of Nazaré is also closely linked to its multiplied version in photography, which assumes to be an unambiguous device, based on the “myth that the camera never lies”. The photograph is relatively widespread thanks to its reproducibility, thus facilitating the replication of memory and the democratization of the village’s image when compared with other arts, such as painting, which is more elitist and tied to the aura of a unique work (Sontag 1986, 134) .

In this communication we propose to think about the photographic appeal that Nazaré generated in the first half of the 20th century, by examining the thematic focus of these photographs, making a balance between their aesthetic value (as artistic objects) and their documentary significance. This latter dimension of photography – although it may not have been the main motivation of the authors in the first place – adds a substantial wealth of information on places and people, but more significantly still on socio-economic activities and know-how concerning fisheries and the close relationship of this community with the sea.

In the mid-20th century, Nazaré attracts many famous international photographers who bring about a qualitative leap compared to the earlier photographic works. In the 1950s, Nazaré is an obligatory stop for tourists and photographers. These years correspond to a period in which Portugal was “discovered photographically” by foreigners, which was also the time when photography contributed to reshape the post-war discourse on national identities. Simultaneously, they correspond to the golden age of humanist photography, particularly in France, and to the second wave of the photographically illustrated press, both in Europe and in the USA.

The faces, marked by hard labour and life by the seaside, become symbols of an entire community (Barthes 1980); the black clothes of widows, the typicality of artisanal fishing practices and folk custom, which were already disappearing in the industrialized post-war Europe; all these images – created by artists such as Henri Cartier-Bresson, Stanley Kubrick, Federico Patellani, Jean Deuzaide, Bill Perlmutter, or Edouard Boubat, among many others – are reproduced in magazines, galleries, archives or museums all over the world. Imbued with a timeless beauty, these photographs continue to evoke strong emotions, either through their angle of vision, or in terms of intimate charge and community characterization.

Rather than unveil what Nazaré meant in the work of these photographers, it is important to assess their pictures from Nazaré with regard to the international history of photography and to the portrait that they offered not only of this fishing village, but of Portugal as a whole.

Susana Martins (2011, 9) investigated the role of photography as a crucial agent in spreading the national narratives that intricately defined the so-called Portuguese identity, as it was internationally perceived in the

late 1950s. Focusing on particular and contrasting cases – an exceptional book (Franz Villier 1957) and an official exhibition (Brussels Universal and International Exhibition, 1958) –, she explored how national contents are frequently constructed by means of photographic storytelling and how photography, in its apparent neutrality, constitutes a privileged media to operate in the spheres of ideology and identity. She gave special attention to visual narrativity and to the photographic essay form, in their intersections with the fields of tourism, travel, politics, exhibition display and visual communication.

In her research, Susana Martins (2011, 128) identified the strategies of visual aesthetics used in the pictures of Nazaré as a clear illustration of the mythical time. “Nazaré embodied the perfect example of a location chosen by the Portuguese Offices of Information to convey an idea of Portugueseness”.

With regard to national creators, Nazaré also inspired the work of several photographers (Gérard Castello-Lopes, Denis Salgado, Pécurto Varela, Carlos Afonso Dias, Eduardo Gageiro, Artur Pastor and many others). In this survey, we also must not ignore the local photographer Álvaro Laborinho (1879–1970), whose negatives are kept in the Museum of Nazaré (Museu Dr. Joaquim Manso – Museu da Nazaré), and who left us an almost daily record of the fishing activities and the life at the beach of Nazaé in the first half of the 20th century (Laborinho, David and Nabais 2002).

Laborinho, who was born in Nazaré as the son of a fisherman, owned a textile and towels shop. He had several passions, including photography, considering himself an “amateur photographer”. Not much is known of his life and background. He was the representative for Kodak in Nazaré, subscribed several photography magazines and exchanged letters with other photographers, attended photography salons in Lisbon and used his store window to exhibit his photographs. Awarded with several prizes in exhibitions and competitions, he created the first photographic leaflet in Nazaré with the cover title “Souvenir of Nazaré, the Best Beach of Portugal” (“Lembrança da Nazaré, a Melhor Praia de Portugal”).

Thanks to these images that, at the time, immediately circulated as postcards and appeared in tourist books, José Carepa (2002, 32) recognized Laborinho as “one of the most important founders of Nazaré’s identity-producing symbology”, based on the visual impact of his work.

THE PHOTOGRAPHIC DISCOURSE

Due to its technical nature, the photographic image acquires the “value of a real world image” which is very difficult to contradict, since it conceals its interpretative nature. This ambiguity is inherent to the “genetic framework” of photography: being it an artistic object or a document, it is accepted as “being of truth value”.

Certainly, the image is not the real thing, but it is at least its perfect *analogon* (Barthes 2008); and it is precisely through this “analogue

perfection” that common sense defines the picture. Put simply, the photograph is seen as a re-presentation of nature itself, as an unmediated copy of the real world (Sekula 1982, 86).

Roland Barthes (2008; Martins 2011, 87) refers to the denotative function of the photograph, but also distinguishes a second level of invested, culturally determined meaning: the level of connotation. Considering the photography as a “mechanical analogy of the real”, normally that division would not be applied to photography. This one would be exclusively composed of a “denoted” message and leaves no place for the development of a second-order message (Barthes 1978, 18). The power of this folklore of pure denotation is considerable. It elevates the photograph to the legal status of document and testimonial. It generates a mythic aura of neutrality around the image, the myth of photographic truth (Sekula 1982, 86). Now, this status of “pure denotation” of photography (its “objectivity”) is somehow misleading, because, in fact, the photographic message is also connoted. Any meaningful encounter with a photograph must necessarily occur at the level of connotation. “Pictures provide evidence, not only of what is there, but also of what someone sees” (Sontag 1986, 84).

The photographic paradox will then appear in the coexistence of two messages: one with no code (which would be the photographic analogy), and another with code (which would be the “art”, or the rhetoric of photography). The connotation code is neither “natural” nor “artificial”, but historical, or if we prefer, “cultural” (Barthes 2008, 270). The photographic reading is therefore always contextual, exposing the photograph’s claim to a past moment and its entanglement in the present moment of viewing. This is what Barthes calls the “polysemic character of the photographic image”; in other words, the photograph, by itself, can only present the *possibility* of meaning. Only through its placement within particular discourse systems can a photograph yield specific semantic outcomes. Any given photograph is conceivably open to appropriation by a range of “texts”, each new discourse situation generating its own set of messages (Martins 2011, 91).

It is impossible to conceive of a photograph in a “free state”, unattached to a system of validation and support, that is, to a discourse. As Allan Sekula (1982, 84–85) points out in his famous paper, “The meaning of a photograph (...) is inevitably subject to cultural definition” and is context-determined. The task is to define and critically engage with what we might call the “photographic discourse” (Sekula 1982, 84). A discourse can be defined as an arena of information exchange, that is, a system of relations between parties engaged in communicative activity.

A photograph is not an image of facts, but rather an image of a set of concepts. Photography is able to depict something about the real world, but at the same time it means something more, something in the domain of text and discourse. According to Susana Martins (2011, 22), photographs seem to be representations of the world, while they are in fact powerful visual representations of texts.

Victor Burgin (1982, 143) underlines that “work in semiotics showed that there is no ‘language’ of photography, no single signifying system (...) upon which all photographs depend (...); there is, rather, a heterogeneous complex of codes upon which photography may draw. Each photograph signifies on the basis of a plurality of these codes”.

In short, Sekula (1982, 108) considers that “all photographic communication seems to take place within the conditions of a kind of binary folklore. That is, there is a ‘symbolist’ folk-myth and a ‘realist’ folk-myth. The misleading but popular form of this opposition is ‘art photography’ vs ‘documentary photography’. Every photograph tends, at any given moment of reading in any given context, towards one of these two poles of meaning. The oppositions between these two poles are as follows: photographer as seer vs photographer as witness, photography as expression vs photography as reportage, theories of imagination (and inner truth) vs theories of empirical truth, affective value vs informative value, and finally, metaphoric signification vs metonymic signification.”

ÁLVARO LABORINHO – CREATING THE NAZARÉ PHOTOGRAPHIC PARADIGM



Figure 1 – Álvaro Laborinho, “Women on the beach, gutting the fish”, 1915. MDJM inv. 1483 Fot.

Since its invention, photography has been seen as a privileged medium for representing everyday life, with an impact never achieved by any other pictorial figurations, due to its nature as an apparent portrait of reality, combined with the ease of its reproduction. But this assumption, that there is an image “itself”, comes up against the recognized polysemic character of the photographic image. After all, photography weaves a story, through the selectivity of focus, and creates “visual disdain” (Martins 2008: 36), keeping from everyday life just what “is worth” to be kept, what we want to remain from each day. Therefore, photography is not a qualified means of documentation when it comes to daily life, because it documents, above all, the mentality of the photographer and of those who use his product. The only way to turn photography into a “mirror” is to look beyond the mirror, that is, to understand photography in order to be able to understand the society that is proposed and imagined through photography (Martins 2008, 46, 51).

We now invite you to look at the picture by Álvaro Laborinho, *Women on the beach, gutting the fish*, 1915 (Figure 1). Four women are at the beach, with the sea and the promontory as background. One of them is standing, the others sitting, looking at the observer, knowing that they are being photographed and suspending their action of gutting the fish, washing it with sea water and preparing it for sale or for later drying. Notice the various types of recipients for fish and that each of the women is wearing different clothes, showing a rather great diversity in costume, from headscarf to hat and black cape (which was to become famous in the following decades).

The photograph has a particular “point of view” and a “frame” that defines what is to be seen. To Victor Burgin (1982, 146), “it is the position of point-of-view, occupied in fact by the camera, which is bestowed

upon the spectator. To the point-of-view, the system of representations adds the frame (...), and through the agency of the frame the world is organized into a coherence which it actually lacks, (...) a succession of 'decisive moments'. The structure of representation – point-of-view and frame – is intimately implicated in the reproduction of ideology (the 'frame of mind' of our 'point-of-view').”

This photograph is part of a large set of glass (13×18 or 9×13) or film negatives, dated mainly between 1906 and 1934, which can be grouped into the following themes: fishing and boats, fishing and related activities; bathing at the beach; popular and religious festivals; daily life events and official events; landscape (rarely the sea itself; when it is represented, these are the few pictures where we feel higher aesthetic care with regard to the changes of light); and the intimate and family nucleus.

Laborinho's images represent a valuable source of information on the village of Nazaré during the first half of the 20th century, although they have not been produced with the purpose of ethnographic study, a purpose that we can see, for example, in the photographs by Rocha Peixoto, who used photography as a support for his writings, thus attributing them an essential value as documental support (Martins 2009). Nor are they like the photographs taken by Alves Redol, author of the book *Uma Fenda na Muralha* (1959, a story that takes place in Nazaré), who can be considered a photographer who collected documental evidence to support his research on the reality of the communities that fed his neorealist literary work (Santos 2011: 99).

Although he had been surrounded by people linked to the world of images, Álvaro Laborinho did not dedicate himself to photography as a deliberate creative project. As Ana David (2002, 40) noted, “Laborinho was a man who was aware of his surroundings, who felt the importance of images (...). But he was not a studio photographer, nor had he pretensions to be an artist.”

Above all, Laborinho was an educated and well-connected man, interested in this new process of registering the reality, with easy access to the equipment and materials he applied to support his quest, which was to witness the events and the economic and social life he observed every day. However, we should clarify that this almost daily record, continuously produced for about 30 years, also spoke of his curiosity towards the “other”. He was an outside “observer” of the reality shared by fishermen and ordinary folk, eternalizing it through his lens and, early on, realizing its potential in terms of tourism by turning it into postcards, at a time when photographs were becoming of use to the emerging business of tourism and its need for appealing advertisements.

This is the contradiction of photography; it infuses the trivial image with a multiplicity of readings (Martins 2008,50). The photographer shoots with the intention to remove the commonplace from its commonplace. Together with the others, the selected picture (Fig. 1) serves as an example; it is not a mere fragmented imagery, but it recounts a series of

stories and proposes a “memory of dilacerations, of ruptures (...). The memory of losses.” That is why, even today (and more than ever, before the new challenges brought about by mass tourism and modernity), these pictures are so meaningful for the Nazaré community.

To Vilém Flusser (2002, 74) what matters is the medium (the channel); the photographer takes the picture depending on the channel. Álvaro Laborinho used many of the above mentioned images on postcards and in the first touristic guides advertising Nazaré as a bathing beach. Clearly, we see his pictures entering the fields of tourism and local promotion, losing their eventual denotative aura of neutrality. The selected photographs are above all those which show the natural beauty of the place, with the sea as a constant element, with moments of fishing, already perceived as an artisanal practice, and with cheerfully working people and their rituals and traditional costumes (we already detect the beginning of “staging”, with examples of men and women wearing festive costumes, but placed into a context of work, especially in photographs taken after the 1920s) (Figure 2).

We can talk of the “usage of memory” when a museum has the power to preserve for the future the past and present representation of the community. As an entity with responsibility for the patrimonialization of the sea, the Museum of Nazaré, who keeps this photographic collection, is part of a current debate on the redefinition of Nazaré’s identity. Today, and in syntony with other traditional maritime centres, Nazaré forges new forms of relations with the sea, besides fisheries, under an increasingly ecological perspective and related to scientific research, sports and tourism.

This understanding of photography as a documental source is vital for the inventory of collective practices that have already disappeared or that are facing rapid changes under the burden of modernity, constituting an endangered intangible heritage. Photos like Álvaro Laborinho’s *Preparing the fish for drying* (Figure 3) testify to the evolution of traditional processes such as drying the fish², which continues to be practiced daily on the beach of Nazaré – according to archaic methods, in terms of hygiene and exposure –, a surviving familial economy based on the work of women. Beyond its original purpose of saving the surplus fish, it ended up creating singular gastronomic habits. With growing tourism, this practice is at risk of suffering rapid change, since it is streamlined to fit the touristic offer and to correspond to a planned image which ultimately undermine its authenticity. It is the duty of the Museum of Nazaré, as an “authorized memory space” (Guillaume 2003), to uncover the “creation” and “manipulation” of these “invented traditions” (Hobsbawm 2005), but above all to understand why they are so necessary in changing societies, such as the traditional fishing communities of the Portuguese coast. In this endeavour, photography has an important role to play.

In 1957, on her official visit to Portugal, Queen Elizabeth II was presented with a photo album entirely dedicated to Nazaré, whose pictures were taken by the Portuguese photographer Artur Pastor. The selected photos



Figure 2 – Postcard “Nazareth – Fish Market”. Álvaro Laborinho cliché. MDJM inv. 634 Doc.



Figure 3 – Postcard “Preparing the fish for drying”. Álvaro Laborinho cliché MDJM inv. 1784 Fot.

² The “drying the fish” is still held daily by a group of Nazareen women, at the “estindarte” (a drying rack), located on the beach. Traditionally, it provided the livelihood of families for the times when the fish was scarce. After gutted and salted, the fish is “spread” in “paneiros” (rectangular trays with nets), where it remains for some hours or about two to three days.

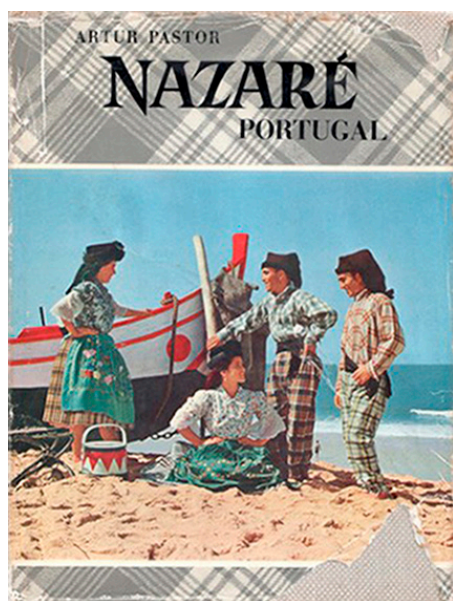


Figure 4 – Cover of the photobook *Nazaré* (1958) by Artur Pastor.

were then published in 1958 under the title *Nazaré*. In this publication, the photographs are accompanied by poetic captions which redirect the eye through what photography itself, by its very nature, already is: an interpretation (Sontag 1986, 71). The sea, the humanity of people (the fisherman – “the eternal fighter”, the woman – “intensely photogenic”, children and old men), the fishing activity (boats and fishing gear), the shipwrecks, the traditional customs (festivals, dances and songs), the landscape and its panorama, the legends of Nazaré and the sea-bathing season, all these are the subjects photographed by Artur Pastor and described in the original text (in Portuguese, French and English), interspersed with faces enlarged to the size of a page. The enthusiasm in conducting these activities suggests spontaneity and the portrait of a moment that the photograph “has frozen”. But Vilém Flusser reminds us that the images often “have the appearance of copies (and are confused with them), but structurally speaking, are in reality projects” (V. Flusser, cit. in Martins 2011, 87). Above all, we find a close attention to the human figure in Artur Pastor’s photographs, integrated into scenographic frames and showing postures that, in many cases, may have been previously arranged by the photographer; here, we find all the basic elements that help to construct the visual paradigm – the rhythm and imposing effect of the ship’s prows, the defiant manner of old men, the harsh beauty of women, the traditional costumes, and the harmonious interaction between men and women at work, occupying the space of the beach, separated from any circumstances, “reduced to types, to archetypal figures, to nobodies that embody a legendary time” (Martins 2011, 128) (Figure 4).

Artur Pastor’s photographs exemplify how photography is part of everyday staging (Martins 2008, 46); people are photographed representing themselves in society and representing to society. So widespread thanks to that album, the photos are organized according to a certain selection, inscribed into a larger programme that ultimately determines the result of this book, as well as of other similar publications. The scope of these publications is international; the translation of their texts into French and English make them accessible to foreigners, who, especially in the 1950s, will join all kinds of curious people, brought in by the growing tourist trade of the country and attracted by a promotional campaign that combines the beauty of the landscapes with the “untouched state” of a rural Portugal, by the sea.

In a museological context, the photographs by Artur Pastor³ allow for many different uses: from supporting the textual description and the exemplification of traditional work processes to the visual arts, thanks to their aesthetic qualities of composition and light; but they are also a means to make visitors think about how these discourses about Nazaré and its fishing community were designed, integrated and expanded.

As Susana Martins (2011, 129) points out, the reason why the visual representations of Nazaré were so cherished was the twofold political intention they frequently served: they not only aesthetically legiti-

³ The originals belong to the Municipal Archive of Lisbon (Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa).

mized the undeveloped state of the country, but also represented the connection to the glorious past of the Age of the Discoveries. These fishermen were visually appropriated as a national fiction: they were the living proof of the Portuguese maritime fate, inheritors of the famous navigators and their glorious past.

In this group of tourist and travel publications, Susana Martins (2011, 130) identifies an edition that “positively refuses” this bond with historical narrative: Franz Villier’s book on Portugal (Villier and Marker 1957). In a picture taken by Papon, *Pêcheur de Nazaré*, we indeed can see a fisherman in the foreground, but he is far from being part of a mythological time. “Looking beyond the mirror” and seeking the elements out of the photograph *punctum* (Martins 2008, 51), we also see a car, people from another social level, and no glimpse of the sea, which usually integrates the photos from Nazaré. Either in the texts or in the selected photographs, there is a clear concern with the social and cultural situation of the Portuguese people.

Among Portuguese authors who showed the same social concern, let us remember the photograph of an old woman hauling the fishing net with effort, filling the entire frame, which earned Eduardo Gageiro a reprimand and detention by the political police (PIDE) in 1962.

However, as David Santos (2011, 105–106) recalls, even the images of social denounce, produced in the context of opposition to the Portuguese dictatorship, are essentially linked to a naturalistic view of the photographic act, which, since the mid-19th century, influenced several generations of photography-loving people, what may have limited its political and social impact.

IN CONCLUSION

We tried to demonstrate the link between the artistic value of photography and its informative value with regard to practices and manifestations that meanwhile have disappeared or changed, but which continue to determine the Nazaré maritime identity.

If we easily accept that a painting is offering a subjective representation of a chosen theme, in relation to photography this decoding is less easily accepted because photography is frequently reduced to being a “window on the world”. In the early 20th century, Álvaro Laborinho was one of the original creators of the Nazaré visual paradigm, which then would be greatly developed in the mid-century, either with clearly propagandistic or touristic concerns (as revealed in Artur Pastor’s photographs), or more aesthetic concerns (the work of many authors who are part of the international history of photography). These images provide information for the study of these maritime communities, based on the “denotative message” of photography and its documentary nature. However, the context in which these images are read, and the discourse that they allow to create, reveal a multiplicity of meanings, which also helps to understand how a particular identifying image of Nazaré was

created, an image on which the community still lives on, despite the new forms of engagement with the sea, which includes surfing, summer entertainments or mass tourism... But in the end, what remains is the wish for authenticity, supported by the memories of the past. And the photographs, in their connotative function, are quite helpful for this purpose.

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ABSTRACT

"Afaruda – Anchor identities" concerns the expressions of religious and cultural identity of the fishing community of Afurada, which belongs to the Union of Parishes of Santa Marinha and São Pedro da Afurada (Vila Nova de Gaia, Portugal). The historical roots of the fishing community of Afurada can be perceived through both cultural events and their traces of imagination and people's identity, and the traditional way of life attached to the Douro River and fishing. One of its most emblematic manifestations can be observed at the annually and always very crowded festivities of S. Pedro da Afurada. For the people of Afurada, this event is an anchor of identity. Although an urban parish, Afurada has always been linked to the fishing industry on account of its geographical location at the mouth of the Douro River. Since this activity is associated to many risks, people take refuge in their faith. This is how the festivities of S. Pedro da Afurada appeared. The great devotion that this population has for St. Peter (S. Pedro) becomes a soaring celebration, a big thank you for the protection and the graces bestowed upon its people throughout the year, culminating in the procession carried out in honor of this saint, which will be highlighted in this presentation.

KEYWORDS

Afurada, intangible heritage, culture, St. Peter

AFURADA – ANCHOR IDENTITIES

THE FESTIVITIES OF S. PEDRO DA AFURADA

THE FISHING COMMUNITY OF S. PEDRO DA AFURADA

The work that is outlined in this paper has been developed as part of the Master course in Portuguese Art History at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto¹, and complemented with an internship at the Interpretive Center of the Heritage of Alfaruda (CIPA – Centro Interpretativo do Património da Afurada), which aims to study the fishing community of S. Pedro da Afurada. This exploratory study is still in progress, but its potential has already been recognized. In it, we propose a multidisciplinary approach by crossing sources and supporting our findings through a methodology based on interviews, without pre-prepared script and essentially conducted among people of the Afurada fishing community.²

The path we outlined for the study of S. Pedro de Afurada is the result of a personal interest in intangible cultural heritage issues and how they are related to a specific community, in order to understand its formation, how it develops and designs its future. Recognizing the heritage value of S. Pedro da Afurada, we consider that its protection, through the festivities in honor of the patron saint, gives a greater dignity to the story that belongs to its people and to the memory of this place.

S. PEDRO DA AFURADA

As a first step we should get familiarized with the region of Afurada³, belonging to the council of Vila Nova de Gaia and located on the left side of Douro River, very close to its mouth. We should also know that this region is situated between Póvoa do Varzim and Aveiro, two important centers of fishing activity. These two locations were essential to the development of Afurada. For natural reasons, given its proximity to both the river and the seashore, the village stayed rather isolated from the rest of the council. Attention should be given to the fact that S. Pedro da Afurada is divided into three parts – Chãs, Afurada de Cima and Afurada de Baixo – with our survey mainly focused on the riverside for social and cultural reasons we are going to address.

Afurada's location, facing the estuary of the river on one end and the cliffs on the other, meant that the Douro River was seen as the main artery of communication with the world. With respect to its origin, the site has a long history with references that are not always clear. Only in the 13th century – more specifically in the year of 1255, with the *Foral* of Gaia granted by King Afonso III (r. 1248–1279), and again, in the year of 1288, by King Dinis (r. 1279–1325) and Queen Isabel (1270–1336) – appear the first solid references regarding the activity of this place, explicitly relating it to the exploitation of marine resources. Later, in 1518, the *Foral* of King Manuel I (r. 1495–1521) settled matters of concession and social rights (Filgueiras 1934).

¹ Under the guidance of Professor Maria Leonor Botelho.

² These interviews are characterized by two distinct levels. On the one hand, they seek to establish a dialogue with other researchers, such as Dr. Teresa Soeiro, and draw parallels with other coastal communities in Portugal; and on the other, it is the community of S. Pedro da Afurada who carries the intangible heritage that we wish to inventory. Some of the interviews here referred to are cataloged at the CIPA.

³ The toponym Afurada, or "Furada", or "Afforada" probably derives from its particular location, since it means "land pierced by sea or river". Cf. Araújo 1992, 4.

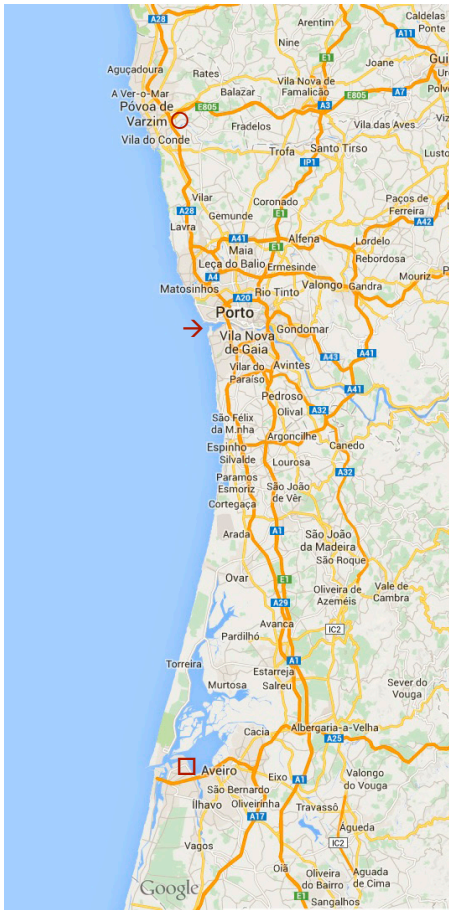


Figure 1 – Location of S. Pedro da Afurada → Póvoa do Varzim ○ and Aveiro □

This description of the village's historical context does not address a series of questions, arising from a number of documents that we did not have the opportunity to investigate, which we must leave to the interpretation of other authors. One of the biggest uncertainties has to do with the settlement's location on the sandy shores of the Douro River. Extraction activities are known to have taken place on this land, yet we do not know if the majority of the fishermen had a fixed residence. Another gap we faced was the lack of references to local housing. Marta Oliveira, in her study on Afurada, offers some hypotheses with regard to this question (Oliveira 2002, 4). In terms of development, this fishing community shares some characteristics with other similar locations, thus allowing for an analogy between this place and the reality of other identified areas, such as Aveiro (Soeiro 1999, 40), making it plausible that by the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries there were small constructions of straw and wood that served as shelter to people and their possessions.

Since we believe that this community came into being through the migration of fishermen from various parts of the coast – such as Ílhavo, Aveiro, Murtosa, and Espinho, among others –, we consider the possibility that some ways of living, working and socializing had been imported from these areas. We do not think that the fishermen from Afurada had the economic capacity or the need to build more sophisticated houses, because this initially would have been a place of seasonal occupation. According to Fr. Joaquim de Araújo, only in the 19th century, and given the extensive area of sandy beach and the abundance of fish, did some fishermen, such as António Pinto Pinhal, José António da Silva do Mar, Francisco Gomes Remelgado, and António Gomes Ferreirinha, ask the City Council of Vila Nova de Gaia to allow them to settle under a system of land tenure, initially in wood houses and then, after the intervention on the sandbanks of the Douro River and the armoring of the shore lines, in houses built of stone (Araújo 1992, 12). The presence of the fishing community, occupying the downstream areas of the river, gives a specific identity to the riverside of this town.

This is the moment when we will start to describe a community focused on fishing, which triggers a series of professional, social and economic needs and activities. The fact that many people came from other parts of the Portuguese coast should be looked upon as a benefit, because it provided Afurada's inhabitants with different means of empowerment.

According to António Baldaque da Silva (Silva 1891), in 1866, as result of an increasing activity, Afurada had 234 boats and 480 people employed in fishing. This community had the largest fishing fleet in the area, with a share of about 57%, and gave work to 40% of the fishermen in the estuary of the Douro River.

The geographic location and the livelihood of its people placed Afurada under great risk. Its location at the mouth of the Douro River and its sandbank was of advantage to the city of Oporto, where it played an

important role in the latter's defense. Not only were there appearing observation and defense posts, but also means to control epidemics from Brazil, such as the installation of a lazaretto⁴.

As many other places at the Portuguese coast, this community went through times of misery and sorrow, devastated by various shipwrecks that left a large number of orphans and widows on the shore. The 27th of February 1892 was one of the most devastating shipwrecks, slaying some well-known figures of the time, such as José António da Silva do Mar and Mestre Remelgado, who were among the first men to obtain land on this shore (Araújo 1992, 14).

These vicissitudes, to which nature exposes the people of the sea, are at the basis of a fervent religiosity. Celeste Malpique reports that the year of 1898 sees the beginning of a religious cult, linked to a chapel built on the riverside by João José de Almeida (Malpique 1984, 124). We believe that the construction of the chapel could have been intended as a strong anchor to keep human settlement at this location, which is the reason why the chapel was built at the dynamic village of Afurada, to which all roads converged. Religious matters play a fundamental role in social contexts. Therefore, a profound change occurred when a new religious temple was built outside of the dynamic center: the actual church of S. Pedro da Afurada.

The 20th century witnessed a constantly changing Afurada. José Maria Pina Cabral (1955), in a medical and social study of this parish, alerted to the situation of extreme poverty, which was due to the irregular income from the fishing activity. The living conditions were poor or characterized by unsanitary conditions or promiscuity, with families of seven people, aged over eleven years, sharing rooms of rather small dimensions (Malpique 1984, 121).

A direct consequence of these conditions was one of the highest infant mortality rate of the country; in 1953, 258 children per 1,000 live births died, while the national average was 94.5 (Malpique 1984, 124). Although these families had connections with other fishing villages in the north and south of the country, a tendency to endogamous marriages was prevalent, as in many other littoral communities.

As a working group, men were always very predominant in this craft, although there are reports of women defying the sea. We might think that their presence was not easily accepted; however, it was in the northern part of Portugal that this practice was more rapidly introduced (Malpique 1984, 124). Along with other researchers, we think that the early death of men, possibly by shipwreck, caused women to take up their work.

Throughout our research, between conversations and readings, we also came to realize that the fishwives from Afurada held a monopoly on the sale of fish in Oporto. Due to the unpredictability associated with fishing, the profit from the sales of fish was often not enough for them to subsist, which is why they adopted a system for washing clothes that was probably similar to other regions. Taking advantage of the stream that ran alongside



Figure 2 – Fishermen from Afurada. Photo donated by Mrs Carminda

⁴ A lazaretto is a quarantine station, an isolated building intended for disinfecting people and objects coming from places with high probability of infectious diseases.

the village, the women gathered to wash the clothes of husbands and customers alike to ensure they could gain some extra money for their household budget. In this region, many other activities emerged, giving employment to different groups of people, not at least because fishing communities were well provided with taverns and other commercial establishments. Similar to other places on the coast, there were also the canning factories (1942–88), the *Fábrica da Seca do Bacalhau* (cod-drying factory) (1948–1990), and others related to ceramics.

To this description of Afurada's economic potential, we can add the fact that this was a part of the country that most benefited from the *Estado Novo* (New State) (1926–74). In mid-20th century, the corporate state took measures to develop its policy on fisheries and maritime transport, which resulted in new urban plans and organisms related to the fishing activity. Of special importance were the *Casas dos Pescadores* (Houses of Fishermen), whose main task was to provide medical and social assistance to its members, both fishermen and their families.

In face of an undeniable population growth, Afurada started to demand civil and religious independence from the parish of Santa Marinha. In 1952, Decree-law no. 38637 (Government Diary no. 30, series I) established the Civil Parish of S. Pedro da Afurada, and on 2 February 1952, its religious counterpart (Araújo 1992, 89–102). We fully support the point of view expressed by M. Espírito Santo that the cohesion of a parish results from the fact that it is a community of families, work relations, culture and religiosity, supported by the practice of living together (Espírito Santo 1980, 216). This was a period of great development for the region, not only concerning affairs linked to the *Estado Novo*, but also because of the thoughtful intervention that priest Joaquim de Araújo had in social and religious matters.

THE FESTIVITIES OF S. PEDRO DA AFURADA

The festivities of S. Pedro da Afurada, which are closely related to the cultural and religious identity of the fishing community belonging to the Union of Parishes of Santa Marinha and S. Pedro da Afurada (since 2013), play an important role in the community's collective memory, noticeable in the way they are involved in these manifestations of the sacred.

The methodology we used in this investigation is based on the intersection of documentary sources with oral sources, through interviews without a previously elaborated script. Thus, the community of S. Pedro da Afurada was, from the beginning, our main source of information. Fishing communities retain a great wealth of living heritage, based on historical dynamics and striking spiritual practices, whose significant intangible components, handed down from generation to generation, are in danger of fading away.

For this reason, we think that the inventory of the festivities of S. Pedro da Afurada is important for the preservation and valorization of this community and its memories.

The festivity dates back to the early 20th century, or eventually to the late 19th century. When we compare Afurada with the fishing community of Poveira (Costa 2003, 117), we find that in the latter religious processions have been under way since the first half of the 19th century, testifying to their rather belated introduction in Afurada. As far as faith is concerned, the foundation of Afurada's first chapel, in 1908, marks a moment of strong identity affirmation for the fishing community, who sought independence from the opposite bank and from the parish of Santa Maria by extolling its devotion to St. Peter. This devotion is recurrent at the northern coast of Portugal where the saint is patron to more than 30 churches between the Douro and Mondego rivers, and to about 100 across the country, as for example in Espinho and Póvoa do Varzim (Costa 2003, 117). There are two explanations for this veneration: on the one hand is St. Peter, the Apostle, who God named the "fisher of men" and to whom He entrusted his church; and on the other Bl. Peter González, a medieval Dominican preacher who is invoked as patron saint of Spanish and Portuguese sailors (Carneiro 2006).

For the purpose of the construction of the chapel in Afurada, it was foreseen to establish the St. Peter Brotherhood. However, due to the death of João de Almeida, this never happened and an Administrative Commission of the Chapel was set up instead. The religious temple in focus had a long construction period, which was not surprising given the economic reality of the Portuguese fishing communities (Araújo 1992, 21–23). By analyzing the minutes that the Administrative Commission of the Chapel produced of its meetings, we realize that much of the monetary resources for the construction of the chapel were achieved through donations and public money collection, appealing to the faith that the fishermen had in St. Peter. We know of a proposal to ask each fisherman who brought in a boat full of *mexoalho*⁵ to give a *rapichel*⁶ for the construction work. It was also asked from each *arraís*⁷ to make a one-time contribution of at least one thousand réis⁸, according to their devotion. These attempts to raise money were accompanied by public money collection at people's homes, which was carried out occasionally. It is known that in 1902 Alexandre Pereira Janguido offered 45,000 réis in gratitude to St. Peter because his child did not drown (Araújo 1992, 26). Similar procedures can still be observed today, in the way how the Commission raises the funds for the organization of the festivities.

⁵ *Mexoalho*: Heap of rotting crabs or marine plants to produce land fertilizers.

⁶ *Rapichel*: Net of round shape, held by a wire, used by fishermen of the Portuguese province of Beira Litoral to catch, in the water, sardines escaping from the large fishing net.

⁷ *Arrais*: Professional in command of a fishing boat, a figure equivalent to a boat master.

⁸ Portuguese unit of currency from around 1430 until 1911.

The chapel was concluded in 1908. This was also the year when the first festivities were held in a temple of which St. Peter was the patron saint. However, this statement is based solely on the monograph written by Joaquim de Araújo, who at the time was the priest of Afurada, and not confirmed by other sources. Interestingly though, when we did a search in the newspaper *O Grilo de Gaya*, we found the following reference in its edition of 26 July 1891: "(...) the Saint and holder of the keys to Heaven was very much celebrated in this place, leaving his fellow Apostle St John behind".

With this disclosure we consider the hypothesis that a great devotion to St. Peter existed in Afurada, and eventually in Santa Marinha, even before the chapel construction. After 1908, which is the year with the first direct references to the S. Pedro da Afurada festivities, its highlight was the rite of the Holy Communion, celebrated in his honor by the parish priest. During the first time, the procession left the church of Santa Marinha, at the time both parish and city council. The floats were transported in boats, downstream, to the disembarkation pier. With regard to the sacred images, we are still unable to gather enough information to be able to tell which other figures, apart from St. Peter, were represented inside the temple. We do know that the image of St. Peter was sculpted by José Maria de Moura Coutinho Abreu Lima and offered to the Commission, though there is no description or reference to its iconography. In the year of 1907, in a minute from the 10 August meeting, the President of the Commission informed the other members that the decoration of a chapel, disaffected from worship and belonging to the Quinta do Vale dos Amores, was entrusted to Eduardo José Barreto who intended to offer an almost full-size image of St. Peter.

The figure of St. Peter used during the procession was in service until 1925, when the question of the existence of two images (Araújo 1992, 26–31) was raised. The Commission determined the adaption of one figure to St. Paul, of whom there was none. This, of course, led to the question of which of the two should be subject to adulteration. On the one hand it was alleged that the sculpture which came from Massarelos had a higher artistic value in comparison to the other made by an amateur, but on the other there were people who thought that the first image that was introduced into the new temple must have been made on purpose for the patron of Afurada. No one was able to counter this statement and the image from Massarelos was adapted to St. Paul (Araújo 1992, 31).

The festivities continued to be held on an annual basis, under the responsibility of the Chapel's Administrative Commission. In the mid-1940s, more specifically in 1944, on account of a disagreement with the bishop Dom Agostinho de Jesus e Sousa (ep. 1942–52), the Commission decided to emphasize the profane aspects of the festivities, and to disregard the cult's religious aspects as way to demonstrate their disagreement with the position of the Church.

There were other parishes of the diocese where the profane aspects of the festivities became dominant, because they too disagreed with the impositions made by the bishopric. In the specific case of Afurada, the profane character of festivities lasted for two years, until the harvest of sardines fell deeply, making people believe that this was a "punishment" by the patron saint for not being worshipped. Thus, a Commission of ship operators and masters

was formed in order to get the permission to organize a procession of penance, carrying the Saint through the streets of Afurada and down to the pier so that the boats and the sea could be blessed. Then and there it

was alleged that, in the future, the festivities would be dedicated to the patron saint, to the detriment of the Afurada festivities (Araújo 1992, 42).

Later, in 1973, the festivity program was revised under the direction of priest Joaquim de Araújo, then president of the Festivities Committee (p. 1973–76) (Araújo 1992, 42). In our opinion, his career as chairman of the committee cannot be in any way separated from the other positions he occupied in the community, creating a situation in which the same person represented both the religious and profane aspects of the festivities. During the days of festivity, this was quite noticeable in the distribution of tasks he reserved on specific days for each of the two components. We believe that this presidency proved to be a valuable asset to the development and enhancement of the festivities, because it was during these years that the number of visitors began to increase, generating better income for Afurada and its local traders, in addition to turning the festivity into one of the most important regional events. This was also due to the aesthetically improved decoration of the public space, based on the first experimentations with aerial frames, replacing the wax bowls that formerly lined the streets.



Figure 3 – Religious procession of S. Pedro da Afurada. Photo donated by Mr Cristiano Marques

In the same year, the route of the procession was changed, which first passed through the fishermen's quarter up on the hill and then descended to the lower parts of the parish. Reports on the religious procession describe it as a solemn spectacle of great aesthetic and human value, in which the whole community took part. Generally, processions and festivities help us to better understand some aspects of popular religiosity as well as their anthropological value. In these moments, the faithful can experience sacredness much closer to their ordinary life (Carneiro 2006). Contrary to their daily habits, the faithful do not come to church where the devoted images are kept, but the images come to their streets in an attempt to convert the urban secular space into something sacred.

In communities related to the fishing activity, the place of anchorage is frequently regarded as the most important space for the act of consecration, because it is there where the protection of the patron saint is invoked.

Celeste Malpique, after direct observation of the festivities, states that in 1984 the procession did not only reflect good taste, but also great economic power (Malpique 1984, 140). In addition to the strong devotion, in which everybody wished to excel, this was also due to the contributions of local immigrants whose growing economic power added to the splendor of the traditional festivals.⁹ These processions usually culminated with a sermon at the fishing harbor, where a mixed crowd of locals and visitors was gathering to bless the boats. Then, under the chairmanship of parish priest Joaquim de Araújo, collecting tins were distributed to all vessels, shops and groups of fishwives.

In the last 20 years or so, the organization of the procession has been in the hands of Dona Ana do Mar. The presence of a family with the

⁹ The information presented here results from a series of dialogues with various inhabitants of S. Pedro da Afurada, with ages up to 70 years.

surname “do Mar” (from the sea) dates back to the establishment of the village. Here we recall that José António da Silva do Mar was one of the first citizens to buy land and settle on the left side of the Douro River (Araújo 1992, 42). Although the Festivity Commission recognizes that this should be the task of the parish priest, he himself deposits complete confidence in Dona Ana. It is her responsibility to do the hiring, logistics and organization of each part of the religious parade.

There is a concern to maintain a logical order in the arrangement of the floats. This planning mainly focuses on the way how sacred figures related to each other according to the Gospels.¹⁰ As long as there are transportation facilities, all images that are kept in the church of Afurada take part in the procession. However, there are other images that necessarily belong to the parade, such as the Estrela do Mar (Sea Star)¹¹, usually the responsibility of the codfish fishermen, the image of the Senhor dos Aflitos (Our Lord of the Afflicted)¹², and the image of St. Peter (Araújo 1992, 46). Although floats are the key element of the procession, since they carry the sacred images, there are a number of other elements that complement and enrich the parade.

It begins with the presentation of the National Guard on horseback, followed by the brass band of the Volunteer Firefighters from Coimbrões, which will melodically enrich the route. The floats that appear next are set up according to a previously organized layout, interspersed with celebratory banners of the sacred images they refer to, and children, exhibiting robes that are matching different saints, and others who received Communion that year. The procession is formed in the churchyard, from where it heads onto the streets and is joined by the adorned floats. The float of St. Peter always comes last and is preceded by properly dressed children securing a fishing net. Finally, the parish priest appears under the canopy, supported by men who play a lesser role according to the donations table. While the procession moves through the streets, the houses with windows or balconies that allow for a look on the passing parade are decorated with colorful sheets, while its inhabitants are using the available space for the dropping of flower petals. The families of Afurada are often willing to shoulder the floats, and when the procession passes in front of their homes, they make a half-turn in order to stand in front of the house where they are celebrated with flower petals as a form of devotion and thanksgiving.

The procession ends with all floats facing the river, while the guest minister gives his sermon, praising the virtues of St. Peter, himself a fisherman. Directed to the fishermen of Afurada, he exalts the qualities of the men at sea, their difficult lives, facing days of hardship and danger while seeking to support their families. Finally, the priest of Afurada blesses the boats and the thousands of people who are attending the ceremony. In the sky, dozens of fireworks burst at the same time and the trawlers set off the sirens. This is the moment when the images are taken back to the church or, in some cases, to the private homes where they belong, and where they are protected until next year’s celebration.



Figure 4 – Shouldered sacred image in front of the carriers’ family home. Photo by Cátia Oliveira

Over the years, the procession and the fireworks were regarded as the highlight of the festivities. In the early 1980s, however, a parade of samba schools was a very appreciated novelty, made possible thanks to the receptivity that the Festivities Committee encountered among the people of Ovar. The collaboration lasted for several years, but the participation of samba schools was suspended after some time. This was due to the pressure that the former parish priest of Afurada applied, motivated by his difficulties in convincing the Vicar General of the Diocese of the groundlessness of the complaints coming from a small sector of the population, who invoked that samba degraded the festivities, which should be clearly religious (Araújo 1992, 47). The introduction of recurrent traditions from other parts of the country, or even from foreign countries, showed that the Commission of the Festivities of S. Pedro da Afurada was aware of what was going on at other festivities, particularly at the ones that took place in coastal regions. We can ask ourselves whether the fact that these processions are so similar to each other is the result of copying or adapting already established practices, even if for functional reasons.

During the next 20 years, the event has been marked by regularity, without any outstanding occurrences that would make their reference worthwhile for this study. The fact that it has gained a greater visibility in recent years is probably due to the creation of a Special Events Committee, which already dates back to the first festivities under the auspices of the Administrative Commission of the Chapel, but which only in 2006 was legally recognized (Araújo 1992, 48).



Figure 5 – Image depicting female costumes in the procession of St. Peter. Photo donated by Lurdes Rola

The festivities have been the subject of much praise because of the event's magnitude, achieved through the work and commitment of many people and organizations, but its success can never be dissociated from the fishing community of Afurada. In this community, important socialization processes take place outdoors, where the feminine part of the population spends much of its day. Through our field work and direct observation we learned that a series of daily tasks are performed in these locations, such as the preparation of food and meals. This is clearly confirmed on the day when the community honors its patron. Interspersed with several restaurants, Afurada's public space gains new devices, used to prepare and sell food at the doorstep. Typical stoves are to be seen in the streets, as well as tables where families are taking their meals. This habit is not looked upon as something that pollutes the space; on the contrary, it is seen as a way to take outdoors a get-together that is appreciated and shared among family members and open to the *rabelos*¹³ (foreigners) who come to visit Afurada. This neighborly feeling is not only accepted by visitors, but is one of the enchanting factors of the festivities.

The sustained development, added to by the visibility and picturesque nature of the festivities allowed for their integration into larger-scale projects. This was the case of the Festival do Norte (Northern Festival) in 2012, where the project *Rede* (Net) by plastic artist Joana Vasconcelos

¹³ *Rabelos*: Term used by the people from Afurada (*Afuradenses*) to characterize strangers.

was presented. This project was especially planned for the S. Pedro da Afurada festivities, involving the participation of four local fishermen who traveled to Lisbon and stayed for two days at the artist's studio in order to prepare the installation of a fishing net in collaboration with the artist's team. The "Net" symbolizes the wealth of the river mouth that sustains the inhabitants of Afurada and is decorated with the iconographic image of St. Peter, the Apostle.

Currently, there are some factors that may condition the continuity of the festivities in the way they have happened in the past. On the one hand, there is the newly created Union of the Parishes of S. Pedro da Afurada and Santa Marinha, with the latter now being head of the council, and on the other we find the fishing sector increasingly affected by the economic crisis, which threatens the future financial support for the festivities. In fact, people related to fishing activities have been declining in Afurada, which may also put the festivities at risk. In case the festivity should lose its direct roots and cultural identity, it might end up as a tourist attraction, disconnected from its origin.

After examining the village of S. Pedro da Afurada and its community, we think that it is important to reinforce the identity values that characterize them. In the future, we intend to focus on the St. Peter festivities, not primarily for their importance as tourist attraction, but for their being the result of a cultural process, closely linked to the memory of this population and the cultural features that characterize their everyday lives. We believe that the inclusion of the festivities in the National Inventory of Cultural Heritage would be of advantage for this community and an asset for a country that is strong in religious traditions.

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MEMORIES OF SALT AND SEA: ANCHOVIES MADE FROM SARDINES OLHÃO, AN INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE

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ABSTRACT

By the end of the 20th century, the study of the process of sardine anchovying brought the author of this paper back to her childhood memories of early industrial Olhão. The modern procedure is very similar to that used in old times, when women worked long hours, leaving their household and children to the care of sisters and neighbours, and every art and craft in the village evolved around the needs of fisheries and canning factories. In terms of personal experience, this conference marks the closing of a cycle, interlinking memories, life experiences and knowledge, thus bringing a precious heritage of the past to the present.

KEYWORDS

sardines, salt, fish processing

During the 20th century fish canneries were present all over Olhão, giving the town an immediately distinctive identity: the loud sound of the sirens calling women to work once the fish was landed (as it had to be processed upon arrival at the docks), the pungent smell from the fish-meal factory *Safol* which, mixed with low-tide odours from the salt marshes, poisoned the air on hot summer days, the chimneys emerging from the white-lime cubic houses, like tall, red-brick towers...

For those who lived close to Olhão, canneries were all the more important as they provided employment to armies of women whose life pace was actually dictated by the sound of the factory horn. Without a regular work schedule or a fixed salary, they would leave their household and children at the first sound of the sirens and work non-stop until the landed fish were all gutted, trimmed, cleaned and packed in cans; when the catch was good, they would work long hours and earn good money; when fish was scarce, there was no work and no income.

Before women could begin their work, the buyers decided at the dock which fish to buy and which should be processed. The carrier, who did not play any decisive role, rushed to carry the fish load from the docks to the factories. Once again, no fish meant no work and no money available (Piloto 1997, 51).

And then there were the fishermen, most of them also employees of factory owners. Fishermen, their families and their employers, all deserve attention but have to be dealt with elsewhere, in a different approach to Olhão as a place rich in characters, of people who, based on their hard and unique lives, even developed an own kind of dialect (Algarve 1987, 12).

Canneries were the driving force behind many other ancillary businesses, crafts and skills, from salt beds to salt-cleaning and salt-packing factories, from printing businesses (*litografias*) where metal sheets were printed and shaped into cans, to metalwork shops.

Every canning factory had its stoker, busying himself with fire and steam, operating boilers and retort autoclaves, being responsible for the precision work of the riveting machines and for ensuring that lids and cans were hermetically sealed (Júnior 1996, 9–10). The stoker's labour depended on the arrival of fish and the size of the lot. Fresh fish is a highly perishable commodity which can only be stabilized by sterilization of the filled and sealed can, i.e., only after its full processing, forcing men and women to work continuously until all fish were inside the retorts.

The pressure for continuous, long hours of work was so intense that canneries were among the first factories to serve meals during working days, installing modern canteens where a midday full meal was provided, as well as changing and toilet facilities for women. Cannery female workers entrusted their household chores to the care of neighbours or relatives (often to an elder, pre-adolescent daughter, young enough not to work), turning the neighbouring *bairros* (quarters) into communities of mutual help.

Olhão maintained a continuous production of metal utensils – trays, baskets, carts. Corrosion, degradation caused by salt, brine, heat, steam and high humidity, together with fish oil and its oxidation products, imposed a permanent struggle to repair and manufacture equipment – a reason why Olhão had an important metal industry settlement.

This was the Olhão I remember from my childhood. Here I heard stories of a great-grandfather who was a blacksmith and in whose shop the metal cross of the main church was forged; I saw women who earned their living by working outside their homes. All this made me understand from an early age that the presence of canneries made Olhão and its population different from other neighbouring towns such as Faro.

I always recall eating canned fish – tuna and mackerel fillets, whole sardines, skinless sardines (“*sans peau et sans arêtes*”, as I remember reading on printed cans) – and noticing that anchovies were different tiny little cans, filled with dark red fillets, salty and bitter, so different in flavour, and even in their shorter shelf life.

Soon I realized that the processing of anchovies was different from the regular heat-sterilized canned fish. Many years ago – perhaps around 1987 – my father took me to visit Mr Manuel de Sousa’s old factory, where I heard with astonishment that they did not use any sterilizing retort because “... we don’t produce canned fish, only anchovies [in cans]”.

In addition to the natural curiosity that made me want to become a biologist, my research skills gained at the University of Lisbon had recently been enhanced by a training programme in Food Science. This was carried out at a university in northern England, and provided me with the opportunity of a two-year stay at a major North Sea port called Grimsby, which – like the neighbouring city of Hull, just across the Humber River – also had a long tradition of fishing and fish processing.

Before starting my research work on frozen fish quality, I attended a Fish Science post-graduation course. Thus, when I came back to Portugal, I could say I knew a lot about food processing, canning, packaging, hygiene and food safety, quality assurance manuals and industrial codes of practice. However, I had never heard of semi-preserved fish before.

In my new job as assistant lecturer at the Instituto Politécnico de Faro (Polytechnic Institute of Faro) I became involved in the development of a Food Technology degree (the very first of its kind in Portugal). Soon I took the opportunity to investigate food-processing traditions in southern Portugal. Assisted by a few dedicated students from the degrees of Food Technology, Marine Biology and Fisheries (from the former Polytechnic Institute of Faro and the University of Algarve, presently all part of the University of Algarve), I visited factories, described and studied their processes.

Later, when the time came to find a research topic for my PhD thesis, the idea of studying the industrial processing of anchovies emerged naturally, as an almost irrepressible urge.

I read everything I could find, in a time when documental resources were only available in printed format and kept in libraries. My first computerized bibliographic search took me on a trip to Lisbon and the first results I got (by land mail, one week later) were references to another fish also known as anchovy (*Pomatomus saltatrix* L.), a big bluefish which is eaten fresh, wide open and grilled on charcoal at the coastline of the Algarve – but that has nothing in common with canned anchovies.

While talking with master craftsmen in factories, with women working on the canning line and industrialists, I learned that anchovies preserved in small cans are prepared with anchovy (*Engraulis encrasicolus* L.), cured for long months inside buckets or concrete vats, between layers of salt, and covered with a heavy lid at room temperature. After the curing process, the fish are cleaned, filleted and packed in small cans or glass jars, covered with olive oil or other vegetable oil, and lids are riveted to the body of the cans using the same equipment that seals heat-sterilized canned sardines or tuna. Just like that, either flat in the can or rolled around a caper, covered in oil, anchovies have a long shelf life and do not require any additional care other than keeping the container sealed.

In the meantime, I realised that this process has been done in much the same way since immemorial times and that knowledge about it has been passed on from master craftsman to apprentice; it is still very similar to the processing of the ancient Roman *garum* described in ancient historical documents (Lepierre 1945). I came across similar processing traditions in Argentina, the Baltic Sea shore and the European shores of both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic (Perez-Villareal and Pozo 1992).

I also learned that quality anchovies were prepared using fresh anchovies, landed in the fish docks of Olhão and Vila Real de Santo António, in the Algarve. However, when the catch was poor or became too expensive, companies would import buckets of salted fish from South America to be further processed in their factories. Sometimes this resulted in a low-quality product, loaded with rancid off-fla-



Figure 1 – Women working on fresh fish



Figure 2 – Gutted, beheaded fish, packed with salt

vours and biogenic amines, which was poorly valued by Portuguese consumers.

To overcome this problem, during periods of big sardine (*Sardina pilchardus* W.) catch, some factories replaced anchovies with sardines. This new raw material behaved similarly to anchovy during processing – with good-quality fresh fish submitted to good manufacturing practices, canned anchovies produced from sardines became a pleasant, safe and praised commodity that consumers could not distinguish from the original.

The PhD research provided me with the opportunity to observe industrial anchovy processing at the new Marolhão factory, owned by Manuel de Sousa in Olhão. At the new premises, the fish is packed in salt inside tile-covered concrete vats instead of plastic buckets, and the workforce of mostly women use modern toilet facilities equipped with showers. In the factory building, older cans with more than 50 years are exhibited as museum items.

At the same time, I started preparing my own anchovies with sardines from the same batches processed in the factory, trying to replicate the industrial process at a pilot scale in the food processing laboratory (Food Engineering Department, University of Algarve).

For several years I visited the factory regularly, talked with the master and female workers, and watched over several days when the main work was to eviscerate and behead sardines – there was fresh, bright-red blood running through the floor and it was impossible to leave without bloodstains on my white coat and apron. In these particular days, the food served at lunch in the factory's canteen was mainly grilled sardines, because those were the days of abundant, fresh, fat sardines in the market (Figure 1).

I watched the pile of sea salt decrease in size at the same pace as the vats were filled with odd layers of fish and salt.

I obtained permission to insert thermocouples at different levels to record temperature changes during the maturing process. In addition, I also needed a “ride” on the forklift in order to reach the bottom layers of the 1.2-meter-wide, cubic-shaped vats.

I watched the loaded vats bulging with salt, their content higher than the walls at the beginning, though looking less full the day after and beginning to drip brine. On the second day there I was, watching the heavy concrete lids being placed on the top by the skilled manoeuvring of the forklift. On the following days I observed the brine overflow, a liquid coming from below the lid and pouring out.

I smelled the odours of each phase of the process, from the salty and fishy smell in the very first days, when the bright-red blood evoked the death of the fish, to the smell of anchovies: there were many odours, and my memory keeps them all (Figure 2).



Figure 3 – Washing mature fish in hot brine



Figure 4 – Fish filleting



Figure 5 – Oil covers the fish completely, with minimum spillage

Then, three or four months later, the supervisor informed me that he was about to open and unload a vat. In those days, it was the task of women to wash the fish in hot saturated brine and prepare the fish fillets. This process went on for days and weeks, vat after vat, at a pace defined by the availability of manual labour (Figures 3 and 4).

I witnessed the fortitude and resilience of those women day after day: wearing rubber gloves and galoshes, standing on their feet all day, they had a hard job eviscerating sardines in the first days of the process – a difficult task that I guess toughened them up. These same women were called to wash the fish in hot brine, using the same rubber gloves, and then sit down bare-handed to clean, fillet, trim and pack it in little cans, filling them with oil overflowing but avoiding unwanted waste. This is a highly-skilled precision work that they perform meticulously as if they were embroidering! They do it accurately and quickly, while talking, singing, and sometimes arguing, as if their manual work did not need any attention, as if their legs or backs did not ache, as if this was the only, but also the most interesting, possible job – I only saw tired faces outside the processing line, never at work.

I tried to sit by their side and do their work, but my hands had a lot to learn: I was clumsy and slow and was soon advised to give up... I insisted on learning in order to be able to perform the same operation at the laboratory, but I never reached their standards and the cans I had packed did not pass the quality control check: in the factory line every can was packed perfectly at first try (Figure 5).

At the same time I was working hard in the laboratory, collecting samples from both processing methods (at the factory and laboratory) in order to characterize physical, chemical and sensorial parameters.

Before this period of intense contact with the factory's daily life, I spent a long time at the university laboratories testing analytical methods. I used standard methods whenever possible but often had to adapt published methods or create new ones that suited the peculiar characteristics of my samples.

I trained a taste panel (seven volunteers recruited among university staff) to use their sensorial skills to recognize the characteristics of mature anchovies and to decide when fish is ready for canning – which is something the supervisor does empirically, as learned from the one before him who once taught him his job.

One of the main reasons that drove my attention to anchovy quality was the frequent reports of fish poisoning caused by the consumption of anchovies containing toxic levels of histamine and other biogenic amines, such as putrescine, cadaverine and tyramine. Although ripe anchovies are sterile, due to the low level of available water to support microbial growth, there was a concern that histamine production could be an unavoidable consequence of the processing methods (Rodríguez-Jerez *et al.* 1994). These amines are associated with several toxic food and their production is common in high-protein commodities

whose processing methods involve extended protein degradation and microbial growth over long periods, as happens in old, ripe cheese or other fermented food.

Similarly, sardines are often linked to scombroid fish and scombroid poisoning, which is identified as a food poisoning through high levels of histamine, present in fish as a consequence of bacterial growth that provides enzymes responsible for the conversion of histidine (the amino acid, present after protein degradation) to histamine. This was another argument questioning the safety of anchovies produced from sardines (Ababouch *et al.* 1991).

It took a lot of work to study the presence of biogenic amines in several samples, from raw sardines to fully-matured anchovies, which were analysed using a top-resolution high-performance liquid chromatography (HPLC) method; however, the above mentioned toxic products were not present in any of the samples, which leads to the conclusion that toxic substances do not develop if good-quality raw materials are used and industrial processes comply with food hygiene standards.

On the other hand, the extensive degradation of fish, driven both by the pressure exerted by the lid and osmotic pressure, eases the product from large amounts of fat and lowers its protein content, in such a way that anchovies are rich in interesting nutrients, such as amino acids and long-chain fatty acids, minerals and probably antioxidants (Ayensa *et al.* 1993).

Anchovies can be considered nutritionally adequate and safe; because of their intense salty flavour, they tend to be used in small quantities and consumed only on special occasions.

The conclusion of my research is that, without any doubt, anchovies prepared with fresh, good-quality sardine, complying with good manufacturing practices, are safe and present the right sensorial attributes. Thus, the processing of sardines may be a solution both for drainage of excessive sardine catches (if any) and to solve anchovy scarcity, providing anchovies at competitive prices. During industrial processing, the maturation period of fish can be adjusted to manual labour availability without any loss in terms of quality.

After years away from the theme, my current work brought me back to food-processing practices in the Algarve. I recently had the chance to visit a modern fish cannery in Olhão, a fish curing unit in Vila Real de Santo António, a modern fish farm at the Guadiana river mouth and a salt production and packing cooperative company in Castro Marim.

The opportunity of returning to this topic provided me with a broader view of my earlier research. I took time to re-read many of my old references with the eyes of a reader, not those of the author of a PhD thesis. In 2014 I had the chance to visit Olhão and looked for the red-brick chimneys – I did find a few, but only because I knew where to look for; nowadays the distracted tourist will have difficulty



Figure 6 – Old brick factory chimney surrounded by modern buildings, hosts a stork's nest

in finding one (Figure 6). Fortunately one of them is now integrated into a 21st-century building (the Auditório Municipal).

Although fish canneries are no longer the driving force behind the economy of Olhão, the catch, landing, production and processing of fish is a very serious business in the Algarve today. Canneries operating now are modern, top-quality industrial units, processing fish according to best practice standards, exporting small quantities of good-quality, highly-prized products.

It is with pleasure that I see some of those businesses bearing the imprint of the University of Algarve (and, in a different scale, my own), for marine biologists, food engineers, biotechnologists, dieticians and economists who graduated there are everywhere to be found. I came across some of my earlier students caring for the maintenance and increase in fish stocks, production lines, quality control, adequate consumption and marketing.

This may not be a gold mine, but it appears to be a story of success, where tradition and history, combined with study, research and development, have played an important role in moving a community forward. May the newcomers understand such legacy and safeguard this unique heritage of the past, promoting wise and sustainable fish consumption as part of healthy eating habits, as well as industrial fishing, fish farming and fish processing in order to provide the market and consumers with good-quality fish and shellfish at reasonable, affordable prices.

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ABSTRACT

This presentation highlights five years of learning from coastal fishing communities in the Azores islands, Portugal. We used photo-elicitation and focus groups to invite people to speak about the sea and all the deep, complex and sometimes contradictory meanings that it may have. The researchers sought environmental justice within the everyday processes using deep ethnographic and autobiographic-narrative inquiry which lead to participation in learning about as well as supporting collaborations between fishers, scientists and policy makers. This work calls for looking at the sea through new eyes, hearing with new ears, feeling differently and awakening to the possibility of knowing the sea in unfamiliar ways.

KEYWORDS

photo-elicitation, Azores, social construction, narratives, participatory reflexive practice

SPEAKING OF THE SEA IN THE AZORES ISLANDS: WE SOMETIMES WENT FOR LAPAS

Driving to the Casa do Povo in Porto Judeu de Cima, we take the high main road up about a kilometre from the coast. In the distance, the grey ocean seems to watch us through the misty openings of this February day. We are welcomed into the room of mostly women who may be as nervous as us for this first encounter. Alison stumbles through a hello and thank you to the coordinator of the program who arranged for our visit and asks the group if they would like to participate. Smiles and laughter rings out at the mix of poor Portuguese and bits of English as we pass around the photos.

Alison: Please look at these photos taken by me, a newly arrived Canadian, but also remember images from your own lives, images from other islands, images that a camera cannot capture. We want to know what the sea means to you.

Women at the Casa do Povo: *Ah, but we have nothing important to say...*

Ana Arroz shakes her head with a smile knowing that that is not true and invites a woman to come sit by the tape recorder. Two other women also come and join into the conversation.

INTRODUCTION

This narrative tells the stories of living in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean on the Azores islands. It follows the journeys of multiple people who spoke to one another to learn about each other's history and life, having been swept by multiple currents to cling onto these islands. This presentation includes stories told directly by those who lived the stories and others told by people who heard the telling of the stories. This narrative can also be described in academic language as an exploration of the social construction of knowledge: an Azores-based social construction of the knowledge known as the ocean. Specifically, the storytellers highlight their own lived perspectives to show how they, together and along with the waves, fish and Cagarros, make meaning of the sea (Cagarros are seabirds whose maniacal call rings through the islands).

We are fishers and researchers, mothers and brothers, birds and sailors and so our experiences and perspectives differ and like the sea of which we tell, our experiences are fluid. We believe that the exploration of this journey is important because the policies and informal rules that govern fishing on the sea, as well as the lessons taught to our children, rely on only a narrow selection of understandings of the sea, voices and concerns, and hence do not serve all of us equally. Some individuals, some groups and some ideas have more power than others in determining what gets listened to, what is treated as the norm and what gets edited out as unnecessary, peripheral, or unimportant. Regardless of how

strongly we are motivated to build together an environmentally just and sustainable ocean, success in this endeavour requires understanding and changing the processes of negotiating meanings between each other and between groups in society. In other words, we need to learn about how telling these stories in Portuguese instead of English influence meaning, for instance. We have to explore how telling about limpets as a show of being proud of not being hungry, rather than merely describing food or a scientific classification of sea life, affect meaning as well as the ways meaning is made by the identity of storytellers and their ways of telling.

This communication is an attempt to change the normal practice by privileging the perspectives and voices that are commonly considered, like the islands, to be ultra-peripheral or which have been deliberately marginalized in public discussions about sustainability. These voices are not inherently better than others, or more close to the “truth”; however, presenting them in the centre as the reference point for other narratives creates a re-balancing, therefore serving social justice. Since many of these people live in a close relationship with the sea and marine ecosystems, their perspectives are likely closely attuned to the ocean and hence highly relevant.

This communication is built around the core stories told by the Azorean men and women primarily from fishing communities. Narratives of other people, including those of the researchers, were sought and are presented by following the lead of these core stories. In order to be able to seek and present multiple stories in this manner, we engaged in a long process of reflecting on our residency in the Azores while also learning about fishing policies, fishing methods, fish biology, regional economics and politics, and local cultures: food, music, wine and dance. Some of the researchers were well equipped to understand the context of the core stories from the beginning of their involvement by virtue of being Azorean from birth. Nevertheless, Alison, who adopted the Azores as home for six years, led the creation of this collection of stories. As the principle researcher and author by definition, she primarily chose the players, the scripts and directed and choreographed the storytelling. By highlighting this explicit role, we hope to invite readers to reflect critically on her influences on their listening and learning from these stories of the sea. Alison, along with Rosalina Gabriel, Ana Moura Arroz, Enésima Mendonça, Ana Picanço and David Ross, travelled across Terceira, Pico and São Jorge, three of the nine Azorean islands, to visit primarily retired people to hear them talk about growing up, living and working in the middle of the sea. We began by identifying current and past work and pastimes related to the sea. We contacted sailing clubs, whale boat teams, organizations such as the association of wives of fishers and fleet owners, museums and marine tourism operators on multiple islands in order to find key informants as well as gather photo images. We used photo-elicitation and focus groups to overcome potential barriers of language and other social differences between the participants and the researchers (Doyle 2001). We spoke to groups explaining our interest in their stories and experiences related to the sea. We offered a selection of



Focus group Casa do Povo, Porto Judeu, Terceira.
Video still capture by Alison Neilson, 2009



Focus group Casa do Povo, Porto Martins, Terceira.
Video still capture by Alison Neilson, 2009

photos to explore and to start conversations between individuals within focus groups. Photos allowed participants to engage with complexity and changing meanings (Beilin 2005). They triggered memories, nuances and ambiguity, challenged as well as built rapport and helped to avoid researcher misinterpretation (Hurworth 2003). The initial data gathered over two years, between 2008 and 2010, includes more than 25 hours of focus group discussions and interviews done at Casas do Povo and in various fishing ports with people associated with fishing and past whaling. The transcribed text was edited with great care to maintain the cadence and regional ways of speaking, but to remove interruptions and occasionally add words that were implied but only spoken later in the text. This was done primarily by Carlos de Bulhão Pato in conversation with Alison in order to help the written retain what was communicated in the spoken conversation. The text was translated into English by multiple members of the research team with much refinement by Carlos. The full transcriptions of the focus groups and interviews in the original Portuguese are publically available.

After finishing the focus groups, we gradually began to take more active roles in conversations. Initially, we saw our roles as returning the Azorean stories to their communities, for example, via an invited panel along with UMAR–Açores at the Fish Congress organized by the Federation of Azorean Fishers, and via a workshop for teachers about the biology and culture of the sea and one for local children about their sea heritage both co-organized with fishing associations (2010). We attempted to retell the stories without changing or interpreting them; however, as we found ourselves invited by the regional government to speak to other researchers and policy makers about fishing policy (2011 and 2012), which is hugely important to Azorean fishers, we understood that we needed to ask more questions and help make more space for the fishers to identify and address policy issues directly. In 2011 we organized an event in which fishers from all the islands would talk with one another, with international scientists and local policy makers (Neilson, Bulhão Pato and Sousa 2012). During this period the research team grew to include Carlos de Bulhão Pato and Laurinda Sousa, while some of the original team members ended their active participation as the work extended to include other islands and other activities.

In the following pages, as with the photo-elicitation focus groups, the reader is invited to consider a visual conversation as the initial entry to this work. We welcome a reading of this conversation which is directed by that which catches the eye and the imagination. This selection and presentation of photos is deliberate; however, the visual rewords us with openness and uncertainty, important for broadening meanings and making changes in the social constructions of these meanings. Photos as illustration are common in much writing; photos as analysis, exploring what the contents of a photo can tell us about an experience is less common, but not unknown; although the rarer third use of photos, to make an argument, is our main goal (Newbury 2011). A side-by-side dual text conversation follows the photo conversation. The text on the

right is the central conversation about the sea elicited through photos and primarily created by elderly members of fishing communities. The text on the left is multiple conversations related to the right-side conversation and the ways we all participate in telling these stories. Printing conventions that limit the size of a printed page preclude presenting the simultaneous conversation to flow in three side-by-side columns. However, an adventurous reader may choose to remove the photo pages in order to break free of any need to flip back and forth. Unlike lapas, which cling fiercely to the rocky shore, paper can be removed or cut from its binding easily.



Looking out from the fort at São Mateus. Photo by Alison Neilson, 2010



Elicitation photo: Terceira. Photo by Alison Neilson 2008



Elicitation photo: Ferry leaving Angra do Heroísmo, Terceira to Pico Island. Photo by Alison Neilson 2008



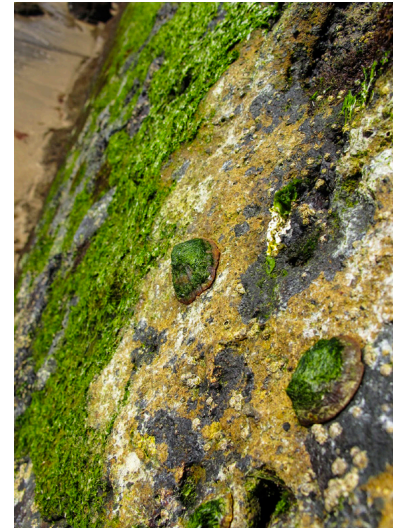
Different ways of hearing and seeing



Alison recording discussions during Fisher-Scientist seminar and taking photo of children from workshop



Fishers in Rabo de Peixe, São Miguel, singing in Despensa, a festivity for Espírito Santo where bread, wine and meat are shared among the community. Photo by Alison Neilson, 2012



Lapas from Angra do Heroísmo, Terceira submitted to RCE Açores 2010 Biodiversity photo contest, taken by António Carlos Alcobia Leal



Discussion groups during Fisher-Scientist seminar 2011



From left to right: Amanda Ficher Veríssimo, Lucie Ficher, Ana Paula Azevedo and Emília Silva preparing gamelas in São Mateus da Calheta, Terceira. Photo by Alison Neilson, 2011



Painting on harbour in Horta, Faial Island "Serenity of Sea" 2004 used as a logo for this research. Photo by Alison Neilson, 2009

LISTENING TO CONVERSATIONS

Enésima Mendonça and Ana Picanço facilitated many of the focus groups on Terceira and Pico islands and in 2014 spoke with Alison about their perspectives as Azoreans as well as their learning from the stories they heard five years earlier.

Enésima Mendonça:

As a native of the Azores, the sea is as important as the air we breathe, I cannot imagine living in a place without being able to see the ocean every day. I grew up thinking and dreaming about what was beyond the horizon, beyond the sea, as if the sea had the possibility to fulfil the dreams of children more easily. Since it was a border between the islands and the continent it was also like a mystery, a powerful being.

Ana Picanço:

I resonate with Enésima's words about the sea being a mystery and our continuing wondering and longing for what is beyond the sea, but I mostly feel the sea as the connection between the islands.

Enésima:

Nowadays, apart from recognizing the sea as one of the most important sources of resources, it continues to have the same power to make me dream and make me feel free.

Ana:

From the interviews, I saw that the women saw the sea as a freeing moment, they could relax, show their legs. They spoke about the sensation of freedom near the sea and they could catch fish and collect lapas and they remembered with saudade. "Saudade" is a word very related to crossing the sea, the feeling when people leave the islands. The islands are connected with the mainland through this emotion because the sea connects them both.

The old ladies amused themselves, freed themselves, even their clothing, with the sea. During Salazar's dictatorship women had to wear long pants, women didn't work outside of the home; so going to the sea to catch small fish or lapas allowed them the freedom to wear shorts and to work outside of the house.

The sea was a release from the oppression of the dictatorship. They also worked a lot, had lots of children,

AN AZOREAN CONVERSATION: LAPAS

The conversation presented below is both "fact" since it is composed of actual parts of the recorded conversations which occurred in focus groups and individual interviews, but it is also deliberate "fiction" since it is a mixture from multiple conversations: a quilt of conversations about lapas. This deliberate modification of the recorded conversations is an attempt to explicitly acknowledge that it is impossible for anyone to retell stories without changing them. These specific fragments were recorded in Porto Judeu and Porto Martins on Terceira Island, as well as in Prainha, Ribeiras, Santo António and Candelária on Pico Island. Similar discussions occurred in other parts of these islands as well as in São Jorge Island. The English translation for lapas is limpets, but for the rest of this document we chose to use the word lapas since it is commonly used when speaking English in the islands. Like the names of people and places, which we do not translate to other languages, lapas calls for the same level of respect.

Maria do Livramento Dias:

The connection that we had with the sea was that many times we would catch lapas for lunch, to be the main food for lunch. Some people remained in the house baking potatoes, and since we still lived close to the sea, some of us would go down by a laneway to pick lapas and we came home. We ate a few raw; some we would pour boiling water on top. Others we cast into the potato water and made lunch; that was 60 years ago, or 70 or so.

Matilde do Coração Jesus:

I always liked the sea. I married at age 22 and went to live there by the seashore. And the sea was always my best neighbour, my friend. It helped me a lot in my life. I reached the point where I bought a motorboat, took a sailor license. I sailed on that sea with Maria's husband, I went with him but I didn't have a license. Afterwards, I got the sailor's license so I could go alone, because he died and we were left without a captain. We had a small motorboat and we went on that boat out there. At 120 fathoms I caught lots of fish, perhaps because I was crazy. I would wish I'm going there and I caught fish. It was the abundance of my house. I buy fish since three years now because I cannot go in the sea and the launch is stored at home. And my sailor's license has expired because it lasts only for a few years and I did not renew it because I will be 83.

so the sea was an escape, a way to release stress. The men also had more opportunities to work by the sea.

Enésima:

I've always liked to listen to older people, so it was very enjoyable

THINKING ABOUT TEACHING

In addition to facilitating the first focus groups and interviews with fishers in the ports, Ana Moura Arroz and Rosalina Gabriel have been directly involved in the process of reviewing and analysing the interviews as senior researchers and teachers of the University of the Azores and mentors to Alison. During the long process of reading and finding meanings from the transcripts of the focus groups, Ana and Rosalina have also reflected on what these conversations about the sea mean for their practices of education and ecology. This constructed conversation has been drawn from multiple recorded meetings, jointly created documents, emails and interviews with Alison between 2009 and 2014.

Ana:

The first thing I notice is that I had never taken the time to think about the importance that the sea has for me.

Rosalina:

I was struck by the sea as communication among different cultures as well as among species. Coconuts, for example, that go to other shores via ocean waves are communicating something from their origins.

Ana:

This work showed me the complexity of the sea. The "sea" in Portuguese culture and history is huge, but I was still amazed by it in these conversations. There were several directions that intersect to be able to give meaning to a concept that can be lapas.

Rosalina:

The spirituality inherent in many of the conversations makes me think about ecosystem services and the important spiritual service the sea performs.

Ana:

I'd like to do a survey on how the sea is represented in the curricula in schools. The sea does not appear much.

I have sons-in-law, when they come here they want to go pick lapas, barnacles, go fishing, and the boat is already there in the house waiting for them. The sea was a treasure for me, because I collected lapas, caught lots of fish with a cane sitting on the rocks, caught parrot fish, caught trigger fish, caught young horse mackerel, caught horse mackerel, caught everything that was there. I was crazy. It was my best neighbour, my best friend and I exploited it, because I did very well in exploiting it. When I left my gate, a neighbour of mine would tell me: "You are not going alone to the coast, are you?" And I said: "Yes. But I never go alone." "Who are you going with?" "I'm here with Our Lord." When I go out the gate I say, "Our Lord come with me and I pay your alms." I have nothing there, but I always come home loaded. I have enough for me and I have some to give away. Now, for the last three years, I catch the fish with paper bait (money). So the dish is in the hand and the paper to pay. Now I don't fish much.

António Lima:

My life has always been the sea. Since the age of 10 years I have always had that life. My father was a fisherman.

I did not even go to school, because at that time, it was time for being in school, but was not required to be in school. I told my dad I did not want to be in school. And he said, and then it is for you to go to sea. At sea there are a lot of things to do. The sea is always bad. Some days we went out and when good returned, there were days when we have to face the bad weather.

You have to put your hands over your ears to look forward to where one has to go.

I had packed days. In all it is, there are good and there are bad days. And I walked many times to fish from the rocky shore when the weather did not let us go to sea, when the sea was rough we fished from the shore. I was mostly with my father when I was a boy, of 10, 11 years and we went fishing to Cabo da Praia and went fishing in reed ponds and collected a few ducks, a few sea bream and other things. And my father arrived home and gathered it into small bunches, and went back out to sell it. To get other things, you know? My father sold it and brought corn, or traded for corn, there was no money. He negotiated with what people had.

And sometimes I got to go for lapas, more often with my father. My father went to a few lapas rocky outcrops in the sea. I would pick a basket of lapas in a short

I don't think that everything has to be taught, namely that the school has to teach what the sea is, no, the school has to create space for reflection, for students to reflect on the sea; it is very strange considering the importance that it had, for example in our past, don't you think?

There is the role of the navigator, and the discovery of other worlds and the sea is so enjoyable for Portuguese people, for pleasure, even around fishing activity, all activity around it. So, even here, in the Azores surrounded by water on all sides and as islands, how does the sea get passed by? How does the sea not appear prominently in school?

There is a different type of relationship with the sea compared to the land related to the experiential part, the part of the senses; the sea is very good for that. For example, sea as nature. When we used our senses in the teacher workshop, the teachers loved thinking about the question of nature. Many of them told about needing to be in the sea, but as adults, we have a different connection with land as nature perhaps. For how many years did they not lay on the grass?

Rosalina:

I also noticed the people teasing each other, sometimes arguing and challenging their versions of the stories or the meanings of the stories.

Ana:

That was also one of the things that stuck to me, the elderly are longing to share. They are thirsty, that should be the word, they are willing to share their experiences, but usually they do not have anyone to do so with. It is very interesting, to see the quantity, to see, to feel, it's not that I did not know before since I have often focused on the elderly, but the amount of knowledge, experience that old people have is amazing and we do not take care of that heritage. People die and disappear, and much information, knowledge, and experience that each of us holds disappears when we die.

TAKING PART IN THE CONVERSATIONS

In our role as researchers, we are simultaneously creating the meaning of the ocean and interpreting that meaning when we engage in conversation with the people who are routinely referred to as research

while. There were many. I would pick a hamper of two bushels, a large basket of lapas, when he got home, I would put them in two baskets. I would put it on his back and he went to the road to sell. He sold lapas or plates to the houses. And it was so.

Matilde do Coração Jesus:

At 22 I started to live close to the sea. When it hits those rocks it is scary, but I live just on top the rock. I live down here in the big house. From my backyard I am on the coast. I go to collect lapas and anything else. There were many lapas, but now there aren't.

Maria Lídia Serpa da Costa:

I also collected lapas. I could swim. When I was a child, I went to the beach with other girls, and the women taught us. Sometimes we were afraid when the sea rose, with the bad weather. But I always was lucky. Yes. I always went in the sea.

Maria Lídia Serpa da Costa:

Whichever was caught. Sometimes it was great, sometimes smaller, but caught. I saw several whales killed.

I think many of the men joked with the clothes they had to wear to cut up the whale. Because they had shorts or rolled up their trousers and they walked all covered in blood, and cutting the fat. But it also gave off a bad smell. The town of São Roque was all caked in a foul-smelling whale. Then the sea was all messed up too. I would collect lapas and suddenly find a mess. It was all over the sea and was being dumped where we would collect lapas.

Rúben Dutra:

First we went on a launch in the afternoon, well, late afternoon, almost at night. We went, for the slipper lobster over the shoals and with a twig that we held from this side, a stick with a hook that is a cane. A long rod and a hook stuck in the cane and we attached the hook here. I caught slipper lobsters with a shrimp net in at night with a Petromax (paraffin "Coleman" lantern) in the fore of the boat, we spotted the slipper lobster, with an óculo (a scope to look down through a column of the sea). We had an óculo made of wood with a glass underneath. You could see the whole bottom of the sea, absolutely clear, the bottom of the sea. And we would put a shrimp net on top of it. We used the net and caught them. And then by diving, I caught lots

participants. As the “researchers” began to engage deeper with the “participants”, these so-called participants began to take on greater roles as researchers in that they helped decide what was meaningful from the initial research transcripts as well as help direct this second stage of research which could be described as ethnography and participatory action research.

Specifically we saw how we could work together to address current issues that affect us on the islands. In 2011, after consulting widely on the needs and interests, fishers from all the islands as well as from various associations, and researchers came together in a 3-day seminar to explore these issues (see Bulhão Pato, Neilson and Sousa 2011). During and following from this, Carlos and Alison went seeking answers and perspectives to inform their writing to include in a book aimed at educating EU policy makers about small scale fishing and possible changes to the Common Fisheries Policy (Neilson, Cardwell, Bulhão Pato 2012). These works include the perspectives of Azoreans from all nine islands regarding current issues. More recently, in 2014, we revisited fishing communities in São Miguel Island to hear Micaelense perspectives on living in the sea.

As the priest of Ribeira Quente, Father Silvino was an obvious choice to ask about spirituality and the sea. Carlos and Alison shared with Father Silvino their developing thoughts about stories from other islands and asked him to talk about his community. We asked him to talk about his relationship to the sea, how he understands the ways his community lives by the sea, and specifically the value of lapas to the community in terms of food and culture. We present his answers as a monologue.

Padre Silvino Amaral:

The crooked street, the straight street, this was because of pirates, fishers started to live here because they were in need, do you understand what I am saying? And they brought along their spouses and children, first to spend summers and then they built houses to spend winter. This is the basic story of the birth of this parish.

There is still in this parish a certain irregularity in the streets, not just because of the geography of the place which doesn't offer much space, but in second place because of pirates, all of them very narrow.

Yes, they would collect lapas, but the fishers do not. Anyone can collect lapas; women and children would

while diving. I would go in the summer, and collect 70 to 80 slipper lobster. I also collected much lapas and slipper lobsters.

If it were today, if it were today I would make lots of money. It is expensive today. But I never made any money on any slipper lobster. I collected the slipper lobsters and told my wife to give them to people. Give away. And sometimes no one wanted them. I tied them with wires but she was still afraid. And I tied them here this way with a wire; she took them holding them far away with one arm to neighbours.

Oh. I would collect a lot, lapas and fish. I caught a lot of fish too. From the rock, with a rod. I have two boats and go angling to the sea I go fishing a lot of times.

Maria dos Santos da Silva:

And my brothers, my father never allowed them in the sea. No! My oldest brother was a brick layer and the other also was a brick layer for a while but later he came to the military base, here on Terceira. He worked many years. They are all in Canada. But he never allowed my brothers to go to the sea. Sometimes they'd pick lapas, but he would watch them from above.

Filomena Azevedo:

The same story happened with my brothers-in-law and my husband. None were fishers. My mother-in-law didn't want it.

Maria dos Santos da Silva:

And in Holy Week, Filomena, my father never let my brothers go to lapas.

Maria Alice Álvares da Glória Évora:

I am not the type of person who likes to go into the ocean. I never liked it. Even as a child, I would get my feet wet and collect lapas sometimes, but one of the times was with my sister-in-law and my neighbour. And my sister fell in the water, but the sea was raging and she was whirled around it. It seemed to me that she would never come to shore. I do not like the sea. I like the fish, I like the lapas, but I do not like the sea.

I need the sea to be gentle, soft, if not, I do not like going to the sea. Always. I like to fish, but I do not like fishing while at sea. I do not even like crossing the

do it often. They even said that they would go collect lapas instead of going for a walk. They collect the lapas right there in the rocky shore. But nowadays the ones that do it are the unemployed, to sell and get some euros. Some of the ones that collect do it now are for getting heavy drugs. It used to be part of the informal bartering economy.

The best was to eat them raw or stewed with rice and Afonso sauce.

Many people don't know about that and get repulsed when we catch a crab, and put it directly into our mouth and bite it. It makes sort of a gum and then we spit the shell. Once I did that with some colleagues from the mainland that came here for a visit. I caught the crabs and ate them and then they went around calling to "come see our colleague eating live crabs!"

I never saw accidents because of lapas but there are news about many accidents mainly on the northern coast. Young men that go to the cliffs, and that is dangerous. But on the seashore people know how to look after themselves.

The sea is worse than the army, there is no scheduled time, so the fishers are always in the harbour, they're sitting there watching the sea. This is a way to say that they can be called any moment.

The community of Rabo de Peixe is often portrayed negatively in Portuguese media as a place of social problems and as such, also receives much attention from social workers and researchers. This attention, understandably is not always welcomed by the residents. The women from the local fishing association had become strong collaborators with us during the seminar in 2011, although Carlos and Laurinda Sousa had lived and worked with people in Rabo de Peixe for many decades prior. We walked to the association building where we had often met and asked in the street for directions to the home of one of the women we knew.

Maria Espírito Santo Ferreira:

My father was a fisherman, he fished for mackerel at night and in the morning when he came from fishing mackerel, he would go and gather moss, we call it moss. It was algae. My father did not have a boat. I helped my father with the moss.

channel. Even here in Faial. I never went to São Jorge because I dislike the sea, I have a fear.

But I dislike the sea. Maybe it's the offense that I do overboard, I do not know.

Maria Lídia Serpa da Costa:

No, sometimes I am scared in trips we are afraid of the sea. But if I had to go back, and often was going there for Madalena, and we went to São Miguel, Prainha do Sul and then we would come around the coast. We often sailed in bad weather to get to Faial. But sometimes we had to go when we had to go.

Alexandrina Pereira Sampaio:

No, who died down there was the husband of my mother-in-law. The father of your father-in-law. He was picking lapas on the islet. And the sea took him. The sea took him. He fell from the rocks. He fell from the rocks and had no salvation.

Vivelinda Leal da Silveira:

True. Look we see out there. What's-his-name died at sea, never re-appeared. The husband of a cousin of mine, Paulinha, died at sea.

Maria José Némesis Costa:

He went for lapas and died at sea.

Vivelinda Leal da Silveira:

He went for lapas and died at sea. Even though they sought a speedboat for help, wasn't it so?

Maria de Fátima Dutra:

And the lapas, when lapas were collected outside of the legal season, they take the bag and put them back to the sea. They do not let the person eat them. The person caught with lapas. This is what they do so. And other times they used to give to nursing homes and it was like that before. Before, the lapas would go to old people to eat.

Maria de Fátima Dutra:

I do not like lapas, but I like slipper lobster and shrimp and crab.

Vivelinda Leal da Silveira:

Now what is sold is little. My father brought them home and we ate. At that time he sold some. But at that time,

No, no, I never knew how to collect lapas, but a lot of people did, mostly women who have since died. They were young women, they gathered lapas, that was their life, go for lapas, came home, change, they didn't take a bath, for there were no bathrooms at that time. There were no heaters. They changed, they had to sell the lapas in Ponta Delgada, going by foot. I've never been picking lapas, never. But I gathered moss. And the crab, we went for crab.

It moves you, it moves your heart. When the sea, well now it isn't, but when I grew up, when the sea was rough, we thought it was child's play, because when the sea came tumbling in, all the boys, fled, fled, fled, but when the sea was going down, we would again move forward.

The sea life doesn't work anymore.

But if I had no kids, I would flee far away. The sea doesn't have it anymore. The sea is no longer what it was. The sea is no longer the happy sea that it was. It's nothing, I tell you, now it is no longer the happy sea that it was. You know, I can swim since I was 5 years old, I can swim, I jump from heights of 3, 4 meters high, even now at this age, there on the dock, I jump in the water. Why do I know how to swim? Because I was raised by the sea, in the water, by the rocky shore. I was raised there. We would go over there, me and my father and we only came back at night. Even in winter, we would wrap up in those shawls, my mother, we, all the fisherman's wives and daughters, all wrapped in those type of shawls as I'm making now for the pilgrimage. We would be covered in winter, standing against the walls. It was our paradise. Not anymore. The sea, the rocky shore, for me, when I grew up, it was my paradise.

LIVING LIKE LAPAS

The nature of conversation is such that we get glimpses of the person with whom we are speaking, so the understanding is always partial and in flux. It is energy between the speakers as well as the energy and power that is flowing around them from other sources: family, institutions, and language amongst other things. To attempt to be more precise with an interpretation of the meaning of anyone's relationship to the sea would loss the process of living the relationship with the ocean. Alison and Carlos discuss how they along with their Azorean neighbours live like lapas: marine and able to

my father brought home slipper lobster, would cook it with salt water and it was very delicious. Lapas I do not like. I gathered the lapas, but it was not for me to eat.

Maria José Némesis Costa:

Look, I went for lapas, people gathered them at the foot of the church, Jacinta and I were 12, 13 years old, we went for lapas. Our mothers made them with rice for us to eat, made the soup. Who eats it now? Who gathers it? My mother made bread on an iron sheet and used the embers to cook the fish sauce. And when it began to boil would put the lapas in.

Maria Leontina Bettencourt:

And then there were many, many lapas. The rocks in the pebbles were almost all covered by lapas. And even my father often said when we went to the lapas, one eye for the knife, one eye for the lapas. When we picked up one lapas we were already looking at the next and the next one. There were plenty of lapas. The lapas were always welcome in all homes and all meals. Mainly to the picnic of the Brotherhoods of the Holy Spirit. The meal on Holy Friday always included lapas. Even when the sea was not good here in the South, there usually was a car to go to the north coast. Because the meal at that time was only made with cheese, ox liver and lapas. Now it is a banquet bigger than a wedding.

Maria da Glória de Oliveira:

And we went to the sea beneath the rocks when the tide was low. We went washing clothes. Because there were pools of fresh water. We went for our laundry.

We lay the clothes on the coast to bleach, we caught lapas which we ate with cake (pão de milho) that we had brought. And then we brought the clothes almost dry from the rocks.

Ana Maria Borges:

I'm not from here, I have been here for a short time now. But my father, we had difficulties in life. My father often went to pick lapas and he took me along with him. I was born in Angra do Heroísmo but lived in Altares. And so my father greatly feared the sea. So he taught me when I was with him to watch the waves, because the first wave he said was low, the second would be higher, the other when it came, would roll (a riptide) and often drag the person who was on the shallow rocks and take the person far away. And when I saw the

move at sea, but commonly living in the spaces where sea and land blur together, resisting strong wave action and becoming injured or dying from any attempts to be removed from our rocky homes.

Carlos:

I could have been one of your focus group participants as I grew up picking lapas and swimming every day in the ocean. Everyone in my family started swimming at 3 months of age and could swim in the open, rough sea by the time we were 2 years old – the rougher, the stronger the waves/storms, the better. My second brother was born on the sea, on the way from the Azores to the mainland. His identification card indicates that he was born on the ship “Lima”.

I grew up eating fish, picked lapas regularly so that I could remain out by the ocean swimming, playing without having to come inside for food. Lapas are strong, so eating a few is enough to give energy for a

wave go down I would shout at him to come to shore. Because he would sometimes be distracted. He would go out in the sea, the more lapas he picked the more he earned in order to live, so that in that weekend we could have milk and a lot of things. We sold them at some houses, to people and some other times in bars because they ate it with garlic and wine.

Filomena Azevedo:

What a snack.

Ana Maria Borges:

These were snacks that we would make.

Filomena Azevedo:

There was Afonso sauce. My husband made them with it some days. He enjoys these shells like this but I like them raw.

long time. You use your fingernails or a knife to pry the first lapas off of the rocks and then you use the shell of the first lapas to get the other ones off the rocks. I also spent a lot of time fishing with a cane and line.

Alison:

Since arriving in the islands, I have become part of professional and personal networks, within a “small connected community” (Damianakis and Woodford 2012). When I go to buy bread, I bump into the mayor of São Mateus who may invite me to speak at an upcoming meeting of fishers. He also asks why he has not seen me lately at the practices of the folklore group. When Enésima and I call the community centre to arrange to speak with seniors groups in the coming weeks, the coordinator will ask if we could pick up her uncle on our way, as he heard about our project and wants to share his stories even though he does not attend the group.

Carlos:

Ah, that is standard for my life. Being on a small island also means lack of space, you drive around and always the sea is within sight, unlike the continent, you cannot drive away from the ocean. Yet my home, my “scape” includes the sea, when you are out there, you are obviously at home. I need that blue or grey line of the horizon of the ocean. It is always moving, always changing colours, always there, but always changing. It is a sea-tory, not a territory. The sea is the garden, or yard, of the island.

Alison:

I am an insider of the communities we are studying. I eat fish; I see the ocean from my desk; I see fishing boats on the water and fishers

carrying poles and buckets of freshly caught fish. But I am not a fisher, nor from a fishing family; I am from a place far from the sea coast. I am an outsider. Yet, insider and outsider are concepts too simplified and compartmentalized to be accepted uncritically as we engage in our own narrative about the narratives we see and hear.

Carlos:

This reminds me of the differences when I am above compared to when I am below the surface of the ocean. I have spent a lot of time diving, but I don't see the fish when I am underwater as food, this is my sea scape and they are my "friends", I never think of eating them when I am swimming under water with them. But when I am above water, with a cane and line, or when someone else catches them, I happily eat them.

Alison:

I play a type of "peek-a-boo" game in my moving in and out of sight in the telling of the various conversations. Most of the other team members are native speakers of Portuguese and have high fluency in English, unlike me who began this work with little understanding of Portuguese and stood to the side of the focus groups to run the audio and video recorders. I watched for tears, laughter and other body language which conveyed strong meaning even if I could not match the spoken words from these interviews with the embodied communication until months and years later via an increased understanding of Portuguese as well as the translations done by you and Rosalina, along with continuing discussions about these.

Carlos:

It is fantastic when you are out at sea with no land in sight; I feel like I am where I belong. Nemésio's writings and idea that geography is as important as history is also important to me "with our own eyes we took from the sea the land that we missed." Sometimes it is dangerous sailing on the sea, but the worse is being too close to land, especially during a storm, like the time I sailed from São Miguel with my friends Luís and Karen to go to Angra Jazz on Terceira. I couldn't see through my rain-covered glasses and in my attempts to make sure our sails were down and we were staying clear of the water funnel coming at us, Karen had to keep telling me to keep clear of the island. I laugh when telling this story, especially remembering Karen's rhetorical question about why we still love sailing, and when I think of the words of Guilhermina Menezes da Costa Ferreira of Porto Judeu, who said that if her house had wheels, she would have already moved it from the seashore.

Alison:

Much of what we listen to and re-read from the multiple stories, make us think of the Azoreans as lapas themselves. We include ourselves and our stories among the comparison as well, floating around the currents and seemingly haphazardly landing on the same pieces of island rock, we

cling resisting the pull of waves and predators. Like others have written, we learned “it’s not poetry, but community, that is lost in translation. The community-building role of actual language use is simply not part of what translation does” (Bellos 2011, 353). For that reason, we close this presentation with statements that we dare suggest are communal; we also offer a snack as welcome to our island homes.

Like Ritinha from Pico, we wonder how the sea be so calm and become so agitated from one moment to the next (António Domingos Ávila 2009). It moves us; it moves our collective hearts (Maria Espírito Santo Ferreira 2014). We doubt that we can live for much time away from the sea (Genuíno Madruga, Faial 2009).

Recipe for lapas with Afonso sauce

750 g of lapas	1/4 cup of red table wine
1 onion	Tablespoon olive oil
3 cloves of garlic	Tablespoon of lard
1 bunch of parsley	1 tablespoon tomato paste
	1 tablespoon of pepper paste

Place in a saucepan the chopped onion, parsley and pasta pepper and tomato. Sauté it with olive oil and lard. After sautéing, add limpets with their shells, stir for 2 minutes, add the wine and cover with water. Allow to boil for 2 minutes and serve in soup plate.

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ABSTRACT

While cod (*bacalhau* in Portuguese) occupied for centuries an important place in the diet of the Portuguese, it is also true that we cannot understand this constant presence regardless of changes in fisheries, trade networks between the North Atlantic and Southern Europe, drying techniques and the social context of consumption during the same period. This presentation revisits different kinds of old and new sources that refute the idea of a simple continuity in the consumption, fishing and drying techniques of *bacalhau*. Mapping discontinuities in these different historical contexts brings us to consider the collective memory built around the *bacalhau* as a social force, more active than ever. At the same time, this memory is itself the product of a continuous process of reinvention, selective and labile, that constantly renegotiates the place that the “faithful friend” has in the imagination of communities that claim, in one way or another, their commitment to the idea of “portugality”.

KEYWORDS

Portugal, salt cod, *bacalhau* tradition

THE FABLE OF THE COD AND THE PROMISED SEA

ABOUT PORTUGUESE TRADITIONS OF *BACALHAU*

THE SEA, THE COD AND THE NATION

Bacalhau is an essential ingredient of Portuguese cuisine and, at the same time, a well-known national symbol such as Fado music, the Sanctuary of Fátima or Cristiano Ronaldo. This humble cod, salted and dried, was celebrated in the past through various forms of cultural expression. Literature, theatre, music, caricature, photography and film have, in turn, perpetuated the memories of fishing on the far banks of Newfoundland, the drying process on the Portuguese coast and the consumption both on national territory and within the communities of the Portuguese diaspora, scattered around the world. Some ports of the North of Portugal that took part in the “great fisheries” in the past, today also compete locally for the right to transform this memory into heritage. This crossfire between social and political arguments usually reinforces the rather long-standing, but still quite consensual assumption of a national tradition that includes fishing, drying and consumption of cod, emphasizing antiquity, authenticity, typicality and uniqueness of the different material and immaterial realities associated with it. The *bacalhau* tradition is also frequently used to assert Portugal’s maritime vocation, invariably invoked in times of crisis to legitimize nostalgic projects advocating the return of the elected people to the promised sea¹.

At the end of a 1967s National Geographic Society documentary, *The Lonely Dorymen, Portugal’s Men of the Sea*, the narrator Alexander Scourby concluded: “Soon again, husbands and wives must part to await the end of the long summer alone. To them, it is accepted as a way of life; for life is synonymous with the sea. It is their home, their heritage. A host that has sustained them during all the time they have lived on its shore. It is the very breath of Portugal and their indomitable men of the sea”. This final comment reflects the image of the national cod fisheries as a resurgence of the glorious past of the Portuguese Nation, faithful to its maritime vocation, and promoted all along the dictatorial regime. Today, 40 years after the fall of the dictatorship, it is still common to conceive the *bacalhau* tradition as an expression of the Portuguese maritime vocation. *Bacalhau* tradition continues, at the same time, to be presented inside and outside the country, as a common heritage shared by all Portuguese, which distinguishes their own national character from other European peoples.

A recent “fait divers” can help to understand the important place the *bacalhau* tradition still has in the national culture today. Until a few years ago, the European Union only authorised the use of phosphate as processing aid during the freezing process of the raw material, before salting the cod. Producers who had developed techniques to enrich

¹ See an example of recurrent rhetorical use of the promised sea thematic in the inaugural speech of the Portuguese President, opening the “*Portugal e o Mar, A Nossa Aposta no Século XXI*” conference (Cascais, 21 October 2010). Available at <http://www.presidencia.pt/?idc=22&idi=48296> (accessed 30 October 2013).

cod with phosphate (Lindkvist *et al.* 2008, 115), seized this opportunity to sell it in Europe as an additive free product. In March 2011, the Standing Committee of Food Chain and Animal Health (SCFCAH) clarified the European regulation by considering polyphosphate and other phosphates as food additives no matter what the stage of the process when they are being introduced (SANCO – DI(2011)D/310301). During the next months, this new position of the Commission led to the reinforcement of the legal prohibition of phosphate addition in salted fish by several countries, including Norway and Denmark (Bjørkevold *et al.* 2012, 18).

However, one month before, the Danish Seafood Association and the Norwegian Seafood Federation submitted a request to the Directorate-General for Health and Consumers Affairs (DG SANCO) of the European Commission to integrate diphosphate (E 450), triphosphates (E 451) and polyphosphates (E 452) to the European list of food additives² that are authorised by the Union to cure cod³. This proposal was based on scientific evidences proving that chemical elements protect effectively salted fish from oxidation (European Council 2013, al. 6), conserving the white colour of the flesh and the natural taste of the fresh cod that, according to their opinion, was appreciated by consumers in some traditional markets of salt cod, such as Spain, Italy and Greece.

Since then, the consequences of introducing this kind of food additives to salted and dried cod has been analysed by the Expert Group on Food Additives belonging to the DG SANCO. Alerted by Portuguese members of this group, several political parties of Portugal officially questioned the European Council in 2012 about the consequences of this change in the food additive regulation⁴. With regard to this question, the Portuguese government expressed its official position at a DG SANCO meeting in Brussels on March 6, 2012. They claimed that the use of polyphosphate in salt cod industry would signify the extinction of the Portuguese traditional cure, elevating the humidity of the green cod and turning all the dry process economically unviable. The Portuguese delegates again expressed their concern about the proposal of the Scandinavian countries at the SCFCAH meeting in January 2013. They argued that phosphate addition threatened “the survival of a national gastronomic product, which has a long tradition and represents a very important cultural value for Portugal as a national dish”.⁵

We will now try to track discrepancies between such conception of the *bacalhau* tradition and the testimony of historical sources, often invoked improperly to claim the specificity and the monolithic nature of the Portuguese cod tradition.

² EC regulation no. 1333/2008 – Annex II.

³ GSEAPI, n.º 2971, 30 April 2012.

⁴ Questions of the European Parliament for written answer to the European Commission no. E-001162/2012, P-001798/2012, E-002097/2012.

⁵ Council of the European Union, Note 5739/13, DENLEG 6/AGRI 41, 25 January 13, Annex.

THE TROUBLED WATERS OF THE ATLANTIC COD SAGA

Scandinavians had been the first European people to maintain a large-scale cod (*Gadus Morhua*) commercial trade in the Northern Atlantic, probably since the end of the first millennium AD (Barett *et al.* 1999, 2008, 2009). The air-dried technique, used to preserve cod by taking

advantage of the dry weather during the boreal regions' cold season, contributed since the Viking period to the expansion of commercial cod fisheries into the Northwestern Atlantic (Perdikaris *et al.* 2009, 63). Basque fishermen, who followed Baltic peoples in Northern seas since the Middle Ages, may have been the first to disseminate a new curing technique in regions of high latitude: salting the fish before drying it, a technique used to cure the fish in the Mediterranean for thousands of years (Kurlansky 1999a, 53). Portuguese, Norman, Breton and English fishermen, who joined the Basques in the Newfoundland banks around 1500, adopted this curing technique too (Pope 2009, 15). European fishermen came back every year to Newfoundland and Northwestern America to fish cod in shore waters⁶. They landed every day to split, wash and salt the fish before letting it dry out on cobbles, and later on wood flakes in the so called fishing rooms, some rudimentary establishments on the coast that were used at the same time as a night camp and as a curing station (*ibid.*, 400). Only the fish caught at the end of the fishing season was heavily salted in order to preserve it during the journey of return (*ibid.*, 27). Cod was, in this case, only dried later when the fishermen came back to their homeport. This process is documented in Portugal for the first time in 1572 at the northern port of Aveiro (Madahil 1959, 21). Later, fishermen of the Baltic regions started themselves to preserve cod with the salt they had to import from Southern Europe, even if they did not totally abandon the local air-dried cure tradition and continued to export dried cod to the rest of Europe (Lobo 1812a, 264). They used to pickle cod during eight days in brine with salt from France, Portugal and Spain. After running off the pickle juice, they salted the cod again and packed it definitively into wooden casks ready to be traded (Pontoppidan 1755, II: 159; Lobo 1812a, 267–268).

In the same period, the English Navy gained supremacy in the Northwestern Atlantic and claimed both Newfoundland and the Northwest Coast of America as a colonial territory of the British Crown. England gradually denied access to fishermen of other nations to the fishing rooms at the Newfoundland coast, among them the Spanish and the Portuguese who, in any case, had never been a major player in the migratory fisheries during the 16th century (Pope 2004, 16). During several centuries, the fishermen of these two countries interrupted their fisheries in the Northwestern Atlantic (Amorim 2001, 66–67). French, American and Dutch fishermen, for their part, adapted the disregarded air-drying technique, used before only to preserve the last catches of the ending campaign, to pursue their offshore fisheries in the Grand Banks without landing at the Newfoundland's coast as they used to⁷. They had now to prepare the fish entirely on board, before salting it directly on the bulk, in the sump of the boats or in wood barrels (Lobo 1812, 265–266; Azambuja 1835, 33). The cod they fished during the campaign was now only air-dried when they came back home, and not every day as they used to do at the Newfoundland's fishing stations.

⁶ Portuguese fishermen also had a permanent fishing settlement near Cape Breton in the early years of the sixteenth century (Donovan 2009, 337–340)

⁷ Norman fishermen were probably the first starting offshore fisheries in the Grand Banks already in the sixteenth century (Pope 2009, 14, 22)

Meanwhile, salted cod gained a very large market in Northern Europe but also in the Western and Eastern Mediterranean, mostly disputed

by French and English traders (Brière 1982). English merchants now supplied Portuguese ports (Pope 2004, 93), gradually turning this country in one of the world's largest importers, while most of the cod that the Portuguese fished in the past was previously exported to the Basque country (Garrido 2004, 35). Cod had already become a staple food of the ordinary people, in the middle of the 18th century, or even before (Amorim 2009, 266–267), and been gradually adopted by the upper levels of Portuguese society. Some monasteries used cod to feed their employees since the 16th century. In the 18th century, salt cod was already part of the daily diet of religious communities (Braga 2004, 48). At this time, and on a daily basis, meat continued to be only accessible for the rich, being the preferential source of protein for the upper classes (Braga 2005, 185). However, during the many days of fasting imposed by the Church (Braga 2004, 43–44), fish replaced meat even on the plate of the most fortunate. There was a seasonally unbalanced supply and demand of fish in the coastal port markets during the fasting periods, increased by the fact that local fishermen only salted and/or dried part of the fish they caught, ensuring its preservation for a moment of great demand. Frequently, the local fisheries were only able to supply the local market, and some fishing ports were even forced to import fish to cover their own needs (Lobo 1812b, 406). The supply of cod turned gradually into an important factor in Portugal's excessively unbalanced trade with England, a fact that was well described by contemporaneous writers (Azambuja 1835, 33; Martins 1988, 38).

The sardine and the cod were now consumed at all levels of Portuguese society, at least during fasting. However, not everybody had access to the same product range. Consumers soon established a hierarchy of fish quality by using an empirical classificatory system based on the size and the salt content of the fish, distinguishing cods from different supplying regions by a particular combination of these variables. The colour of the fish flesh was already a criteria used to evaluate the quality of the curing technique and the freshness of the product. At this time, some consumers appreciated the yellowish tone, while others associated this colour to rotting fish (Lobo 1812, 283, 286–287, 289, 298–299, 308–309). The latter ones valued the whiter flesh, typical of the heavy salted fish from the Northern Europe.

The idea of a *bacalhau* tradition was born at this very moment, being mostly understood as a fishing tradition, invoked since the early 19th century to claim the historical right of the Portuguese fishermen to access the Newfoundland banks (Azambuja 1835, 12). After 1835, they finally came back to the Grand Banks through the initiative of the *Companhia de Pescarias Lisbonense*, but the society was rather quickly extinguished in 1857 (Garrido 2004, 41). Another company, the *Bensaúde & C.*, returned to the Northwestern Atlantic after 1872, sharing with the company *Mariano & Irmão*, founded in 1884, the monopoly of this activity during the rest of the century (Soeiro *et al.* 1999, 54). At this time, the knowledge that had been accumulated by the first generations of Portuguese fishermen during the Newfoundland fisheries was already

completely lost (Azambuja 1835, 34). The Companhia de Pescarias Lisbonense was obliged to recruit experts in England to train their own crews. The same happened some years later with the Bensaúde & C., which recruited Azorean fishermen, previously trained in line-fishing techniques in the United States of America (Teixeira 1967/1968, 88–89). The one-man dory boat that Portuguese fishermen would be the only ones to continue to use until the end of the 1960s (Cole 1990) was in fact inspired by the warys, a kind of fishing boat developed by American fishermen around the middle of the 18th century (Silva 1892, 176; Garrido 2004, 29). The Portuguese fishing companies were now subject to the same kind of restrictions imposed by England to other nations and joined their predecessors from the offshore banks, preparing and salting cod on board and air-drying all the catch only when they returned to the homeland. With the renewal of the Portuguese fisheries, green cod (wet salted cod) arrived again at the fishing harbours of Portugal, to be dried in processing units located close to the homeports of cod fishermen, which were, until 1903, mostly Lisbon and Figueira da Foz. At Aveiro, the cod drying activity only restarted a few years later, after an interval of three centuries. In the next decades, this port became the main centre of the Portuguese cod industry (Cascão 2001, 88).

On the other hand, the gradual strengthening of a patriotic feeling in the intellectual *milieu*, which marks the second half of the 19th century, gave a new meaning to the *bacalhau* tradition (Sobral *et al.* 2013, 620). *Bacalhau* was now elevated to national food of the Portuguese people (Ratazzi 2004 [1879], 287). From then onwards, the *bacalhau* tradition will not only be understood as a fishery tradition but also as a central element of Portuguese foodways. *Bacalhau* became rapidly the principal agent of an emergent invention process of the national cuisine (Sobral *et al.* 2013, 637–641). Recipes with salt cod, being known to be cooked in more than one thousand ways, became a must in almost every Portuguese cookbook, at least since the 20th century (Moutinho 1985, 182–183). The idea that *bacalhau* matches with the typical melancholic mood, the *saudade*, and with the *fado* music that is inspired on it, thus forming a distinctive Portuguese national character, emerged at the same period (Queiroz 2008, 331).

THE GLORIOUS DAYS OF THE *BACALHAU* CAMPAIGN

A new cycle of the Atlantic cod trade started in the 20th century. The English who dominated the Portuguese market in the past have now to compete with other northern nations such as Iceland and mostly Norway, a country that during centuries had fished cod in its own shore waters. On the other hand, the expansion of national railroad systems, the development of new conservation techniques, and particularly the invention of an artificial freezing technique, contributed progressively to the decline of the salt cod market in Northern Europe and America (Secretaria de Estado do Comércio 1967, 15). However, inhabitants of some southern European countries, who had no habit of eating fresh cod, remained faithful to the salted product. In Portugal, *bacalhau* was

still the cheapest source of protein and frequently consumed on a daily basis by the industrial workers of the coastal cities, particularly in the northern parts of the country (Moutinho 1985, 180–181). During World War I, the future leader of the Portuguese dictatorial regime, António Oliveira Salazar, learned as academic researcher about the tremendous social impact of the shortage of cod supply (Salazar 1917/1918), which was one of the factors that ultimately accelerated the decline of the young Republic and led to its official end through the Constitutional Act of 1933. The new leader, consequently, established as a national priority the need to ensure a constant and affordable salt cod supply on the Portuguese market, a goal of his economic programme that is known today as the *bacalhau* campaign (Garrido 2004, 52). At the same time, politic propaganda was used to disseminate a new narrative of the *bacalhau* tradition at all levels of Portuguese society, refocused on the line-fishing activity and the anachronous sailboats of the White Fleet⁸. The return to the Grand Banks was now seen as a resurgence of the glorious maritime past of the Portuguese Nation, faithful to its maritime vocation (Peralta 2008, 205). The White Fleet expanded during this period, but the imports from northern countries continued to supply an important part of national demand (Garrido 2001). At this stage, *bacalhau* was still a common meal for low-strata, urban consumers in northern and southern cities. The cod they could afford was generally of national provenience, smaller and inferior in quality (Abel *et al.* 1998, 81) to that of imported cods (Cajeira 1941, 65), which were only affordable to the affluent. The cure used by the Portuguese was known as *Nacional* or *Canadiana*, because Canadian producers had previously developed this cure. This technique, rudimentary and cheap to apply, requires the simple drying of green cod without soaking or salting it again (Tropa *et al.* 1958, 10–11), thus achieving a durability of six months with a very low production cost and making the final product affordable even for the poorest consumers. This cure was easily recognizable by its characteristic pale yellow colour.

Quantities, prices and the cod's quality were strictly controlled by a governmental institution known as Comissão Reguladora do Comércio do Bacalhau, founded in 1934 (Garrido 2004, 119–133). However, the cure of imported cod continued to be very variable, in opposition to the national one. The curing technique depended mostly on the provider's supply of each port of the country, and indirectly on their commercial network in the hinterland (Duarte 2001, 326). Independently of its origin, imported cod, known as *asa branca* (white wing)⁹, was generally subject to a more complex and more controlled curing process, being more prized than the national product that was cheaper but considered less cured by more demanding consumers (Cajeira 1941, 65). At this time, Newfoundlanders disputed with Norwegians the reputation to sell the higher quality product. Fishermen of the island continued to catch the cod near the coast like in the 1500s and would dry it almost immediately after catching it, using less salt to cure it. In the east coast of Newfoundland, cold and dried winds favoured the curing process

⁸ The Portuguese fishing fleet is internationally known as the White Fleet since World War II (Kurlansky 1999b, 200).

⁹ During the dictatorial regime, foreign suppliers were forced to remove the black membrane covering the cod's belly (peritoneum) to distinguish the imported product from the national one (Castro 1958, 28). Some producers still use today the unofficial designation *asa branca* for high-standard salt cod, thus keeping up the memory of the elite's preference for the imported salt cod during the dictatorial regime.

naturally (Pope 2004, 28). This category of light salted cod was locally known as light-salted shore fish and as *bacalhau inglês* in Portugal. It distinguished itself from the others by his thickness and his characteristic strong yellow or gold colour, being also known for this reason as *bacalhau de cura amarela* (Castro 1958, 5). The higher-class consumers of northern Portugal especially appreciated it, leading Newfoundland suppliers to send large and medium fish up there, in contrast to Lisbon, where they mostly exported the less appealing small shore fish, acquired by the capital's retailers to satisfy less demanding clients (Ryan 1986, xxi). The southern elites preferred the typical *cura branca* (white cure) of Norwegian cod (Garrido 2004, 314). The white cure, also known as *cura islandesa* (Castro 1958, 5) or *cura sueca* (Garrido 2004, 314), consisted in salting again the soaked cod (Castro 1958, 5). This curing technique, used two centuries before by the Norwegians, as we saw before, permitted to obtain perfectly white salt cod but with the disadvantage that it could only be kept during two or three months.

National producers eventually tried to replicate these techniques to compete with foreign providers in higher price categories. They imitated both yellow and white cure of *asa branca*, adapting the Norwegian and Newfoundlander curing methods to treat the green cod brought in by the White Fleet instead of shore cod used by both of these producers. The whiter colour, characteristic of the *cura branca*, was obtained by salting green cod twice after washing it instead of drying it directly (Grémio dos Armadores de Navios da Pesca do Bacalhau 1940, 78). Producers familiar with the Newfoundlanders' curing techniques copied *cura amarela*. Even if the final product had some similarities, the curing process was very different. The heavy salted green cod had to be soaked before it was dried with a lesser content of salt, characteristic of the Newfoundland cod. Portuguese producers soaked the green cod in a solution of sodium metabisulphite before drying it, to obtain the characteristic yellowish tone and, at the same time, a less salted and more dried final product (Castro 1958, 5)¹⁰. However, during this period they only used these two techniques – more sophisticated and more expensive than the *cura nacional* – for a small part of the cod they processed, destined to a limited group of more demanding clients.

THE BIRTH OF THE PORTUGUESE TRADITIONAL CURE

The gradual decline of the cod populations in the Northwestern Atlantic and the liberalisation of the national market at the end of the corporative regime also dictated the agony of the Portuguese fisheries in the Grand Banks and the disappearance of the national market of the pedestrian cod that working class people consumed on a daily basis until then. During the transitional period to democracy, the poorest enlarged the Portuguese diaspora all around the world in order to ameliorate their living standard. They had now the economic capacity to consume *bacalhau* despite rising salt cod prices, now unaffordable for working class members that choose to stay in Portugal (Secretaria de Estado do Comércio 1967, 22). *Bacalhau* tradition

¹⁰ In the 1970s, “cura amarela” (also known as “cura de Viana”) already refers to big cods, unsalted before being dried alternatively in natural and artificial conditions in the drying units of Viana do Castelo (Martins 2013, 273).

converted during this transitional moment into an ethnic identifier of expatriated communities, acting equally as symbolic connection with the motherland. In 1968, members of the Portuguese community in Johannesburg created the first *Bacalhau* Academy with the purpose to perpetuate this culinary tradition in South Africa. In 2011, there were already 55 academies disseminated all over the world.¹¹ Ancient colonies as Brazil and Angola, with large Portuguese communities, are today important salt cod markets with a growing demand (Dias *et al.* 2001, 113). In Portugal, the financial income from immigration and the integration of the country in the European Union gradually elevated the national standard of living during the next decades. The access to different kinds of food, like fresh meat, reserved before to higher incomes, was now open to most members of society. Portuguese consumers stayed, however, attached to familiar products like olives, cheese, dried sausages and salted pork ham, reserved to festive days during the dictatorial regime. Fishes like sardine and *bacalhau* continue also to be appreciated (Lopes 2006, 98). However, cod is no longer the staple food it used to be in the past. The typical *bacalhau* consumer is today older and belongs to the middle-class, less frequently to the higher strata of society (Duarte 2001, 334). The Portuguese, however, continue to be the largest world consumers of salt cod with an estimated consumption of 30 kg/year per capita (Willemsen 2003, 31).

At the same time, Portuguese cod industry became more and more dependent on imports after the adhesion of the country to the European Union in 1986.¹² Local producers still cure cod but they actually fish a very small part of the cod they cure. This industry, which in times was part of an integrated manufacturing activity in the hand of vessel owners, was reborn as an independent industrial segment, importing most of the cod, frozen¹³ or green, from northern producers in order to be able to continue to respond to the national demand. The modernisation of the production chain during the 1990s provided the conditions for the start of a more diverse product range, such as frayed codfish and ultra-frozen soaked cod, to satisfy the growing demand for this kind of products in the national market (Duarte 2001, 330–331). Portuguese producers have presently to deal in their own national market with the very strong and competitive Northern European offer, supported by a substantial investment in research, mainly induced by fish companies and driven by the commercial interests of this industry (Oliveira *et al.* 2012, 559). The *bacalhau* tradition, previously intended at the same time as fishing and consuming tradition, was now ready to turn into a curing tradition by the hand of new actors in a context of commercial competition over the leadership on the Portuguese salt cod market.

After the decline of the White Fleet, the cod industry tended to concentrate near to Aveiro, at Gafanha da Nazaré (municipality of Ílhavo), an important shipyard during the dictatorial regime (Carvalho 2001). The head office of the Association of Cod Industrialists (AIB) was founded here in 1993. This concentration tendency in the geography of production

¹¹ <http://www.academiamae.com>.

¹² Portugal is today the world's main importer of green salted cod (42%), the second importer of frozen cod (13%) and the third importer of dried salted cod (27%) (Dias *et al.* 2001, 105).

¹³ During this period, the modernisation of the curing process advanced very slowly in Portugal in comparison to others producers. In the 1940s, state authority began to encourage the construction of artificial cold storages in the main areas of production to preserve the cod in better conditions. Only after 1960 did Portuguese units adopt the tunnels that permitted to dry the cod in artificial conditions, reducing this part of the process to 30/40 hours and thus less demanding on human resources (Teixeira 1967/1968, 41). Portuguese companies constructed cold chambers in their own installation, allowing them to import frozen raw material (Duarte 2001, 326, 329).

and the institutional representation of the industry contributed in the last decade to a change in the consumption habits of the Portuguese. AIB is today an influent lobby that actively, and at different levels, participates in the preservation of the *bacalhau* tradition, collaborating with local non-governmental organisations such as the *Bacalhau* Confrary and the Friends of the Maritime Museum of Ílhavo, which are assuming the mission to preserve a tradition that they consider to be a fundamental element of both local and national identity (Peralta 2008, 203–249; Coelho *et al.* 2011). The leaders and active members of these institutions often belong to families that in the past provided the White Fleet with sea officials. They do not necessarily work on fishing vessels or in the seafood industry but have generally a qualified professional activity compatible with a medium or high degree of education (Peralta 2008, 251–255), giving them the authority to legitimate their own narrative of the *bacalhau* tradition, which they disseminate at social events and through the media into the nation's public sphere. Their own perspective of this tradition is particularly influenced by the northern higher-class cod consumption pattern of the time of the Newfoundland fisheries, which they emulated and passed on to the entire national market during the last decades.

Some consumption habits of this sociocultural *milieu* are now extending to the whole society. Thus, Sobral and Rodrigues (2013, 629) note that the inhabitants of northern cities celebrated Nativity on the night before Christmas with a meal of cod in order to respect the Catholic interdiction to eat meat the day before Christmas, a custom that dates at least from the 19th century. In the beginning of the 20th century, the rich inhabitants of Lisbon used to have a festive meal based on meat, generally turkey, served at noon on Christmas day. Until today, in some regions of Portugal, where the Christmas meal is taken after Midnight Mass, meat continues to be preferred to cod, but *bacalhau* is now the national favourite food for Christmas Eve. In fact, when it comes to purchasing cod, the average amount that the Portuguese spend per act is presently higher during Christmas season than throughout the rest of the year, and they eat about one third of their six kilos of annual consumption during this festive period (Reis 2011, 38).

On the other hand, even if the big cod from Newfoundland, which in the past was preferred by local elites, totally disappeared from the markets¹⁴, the memory of its prestige has been translated into a positive value, attributed to the characteristic yellowish colour that some producers continue to imitate with the intention to pass it as the top level of the traditional *bacalhau* (Gomes *et al.* 2011).

Yellow cure finally appeared in 2005 as legal category in the Portuguese food legislation among other categories of salted cod. By law, in order to earn the designation “*bacalhau salgado de cura amarela*”, the cod should have a characteristic strong yellow colour¹⁵. Today, consumers tend to ignore that a few years earlier this class of salt cod was not contemplated in the Portuguese legislation.¹⁶

¹⁴ After 1950, Canadian fisheries moved their strategic focus to the North American frozen and fresh cod market and the Newfoundland salted and dried cod disappeared progressively from the Portuguese market (Alexander 1976).

¹⁵ Decree-law no. 25/2005 of 28 January, *Diário da República*, 1st series-A, no. 20, p. 697.

¹⁶ Ordinances no. 144-D/75 of 3 March 1975, no. 599/76 of 12 October 1976, no. 642/81 of 24 July 1981, no. 355/87 of 29 April 1987.

BACALHAU TRADITION HAS A FUTURE ... AS A COMMERCIAL LABEL

In order to withstand northern competitors, AIB recently prepared a proposal to the UE for the elevation of the salt cod label “Produced following the Portuguese tradition” as Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG).¹⁷ The Council Regulation (EC) of March 2006 defines TSG as foodstuffs “intended for human consumption or foodstuff with a traditional composition, or produced according to a traditional production method” but does not need to be made with local products. Producers are only obliged to use traditional raw materials without any chemical additives, to follow traditional preparation methods, and to commit themselves to specify and control the distinctive characteristics of their product. The salt content of cod cured in the traditional way must be equal to or less than 20% and the moisture content equal to or less than 47%. It is relevant to note that the cod exported by the Norwegians to Portugal before 1960 would fall into this range of values (Tropa *et al.* 1958, 28) and therefore be considered a traditional Portuguese product if nowadays the yellow colour of the flesh was not one of the main criteria used by AIB to distinguish traditional Portuguese cure from others. For this reason, the *cura branca*, used by Portuguese producers to imitate Norwegian white cure and appreciated in the past by southern elites, is today not considered to be a Portuguese traditional curing technique. This TSG perpetuates at the same time the pale yellow colour characteristic of the *cura nacional* (the staple food of the working class during the dictatorial regime) and the yellowish colour of the *bacalhau de cura amarela* (preferred by the northern elites in the past, but with a currently low demand on the Portuguese market), which is now promoted as a gourmet product (Gomes *et al.* 2011), designed to conquer the “foodies”, that is the 21st century elite of global consumers, always looking for authentic foods, both local and traditional.

BEYOND THE FABLE OF THE NATIONAL TRADITION

The “European phosphate crisis” demonstrates that the idea of a *bacalhau* tradition continues to be very active in the social arena and in the post-national world we live in today, surprisingly in the same way this notion was mobilised in the past by intellectual elites to cultivate the national pride. As Elsa Peralta (2008, 145) argues, even if the versions of the past that were brought to the public domain in the 19th century are very different from the current versions, more volatile and fragmented, they will nonetheless inform and shape the contemporary repertoire of possibilities. The rather long-standing, but still quite consensual assumption of a national tradition that includes fishing, drying and consumption of cod, emphasising antiquity, authenticity, typicality and uniqueness of the different material and immaterial realities associated with it, shows the resilience of this particular conception of tradition, inherited from the counter-enlightenment movement and characteristic of what we can call a “national outlook”. This notion was used by Ulrich Beck (2006, 30) to describe a kind of essentialist outlook,

¹⁷ AIB officially presented their TSG proposal at 10 January 2011, though it has only been published two years later in the Official Journal of the European Union (EC no. PT-TSG-0007-0064, 8 October 2013). In April 2014, the European Commission officially recognized “Bacalhau de cura tradicional portuguesa” as TSG (Official Journal of the European Union, 24 April 2014, L 121-20, no. 409/2014).

dominant since the First Modernity, that tends to separate historically interwoven cultural and political reality. In such outlook, each culture is understood as an island that is strongly related to a national territory, inside of which each culture remains unchanged, but still under threat of erosion by excessive permeability to cosmopolitan influences. In such perspective, tradition, regarded as a calcification process, permits to create an artificial continuity between past and present, searching in the past for cultural practices and believes that, because of their supposed originality, are judged useful to reinforce the cohesion of the national community. On the other hand, preserving shared traditions for the next generation guaranties the continuity of the national collective in the future. Such timeless conceptions of cultural transmission allow to cut off cultural heritages according to political frontiers, or tend, on the contrary, to congregate different sorts of dated realities that do not necessarily belong to the same series of historical facts.

In the Portuguese case, the belief in a maritime vocation, invariably invoked to respond to national crisis, complements the symbolic capital of the *bacalhau* tradition, acting retroactively as substantiation and expression of such vocation.

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4

Otherness and Closeness in Cultural Heritage



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ABSTRACT

During the second half of the 19th century, shortly after the reunification of Italy, began a period of Italian presence on the international seas. During these voyages Italian naval officers had the chance to come into contact directly and for the first time with the most diverse populations. Their travel notes and diaries can be considered as travel narratives influenced by the new Italian navalism, which was focused on building a strong and powerful image of the Navy on the seas and of Italy as a civilised nation. The paper, focusing on a re-reading of the travel notes on the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, analyses how Italian Navy officers used to picture 'Others' as a means of building a positive self-image of a nation at the top scale of the civilisation.

KEYWORDS

national identity, representation of otherness, maritime anthropology, travel literature, Tierra del Fuego

SEA-SHAPED IDENTITIES

ITALIANS AND OTHERS IN LATE 19TH-CENTURY ITALIAN NAVY TRAVEL LITERATURE

A CASE STUDY

In Italy it was only during the last third of the 19th century that a new collective perception of the sea emerged with force, which was able to change the system of social and cultural references within which the discourses of the nation were defined, starting from the educated classes and handed downwards in more or less conscious forms to the other levels of society (Monina 2008, 59).

In fact, although the peninsula could boast a privileged relationship with the sea due to its glorious past linked to the Maritime Republics, in the centuries after their hegemony Italy locked herself up, despite the extension of her coastline, in a protective and distrustful attitude that caused a maritime vacuum. This 'state of profound ignorance and alienation' (Frascani 2008, 93) led to focus attention on the defence of the mainland, as evidenced by the numerous coastal fortifications still visible nowadays.

The fear of Barbaresque pirates, combined with an old conception of the sea as symbolic place of the pitfalls of body and soul, and the poor maritime attitude began to dissipate only in the course of the period of Romanticism, to eventually change thanks to the incipient industrial and economic modernisation that was progressively bringing man to take advantage of a nature hitherto scarcely controllable.

This process slowly left room for the possibility of a positive use of the water element, primarily in the upper and middle classes in the form of beach tourism and appreciation of its therapeutic virtues, or for nautical sports activities. Over time the structure of the cities changed, and the strong defensive walls were replaced by places for socialisation and entertainment (Malatesta 2001). The Italian coasts, once long coastal swamps infested by malaria, began to be reclaimed as a result of the passage of railways (Frascani 2008, 101–110). The change was mainly managed by the new-born State, which since the days of its Prime Minister Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour, proposed to show Europe a maritime Italy able to fully exploit the characteristics and potential of its relationship with the sea.

The Italian Royal Navy gradually began to strengthen its fleet and armaments: a movement that gained progressive importance in the process of nation building, intertwining with Italian colonialist ambitions. In those years the phenomenon of navalism began, although with initial ups and downs; a phenomenon defined by Giancarlo Monina as the 'cultural and political movement that elaborated and propagated the myth of the *Grande Italia Marittima* [the Great Maritime Italy], as a key of interpretation, and as a model of representation, of the international role of Italy operating as a means of power policy' (Monina 2008, VIII).



Chonos di Eden Harbour (W. Patagonia)
 nella loro barca - viaggio Vettor Pisani
 1882. Dono C. G. Palumbo 1885.
 Enrico H. Giglioli

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Chonos of Eden Harbour (West Patagonia) in their ships. Journey of the Navy Vessel «Vettor Pisani», 1882. Gift by Captain G. Palumbo 1885. Enrico H. Giglioli Collection

What was being created in Italy was a particular *sea mystic*: a strongly emotional mytho-symbolic corpus of ideas that would at first silently support the strengthening of the Navy, and then speed the country with swelling sails towards its *maritime destiny*.

In this process of renewed socialisation of marine areas, the discovery of the ocean also played a role in the construction of the Italian identity. Considering that from 1866 to 1890 the Italian Navy effected 11 circumnavigations of the globe and 21 oceanic campaigns, it is interesting to learn that the role played by these journeys, besides being commercial and expansionist, was mainly representative: these circumnavigations bore a new Italian-ness.

In the first place, the ‘showing of the flag’ was the declaration of the existence of the Italian nation through the passage of the vessels in the strategic harbours of the world. Acting on behalf of the State, the ship embodied the essence of Italy, becoming a symbol and instrument of power. The vessel could treat friendship or alliances with other countries, support the action of the representatives of the national government in various foreign countries, protect fellow citizens ‘cementing the union in the name and for the good of the common Homeland and for the benefit of the individuals’, acting with strength, ‘virtually or in action’ (Leva 1992, 6). This political function was dual: internal and external, as the flag was to be seen and respected by other nations and populations, as well as being recognised by the *new* Italians. A task which was not always easy, given the still limited resources invested in oceanic campaigns, the dispersal of immigrants, and their strong tendency to identify themselves according to regional origins. It is no coincidence that the declared aim of the long maritime campaigns was not only to train the crews to the hard life of the sea – to forge their body and mind – but also to mature individuals through the prolonged and forced cohabitation: a rite of passage that led from regionalism to nationalism.

Moreover, during these voyages, Italian naval officers had the chance to come into contact directly, and for the first time, with the most diverse populations: from the Japanese to the Chinese, from the aborigines of Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia to the inhabitants of Papua–New Guinea. In a socio-anthropological maritime perspective that conceives ocean spaces ‘as stages of social exchanges and reciprocal influence among different people that live both on the waters and on the lands’ (Cocco 2013, 8), these encounters appear to be interesting social spaces where the structure of a discourse on Italian identity could be created (Dimpflmeier 2015). Their descriptions, as well as those of the populations encountered, are easily accessible in the numerous travel accounts of the Italian Navy.¹ The travel notes, influenced by the new Italian navalism, which was focused on building a strong and powerful image of the Navy on the seas and of Italy as a civilised nation, can be considered as privileged sources in the search for the transfigurations of Italian identity and the conflicts that characterised them.

¹ In particular, I analysed the travel accounts available in the *Rivista Marittima*, the official journal of the Italian Royal Navy, or published as independent volumes (see Dimpflmeier 2013).

In this short essay I would like to focus on the dynamics that occurred in a specific stretch of the sea: the Magellan Strait. The passage of the Italian ships along the channels of Tierra del Fuego is particularly interesting because the travel reports – complementing a tradition that already existed, between narrative, memory, new discoveries and (re)-construction of stereotypes – created an Italian tradition, outlining images of Fuegians and Italians in a dialectical process of identity definition.

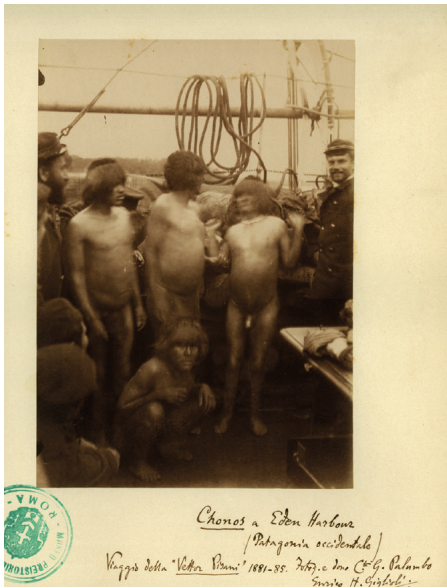
THE MAGELLAN STRAIT'S SEA SPACE AS IDENTITY NOMOS

Prior to the opening of the Panama Canal, which was inaugurated in 1914 – even though its initial design dated back to 1879 – the Magellan Strait at the extreme south of Latin America was the only connection between the two great oceans that bathed the coasts of the American continent. After 1830 when four Fuegians – three men and a woman, dirty and naked – were taken by Captain Robert Fitz-Roy from those cold climates and dragged to the presence of King William IV and Queen Adelaide, the whole area was brought suddenly to the attention of the Western world. The officer of the British Navy had devised a thorough *operation of recovery*, which consisted of cleaning and dressing the Fuegians, teaching them good manners, the use of modern technology, the gospels and ensuring that they would disseminate their knowledge once back among their own kind, in a sort of experiment of civilisation (Puccini 2006, 2007). And indeed it seemed that the inhabitants of those desolate regions were *improved* until they were taken back by the Beagle to Tierra del Fuego in 1832, and immediately returned to their previous ways of life, condemning themselves to the lowest considerations of subsequent observers.

In fact, since the first crossings of the Strait, a tradition of seafaring literature was created that stimulated general expectations regarding the savagery of the natives. Charles Darwin defined Tierra del Fuego as ‘the extreme edge of South America [where] man lives in a state of civilisation inferior to that of any other part of the world’ (Darwin 1989, 214).

In 1875, Enrico H. Giglioli wrote about the first circumnavigation of the Italian vessel *Magenta*. Published seven years after the end of the journey, a time lapse during which Giglioli had the opportunity to read up on all the populations he met while travelling, *Viaggio intorno al Globo della R. Pirocorvetta Magenta negli anni 1865–66–67–68* is a script in balance between the ‘*narration* of the journey and the aspiration to render *exotic* experiences scientific’ (Puccini 2006, 145). Here is how Giglioli describes his first encounter with the Fuegians:

There were two families, that is two men, two women and two children, one of whom was still suckling, all gathered in a dinghy along with a dog; at first, seeing the launch approaching, they tried to escape to the ground to hide in the bushes, but reassured by the friendly gestures of our sailors they allowed themselves to be approached. They were perfectly naked, except for a man who had the fore part of the skin of a penguin hanging in front, and one



Chonos in Eden Harbour (West Patagonia). Journey of the Navy Vessel «Vettor Pisani» (1881-1885). Photo and gift by Captain G. Palumbo. Enrico H. Giglioli Collection

of the women, the one nursing the child, who was partly covered by a piece of sealskin that also served to suspend the infant (...). They were all horribly dirty, their skins greased with rancid fat, their hair unkempt and long, apart from the summit where it was shortened; the colour of their skin seemed to be a dark brown, their features were brutal: low foreheads, very prominent cheekbones, and eyebrow ridges, big long noses, protruding jaws, wide mouths, full lips and small eyes; the breasts of women were long and pendulous. An excessive thinness and a painful expression of cold and hunger moved to compassion even the sailors (Giglioli 1875, 947).

The Italian explorers' first descriptions depicted Fuegians as naked, dirty and misshapen – smeared with rancid fat, with unkempt hair and brutal features. At the same time these representations are intertwined with the pity felt by the Italians, who depicted themselves as generous, thoughtful and kind:

(...) approaching the dinghy, revived after the first movement of fear they [the Fuegians] start to cry out altogether: Tabaca! Galletta! namely tobacco and biscuit, the two great desires of those poor people (...); they also asked for the berets of the sailors, making signs that it was cold. Mirabelli [a Navy officer] collected the little tobacco that he and his people had, stripped off a waistcoat of wool that was given to a naked woman and received in return two arrows (ibid.).

Giglioli, according to the dictates of the Instructions for travellers of the time, describes the physiology and taxonomic classification of the Fuegians, then moves on to portray their few clothes, hairstyles and tools – the external manifestations which could speak for the inner degree of development of their minds. The naturalist commented that they were 'perhaps the lowest in respect to the psychical side of all American natives. Indeed, from what I know it is doubtful if they do not compete with Australians and Negritos to occupy the last steps of the human scale' (ibid., 948). He sees them as brutes because of their marriage practices, odd superstitions, sale of their own children and cannibalism: Fuegians appear on the ladder of civilisation much closer to animals than men.

Repeatedly in Giglioli the moral judgment mixes with scientific assertions, while his statements, which are based mainly on sources 'gleaned here and there', create a new record that has a referential value and the power to influence the glance of future readers and observers. In this construction of Otherness 'the apparent objective detachment of the notation hides a vicious circle in which the unconsciously ethnocentric gaze of those who have been in the places and misrepresented the people, serves, in reality, only to confirm prejudices and build stereotypes' (Puccini 2006, 153). The Fuegians, in conclusion, appear as beings fated to remain wretched in those desolate and tremendously inhospitable lands, and as such, worthy 'of the generous deed of the illustrious

commander of the Beagle, who maintained [them] with paternal solicitude' (Giglioli 1875, 951).

On this double axis – animal/man and nature/civilisation – the following representations of the inhabitants of the Tierra del Fuego are played and, by contrast, that of the Italians. When ten years after the journey of the ship *Magenta*, in 1879, the vessel *Cristoforo Colombo*, en route home, crossed the channels of Patagonia again, 'it is needless to say with what enthusiasm all on board mounted on the command bridge, on the quarterdeck and bulwarks to see these natives, who with the full force of their short and wide wooden paddles, seeing us proceeding slowly, head to come aside us' (Giorello 1879, 119). In his journal, Lieutenant Giovanni Giorello describes at least three different encounters. He writes: 'It seems that, as now the passage of steamboats in this neighbourhood is more frequent, small colonies of natives have settled in different parts of the channels, who, having lost part of their habitual distrust for strangers, speculate, as one may say, on the desire one might have to see them and the compassion they inspire' (*ibid.*). In the eyes of Giorello, trade does not occur between Europeans and natives; on the contrary, a relationship reminiscent of the practice used for the domestication of wild animals was established: attracted by food or objects, the Fuegians may in fact be closely observed.

When the time comes to describe the natives, Giorello follows Giglioli's accounts. The lieutenant wants to be backed up by an expert, and Giglioli has become the authority to testify the veracity of his observations. At the same time, however, it is possible that the lieutenant was influenced to such an extent by the previous reading of the volume on the *Magenta's* journey, that he created specific expectations that make it difficult to distinguish his own observations from those of the naturalist. Speaking of Fuegians' filth and malnutrition, he will say, for example, that 'they were not so dirty and disgusting as I imagined them; but from the distance they give off the stench that we commonly call "bestino" [of a wild animal]. Often hunger and always little substantial nourishment can be read on those faces, some of which do not fail at times to show a gleam of intelligence' (*ibid.*).

Thinness, physical deformation and nudity are recurrent terms, whereas the approximation to animals is often made to characterise these people as subhuman. The difficulties of communication are many:

(...) of course one cannot understand much with the big uproar of shouts that everyone gives us in chorus during the ten minutes they were alongside us. Notwithstanding the repeated invitations to come on deck we could not make them come aboard. Biscuits, tobacco, rum bottles and old clothes were distributed among them; after that, casting off the ropes that held them near us, we started moving, leaving them all standing to make gestures of farewell; whilst in an amazing scene they filled the air with a deafening cry perfectly similar to what you hear from a bevy of seabirds when fleeing on water (*ibid.*, 120).



Canoe Fuegiana - Patagonia occidentale
 Foto del "Alert" - capitano G. Nares
 Insieme a H.W. Bates maggio 1882
 Enrico H. Giglioli

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Fuegian canoe (West Patagonia). Journey of the H.M. Ship «Alert» - Cap. Sir G. Nares. Gift by H. W. Bates, May 1882. Enrico H. Giglioli Collection

In fact, characterising their voices as frightened birds shows that Giorello was comfortable with seeing them as lower life forms. Giovanni Petella, reporting about another meeting, tells us that they

(...) seemed at first enticed by our friendly gestures and clothes, (...) but when a mariner was about to tow the canoe, (...) the three were invaded by such fear, (...) that without saying a word, inflating their cheeks and blowing their lips, they began to row at full speed toward the land, [where] the young Fuegian [a girl], with one leap, disappeared into the thick bush, scuttling like certain monkeys (Petella 1889, 74–75).

Like animals belonging to *ante litteram* safaris, Fuegians become ‘beasts’ that need to be cautiously observed. ‘Gaglietta-tabacco-pantalon’ (i.e. ‘biscuits-tobacco-pants’) are the words they often repeat, taught to them by European travellers. A few expressions that reveal the representation of the indigenous made by Westerners since the very first encounter, when they interpreted their needs – for food and clothing – projecting themselves in their difficult environment.

As Giorello writes, Italians satisfy them ‘with what they were asking for and in abundance, so much so that, a few minutes after their arrival (...) they were all (more or less) fully clothed. We turned the three naked Fuegians into Navy officers in ceremonial uniform’ (Giorello 1879, 126). The natives, then, show ‘their gratitude, intoning a lilting song that has a lot of Malay and Polynesian rhythm’. The atmosphere warms up and ‘later, to the sound of an orchestra improvised by sailors with hurdy-gurdy, guitar, and flute the three poor Fuegians, at first motionless and almost stunned, begin gradually to come alive’ (ibid.). The evening then goes merrily, until after dark their canoe is moved away, and ‘reluctantly our new friends leave and make their way to return to their nomadic and miserable existence’ (ibid.). For a moment the distance that separates the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego and the Italians seems to shorten, but only when they cover themselves with European clothes and are thankful for the gifts received. Once their bestiality is hidden and they recognise their status as *receivers*, a first opening appears which allows them to become *friends*, that is, when the *savage* tunes in to the frequency understandable by the Italians then, and only then, he/she becomes human. But it is only a moment, a night in the cold Patagonian channels, because the morning after the two tanned lieutenants have already returned to their ‘miserable existence’.

The repulsion against dirt is also clearly expressed in this diary. A dirtiness and stench that the mariners from the vessel *Cristoforo Colombo* eliminated in this way:

(...) since the morning a canoe with six indigenous approached alongside the boat, coming from the lands of the south. Made confident by gifts, with which all sailors were lavish, they mingled with them on the prow. When everyone gave part of his unused clothing or other things which were out of use (...), someone had

the idea of putting one of the families in contact with hot water and soap. The first to undergo such an operation was a young man of 25 who initially let them do it, and then found the degreasing pleasant, and did not want to stop. Later came one of the women (rather young), who demurely refused to take off the woollen underpants that she had just received, and was so gladly wearing, and she let them wash only that part of her body above the belt, but as if she was undergoing a painful operation. The third and last was the old woman, who submitted her whole body to soaping and was not happy until she believed to be properly washed (*ibid.*, 127-128).

What could avert a *savage* from his state of bestiality more than putting him in contact with hot water and soap? The words employed are interesting: they seem to describe an epic encounter between dirt and cleanliness, wildness and civilisation. At first, the natives do not understand, but then, Giorello seems to suggest, that enlightened by the use and benefits of this wonderful invention brought to them by progress – the soap – they get a taste for it, as if the impetus that they put into washing themselves was testifying an equal appreciation for civilisation. A suggestion that reveals, rather than their supposed tastes, only the European prejudices.

The latent conviction in Giorello's travel notes of the irremediable distance between civilisation and barbarism is made explicit in 1889 in *La natura e la vita nell'America del Sud. Impressioni di viaggio* by Dr Giovanni Petella, in which the official, referring to a sentence of Charles Darwin, does not fail to point out how these encounters 'persuaded him that the gulf between civilised and savage man is far deeper than the simple difference that exists between the wild animal and the domestic' (Petella 1889, 79).

In Petella's account, the poor acceptance of the exposure of the naked body is more strictly associated with the very strong impact that the climate and the nature of Tierra del Fuego made on Italian mariners. In particular, it is the impressive severity of the climate that makes the native nudity seem particularly harsh and highlights their fragility. Lieutenant Petella gives the best description of this dichotomy between their lack of clothing and the extreme cold. One evening, already soundly asleep 'buried under a triple insulating layer of wool', he was called on deck 'where a wind that cut the face like a razor was blowing':

(...) the whole crew and some official of goodwill woke up: barking of dogs, whimpers and monosyllabic human cries were coming from some pirogues: (...) a couple of fragile canoes, pushed by the current and paddled, had (...) approached a few spans from the side, [so that] one could see men, women and children in the cold squalor of their nakedness. (...) That scene of supreme commiseration has remained so vivid in my memory that it still seems to me to hear the monkey-like cries desperately pleading for rescue, the wail of babies and baying of dogs, all pressed one

against the other: altogether a scene of saddening effect, yet so alive in the splendour of such a frozen landscape; unforgettable because of its time and place, and for the unexpected impact of people and things (ibid., 76–77).

A heartbreaking picture that clearly explains the extremely strong effect that the climate and nature of Tierra del Fuego had on Italian mariners, and thus on their account of Fuegians. ‘A wind that cuts the face like a razor’, ‘in the cold bleakness of their nakedness’, ‘a scene of saddening effect, yet so alive in the splendour of such a cold nature’, ‘a state of perfect nudity, that makes me freeze, locked in my overcoat, more than the view of the surrounding snow’ (ibid., 78) are phrases that well represent the sad misery of the *savages*, but also, on the contrary, the implied sense of superiority of the Europeans, who have acquired the ability to cover themselves, to fight and control nature. A sense of superiority that never abandons the Italians:

I can never describe the comical effect of these three human beings, descendants of the same father Adam, after the sailors had dressed them all up in old clothes; those sisters of ours, dressed as half officers, could not offer a more curious and grotesque sight. The man could not put on the trousers, because his foot was fixed at a right angle; our laughter broke out uncontrollably, but a general feeling of commiseration prevailed (ibid., 79).

Common exchanges of goods or simple gifts of clothing to the Fuegians were not only made in the general conviction that they were cold, but also that they had to be emancipated somehow from their condition. But the distance that separated the civilized from the native could only be superficially overcome by the use of clothing – it was just an attempt at assimilation: hence the laughter, the hilarity provoked by the Fuegians, *our brothers*, maybe, but ultimately ridiculous, dressed in clothes that make them resemble us the most, in a show described as ‘poor and grotesque’. This is a common reaction in these travel notes, where every time a population – which has been generally accused of rigidly sticking to its old, primal customs – eventually accepts European etiquette is scorned for its appearance, which only underlines the emptiness of the offer for a potential closure of the gap between the primitive and civilised.

At the civilised extreme of these dichotomies, naval officers and mariners appear to be more courageous, braver, full of good will and vigorous. Moved by pity, ready to help and sympathise, they carry a mission of civilisation to the miserable Fuegians. They are the first to hold out their hands to those kind of men, crowded together amongst babies’ wails and yelping dogs, imploring desperately for help.

ITALIANI BRAVA GENTE: THE DISTANCE OF COMPASSION

The Italian maritime tradition regarding the encounters with the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego therefore allows to observe some of the dynamics of identity construction following the reunification of Italy.

The representation of the Fuegians from Giglioli onwards seems to be characterised, apart from being impervious to direct observation, by the failure to recognise the humanity of the native, so close to bestiality and nature to be hard to assimilate, just as the mission of Fitz-Roy had previously shown.

The Fuegians were described as poor, hungry, skinny, shivering, naked, miserable, ugly, grotesque, filthy, disgusting, stinking, bestial and aphasic in a discourse that exalts their Otherness. Seen as a whole, these representations are built on very precise dichotomous opposites, from which emerges the image of an advanced, civil, modern (and colonial) Italian-ness. Nature/culture, noise/speech, savage/civilised, child/adult, naked/dressed, dirty/clean, need/gift are the commoner antinomies. Italians are at the top step of civilisation and have the features that are bound to it: they know how to control and exploit nature, protect themselves from it, cover themselves up, keep hygienically clean and healthy, and express themselves in a developed and complete language. Based on this acquired distance, they may appear generous, compassionate, kind and considerate with the *miserable* Fuegians, who have no possibility of improvement.

The social space existing between the channels of Tierra del Fuego therefore allows post-unification Italy to experiment and build a new language of identity. The images, already present in the preceding tradition, in the 20-year period prior to the development of colonialism in Africa, were re-adapted in the process of nation-building, through a precise game of contrasting representations, in which compassion, besides being one of the many strategies used to manage and understand Otherness, is no more than a way to fill and disguise – keeping it unalterable – the unbridgeable gap between savage and civilised.

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ABSTRACT

This research project covers the role of artists in preserving the intangible heritage of coastal communities on the Brazilian shoreline and in turning it into a touristic asset. The sea heritage, represented by two traditional fishermen communities, will be studied in terms of interaction between the following three main actors linked to natural heritage: a local population, a tourist and an artist. The aim of this paper is to present the framework of two case studies – to be carried out among the communities of *Marujá* and *Quilombos da Fazenda*, situated in State Parks on the coastline of the State of São Paulo – on which further academic research will be based. These studies adopt a methodology of action-research, which consists in provoking a social situation that implies the active participation of all actors involved.

KEYWORDS

geography, intangible heritage, artists, community-based tourism

THE ROLE OF ARTISTS IN SAFEGUARDING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF COASTAL COMMUNITIES IN BRAZIL: BETWEEN PRESERVATION AND TOURISM PROMOTION

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY ACTION-RESEARCH STUDY ON THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE ARTIST, THE TOURIST AND THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

ILLUSTRATING INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

Since the Portuguese colonisation, the land of Brazil has been attracting travellers and explorers who collect documentation and illustrate, through visual arts such as drawing and painting, an abundant cultural and natural heritage. The French Artistic Mission, created in the 19th century by Napoleon Bonaparte with the purpose of founding the first Fine Arts School in São Paulo, was the source of artistic works intended to appreciate the picturesque landscapes of Brazil. Jean-Baptiste Debret, a French painter and draughtsman, participant in this mission and author of the book *A Picturesque and Historic Voyage to Brazil*,¹ took deep interest in illustrating the history of the country – its indigenous people, their customs, their environment – through his drawings and paintings. In the historical context of the era, the work of an artist, focused on nature and local culture, consisted mainly in illustrating landscapes and in documenting knowledge related to a land still little exploited by Westerners.

Ever since the creation of the French Artistic Mission, the role of artists in society has been evolving in tandem with changing socio-economic contexts. The next century witnessed a change in the relationship of man towards nature: a transition from an excessive exploitation of natural resources to the implementation of conservation policies. This change also became manifest when the notion of intangible heritage was institutionalised by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) as: ‘practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity’.² Natural heritage, which refers to biodiversity and the natural environment, is also included in the notion of intangible heritage.

¹ Original French title: *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil*.

² Definition adopted by UNESCO during the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003, which entered into force in 2006.

This process took place under the background of globalisation, which allowed a growing human mobility and accessibility of heritage sites. By showing their potential for tourism, heritage sites did not escape the negative effect of this process: mass tourism and increased environmental footprint. Indeed, tourism helps to boost the country's economy, having been statistically acknowledged as the second economic activity in terms of employment generation. In fact, in 2009 alone the picturesque Brazilian landscapes attracted five million tourists from abroad and domestic tourism accounted for almost 50 million trips (Bursztyn 2005). Therefore, natural heritage has been exposed to new challenges: taking into consideration the gradual deterioration it has been suffering, the intrinsic value of its intangible cultural heritage requires that it should be protected and preserved.

THE EVOLVING ROLE OF ARTISTS

Since the public awareness of natural heritage has been raised in recent decades, it is interesting to examine the role that artists still play in representing and transmitting intangible heritage. First of all, the work of today's artists is done in a globalised context, which grants them a greater visibility and makes them more available. The artist can become an actor in the process of education and awareness-raising for social and environmental issues related to intangible heritage. We can mention the example of the Brazilian artist Rubens Matuck³, who works with different artistic forms of expression: painting, drawing, woodcutting and photography. His work translates his deep interest in landscapes and different lifestyles, which is the reason for the numerous journeys across his homeland. The impressions from his journeys are kept in illustrated travelogues for which he uses various techniques: watercolour, pastel, crayon. His books are also accompanied by photographs. The main thread of his work is the representation of Brazilian intangible heritage. He uses his artistic expression as a tool in his commitment to both education and environmental conservation.

As a different example, we refer to a multidisciplinary art project named Grupo do Risco⁴, which brought together ten artists from Portugal. Dating from 2010, the project's aim is to illustrate the fauna and flora, the natural objects and the landscapes that can be found in the Brazilian Amazonia, relying for this on the techniques of drawing in travelogues, photography, video and music. Their goal is to contribute to an enhanced knowledge and valorisation of its natural worlds and intangible heritage.

In fields dominated by tourism and the media, the intangible heritage faces a double challenge: its own preservation and its tourist-oriented promotion. To what extent do artists participate in this process? In their interaction with others, how can their work be characterised? What is the impact of their work?

³ <http://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/pessoa18856/rubens-matuck>.

⁴ <http://grupodorisco.files.wordpress.com/2009/07/dossier-grupo-do-risco1.pdf>.

CHANGING SPATIALITY OF TRADITIONAL COASTAL COMMUNITIES

This research is situated at the intersection of questions related to intangible heritage and tourism. As a part of this study, we will take interest

in the socio-spatial context of Brazil, and more precisely in coastal communities referred to as *caíçaras*, located on the Brazilian shoreline. Their traditional livelihood is fishing and agriculture and they live within the environmentally protected areas of two different State Parks: *Parque Estadual da Ilha do Cardoso* and *Parque Estadual da Serra do Mar*. The two parks occupy part of the coastline of the States of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. In practical terms, this study will focus on two communities: the community of *Marujá* on the Cardoso Island, situated in the south of the State of São Paulo and the community of *Quilombos da Fazenda*, located in the Picinguaba Nucleus, in the north of the State of São Paulo. The choice of analysing the intangible coastal heritage through the prism of these two communities is justified by the fact that the wider social context of their lives illustrates the sometimes difficult reconciliation of environmental issues with the challenge to preserve the natural and cultural heritage of traditional local communities.

The history of the *Marujá* and *Quilombos da Fazenda* communities in Brazil is the result of encounters between Indigenous people, Europeans and Africans whose paths crossed in the course of different economic cycles. The present condition of traditional communities is the consequence of an evolution in temporal and spatial relationships. The opening of highways in the middle of the 20th century played a vital role in connecting the peripheral coastal area to the mainland. The highways fostered the development of the coastal strip, largely contributed to by the promotion of a beach culture and real estate speculation (Sansolo 2013).

The raise in tourism was then followed by the introduction of new policies regarding the protection of natural resources and, later on, by the establishing of conservation zones such as State Parks. The communities did not close in on themselves, but adapted to the new context of nature conservation and tourism. They adopted new uses of their spatiality while still keeping their memory and culture. They continued to cherish their relationships with people and the place, maintaining their sense of belonging (Sansolo 2013).

In this changing context, traditional communities are searching for ways of how to diversify their activities and revenues, launching forms of tourism entirely managed by them. They receive visitors in the context of mutual exchange: the tourist becomes a participatory agent and experiences a total immersion in the lifestyle of local people. This practice is referred to as a community-based tourism defined by Louise Dixey⁵ as a situation where: 1) the local community holds all the property rights to tangible and intangible resources used for tourism; 2) the local community plays a direct role in decision making, supervision and management of tourism resources, through a legal entity that represents them; 3) the community receives directly or indirectly the benefits of tourism initiatives.

Coastal communities are considered to be custodians of intangible natural and cultural heritage as their relationship with the natural environment – coastal land and the sea – is an inherent part of their

⁵ Louise M. Dixey. *Inventory and analysis of community-based tourism in Zambia*. PROFIT. Available at <http://fsg.afre.msu.edu/zambia/resources/PROFIT%20Community%20Tourism%20Survey%20-%20Final%20CBT%20Report.pdf>.

identity. In order to carry out the research related to the role of artists in safeguarding natural heritage, it is necessary to understand the nature of the relationship of local people with their immediate environment and with other people, in this case with tourists. The introduction of tourism changed the relationship of communities with their spatiality, as many areas exclusively destined to the use of communities have been made available to visitors and are shared daily with them ever since.

As far as the *Marujá* community is concerned, visitors come to stay in houses of local inhabitants or in hostels, which means that the domestic area is shared with tourists. Traditional trails, acknowledged as intangible cultural heritage of the community, are also used by visitors. In the same manner, the football field, bars and the community centre, originally reserved for the leisure of local inhabitants, are at the tourist's disposal. The tourist also participates in work activities such as fishing, harvesting cassava and fish, which means that the working area is also shared with visitors. Community-based areas are therefore combined with the areas of touristic activities. With regard to the *Quilombos da Fazenda*, traditional community areas cover the beach where fishermen construct their ships, and the sandbank where they build their houses. The hinterland is referred to as an area of agriculture and extraction, while the traditional trails are also acknowledged as an expression of their intangible cultural heritage. Here again, the community-based areas correspond to the areas of tourist activity (Sansolo 2013).

The common area shared by the community inside the State Parks is based on built relationships. The local population answers and adjusts to external determinations such as tourism or park management, at the cost of confronting the possible conflicts that result from this configuration. However, even if *Marujá* and *Quilombo da Fazenda* communities were exposed to a conflictual relationship with the park management, e.g. because of imposed limitations, their integration into the park contributes to their protection and to the conservation of their heritage.

RESEARCH QUESTION AND MAIN HYPOTHESIS

The challenge of combining intangible heritage with tourism and the role of artists leads us to a research question that highlights the interaction of the three main actors: the artist who represents and interprets the intangible heritage, the tourist who wishes to discover the richness of the coastal heritage, and the local population considered to be the guardian of this heritage. Thus, further study will be dedicated to the analysis of the interaction between these different actors whose common denominator is intangible heritage.

The graphic presented below (Figure 1) shows how the interaction between the three main actors is structured and brings to light the character of the mutually established relationships between them. It serves as a support to illustrate the three main hypothesis retained in this study.

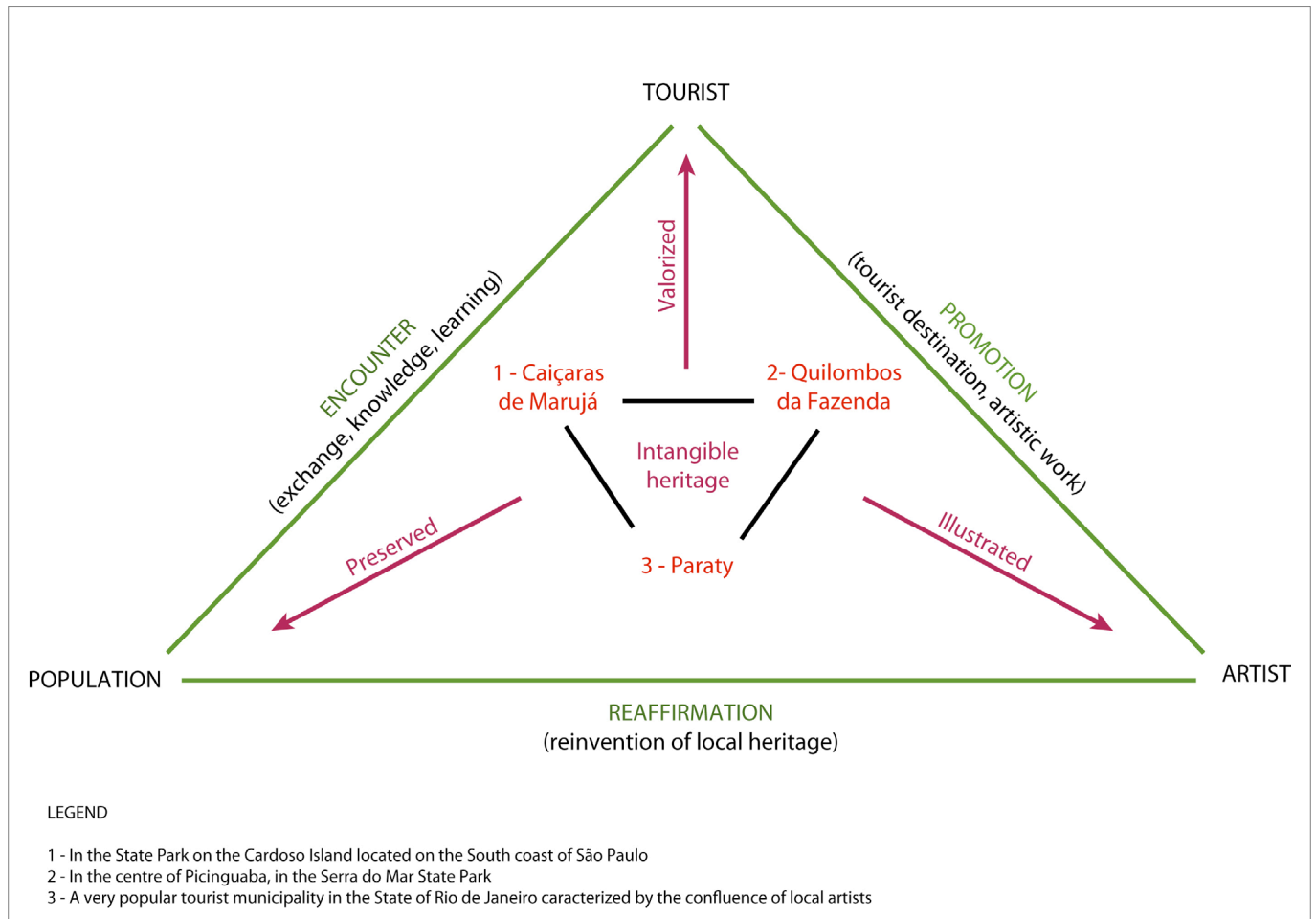


Figure 1 – The interaction between local communities, tourists and artists

Firstly, our study will be dedicated to the relationship established between the artist and the local community looking after the natural heritage. Our first hypothesis consists in presupposing that the quest for authenticity and the will of getting to know the population through art contributes to the reaffirmation of the local population's heritage, at the same time allowing the community to reinvent their heritage through the prism of an exterior artistic look.

The second area of study will analyse the interaction between the artists and the tourist. In our second hypothesis, we assume that the artist contributes to the promotion of community-based tourism and intangible heritage, and also plays an important role in the process of awareness building, generally related to environmental and social issues, and specifically to the sea heritage of coastal communities. On the other hand, the tourist contributes to the valorisation and promotion of the artist's work, also with regard to financial aspects.

The third main focus will lie on the interaction between the tourist and the local population. The third hypothesis asserts that there is an exchange between the local community and the tourist, since the latter immerses into the reality of a local population who cherishes their natural and cultural heritage. The tourist also learns about the local heritage through local art. Discovering local lifestyles and customs, and immersing into the context of everyday life, the

tourist discovers and valorises the natural heritage through direct confrontation, by the mere act of enjoying the tourist services of the community, and also by financing the local art. In addition to this, the local community, who receives a tourist within its domestic areas, opens up to a human and cultural exchange. They also seek financial gains in order to sustain their lifestyles and to contribute to the conservation of their heritage.

ACADEMIC FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

This research project has an interdisciplinary character within the social sciences. Though structured in the discipline of human geography, it will also resort to sociology, anthropology and philosophy in order to enhance the study with a more comprehensive approach. This project is developed under the supervision of two geographers: Professor Jean-Christophe Gay from the University of Nice Sophia Antipolis, specialised in tourism, and Professor Davis Gruber Sansolo, a Brazilian researcher from the São Paulo State University, specialised in coastal and environmental issues and in community-based tourism.

As far as methodology is concerned, this project will be carried out through the application of two different approaches, the first one being a traditional field research. Here, we will rely on the techniques of sociological research: participatory observation within the two communities and observation of the artists' environment. Their work is meant to illustrate the natural heritage of the communities and will be exhibited in the towns next to where the coastal communities are situated, such as the town of Paraty in the State of Rio de Janeiro. The project's immersion in the local context will contribute to the establishment of human relationships and the forging of closer links. Progressive integration in the environment will help to better structure and carry out the interviews with the representatives of the communities and the local artists. We presume that this part of our research will last approximately two months.

ACTION-RESEARCH APPROACH

The second approach that will be applied in this study is the method of action-research, carried out in a slightly different context than a field research. This methodology is efficient when it comes to working on interdisciplinary dynamics and a system of interaction which, in this case, refers to the relationship between art and social issues.⁶ The method of action-research consists in provoking a situation that involves a collective action in the aim of bringing about a social transformation. The nature of this method is interdisciplinary, as it will involve an interaction analysed in terms of its geographical, sociological, anthropological and philosophical impact.

In action-research, the feasibility of the method is a question of the process and not the contents. The process is characterised by group learning, sustained by a group dynamics. The intervention is struc-

⁶ *Questions fréquentes sur la recherche action*. LISRA (Laboratoire d'Innovation par la Recherche-Action), 2009. Available at <http://recherche-action.fr/download/M%C3%A9thodologie/Questions-en-recherche-action.pdf>.

tured in a set of interactions between the actors, who act respecting the values of cooperative spirit and social responsibility. The actors of the interaction are submitted to analysis, but at the same time they play the role of researchers who analyse. In fact, they participate in establishing the modalities of the intervention and contribute with their reflections during the course of the research. The driving force of this method resides in its potential for development and transformation of a social reality. The aim of the action-research is to understand the social functioning of a provoked interaction.

In this study, we will lean on the action-research methodology proposed by a French sociologist living in Brazil, Michel Thiollent (2011), and by a French researcher in social sciences, Hugues Bazin (2006), who has been applying this method in cultural and art-related actions.

In practical terms, the action-research in this study will be designed as an exchange between four Brazilian artists from São Paulo, and the inhabitants of the local communities of *Marujá* and *Quilombos da Fazenda* in their respective State Parks. The aim of this encounter will be, on the one hand, to illustrate portraits of local inhabitants by telling their life stories and, on the other, to illustrate their everyday life by exploring their relationship with the space they inhabit, the sea and the traditional activity of fishing. Painting, drawing and woodcutting will be used as traditional techniques of illustration. The project will gather four main artists who are considered to be the core team of this exchange.

These four artists have already worked together on a project entitled *Maré*,⁷ aimed at illustrating the sea tides and their impression through their engraving on wood. The coordinator of this team, Ernesto Bonato,⁸ has been working with drawing, engraving, photography and installation for the last 20 years. He exhibited his works in more than 140 individual and collective exhibitions in Brazil and in 28 foreign countries. In 1993 he founded the *Piratininga* art workshop in São Paulo and has been its coordinator ever since, apart from working as an illustrator in various educational projects in the country and abroad. At present, he dedicates himself mainly to painting and to engraving on wood. He already has experience in illustrating the local communities in Brazil, just as the other three artists involved in the action-research.

Marina Faria⁹ is a professional freelance illustrator who has worked for many companies and publishing houses. Her illustrations for children have appeared in a series of already published books. She is the founder of a graphic design studio and belongs to the managing group of the *Piratininga* multidisciplinary workshop in São Paulo. She also gives workshops in drawing and in storytelling. In 2013–2014 she participated in a collective artistic experience organised by a local community of *São Francisco Xavier*.

João Paulo Marques de Lima is a polyvalent artist who has been working with multiple art techniques, though he dedicates himself mainly to

⁷ Website of the project *Maré*: <http://www.iar.unicamp.br/galeria/ernestobonato/index.htm>.

⁸ Ernesto Bonato: <http://www.escriptorio-dearte.com/artista/ernesto-bonato/>.

⁹ Website of the artist Marina Faria: <http://marinamaricota.blogspot.fr/p/e-mari-cota.html>.

painting and drawing. Having worked 11 years as a professional illustrator, he already exhibited his works in Brazil and is currently participating in an artistic exchange with Portugal, where he is working on a project which aims at depicting the inhabitants of the city of Oporto.

The fourth artist, Deni Lantzman, favours drawing and painting in his artistic work. Since 2008 he has been exhibiting his works in various art galleries in São Paulo. He also participated in an artistic exchange within the communities of *Barra do Turvo* and *São Francisco Xavier*, in the State of São Paulo, where he painted the portraits of local inhabitants.

The aim of this action-research is to analyse the interaction that will take place in the course of the encounters and the possible social transformation they will bring about during this artistic exchange. The outcome of the artistic work will be assembled in form of a travelogue and of an exhibition, whose main goal is to bring to light the social and environmental issues studied within this PhD research. The exhibition is supposed to take place in French and Brazilian academic institutions – such as the University of Campinas, the University of Nice Sophia Antipolis and the University of Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris III – as well as in institutions favouring bilateral French-Brazilian cooperation in both Brazil and France, namely the House of South America and the Brazilian Embassy in Paris, or the French Institute in Rio de Janeiro.

The interaction between the artists and local people will be equally documented and analysed by means of a documentary film and photographs. In the course of the research project, the monitoring and follow-up results will be regularly updated via a specifically created online blog.

The research will be accomplished within six months, in two separate parts. The beginning of the first part is scheduled for April 2015, with a period of approximately two months for data collection in Brazil according to traditional sociological field research under the supervision of Brazilian researcher Davis Gruber Sansolo. This will be followed by three months of data analysis and the organisation of the modalities for the action-research. The second part of the research, scheduled to start in September 2015, will consist in organising the social environment intervention and will last for a period of four months.

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ABSTRACT

The city of Hôi An provides a platform for traditional Vietnamese know-how from which the expansion linked to the sea and sustainable development in the context of globalisation can be investigated. During the 15th century, Portuguese culture gained roots through the establishing of commercial and cultural exchanges with Hôi An. Located at the confluence of the Thu Bon River, the city known as "Faifoo" during the French colonial period was, until the 19th century, an important international supply port. Trade relationships have transformed Hôi An into a cultural trade centre, a prosperous wholesale supplier of local products, where the breeding of silkworms and the weaving of high-grade silk products were conducted for export all the way along the Silk Road. In the 21st century, it would be beneficial for Hôi An to identify for further conservation such cultural items as the national use of *Quoc-ngu* (the writing system used for the Vietnamese language), handicraft lanterns and watercolour painting techniques (inks and pigments, and the forms and symbols of Asian cultures, in particular *marouflés* – glued paper layers). However, in 2015 it is urgent to increase the protection of the city's heritage from future devastation by floods and coastal erosion.

KEYWORDS

Hôi An, silk, globalisation, *Quoc-ngu* legacy, flooding

¹ Princess Huyền Trân *Huyền Trân Công Chúa*, later Queen of Champa, was a princess during Vietnam's Trần Dynasty. She was the daughter of Emperor Trần Nhân Tông and the younger sister of Emperor Trần Anh Tông. In 1306, Trần Anh Tông married off princess Huyền Trân to the Champa King Jaya Sinhavarman III to become Queen of Champa, in return for the two provinces of Chau O and Chau Ly (today known as Quảng Bình Province, Quảng Trị Province and Thừa Thiên–Huế Province).

² Alexandre de Rhodes, who spent six years in Vietnam (1624–30) on his Catholic missions, introduced a new writing system based on the Roman alphabet into the Vietnamese language and published the first Vietnamese Catechism and the first Vietnamese–Latin–Portuguese dictionary (*Journée Internationale de la Francophonie*, Montpellier, France, 20 March 2007; www.adaly.net).

THE IMPACT OF HÔI AN AS HERITAGE FROM THE SEA

A PLATFORM FOR VIETNAM'S TRADITIONAL MARITIME KNOW-HOW

In memory of Hoa Cabane who promoted local *Quoc-ngu* in Hôi An.

HÔI AN IN EARLIER HISTORICAL PERIODS

Dreams of the people of the sea

Ceramic fragments (2,200 years old) were recently discovered in Hôi An. They are the oldest vestiges of human habitation, attributed to the Sa Huỳnh culture and related to the Dong Son culture dating back to the late Iron Age. From the 2nd to the 10th centuries, Hôi An was an important harbour in the Kingdom of Champa. In 1307, the Cham King married the daughter¹ of a monarch of the Tran Dynasty and donated Hôi An to the Vietnamese of Quang Nam province. After his death, his successor challenged the legitimacy of the gift and undertook to repossess the province. For over a century, the region was in chaos. In the 15th century, when peace returned, trade regained its normal course. For the next four centuries, Hôi An remained the major international dockyard of Southeast Asia. Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, Indian, Filipino, Indonesian, Thai, French, British and Americans all came to stock up on silk, cloth, paper, porcelain, tea, sugar, molasses, areca nut, pepper, herbal medicines, ivory, beeswax, pearl, lacquer, sulphur and lead. In the spring season, the Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese and Spanish ships were driven to the south by the monsoon winds. They then stayed in Hôi An in anticipation of the southerly winds in the summer. During their four-month sojourn, merchants would rent the beachfront homes which were used as both warehouses and residences. Some of them later established representatives empowered to manage their business affairs for the remainder of the year. Thus they established their first colonies – with the exception, however, of the Japanese, since their government had banned all contact with the outside world in 1637. Furthermore, it was through Hôi An, and the efforts of the Catholic priest Alexandre de Rhodes, that Christianity penetrated into Vietnam.

Quoc-ngu Latin script invented by Alexandre de Rhodes

Of all the 17th-century missionaries, the most famous was Alexandre de Rhodes² (born Avignon, France, in 1591; died Ispahan, Persia, in 1660), inventor of *Quoc-ngu*, the Latin script that is today used by the Vietnamese people. In 1624, Alexandre de Rhodes arrived in the southern part of Vietnam, known as Cochinchina. Since the end of the 16th century, Vietnam, although under the nominal rule of the Lê dynasty, had been effectively divided into two separate political entities, at a frontier line slightly above the 17th parallel: the Inner Region in the South, under the control of the Nguyen lords, and the Outer Region in the North, known as Tonkin, governed by the Trịnh lords. Starting in 1627, wars between the two regions persisted until 1672, during the Trịnh

vs. Nguyễn warring states period. Vietnam was not reunited until 1802 under Gia Long, the first emperor of the Nguyen dynasty.

De Rhodes was amused by the exotic tonal sounds of the Vietnamese language. Early in 1625 he was in Faifoo with four other Jesuit priests and a Japanese Catholic. The city was active with trade during the 16th and 17th centuries, with colonisers from different provinces of China, Japan, India and Portugal. Among the Japanese immigrants were Christians who had run away from religious persecution in their own homeland. Although Alexandre de Rhodes was already fluent in several languages, he first came to the south of Vietnam to learn to speak the local Vietnamese dialect. Then he came back to the city of Faifoo, where he tried to convert villagers to Christianity using his Latin script *Quoc-ngu*. This early period in his study of Vietnamese verbal communication in Faifoo would influence the Vietnamese of his dictionary many years later, even when the latter was mostly based on a slightly different Vietnamese spoken in the northern part of Vietnam.

Portuguese empire based on trading posts and the Silk Road

Hôi An contributed to the growth of the Portuguese empire which was mainly based on trading posts. The Casa da India in Lisbon controlled and verified the imported goods. The riches from the colonies (spices, gold, precious stones and silk) poured onto caravels during the following centuries. A caravel (*caravela* in Portuguese) is a high-sided sailing ship invented by the Portuguese in the early 15th century for long journeys of exploration. The lateen sails, affixed to a long yard and mounted at its middle to the top of the mast, enabled the vessel to tack into the wind. Thus the fear that winds and currents would prevent the ship from returning disappeared and allowed the Portuguese explorers to undertake their acts of bravery. It should be noted that Portuguese royal power had never been greater than at the time of the discoveries. King Manuel I reformed the administration with a new legal code in order to promote and strengthen his power (Manueline Ordinances in 1521) and he also organised voyages westwards, reaching Greenland and Newfoundland. In an effort to improve culture in Portugal, he advanced the reform of the so-called General Studies. From an artistic point of view, he used a generous part of the money that came from commerce to construct royal buildings, thus giving birth in Portugal to the Manueline style that would come to dominate various types of construction (civil, military and religious). Examples of this style are the Tower of Belém and the Monastery of the Hieronymites. In 1555, Portugal was known as the richest country in Europe.³

HÔI AN ENDOWED TODAY WITH TOURISM, ARTS AND CRAFTS, SERICULTURE AND UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGY

After contributing to the dreams and realities of Portuguese power at a historical time, Hôi An is today endowed with a beautiful colonial-style old town, gastronomy, green tourism (Tra Que and Cam Thanh vegetable villages), sericulture and underwater archaeology. An example of the beauty of its buildings can be seen in the house of worship of the Tran

³ King Manuel I was the first king to assume the title of “King of Portugal and the Algarves, of either side of the sea in Africa, Lord of Commerce, Conquest and Navigation of Arabia, Persia and India”. It was under his rule that the bureaucratic and mercantile state was born (www.mosteiroatalha.pt/en/index.php?s=white&pid=234).



Figure 1 – House of devotion



Figure 2 – Cult altar. Photo by Pierric Le Neveu

family. Standing behind a tall fence and mixing Chinese and Japanese styles, this house was built in 1802 by a civil mandarin named Tran Tu Nhạc and dedicated to the worship of his ancestors. The “Garden of the West” represents the future; the “Garden of the East” refers to the past, and the house, divided into two, represents the present day. In dedication to the cult, a museum, an altar of the ancestors and a collection of ceramics were handed over from generation to generation. Today, restored in traditional style, the brightly painted houses offer a beautiful shade at sunset. Several architectural styles rub shoulders in these houses: the French colonial style, Chinese style and even Japanese style. A Japanese covered bridge was restored to become the city’s emblem. Some rooftops are protected with concave and convex tiles, yin and yang style. This Chinese symbol is sometimes written on the doors of houses, as it is believed to protect the inhabitants.

Declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1999, the city centre is an authentic museum where it is possible to admire the architecture of an eastern trading port from the Middle Ages that mixes Portuguese and French influences, as well as Chinese and Japanese. Longhouses, Buddhist pagodas, headquarters, houses of ancestor worship, inhabitable bridges, wells, tombs, platforms and more than 840 buildings are listed for their historical and architectural interest. It should be noted that the architectural vestiges were barely protected during the era of French colonisation. This explains why, at that time, neither publicity in travel guides nor postcards of historical monuments were to be seen.⁴

Gastronomy

Visitors are encouraged to try Quang noodles, chicken rice, stuffed steamed bread and black sesame sauce. Facing the sea, the Thu Bon River offers fishing opportunities, and at the fish market, all sorts of fish are displayed in the morning in order to be transformed into typical central Vietnamese specialities.

ART WORKS

In Hôi An, the watercolourist Jean Cabane works with “inks and pigments”. Inspired by the garrigues and colours of the Gards in France, he highlights his paintings with images of the landscape, paddy fields, aquaculture fish ponds lined with water palms and clumps of bamboo. For a support, Jean Cabane uses “Do” paper (*giay do*) made in small batches in North Vietnam which can be easily found in Hôi An shops. For the *encres et pigments* technique, he uses this paper because it is simple, delicate and inexpensive. For painting, he makes the most of this support either with ink or with pigments and water for watercolour effects in order to obtain *aquarelles*. The traditional “Do” paper is bright red, thin, light and durable. It was once used for royal documents, exam papers and clan lineage records. Today it is associated with “Dong Ho folk paintings”, a type of folk prints produced in Dong Ho village near Hanoi. Made from the bark of the “Do” tree (*Rhamnoneuron balansae*) growing in some northern parts

⁴ Dominique Foulon, editor-in-chief of *Carnets du Viêt Nam* in Lyon: “I also think that it should be pointed out that during colonisation the architectural treasures of the city of Hoi An (then Faifo or Faifoo) were absolutely not taken into account. No reference at all in travel guides of the time (hence the fact that there were very few postcards of the city)” (private letter, 14 October 2014). For further information on Vietnam see <http://www.carnetsduvietnam.com/web/premiere.htm>.



Figures 3 and 4 – Inks and pigments. Photos by Jean Cabane

of Vietnam, it is unknown when it was first used, but its origins are thought to date back more than seven centuries in Yen Thai village. Artisans collect the bark, and then dip, cook, wash, thrash and pulp it. They use the pulp to make sheets which are squeezed and dried to make the paper.⁵

Another visual artist, Jean-Luc Mello, from Switzerland uses the technique of juxtaposing (placing close together or side by side) the forms and symbols of Asian cultures. While he uses the basic Xuan Zhi traditional Chinese rice paper for his ink drawings, digital prints are then mixed with them to elaborate his concept. Using traditional Vietnamese papers for ceremonies like weddings and funerals, he creates vivid and strange colours. Acrylic is added to make effects and generate various tones of sensation. Varnish highlights the *marouflé* paper layers to make a mixed kind of transparent but solid material so that paintings can be exposed by simple suspension. Sizes are generally close to those of Xian paper, between 55 and 65 cm in width and 110 to 140 cm in height (this technique can be seen in Siu Pham's film *Fog Over the Summit ... Storm Over the Land*).

Green tourism, Silk Village and coloured lanterns

Travellers are invited to cross the town by bike. This means of self-transportation allows a visit to the village of Tra Que. Along the way, one can stop and climb on the back of a water buffalo in the rice fields and take pictures. Then, at the village of Tra Que, a farming family will show visitors around their farm. Further on, they may take a look at the organic vegetable village of Cam Thanh, and stop at the side of a coracle (local fishing boat) and enjoy a cruise on the small canal. A different tour takes travellers to the village of silk worms, the Hôi An Silk Village. Products shown in the city's shops are made of different materials, natural and synthetic. At the market and in ancient Hôi An, the clothes sold in the shops are made of natural materials, such as cotton and silk, which are grown and produced locally. To manufacture silk, the cocoon is soaked in hot water at 80°C. Depending on how the thread is pulled, the quality will differ. After spinning, the silk is dyed and then woven. Woven silk is produced at the rate of one metre per day. The breeding of silkworms for sericulture and the spinning of silk thread brought the Silk Road to Hôi An and enriched the Portuguese Crown at that time.

Another charming attraction are the coloured handmade lanterns, generally made by women. The technique of lantern-making is a well-known traditional handicraft in the city. For that reason, short-term courses in lantern-making are occasionally run for visitors.

Underwater archaeology

Recently, an underwater archaeology team has been established in Hôi An. It includes representatives from the services of culture and information, and also of police and border guards in the province. The team

⁵ Dang Thou and Le Bich: As "Do" paper is thin and fragile, the images drawn in this traditional paper can convey strong messages and emotions (in *Heritage*, 16 August 2013, p. 16).



Figures 5 and 6 – Lantern shop and studio. Photos by Pierric Le Neveu

is responsible for investigating the origin and value of antiquities that have just been discovered at Hôi An offshore places.

HÔI AN: A PROMISING VISION FOR THE FUTURE BUT TROUBLED BY COASTAL EROSION

Vision of Vietnam by women film producers and the protection of Hôi An from flooding

At the crossroads between Portuguese influences from the past, the future of Hôi An is now a combination of local and overseas influences. French and Swiss painters have opened art galleries in the Old Houses.⁶ Furthermore, Vietnamese women film producers have opened up social aspects of Vietnamese life and work through the Women Film Festival in Créteil (France, 14–21 March 2014). In the context of the 2013–2014 France–Vietnam Year, the festival featured a multifaceted programme of films relating to Vietnamese society enriched by traditions, while positioning itself at the forefront of numerous currents of thought. It covered documentaries, fiction and video art on a broad cross section of topics addressed in Vietnam. The screenings were held in conjunction with debates and meetings with invited Vietnamese women film producers and directors such as Ms Viet Linh, Ms Siu Pham, Ms Trang Phuong Thao, Ms Nguyen Thi Trinh, Ms Doan Hong Le, Ms Nguyen Hoang Diep and Ms Nghiem Quynh Trang. However, women film producers and directors have to overcome all contingencies (at home and abroad). As shown in *Fog Over the Summit ... Storm Over the Land*, the director, Ms Siu Pham,⁷ is taking advantage of every opportunity open to women to achieve her objectives. Her documentary film examines the devastation of the dyke by the flood in Hôi An in October and November 2013 and the people working to tidy up the city. Should mangroves be planted to stop the sea water (Linh 2014)? Or should wooden poles be used according to tidal movements like General Tran Hung did at the Battle of Bach Dang against the Mongols in 1288?

Hôi An beach resorts affected by erosion

In 2013, the authorities in Hôi An warned that rising tides would inundate a third of the touristic town centre. The news website *Voice of Vietnam* has reported that hundreds of households and hoteliers in the city have suffered continuously from the high tides on the Cua Dai embankment, a 300-meter section of beach ravaged by waves that have uprooted coconut trees and electricity poles. Again, in October 2014, *Thanh Niên News* reported that,

Tides have gradually swallowed the 3-km Cua Dai Beach; some sections of the beach have been eaten 40 meters into the shore. The People's Committee of Hôi An Town (the local government) is calling on local residents and businesses to build makeshift embankments at the eroded beach sections. It also extracted VND 10 billion (USD 471,200) for a project to build the Cua Dai embankment, but the project has run into a lot of difficulties

⁶ Such as the Ami Galerie at 46 Nguyễn Thái Học, Hôi An (ami.galerie@gmail.com).

⁷ Forty-three minutes in length, *Brouillard au sommet... Orage en bas* gives an account of the flood that took place in Hôi An in October/November 2013. Furthermore, the film shows Hôi An and its green villages, the sea resort under threat by flood waters, Mello's painting technique with *marouflé* paper layers, and the friendship between "overseas people and the natives" of Hôi An.

due to rogue waves and strong winds. The town administration admitted that the project is just a temporary solution to prevent erosion during the rainy seasons. As Hôi An lies on the banks of the Thu Bon River, and faces the sea on one side and the river on the other, it is difficult to prevent erosion. The Hôi An Department of Natural Resources and Environment said that the government should take more steps to control the flow of the Thu Bon River and dredge Cua Dai Bay as its one-dimensional entrance retains flood waters longer.⁸

Over the last five years floods have devastated the city's holiday resorts. Every typhoon season, the people and local administration in Hôi An worry about the penetration of seawater, which causes heavy crop damage. In addition to that, dozens of acres of protected forests have been ravaged and humans and animals have to retreat further and further inland. In the area of Cua Dai, where there are luxurious resorts and other properties, the shoreline is only 40 m from Au Co Street (as against 200 m before). The waves have destroyed the concrete dykes at the Dong Duong Resort. Other resorts, such as Golden Sand, Sun Rise and Verpeal find themselves confronted with the same problem. These establishments have had to take temporary measures to protect themselves. Coastal erosion upsets many activities at these resorts. In 2010, the provincial People's Committee approved a construction project for a 7,600-metre-long breakwater to protect the coast of Hôi An. In recent years, the sea level has risen 0.5 cm annually. According to a scenario for the province, by 2020 flooding will affect 306 m², and Hôi An will be the most affected, losing 27% of its area.

In Vietnam, the ability to do business is the major key to success, but this pernicious attention to "getting rich" has distracted people's minds from the laws and regulations (rights and duties). In addition, the parity law implemented on 1 July 2007 has encouraged the Vietnamese to live together in cities and villages and to trade and cooperate with outsiders. It is very important that the Hôi An protocols be protected to safeguard the cultural diversity and overseas influences in the city.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND OVERSEAS INFLUENCES IN A MELTING POT OF NATIONALITIES

Rich in traditions and exposed early to the outside world, the natives of Hôi An have an exceptional cultural identity that has been well preserved from generation to generation. The lives of the people who reside here tend to be quiet. In their mind, their city consists of a big family of many descendants including hospitable dwellers, friendly hosts and hostesses. Together they shape a pleasant community which has lived peacefully side by side for successive generations. In terms of the variation in life expectancy over time, Hôi An has developed into a melting pot of various nationalities who have moved into the area and brought their own cultures. There are people who practice animist cults and others who worship natural deities (such as the rain, wind and thunder). There are

⁸ "Hôi An beach resorts affected by erosion". *Thanh Nien News*, Friday, 10 October 2014 (<http://www.thanhniennews.com/society/Hôi-an-beach-resorts-affected-by-erosion-32280.html>); "A third of Vietnam's ancient town could soon be under water". *Thanh Nien News*, Monday, 13 October 2014 (<http://www.thanhniennews.com/society/a-third-of-vietnams-ancient-town-could-soon-be-under-water-32488.html>).

also worshippers of Holy Protectors, such as Thien Hau, Quan Cong, Bao Sinh Dai De, Avalokitesvara, especially among the Chinese community. They hold regular festivals or engage in cultural and religious activities on the occasion of Tết Nguyen Tieu (the 16th day of the first lunar month, i.e. late January or February), Thanh Minh (the third lunar month, i.e. late March or April), Doan Ngo (the 5th day of the fifth lunar month, i.e. late May or June), Trung Thu (the 15th day of the eighth lunar month, i.e. late August or September), Trung Cuu (the 9th day of the ninth lunar month, i.e. late September or October) and Ha Nguyen (the 15th day of the tenth lunar month, i.e. late October or November).⁹

THE HÔI AN DECLARATION ON CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC DISTRICTS OF ASIA (ICOMOS, HÔI AN, 2003) AND THE CONVENTION FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE (UNESCO, PARIS, 2003)

For Hôi An, preservation of its cultural resources is necessary to retain the historic value and extension of its physical life.

There are conservation disciplines that address different kinds of cultural resources. All share a broad concept of conservation that embraces one or more strategies that can be placed on a continuum that runs from least intervention to greatest. (*Nara Document on Authenticity*). (...) *Cultural diversity*: The manifold ways in which the cultures of groups and societies find expression. These expressions are passed on within and among groups and societies. Cultural diversity is made manifest not only through the varied ways in which the cultural heritage of humanity is expressed, augmented and transmitted through the variety of cultural expressions, but also through diverse modes of artistic and creative production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment, whatever the means and technologies used. (*UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, Article 4.1). (...) *Cultural expressions*: Those expressions that result from the creativity of individuals, groups and societies, past or present, and that have cultural content. (*UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, Article 4.3). (...) *Authenticity*: When applied to cultural heritage refers to the degree to which cultural values are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes, including, but not limited to:

- (a) form and design;
- (b) materials and substance;
- (c) use and function;
- (d) traditions, techniques and management systems;
- (e) location and setting. (*Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, Paragraph 82).¹⁰

⁹ Hôi An, Danang and Cham ruins in central Vietnam (http://factsanddetails.com/southeast-asia/Vietnam/sub5_9j/entry-3561.html).

¹⁰ *The Hôi An Protocols for Best Conservation Practice in Asia: Professional Guidelines for Assuring and Preserving the Authenticity of Heritage Sites in the Context of the Cultures of Asia* (UNESCO Bangkok 2009). <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001826/182617e.pdf>.

As regards aspects of tradition – such as songs, dances and technical items (the making of lanterns and/or paintings with “ink and pigment



Figures 7 and 8 – Faifoo Japanese Bridge in the era of French colonisation. Photos by Dominique Foulon

techniques”, and the “juxtaposing technique of *marouflé*” with glued layers of paper such as Xian paper from Asia) – Hôi An must propose their addition in the future to the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage of the World.

PERSPECTIVES

Since the end of World War II, the world has been characterised by multiplicity and economic globalisation. Countries are becoming more and more connected to each other because of technical and scientific links. An era of cooperation has been established and continues to develop with international law and humanitarian law between East and West. With regard to economic cooperation and cultural integration between East and West in the context of globalisation,¹¹ there are many questions left for the consideration of our colleagues at the meeting at the University of Évora (Portugal), where they will share opinions and explore issues linked to the sea from new perspectives, including heritage and other subject matters that have shaped all cultural identities.

In Vietnam, Hôi An has risen to the challenge posed by the social and multicultural aspects of its maritime environment: the culture of fishing; ecological structures (green tourism and silk culture); architectural vestiges, such as its ancient houses and the Japanese bridge; and its recently exploited underwater archaeology. They are safeguarded under The Hôi An Protocols for Conservation.

In present-day Vietnam, governance systems are required to provide the Vietnamese people with the possibility to shape tomorrow’s world,¹² the one Hôi An natives wish for their children to inherit. As a special inheritance, owed to Alexandre de Rhodes, Vietnam has been endowed with the *Quoc-ngu* Latin script.¹³ In 1906, the French administration set up the Council for Improvement of Education, which ordered the study of *Quoc-ngu* as a secondary subject in schools. In 1908, the Royal Court of Hue created the Ministry of Education, which was tasked with applying the new school curriculum in *Quoc-ngu*. From 1915 to 1919, a series of decrees were promulgated abolishing the triennial literary examinations for the recruitment of governmental officials. In North Vietnam, the last triennial examinations in Chinese characters were held in 1915, and the last one in Central Vietnam’s imperial city of Huê was held in 1919. Since then, *Quoc-ngu* has become the accepted form of national writing, bringing to an end the use of Chinese-style *chu nom* characters.

Another important challenge for the city is to prevent flooding and coastal erosion. It is therefore working hard to erect iron poles to break the incoming waves on Cua Dai Beach. But this is only a temporary solution and the city is looking for additional assistance to prevent further flooding.

Hôi An continues to be at the forefront of progress, looking to the sea as an attraction, and combining this with its ancient houses, Japanese

¹¹ Globalisation is the concept of a single global economy and culture resulting from improved technology and communications, and the influence of very large multinational trading companies.

¹² Nguyen Dac Nhu-Mai, “France-Vietnam: De L’Orient à l’Orient-extrême”, *Zig Zag Magazine*, 20 May 2011. <http://www.zigzag-francophonie.eu/FRANCE-VIETNAM-De-Lorient-a-l>.

¹³ Vietnam’s modern alphabet uses the Latin script, based on its use in the alphabets of the Romance languages, in particular Portuguese, with some digraphs and the addition of nine accent marks or diacritics – four of them to create additional sounds, and the other five to indicate the tone of each word. The many diacritics, often two on the same letter, make written Vietnamese easily recognisable. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vietnamese_alphabet.

bridge and overseas cultural influences, alongside colourful lanterns, green villages, beautiful beaches, river tours and delicious food. For all these reasons, the city and its people have to be protected from floods permanently.

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5

On the Relationship of Material and Immaterial Heritage



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ABSTRACT

During the meeting in Baku in December 2013, the Intergovernmental Committee of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, inscribed shrimp fishing on horseback in Oostduinkerke (Flanders, Belgium) in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. On the one hand, this can be considered as an interesting example of sustainable development with regard to the relation between local groups and communities, policy makers (in the fields of culture and tourism), beaches and the sea, and on the other hand an occasion to stimulate reflection on the relation between traditional know-how, cultural spaces and intangible heritage. The recent history of how the nomination file was assembled, of the follow-up after inscription, and of the special roles played by heritage brokers and a local museum specialized in the history and ethnology of fishing, allow to discuss opportunities and challenges of the new paradigm of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. In order to interpret these findings, two models are used as sensitizing devices. For one thing the famous article in actor-network theory – on the sociology of translation and the “domestication of the scallops”, by Michel Callon – will be mobilized, whereas the Harvard Business Blue Ocean model, developed by W. Chan Kim and Renée Mauborgne, can function as an eye-opener.

KEYWORDS

UNESCO, safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, brokerage, translation, shrimps, horses, North Sea

DOMESTICATING AND HARVESTING SHRIMPS – FISHER COMMUNITIES AND THE SEA

BLUE OCEAN STRATEGIES, TRANSLATION PROCESSES AND THE UNESCO PARADIGM OF SAFEGUARDING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Baku, Azerbaijan, 4 December 2013. On that day, “Shrimp fishing on horseback in Oostduinkerke” was inscribed by the UNESCO on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The decision was taken in consensus during the Eighth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee (8.COM) for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Via three permanent URLs on the UNESCO site, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/00673>, but also <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/fr/RL/00673> (“la pêche aux crevettes à cheval à Oostduinkerke »), and <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/es/RL/00673> (“la pesca del camarón a caballo en Oostduinkerke”), anyone interested in reading more about this peculiar tradition, proposed in a nomination file by Belgium in 2012/2013, can do so in English, French or Spanish. The basic story goes as follows:

Twelve households in Oostduinkerke are actively engaged in shrimp fishing: each has its own speciality, such as weaving nets or an extensive knowledge on the Brabant draft horses. Twice a week, except in winter months, the strong Brabant horses walk breast-deep into the surf of Oostduinkerke, parallel to the coastline, pulling funnel-shaped nets held open by two wooden boards. A chain dragged over the sand creates vibrations, causing the shrimp to jump into the net. Shrimpers place the catch (which is later cooked and eaten) in baskets hanging at the horses’ sides. A good knowledge of the sea and the sand strip, coupled with a high level of trust and respect for one’s horse, are the shrimpers’ essential attributes. (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/00673>)

With regard to the rest of the description, the editor of the UNESCO website has cleverly highlighted some of the extra arguments for inscribing the phenomenon as an item on the UNESCO-list.

The tradition gives the community a strong sense of collective identity and plays a central role in social and cultural events, including the two-day Shrimp Festival for which the local community spends months building floats, preparing street theatre and making costumes. Both the shrimp parade and a contest involving hundreds of children being initiated into shrimp catching attract over 10,000 visitors every year. The shrimp fishers function on principles of shared cultural values and mutual dependence. Experienced shrimpers demonstrate techniques and share their knowledge of nets, tides and currents with beginners. (ibid.)

On 4 December 2013, it took about an hour before the radio, television, (online) newspapers, websites and social e-media in Belgium started picking up and broadcasting the news from Azerbaijan, immediately launched in Brussels through a press release by the Flemish Minister for Culture. The positive news of the inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity was all over the media in Belgium the following hours and days. This rapid distribution and reception was not at all accidental, but the result of a press strategy, carefully planned by the Flemish Ministry and Flemish Minister for Culture and the local authorities of Koksijde–Oostduinkerke, in collaboration with heritage networks in Flanders. That day, the challenge was to communicate faster than the daily general UNESCO press release and to link the news to information about the new policy of safeguarding intangible heritage in Flanders and in the UNESCO. Notwithstanding the very careful wording, still some newspapers and websites misinterpreted it (as usual) and announced a new inscription of a Belgian site on the UNESCO world heritage list.¹ The official contact persons mentioned in the press release, including – if somewhat reluctantly and after several preceding meetings – the shrimp fishers themselves, had been convinced, or in any case instructed, that talking about unique and authentic world heritage of outstanding universal value would be using inappropriate language. They systematically had to try and emphasize in their contacts with the press and the public that shrimp fishing on horseback was not (included on the) world heritage (list) but that it was part of another register, that of the 2003 UNESCO Convention, as an item on a so-called representative list, and an illustration of the 21st century “safeguarding intangible cultural heritage paradigm”.

In *Go-press.be*, the collective online archive covering every article published in Dutch in the major newspapers since 2000, a search on 31 December 2014 combining the word *garnaalvissers* (shrimp fishers) and “UNESCO” yielded 104 hits. Combining the word *paardenvissers* (literally horses fishers or fishers of horses, but the combination could be and should be understood as fishers on horseback) and “UNESCO” yielded 98 hits. The first newspaper articles about the shrimp fishers in Oostduinkerke in which UNESCO was mentioned were published on 10 November 2005. They were the result of a press conference that was held to launch a new book about the custom, with the dramatic title *From Armada to a Few* (Supeley 2005). The author sounded the alarm bell because there are almost no shrimp fishers left. In his speech on the occasion of the book launch, Marc Vanden Bussche, the mayor of Koksijde, emphasized that the municipality would take up the challenge: “The mayor will also try to get horse fishing recognized as UNESCO World Heritage”.² A few weeks later, another newspaper reported about the plans of Jan Loones, who was not only an alderman in Koksijde and a member of the Flemish Parliament, but also the son of a previous mayor, Honoré Loones. His father had saved the custom in Oostduinkerke in the 1950s by introducing the Shrimp Festival in summer. Together with his colleagues of the municipal council Jan Loones was also the

¹ This was for instance the case with the 8 December issue of *De Zondag*, a newspaper distributed for free via bakeries in Flanders on Sunday.

² *De burgemeester wil ook proberen de paardenvisserij te laten erkennen als Unesco-werelderfgoed*. Paul Bruneel, “Ode aan de paardenvissers”. *Het Laatste Nieuws/Oostende-Westkust*, 10 November 2005, 20. See also *Het Nieuwsblad*, 10 November 2005, 66.

driving force behind the renovation of the National Fishery Museum in Oostduinkerke, another project launched by his father. During the visit of a Flemish Parliament delegation to the UNESCO headquarters in Paris, he announced that the tradition of shrimp fishing on horseback should be included into “the world heritage list”.³ A month later, the whole municipal council declared that they would seek recognition as *immaterieel werelderfgoed* (“intangible world heritage”) of UNESCO: “According to Mayor Marc Vanden Bussche (Liberal Party) the shrimp fishers are unique in the world and their craft one of the most important tourist attractions of the Belgian coast. Previously, UNESCO had already recognized the Carnival of Binche and a number of giant figures as “intangible world heritage”.⁴ The same article also mentioned that in 2006 only seven fishermen were still actively pursuing this custom. As it is part of the canon of “Belgian folklore”, the Belgian king would probably give his support to the initiative, just as it was expected from the Flemish Parliament – according to Jan Loones. Furthermore, a contact with Rieks Smeets was mentioned, at that time chief of the Section of Intangible Cultural Heritage at the UNESCO headquarters. Smeets had seized the opportunity to emphasize that the establishing of an inventory of intangible cultural heritage in the member state was a crucial and necessary first step.⁵

BUT UNESCO INTANGIBLE WORLD HERITAGE DOES NOT EXIST...

The 2005 and 2006 discussions in Koksijde, which caused such a stir in regional and national newspapers, took place before the 2003 UNESCO Convention (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/convention>) entered into force. At least 30 States had to ratify the convention first (Jacobs 2007, Aikawa–Faure 2009). This goal was achieved on 20 April 2006. Now it became possible to organize a General Assembly and to establish an Intergovernmental Committee. This committee would then be given the task to develop the Operational Directives (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/directives>) which would determine the rules, the criteria and the procedures to establish international instruments like the Representative List. An older program called the Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (2001–2005) had been stopped, as specified in Article 31.3 of the 2003 Convention: no further proclamation will be made after the entry into force of the Convention. The first set of Operational Directives was ready and adopted in 2008 and only then could the procedures (that actors like the municipal council in Koksijde were waiting for) actually be started.

There are many ways to tell the story about the making and implementation of the 2003 Convention. In the first decade, many of these publications were produced by UNESCO officials and consultants and by expert-members of the delegations (Jacobs *et al.* 2014b). An interesting version of the genealogy of the 2003 Convention is presented in a special UNESCO information kit (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/kit>). However, this recent and global history is still being constructed and negotiated as more and more ratifications and perspectives are added. In

³ Mark Maes, “Bondig”. *Het Nieuwsblad/Oostende–Westhoek*, 13 January 2006, 19.

⁴ *Volgens burgemeester Marc Vanden Bussche (VLD) zijn de garnaalvissers uniek in de wereld en bovendien een van de belangrijkste toeristische trekpleisters van de Belgische kust. Eerder erkende de Unesco in ons land alvast het carnaval van Binche en enkele reuzen als ‘immaterieel werelderfgoed’.* Paul Bruneel and Stijn Vanderhaeghe, “Garnaalvissers straks Unesco-werelderfgoed?”. *Het Laatste Nieuws/Oostende–Westkust*, 8 February 2006, 16.

⁵ Mma, “Paardenvisserij mogelijk beschermd”. *De Standaard/Vlaanderen*, 15 February 2006, 63.

this contribution, we will explore the possibilities of a sensitizing model that was developed and tested in the first decade of the 21st century, in the same period when the new intangible cultural heritage paradigm emerged. Until now, the “blue ocean” model has not yet been used to try and understand how and why the 2003 UNESCO Convention was developed and quickly embraced by most states in the world, or why it is inappropriate to use the concept of world heritage. It is important to feel and understand the tension that is implicit in the first paragraph of this article. Why was the municipal council, including the political protagonists like mayor Marc Vanden Bussche and Jan Loones, so careful to avoid the “world heritage discourse” or the use of a concept like “unique intangible world heritage” in December 2013, while six or seven years earlier (and, as we will see until the preceding months) this was the dream they, the shrimp fishers on horseback, and their families were formulating in relation to the UNESCO? Why is it so difficult for journalists and other people to avoid concepts like authentic, unique, superior, or world heritage when speaking about intangible heritage and the UNESCO? Does it matter? Is it only a question of sloppy research or inappropriate language? But what does this mean?

It is clear that this process is not fully understood. In several contributions I have been trying to unravel what has been going on here (see Jacobs 2007, 2012, 2013, 2014a). As far as the vocabulary is concerned, it is partly a matter of changing paradigms in folklore studies, ethnology, and anthropology (Jacobs 2014c). This can account for a number of terms that are almost “taboo words”. Scholars like Laurajane Smith have presented powerful concepts like the “authorized heritage discourse” (AHD) to talk about the 1972 UNESCO Convention and to make clear why alternatives to the AHD are constructed (Smith 2006, 2013). Many of the problems related to the lists and the confusion about world heritage were discussed in a very critical meeting in Tokyo in 2013 (see Jacobs 2013, Khaznadar 2013, Smith 2013 and other contributions in the published report). The debate is still not settled and new perspectives are welcome.

CULTIVATING THE 2003 UNESCO CONVENTION AS A BLUE OCEAN STRATEGY?

The Blue Ocean Strategy is the seductive title of an eye-opening article published by W. Chan Kim and Renée Mauborgne in 2004 in the Harvard Business Review. The ideas were elaborated in a book with the same title published a year later (Chan Kim and Mauborgne 2005). The central proposition is that an organization can create new demand in a new market space rather than compete with other companies in an existing industry. The blood flowing in the latter arena, as in a sea full of competing, aggressive sharks, led to the “Red Ocean” metaphor. The softer metaphor of the “Blue Ocean” suggests a more appealing challenge. Sometimes blue oceans are created beyond the existing boundaries of a field. Most are created like Cirque du Soleil, by expanding existing industry boundaries within red oceans (in this case of classic circuses), but generating new spaces where the rules of the game are

waiting to be set. The Blue Ocean Strategy as it was formulated by Chan Kim and Mauborgne in 2005 seems to capture opportunities in a mass-market environment. In this field, a successful operation involving value innovation in combination with a clever strategy and sound business model can generate a lot of money. But as the authors illustrated with the case of the rapid transformation of the NYPD (New York City Police Department) in the middle of the 1990s, the model can also be applied to understand the “competition” between police and law enforcers on the one hand, and criminals on the other. The profits in this case were a 50% decrease in the number of murders and of 35% in thefts in New York between 1994 and 1996, to great satisfaction of the customers (the public).

One of the paradigmatic examples Chan Kim and Mauborgne extensively used in their book to explain their theory even falls within the spectrum of intangible cultural heritage as it is conceptualized by the 2003 UNESCO Convention (Article 2). The field of traveling circuses can be considered as a red ocean with more than 200 years of history in the Western world. It has been – in particular in the format of traditional family circuses – a declining industry in competition with many other forms of (multimedia) entertainment. There is also a rising opposition against the use of wild animals in circuses, triggered and animated by animal rights groups (like GAIA in Belgium).⁶ On the other hand, since 1984, there is the enormous, worldwide success of Cirque du Soleil. Unlike Ringling Bros. or Barnum & Bailey and other circuses, they did not aim at children (and their parents) in the first place, but at adult, paying customers, with or without their children. Thus, they created a new public (space), upgrading and reinventing a circus formula. They deconstructed the traditional circus and focused on, upgraded and glamorized three components: the acrobatic acts, the clowns, and the tent. They reorganized the circus repertoire and did away with a whole series of difficult issues, like the use of animals. They added a vague story line, special music, and invested in an atmosphere that was closer to theatre. Cirque du Soleil combined the best of theatre, ballet and circus, and eliminated or reduced other elements. The Cirque also reduced costs. This proves that there are alternatives for the view that 21st century enterprises should be either low-cost providers or niche-actors: cultivating and harvesting value that crosses conventional market segmentation, in order to achieve a sustainable competitive advantage.

But – and this is crucial – in the framework we wish to analyse, the Blue Ocean Strategy does not refer in the first place to evolutions in the cultural industry or to the world of circus as performing arts in a competitive market; it refers to the register of cultural heritage; a form of living heritage, important for communities and groups. It refers to what Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004) called metacultural production. In this logic, we would refer to safeguarding different forms of circus performance, including in particular the more traditional forms of traveling circuses.

⁶ Note that until now, and in contrast to several other forms of intangible cultural heritage involving animals, there were no protests from GAIA against the treatment of shrimps (as they are caught, cooked, and eaten) in the Oostduinkerke-custom inscribed in the Representative List of the 2003 Convention.

In this article we wish to explore the thesis that the struggles around the implementation of the 1972 UNESCO Convention and its operational guidelines, and in particular the ensuing competition to be included on the World Heritage List, and then to exploit the WH emblem for several purposes, can be conceptualized as a Red Ocean paradigm. The development and implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention and its operational directives can then be presented as an attempt to generate a Blue Ocean Strategy. In short, and for the sake of the argument, in the 21st century, aspiring to and using the UNESCO World Heritage status is a Red Ocean Strategy and the paradigm of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage is a sort of Blue Ocean Strategy.

A crucial factor in the Blue Ocean Strategy is the tipping point theory. The basic idea is that, in an organization, big changes can happen quickly when the beliefs and energies of a critical mass of people create an epidemic movement toward an idea. The axiom is that in every organization there are people, activities and acts that exercise a disproportionate influence on performance. The group of governmental experts and diplomats that created the 2003 UNESCO consensus text, followed by the UNESCO Section of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the epistemic community and networks of and around the members and observers of the Intergovernmental Committee, and by key persons in the member states that have ratified the convention: all together, this group of a few hundred people have succeeded in creating a global policy effect (Jacobs, 2007, 2013, 2014a; Aikawa–Faure 2009). The remarkable speed of the ratification of the 2003 Convention, 161 member states in a decade, speaks volumes.

MUTATIS MUTANDIS, THE RED 1972 AND THE BLUE 2003 OCEANS

The double model that Chan Kim and Mauborgne launched offers an interesting sensitizing framework to understand the success, in policy and practice, of the 21st-century paradigm of intangible heritage. *Mutatis mutandis*, we suggest that (implementing) the 2003 UNESCO Convention is a blue ocean in comparison to the red ocean of (implementing) the 1972 UNESCO Convention. Within the UNESCO headquarters, in the first decade of the 21st century, the different heritage sections in the secretariat were like separate continents, or, to stay within the metaphor, different seas and oceans. Although there is constant pressure to merge oceans, what Chan Kim and Mauborgne call environmental determinism, drawing the blue into the red, it can be useful to cultivate the Blue Ocean Strategy for a while.

There is a strong pressure to compete within a kind of environmental determinism, in *casu* to stay within what Laurajane Smith baptized “the authorized heritage discourse”. The alternative is based on the view that the boundaries (of the market, of the industry...) are not fixed, but can be influenced by actions and the beliefs of actors: a reconstructionist view. In a red ocean, the cost of differentiation is high because everyone competes with the same best practice rules. Chan Kim and Mauborgne

suggest that the perspective is different when looking for an alternative: “In the reconstructionist world, however, the strategic aim is to create new best practice rules by breaking the existing value–cost trade–off and thereby creating a blue ocean” (Chan Kim and Mauborgne 2004, 18). The Blue Ocean Theory offers sensitizing concepts that help to understand how this works. The toolbox presented by Chan Kim and Mauborgne contains analytical tools and frameworks like the “strategy canvas”, the “four actions framework”, and the “eliminate–reduce–raise–create grid”. The four actions framework can be captured in a one–long–liner. Which factors should be eliminated, reduced well below or raised above the standard in the industry, and which factors that the industry never lived up to should then be created? The authors suggest that organizations create blue oceans by looking beyond conventional boundaries of competition, following steps of visualizing strategy, creating new demand by unlocking the three tiers of noncustomers and launching a commercially viable Blue Ocean idea. These are of course the typical schematization formulae of a management book, which should be treated as what they are: sensitizing devices.

In the last part of their book, Chan Kim and Mauborgne emphasize the importance of tipping point leadership and fair process. It seems important to elegantly take the four hurdles: cognitive, resource–related, motivational, and political. They prevent people from understanding the need to break away from the status quo, finding the resources to implement the new strategic shift, keeping everybody committed to implementing the new strategy, and from overcoming the powerful vested interests that may block the change. These processes can be detected among heritage policy makers all over the world.

PURPLE MASTERPIECES, VIOLET NOMINATION FORMS, AND TRANSLATION PROCESSES

The fact that local politicians and the press in Oostduinkerke–Koksijde referred in 2005–2006 to “Intangible World Heritage” and publicly spoke about starting up the procedure, even before the 2003 UNESCO Convention entered into force, and more than two years before the criteria and procedure were determined, speaks volumes. It reveals that there was an intermediary formula that functioned in the liminal twilight zone of finding an alternative to the World Heritage formula: not red, but also not yet completely blue. Let us call it purple. The program was called the (proclamation of) Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage. It was presented as a distinct alternative for world heritage, but the criteria were ambiguous and contradictory (Jacobs 2007, Aikawa–Faure 2009). It caused much debate and consensus–building–via–ambiguity while the 2003 UNESCO Convention was being drafted, and the discussion continued during the process when the Operational Directives were drawn up and later adapted. One of these ambiguous consensuses was to speak about a “representative list” (Article 16) without defining the notion of representativity. A pragmatic trick was used by just including the 90 items proclaimed masterpieces as items on the representative

list, no more questions asked (for the time being) even if other criteria would be used for inscribing new items on that list. Potential solutions in order to expose shams, to prevent inflation effects or to manage the representative list by introducing a sunset clause were not yet accepted. A very open process inspired by the way Wikipedia works has not yet been accepted. Via a so-called New Delhi consensus (see Jacobs 2013, 2014a), a decision was made to go for easy criteria and to reduce inflation effects by getting the instream under control, i.e. to only examine a limited number. This system was inscribed into the operational guidelines in 2008. In the next six years the system functioned more or less effectively (but consider the hard criticism in Khaznadar 2013). As time progressed, the procedure became more and more complex and the entry port smaller and smaller. For a limited group of insiders in the UNESCO networks, and in particular in the epistemic community of the Intergovernmental Committee, the Secretariat and the connected networks of consultants, brokers and experts, the written and unwritten rules remained more or less clear. For outsiders, these subtle rules and the complex tug-of-war with appropriate vocabulary and the art of filling out a form, was much less transparent (see Smeets 2012, Jacobs 2014a). Is complexity in handling a handful of very easy criteria a way to try and manage the credibility of the lists, to gain time when dealing with the lure and temptations of the violet masterpieces-associations and to redirect the craving of politicians, the press and the public for the Red Ocean sensations of a “UNESCO World Heritage list”? Should this be seen as an attempt to keep on generating resources for international capacity building and safeguarding programs, to inspire governments in expanding the notion of heritage and heritage practices, and to develop policies for safeguarding intangible heritage (see the interesting suggestions in Torggler et.al, 2013)? In our opinion, the bluest parts of the 2003 UNESCO Convention is Article 18, calling for best practices, and Articles 11 to 15, asking for new national policies and calling on the potential for new operational directives on sustainable development.

But finding a balance between red, violet, blue, and other shades in the practice of working with the 2003 Convention within the UNESCO involves a lot of negotiation, translation, mediation and follow up, in particular when dealing with nominations and inscriptions on the lists. To understand the processes that are involved, we propose to resort to another publication, more specifically a model that was presented by Michel Callon. In an extended case study about domesticating and harvesting scallops and the viability of this trade in fishers’ communities along the coast of France, first published in 1986 in a volume edited by John Law, Callon zoomed in on a challenge of threats for a “living culture” (in this case, of scallops in the sea) for which methods that opened new perspectives were discovered in the Far East (more precisely Japan) and then tested, discussed, and applied in France. This proved to be a story about negotiation, power struggle, and constructing and cultivating networks (Callon 1986). The story told in the 1980s about the scallops and fishermen had ecological, economic, social and cultural

dimensions, a cocktail that today, a quarter of century later, would probably be framed as “sustainable development”. What interests us here in particular are the different phases of the translation process. Callon applied a classic recipe of actor–network analysis, “follow the actor”... How did the central actor, in the story of Callon a team of three researchers of the Centre National d’Exploitation des Océans, manage the safeguarding operation? Callon used different connotations of the word “translation” to describe the process, including the use in Euclidean geometry where “a translation is a function that moves every point a constant distance in a specified direction” or applying a vector. In translation sociology, the association of movement is combined with the association of formulating a problem in a different way, e.g. with other words in a different language. In his article, Callon presents different phases of a general process called translation, during which the identity of actors, the possibility of interaction, and the margins of maneuver are negotiated. From the perspective of a central actor, the following phases can be distinguished: (1) problematization: trying to become indispensable to other actors by defining them and their problems, and offering a way forward via “obligatory passage points”, in a first phase as (part of)their own programme; (2) interessement: processes that try to strengthen the role that other actors have in that programme; (3) enrolment: strategies to interrelate the roles; (4) mobilization: methods used to ensure that the supposed spokesmen represent their “collectivities” (or, e.g., communities) and are not betrayed by the latter. The translation is a never accomplished or fixed process: it can always be challenged, appropriated or changed, and it may fail. The 2003 UNESCO Convention text itself, as well as the organs and instruments of the Convention, the representative list of Article 16, the national inventories, the operational directives, the nomination forms that have to be used, or the appropriate vocabulary can be described by using these concepts. In Flanders even a new, unusual word like *borgen* was introduced (something that Michel Callon called “a device of interessement”) as a translation in Dutch of the concept of safeguarding, to make clear that embracing the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage should not signify business as usual.

At the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the 2003 Convention, these processes were analyzed by the UNESCO’s Internal Oversight Service. The researchers who made the assessment of the first decade of working with this normative instrument identified a series of misunderstandings and challenges, of which the following enumeration speaks volumes:

178. In fact, in the context of this evaluation lack of awareness and understanding of the Convention and insufficient capacities were identified as some of the major challenges encountered in the implementation of the Convention. This manifests in many ways such as in a general lack of familiarity with the Convention; confusion of the concepts and principles of the 2003 Convention with those of the 1972 Convention (authenticity, outstanding universal value etc.); a focus on “preserving” past “authentic”

forms of ICH, rather than safeguarding them as living heritage that is constantly recreated by community; (...) lack of appreciation by communities of their ICH; and insufficient knowledge in communities about the Convention and national safeguarding programs etc. (Torggler et al. 2013, 178 / <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/ITH-13-8.COM-INF.5.c-EN.doc>)

The operation of propagating, monitoring, and enforcing the “appropriate language” of the 2003 UNESCO Convention is performed via direct feedback and more and more special documents of the Secretariat, reports of the meetings of the General Assembly, of the Intergovernmental Committee and both its Consultative and Subsidiary Body. Rieks Smeets coined the term “the third source of guidance” to capture the effects of working with the UNESCO’s ICH forms (Smeets 2012). Special instruments like the document “Transversal issues arising in the evaluation and examination of nominations, proposals and requests” (among others referring to appropriate language), updated for every meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee, try to consolidate this movement.⁷ The official purpose of that document is to assist the Consultative Body, the Subsidiary Body and the Intergovernmental Committee in their work, but in practice it is also a set of guidelines, reminders, do and do-nots for everybody, or at least for those actors concerned with the listing process. Or, in other words, one of the core translation processes of the new paradigm.

In the Paris meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee in 2012, the many debates and struggles, and the problems to be consistent in the decisions of the Intergovernmental Committee when dealing with the nominations for the lists, caused a crisis. Many proposals of the Subsidiary and Consultative Body were overturned, in particular for referrals. As a form of a compromise, a decision was made that only nomination forms that were complete would be presented to the bodies for evaluation.

SHRIMP FISHERS, BROKERS AND THE UNESCO

As soon as the Operational Directives had been adopted in 2008, the Flemish government not only started a Flemish inventory of intangible cultural heritage but also opened a call for proposals for the UNESCO lists and register. Several nomination files were prepared and the organization FARO (in particular Marc Jacobs), in collaboration with the Agency for Cultural Heritage (in particular Arlette Thys, Hans Vanderlinden and Dries Vandenbroucke), helped with fine-tuning the language and following up the intermediate feedback of the Secretariat. Several proposals passed smoothly and were inscribed in 2009, 2010 and 2011.⁸ Also in Oostduinkerke-Koksijde the plan to nominate the shrimp fishing on horseback was reactivated in 2009 and echoes of the aspirations and different steps can be retraced in the press. Via the municipality of Koksijde a nomination file was submitted to the Flemish government before the deadline of 31 March 2009 to inscribe the phenomenon on

⁷ Transversal issues arising in the evaluation and examination of nominations, proposals and requests. ITH/13/8.COM/INF.7 Rev., Paris, 24 February 2014. http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/ITH-13-8.COM-INF.7_Rev.-EN.doc.

⁸ See the Periodic Report in: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/download.php?versionID=26289>.

the Flemish inventory list with the goal to go for UNESCO recognition. In the press, the regional historian (heemkundige) Jackie Beun, member of the friends of the national fishery museum in Oostduinkerke, emphasized the claim that the custom had been practiced “for more than five centuries in the same form” and that it had become unique in the 21st century: it only took place at Oostduinkerke. A special committee was brought together to prepare a UNESCO nomination.⁹ The newspaper articles published in 2009 still presented it as a step towards recognition as “world heritage”, in order to stress “the uniqueness”.¹⁰ In December 2010, a special meeting was held in Oostduinkerke’s fishery museum to which Marc Jacobs of FARO was invited for additional information. He used the opportunity to underline that a specific vocabulary and approach would be needed for the application, since this was not a procedure to become world heritage. Special emphasis was put on the importance of prior and informed consent and on the fact that the major stakeholders had to be fully aware of the implications of the new safeguarding paradigm. The idea was to cultivate this process under guidance of the fishery museum and to start a participatory process that could lead to a filled out nomination file. But in the following weeks important changes took place in the local museum, including the retirement of its director. Thus, the decision was made to assign the task of writing the file to an employee of the National Fishery Museum. Based on the instructions available on the UNESCO website, Didier Bourry elaborated a version in French that was sent to the UNESCO in 2010. But there it entered into a pool of several Belgian proposals. The rules had changed, allowing only one nomination per year per member state. In 2011 it was the turn of the Walloon part of Belgium who submitted the Marches of Entre-Sambre-et-Meuse file, that was inscribed on the Representative List at the Intergovernmental Committee meeting in Paris in 2012 (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/00670>). In March 2012, it was the turn of the Flemish Community and the Flemish Minister for Culture and her advisory commission to submit the proposal from Oostduinkerke-Koksijde which became the official candidate for examination and potential inscription in December 2013.

In the articles published in Flemish newspapers, it is possible to detect the positive effects in Koksijde during the years between launching the idea and the actual UNESCO evaluation procedure in 2013. A 35-year-old “French fries” baker from Koksijde bought a Brabant horse and began, in the spring of 2011, a two-year internship to become a full-blown shrimp fisher. It was national news, with reference to a procedure in the UNESCO, aimed at the status of “intangible world heritage”. The example was followed in April 2011 by a 16-year-old school boy, the son of a local baker.¹¹ In the summer of 2011, even the business newspaper *De Tijd* noted that something was happening at the coast and that there were now 12 active shrimp fishers, including the two apprentices. The journalist critically observed that their harvest of shrimps was very small and from an economic perspective totally unfeasible. “It should be clear that the whole spectacle is a staged play. The fishers on horseback get a

⁹ Dany van Loo, “Paardenvisserij op weg naar erkenning als werelderfgoed”. *De Standaard/West-Vlaanderen*, 2 April 2009, 16.

¹⁰ Valerie Verkain, “We zijn uniek in de wereld”. *Het Laatste Nieuws*, 11 April 2009, regional page.

¹¹ Mark Maes, “16-jarige jongen gaat garnaalvissen te paard”. *Het Nieuwsblad/Oostende-Westhoek*, 29 April 2011, 54.

fee from the municipality to give a demonstration during the summer season. They are a unique trump card for tourism: Oostduinkerke has the only horse fishers in the world that are still active. Belgium hopes to get the centuries-old tradition recognized as UNESCO world heritage".¹²

In 2012 an important change took place in the museum of Oostduinkerke. Dr. Maja Wolny, a Belgian citizen of Polish origin, was appointed as its new director and became actively involved in the restyling of the recently renamed NAVIGO museum. Another new professional, Ineke Steevens, was recruited as a researcher and assigned the follow-up of the UNESCO trajectory. In November 2012, the former collaborator of the museum, Didier Bourry, received a letter from the Section Intangible Heritage of the UNESCO Secretariat, telling him that the wrong form had been used and that the file could not be examined. A series of comments were added, containing the indication that the many letters of support from different authorities, politicians and institutions were not necessary, nor wanted, but that documents proving prior and informed consent of the tradition bearers and other stakeholders were. The UNESCO's feedback suggested that a whole series of small details, inappropriate words and subtle transgressions of the unwritten rules would be problematic. The explicit reference to the "Transversal issues" document was more than a hint.¹³ At this occasion, several lessons were learned from the experience, also by the Ministry, who got a copy of the letter. Now that the UNESCO procedures were becoming more strict, and in view of the fact that the safety net in the form of correspondence, feedback and guidance by the Section of Intangible Heritage of the UNESCO headquarters was going to disappear, it was decided to channel any future correspondence via the Ministry, and to include an extra layer of screening via civil servants and experts (at FARO and in the advising commission). Ineke Steevens was supposed to make the bridge between the centers of expertise (like CAG, tapis plein or FARO: see Casteleyn *et al.* 2014) and the local community. Marc Jacobs agreed to again be involved and to screen on a voluntary basis the different versions of the nomination file and to provide critical feedback. The condition was to create and maintain an intensive local process of information exchange and strong involvement of the Koksijde community, its politicians and its fishers and their families. An emergency meeting was held in the building of the Ministry of Culture in Brussels on 29 November 2012, to discuss the work that had to be done in Koksijde. On 7 January 2013, a new meeting brought together members of the Advisory Commission on ICE, Marc Jacobs of FARO, and a delegation of stakeholders from Oostduinkerke-Koksijde. A close and critical reading of the application, examined through the eyes of a judging UNESCO body, indicated a number of problems and, above all, the need to seriously consider the fact that the file would be inscribed on the representative list and not on a world heritage list. Problematic issues, inappropriate vocabulary, lack of precision, more focus on the fishers and their families, the importance of setting up a monitoring committee to monitor the safeguarding measures – all these subjects were talked through at the meeting. Just before 31 March

¹² *Het mag duidelijk zijn dat heel dit spektakel opgezet spel is. De paardenvissers krijgen van de gemeente een vergoeding om tijdens het zomerseizoen af en toe een demonstratie te komen geven. Ze vormen een unieke toeristische troef: Oostduinkerke heeft de enige paardenvissers ter wereld die nog actief zijn. België hoopt de eeuwenoude traditie dan ook erkend te krijgen als Unesco-werelderfgoed. "Paardenvissers beleven hausse". De Tijd, 28 July 2011, 7.*

¹³ C. Duvelle, secretary of the 2003 Convention, to Didier Bourry. ITH/12/7.COM/INF.7, Paris, 9 November 2013.

2013 the whole file was resubmitted using the new form that had been developed in the meantime. In the final stage the interaction between the Secretariat and the Flemish Ministry allowed to correct some minor details, about transgressions of the maximum number of words and old prior and informed consent letters.¹⁴ During the process of rewriting and translating the file, the press kept on producing articles about a world heritage procedure under way.¹⁵ In June 2013 not only Howard Gutman (at that time, the ambassador of the USA in Belgium) but also the Belgian King Albert II and Queen Paola came to visit and witness the shrimp fishing in Oostduinkerke, and once again the suggestion was made that this was supporting the “world heritage candidature”.¹⁶ In both cases of course, the effect was nonexistent, except for mystification and use in the national and local contexts. Over and over again, the suggestion was repeated that the custom was unique, that political forces and the symbolic capital concentrated in the *Orde van de Paardevissers*, or even the mobilization of the royal couple, was necessary to transform it into world heritage. In a report about the royal visit, published in the summer of 2013 on the front page of the most widely read newspaper in Flanders, it was mentioned that: “The fishers on horseback are unique in the world and hope to be recognized as UNESCO world heritage before the end of the year. The visit of the royal couple certainly was a welcome push for that candidature”.¹⁷ On 22 November 2013, a special meeting, in which Marc Jacobs (FARO) and Jorijn Neyrinck (tapis plein) participated as ICH experts, was organized in Koksijde to fine-tune the local communication with the press. The press spokesman of the Minister of Culture coordinated the contacts with national radio and television. The message that Oostduinkerke had embarked on a fishing experience in a UNESCO Blue Sea of safeguarding intangible heritage was communicated via many channels in 2013 and 2014. The shrimp fishing in Oostduinkerke now attracts many journalists, filmmakers and tourists. As the *Go-press.be* database demonstrates, many journalists keep on using the concept of world heritage in their articles about this phenomenon on the UNESCO list. And the stakeholders keep on exploring the borders of the metaphorical blue sea with creative combinations of words. Even on the NAVIGO website, an announcement on 31 December 2014 still reads that the ‘shrimp fishermen on horseback of Oostduinkerke have been added to the world list of intangible cultural heritage.’ (<http://en.navigomuseum.be/>).

THE BIGGER PICTURE

The implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention is a story of how to start a conceptual system (in this case about corporeal or embodied forms of heritage, about traditions handed over from generation to generation and, in Europe, about forms of popular culture) and to cultivate participatory methods involving stakeholders like groups and (heritage) communities. The symbolic capital of the UNESCO empowers and legitimizes this movement on a global and local scale, and the ambiguous blue-red association with the international exploitation of

¹⁴ Letter of C. Duvelle to M. Laureys, Paris 22 March 2013.

¹⁵ Gudrun Steen & Dieter Dujardin, “Stap dichterbij werelderfgoed”. *Het Laatste Nieuws*, 19 April 2012, 19.

¹⁶ Tommy Huyghebaert, “Koningspaar leert garnalen vangen in Oostduinkerke”. *Het Nieuwsblad/Oostende-Westhoek*, 14 June 2013, 21.

¹⁷ *De paardenvissers zijn uniek in de wereld en hopen eind dit jaar erkend te worden als Unesco-werelderfgoed. Het bezoek van het vorstenpaar moet die kandidatuur een duwtje in de rug geven. “In rubberen laarzen bij de garnaalvissers”*. *Het Laatste Nieuws*, 14 June 2013, 1.

the label of “World Heritage” boosts its attraction and impact. Heritage brokers, mediators, and translators are crucial for the success of an application and/or cultural brokerage is a critical success factor to make it work and render it sustainable (Jacobs *et al.* 2014b). And, *en passant*, not only visibility and viability of these forms of culture can be generated, but also a livelihood and resources for communities, groups and, per definition applicable, individuals (and their families and neighbors), next to political and social capital.

In the *International Journal of Intangible Cultural Heritage* I have pleaded for a long-term study to interpret and understand this interesting 21st century episode (the 2003 UNESCO Convention paradigm) in the history of popular culture or “folklore” since the Middle Ages (Jacobs *et al.* 2014a). The relation with different levels of government is a crucial part of the history of popular culture as it was proposed by Peter Burke (1978). The long history of beach fishing in Oostduinkerke, like shrimp fishing, with nets pulled by people, donkeys and horses, shows long periods of prohibition, repression, fines and illegality, from the 16th until the early 19th century (Lansweert 2006). It was associated with poverty and hard conditions. It got a more positive connotation, when it was connected to the rising tourism in the 20th century, in particular after the Second World War. Mayor Honoré Loones played a crucial role in cultivating the value of this peculiar custom, by inventing a special Shrimp Feast in 1950, and by launching a publicity campaign to promote it. The municipal council also set up a system of small subsidies as incentives for the shrimp fishers to go out fishing during the summer season. These interventions, and the support of local politicians, the tourist office, and the pride and stamina of several shrimp fisher families, saved the custom. It became an icon, a symbol, part of the canon of Belgian and later Flemish folklore, associated with the Belgian and later Flemish coast of the North Sea. When a book was published about shrimp fishing in 1973, the author actively spoke about its likely disappearance in the near future. But the Shrimp Festival and the protagonists on horseback proved to be resilient. The investment in a museum telling the story of fishing in the North Sea, but devoting special attention to shrimp fisher families in Oostduinkerke, was another important instrument. In Oostduinkerke – due to the linking of family traditions and community life and local identity, and the constant support and attention of local politicians (also transmitting the political capital and support for the shrimp fishing from father to son, like in the Loones family) and of municipal services – a series of measures and methods were combined that today are called safeguarding. In fact, parts of the now recognized custom (like the Shrimp Festival) were started as a safeguarding measure *avant la lettre*. An interesting combination of visibility and visitability (Dicks 2003) – very compatible with Article 16 (of the Representative List) – has been cultivated in Oostduinkerke for some decades, and the symbolic capital of the UNESCO (and its association with world heritage and increasingly with intangible heritage), in combination with the attention that has been given to safeguarding

intangible heritage in Flanders, makes it into an inspiring case. In particular the respect for the opinion of the shrimp fishers themselves is interesting and the recent debate about prior and informed consent in the UNESCO procedure has empowered them even more. As the doubling of the number of shrimp fishers on horseback shows, this case seems to be, at last, one of the success stories of the 2003 UNESCO Convention and the potential of an often, and with reason, criticized instrument like the Representative List of Article 16. All the efforts by the cultural brokers in the NAVIGO museum, the Flemish centers of expertise and FARO, and the civil servants of the Ministry of Culture and other stakeholders to produce a good and balanced nomination did not go unnoticed. Today, after the evaluation by the Intergovernmental Committee in Baku, the file of shrimp fishing on horseback in Oostduinkerke is presented on the UNESCO website as an inspiring example for other nominations for the Representative List. (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=11&exemplary=1#tabs>).

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ABSTRACT

Forte do Guincho is situated on a promontory in a protected landscape. It was built in the 17th century and was part of an extensive line of defensive forts on the Cascais coast which protected the entrance to the Barra do Tejo. The particular nature of the location and the heritage value of Forte do Guincho were fundamental factors used in designing the architectural solution. Conservation and preservation are underlying concepts of the proposal. The pre-established use and programme intended to qualify the monument implied the need for a new construction, linked to the already existing structures but tectonically separated, thus potentially reversible, from the fort. The decision to plaster the walls of the fort or leave them unplastered was one of the most sensitive issues during the development of the project, since it would influence the integration of the fort in the landscape and its conservation. The aim of the (yet unbuilt) project was to achieve, through an integrated transdisciplinary project, a unity of form and materials between the pre-existing structures and the contemporary additions, thus giving renewed life to the monument while preserving its authenticity.

KEYWORDS

Forte do Guincho, rehabilitation, conservation, preservation, heritage, plaster, tea house

INTERVENTION IN FORTE DO GUINCHO

SEA HERITAGE – CONSERVATION AND ARCHITECTURE PROJECT

CONTEXT

Forte do Guincho (Figures 1 to 3), also called Forte das Velas, is situated on a promontory to the north of Praia do Guincho (Guincho beach) and south of Praia do Abano (Abano beach) in a protected landscape area (Sintra–Cascais Natural Park) in the municipality of Cascais, district of Lisbon. Forte do Guincho is classified as National Heritage¹ and has also been listed in the Municipal Master Plan for Cascais since 1996.² It is described, in accordance with the IGESPAR³, as belonging to the category of “Military Architecture” and as a “Fort”.

It is still currently unoccupied and in a state of decay, even though several studies have been conducted concerning its use to house the visitors’ centre for the Natural Park, the Al Gore Portuguese Headquarters or a small tea house.

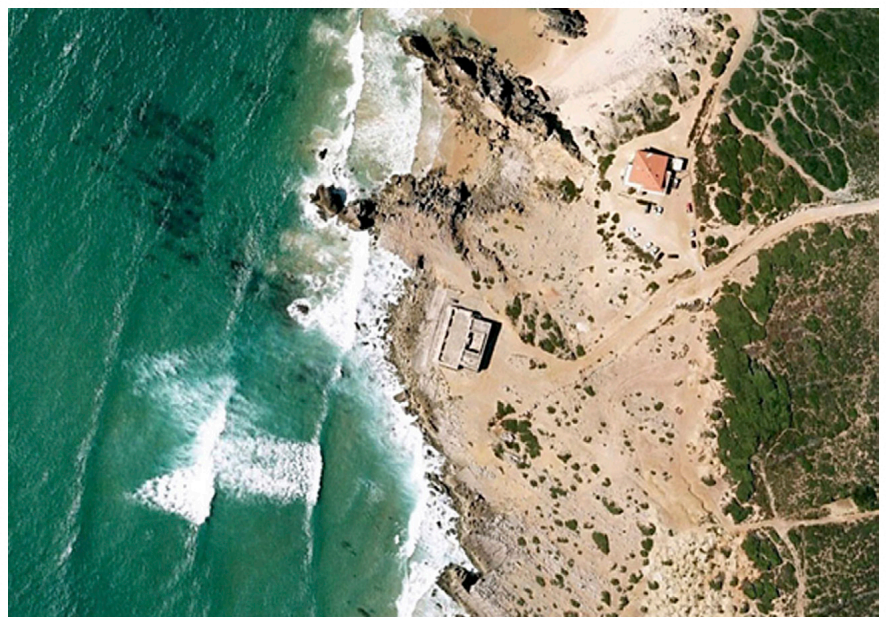


Figure 1 – Site of the Forte do Guincho

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During the 15th and 16th centuries Lisbon became a strategic point of departure and anchoring for commercial ships and stood in the middle of some of the most important maritime routes linking the Mediterranean Sea to Northern Europe. Lisbon grew larger and richer with its lively port, and a vast network of smaller ports flourished in its surroundings, both inside and outside the Tagus estuary, including the port of Cascais.

Despite the global importance of its port, and the need to defend the capital from foreign invasions and pillage, Lisbon never really had a consolidated fortified defensive line along the sea until the generalization

¹ Classified as *Imóvel de Interesse Público* (Property of Public Interest) by the Portuguese Government (Decree-law no. 129/77 of 29 September 1977).

² Approved by the City Council in 1996 and published in *Diário da República* (Portuguese Official Journal) on 19 June 1997.

³ IGESPAR – Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitectónico e Arqueológico (Institute for the Management of Architectural and Archaeological Heritage).

of commercial sea trade with India and the Portuguese colonies. Facing the most obvious attack to the capital from the sea, and in order to defend the maritime access to the city and the port against pirates and enemies, a strategic line of well-positioned military forts was established after the 15th century along the Linha da Barra do Tejo, from Torre de Belém (the Belém Tower) to Cabo da Roca (Cape Roca).

Thus, over an extended period of time, a range of military constructions, built in several stages, emerged around the wide river mouth. These included the following:

- fortified towers structurally adapted for artillery: Caparica, Belém and Cascais (1468–1520);
- bulwarks: S. Julião da Barra (primitive core), Santa Catarina de Ribamar and small forts built with ephemeral construction materials (1553–80/1578–80);
- the fortresses of Nossa Senhora da Luz, Santo António da Barra and S. Lourenço da Cabeça Seca, the expansion of the fort of S. Julião da Barra and the restructuring of the citadel of Cascais (1583–96) during the Third Dynasty (Philippine Dynasty);
- the construction of small forts along the coast between Belém and Cabo da Roca (including Forte do Guincho), and conclusion of the Forte do Bugio and construction of the citadel of Cascais (1642–48) during the Restoration;
- the rebuilding campaign of King José I, with work undertaken on almost every fortified structure and construction of several new ones: the batteries at Praia do Guincho and the Forte de Catalezete in Oeiras (1762–63);
- the building, expansion and modernization campaign of Queen Maria I, involving most of the fortifications, with substantial repairs on the fortifications on the eastern coast of Cascais (1793–94);
- the rebuilding campaign of King Miguel I, particularly the fortifications on the western coast of Cascais and the construction of a new battery called Forte Novo (1831–33).

Forte do Guincho is one of the forts built during these campaigns. It was built around 1642 during the reign of King João IV, in the Post-Restoration period, by order of António Luís de Meneses, at the time Governor of Cascais. It was part of an extensive line of defensive forts erected along the Cascais coast which protected the entrance to the Tagus.⁴ This particular maritime fortification is an example of Mannerist military architecture and was intended to keep watch over the sea, control possible landings on the nearer beaches, and counter the attacks that could arise from the east.

The fort, built of irregular stone masonry with corners of cut stone, has a rectangular plan and is divided into two separate spaces. The smaller space, facing east, consists of a central courtyard and two cantonments

⁴ Entrance to the port across the Tagus River.

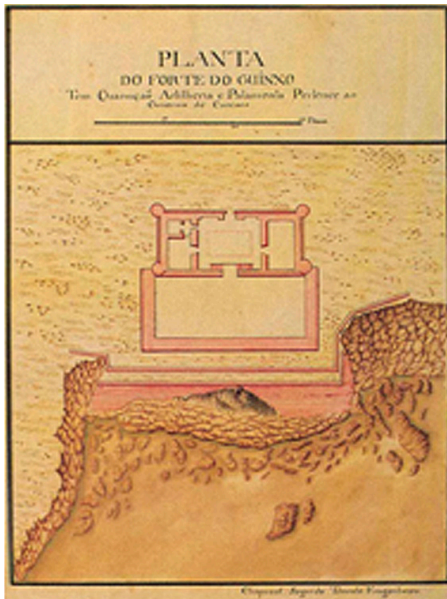


Figure 2 – Forte do Guincho, drawn by Chapuzet in 1798 (DSFOM)

that served as housing; the other space, facing west, consists of the battery platform, which originally housed seven pieces of artillery.

Forte do Guincho retains several features and architectural elements of its original layout and configuration. Other characteristics remain only in written testimonies in past descriptions. In the original design, the Fort had a rather square configuration, with the symmetry axis located at the main entrance. In the eastern zone there were three rooms of rectangular layout with domed ceilings. Today, only two are preserved, corresponding to the two side compartments – the cantonments. The third dome was in the courtyard attached to the main fort entrance. Inside, the access stairs to the battery platform are also located in the same internal enclosure. The terraces, over the domes, with stone flooring and parapets, are accessed from the battery via a lateral staircase.

The proximity of the sea and the consequent erosion of building materials, accelerated by strong winds and sea salinity, justify the numerous restoration projects that the fort has been subjected to. Among the first restoration works reported, dated from June 1720, there is a description of some repairs made to the walls, and also the replacement of doors. There is also a report⁴ dated from 1758 which describes the repair of the kitchen chimney walls, the guardhouse and the existing barracks at the fort.

In the late 18th century (Figure 2), due to the threat of collapse of the rock platform where the fort is built, major changes were made to its entire structure. A seawall in the basement rock on which the fort's battery stands was built to create an obstacle to the destructive action of the sea. The work, which began in 1793, created a new space, although the interior layout remained unchanged from the original construction. Compared to the original fortification, the major changes were to the intermediate compartment of the cantonments, in the battery and in the outside walls. The intermediate compartment was significantly enlarged and occupied an area corresponding to twice the size of each side compartment (barracks, kitchen, warehouse storage and gunpowder). In the process of restructuring, the main gate of the fort was rebuilt and the entry courtyard reorganized. The cistern was also expanded, occupying a central position. The most extensive work was carried out on the battery. The fort's foundations, which were under threat of crumbling, due to the continuous impact of the sea waves on the rocks, were rebuilt and the fort's walls thickened. In this new layout, the new foundations were added to the continuation of the exterior walls of the cantonments, which resulted in a larger rectangular enclosure.

Probably in the early 19th century, further construction work was carried out at the fort: seven supports for cannons in the parapets of the battery were built. It is also possible that, during this work four extra watch-towers, which today are in ruins, were built.

In the early 1830s the fort was subjected to new renovation and adaptation works, justified by the disputes between absolutists and liberals. These

⁴ Anonymous report, 1751: A.H.M., 3.ª Divisão, 9.ª Secção, Caixa 1, undated, annotated by Eugénio dos Santos Carvalho on 14 April 1758.

works, carried out between 1831 and 1832, included: the full restoration of the parapets, battlements and cannon supports; plastering of walls; plastering of tanks; tiling of the gunpowder store; and, finally, the replacement or restoration of the wooden doors and windows.

In 1934 the fort belonged to the Ministry of Finance. Later it was used by the National Camping Club. During the period in which the fort was under the responsibility of the latter, records exist of minor restoration works and the construction of a toilet in the battery area that changed the look of the northern elevation.

In 1970 there was the intention to install a customs post in the fort. This plan, which was never carried out, led to its abandonment for five years. In 1975 the fort was handed over to the National Camping Club, which pledged to preserve it. However, acts of vandalism led to it being closed in 1977, in the same year it was classified as a building of public interest. Despite this classification, the fort was not treated with the respect that its age and importance demanded.

Today, it stands in ruins (Figure 3).

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE FORT'S CONSTRUCTION

In general, the materials with which the fort was built are stone, ceramics, wood and metal, most probably from sites nearby.

The masonry that forms the walls consists of irregular-sized and shaped stones with joints of variable dimensions, originally filled with lime and sand mortars, except for the corners and the arch that encircles the main entrance, which are in cut stone.

There are masonry areas covered with Portland cement mortars, as well as areas of gaps filled with bastard mortars and ceramic material such as ceramic bricks. Visually these areas have a rather dissonant image from the original structure. The use of solid bricks is also present in the three arches in the courtyard area.

In sheltered areas, where the masonry is in reasonable condition, there are visible remains of plastered surfaces. Taking into account the reports of the work done at the fort, we are inclined to consider that the fort used lime plasters as a “sacrifice” layer to be renewed cyclically.

The battery and exterior terrace floors have stone slabs arranged in a regular stereotomy with several gaps. The bathroom recently built is in ruins and constitutes an unqualified and vandalized piece of construction. The courtyard has a boulder floor and some areas with stone slabs.

STATE OF CONSERVATION

The state of conservation of Forte do Guincho is directly related to its history and decay after its deactivation process, as well as to the erosion caused by the proximity of the sea and the violent winds that flog the site.



Figure 3 – Forte do Guincho: side view

The proximity of the sea has remarkably accentuated the pathologies that occur naturally in stone walls. Nevertheless, a former coating layer acted as a light protective “layer” against erosive agents. The limestone used, and the solidity of the remaining areas of plaster, seem to prove the existence of a previous layer of exterior plaster, probably covering the majority of walls, and the quality of its application. However, in some areas (especially those which are directly facing the sea), the walls are in an advanced state of degradation, and their structural sustainability is questionable.

The observed pathologies that justify and substantiate the options taken in the proposed intervention are: biological colonization and vegetation, stains and wall runoff, gaps, granular disaggregation/sanding, ruin, fracture/cracking, displaced elements, unwanted metal and cement plasters, and open and/or non-functional joints.

Briefly, we emphasize a series of situations that characterize the structure’s state of conservation:

- wall weakening, especially on the outside, with block disconnection and material detachment and significant gaps. This creates continuous lines that increase rainwater infiltration, the appearance of plants and, consequently, increased deterioration;
- erosion and diffuse disaggregation of stones and mortars filling masonry joints, where the phenomenon is more serious, accentuating the degradation process;
- infestation of plants, which enhance deep mechanical stresses, causing displacement of the elements and facilitating the movement of water within the walls; some areas of the walls are also colonized by mosses, organisms that interact with the surface substrate;
- collapse of seawall blocks, caused by wave action;
- existence of unwanted materials like corroded metal and cemented areas of plaster.

THE ARCHITECTURAL INTERVENTION

The identity of the site, the heritage value of the fort and its integration in the landscape are key concepts for the conceptual and architectural response. Taking into account the growing awareness of the need to interlink architectural heritage and the environment, this project operated from a perspective of landscape affirmation, in the context of a broader territorial intervention.

Conservation and preservation are both concepts that sustain this intervention in the approach to the landscape and to the monument, with all its implications at the architectural level. In addition, the proposal is guided by strict criteria of authenticity, integrity and reversibility.

The regeneration of the monument will allow its enjoyment by the population and, in return, its use is expected to contribute to its preser-



Figure 4 – Three-dimensional simulation: fort walls with and without plaster

vation. However, this strategy implies the need to enlarge the covered area, and the construction of a new architectonic object, which, although linked to the pre-existing structure, is interpreted as autonomous. It was intended to ensure harmony between the built space and the territory, among pre-existing and contemporary symbols, and through formal and material unity. The proposal for the conservation and rehabilitation of Forte do Guincho was based on the conservation and restoration of the existing building and on the placement of an additional independent object inside the fort, maintaining the focus on the understanding of the different stages and layers of construction and the full reversibility of all new constructions.

The preliminary study

In 2005, before the start of the project, the Municipality of Cascais ordered a preliminary study⁵ that included the construction of a concrete slab whose weight would be simply discharged on the perimetral monumental walls covering the entire open courtyard. The IPPAR⁶ (later renamed IGESPAR) made some remarks and suggestions based on the reversibility criteria.

The new design team (sspg arquitectos) was invited to design a new conceptual methodology that met the IPPAR's requirements. The proposed design solution was based on a wooden portico fixed on a concrete slab which incorporated closing glass walls. Since this structure would be self-supporting it overcame the issue and solved the problem of discharging the weight of the concrete slab on to the fort walls, in as much as the structure would stand on the floor of the battery and the courtyard and would self-sustain the roof. It was also decided to move the new object away from the entrance wall, in order not to close the entire courtyard and to keep the idea of the previous open courtyard.

The final project

In order to ensure the conservation of the monument, the sustainability of the intervention and its maintenance over time, it was essential to define a minimal use for the monument. It was thus suggested to adapt the fort into a tea house, allowing it not only to be open to the public, but also to keep the monument alive.

Since the existing space did not ensure the necessary customer area, it was proposed that the new piece of contemporary design (Figures 5 and 6) would allow the two existing cantonments to be interconnected, thus increasing the covered area of the fort. Although this piece would enable connections to the existing structures, it was assumed as a separate object. It keeps the idea of the existence of the lower, smaller courtyard as an exterior chamber preceding the main public covered area. It would contain a tea lounge, served by the facilities arranged in the cantonments. This intermediate space would make it possible to enforce a universal design on the project.

⁵ Preliminary study executed by Maria Ramalho and Diogo Capucho.

⁶ IPPAR: Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico (Portuguese Institute of Architectural Heritage).

The placement of the wooden structure in a longitudinal direction shades the interior space, due to the size of the porticos and the metric repetition of blank and occupied spaces, keeping the concepts of transparency and lightness from the architectural solution and providing aligned views of the surroundings. This new piece promotes the balance between a contemporary image and a cosy inner atmosphere providing different ceiling heights. The direct relationship to its surroundings and the variations in light during the day emphasize the unique characteristics of the place and the presence of the Atlantic Ocean.

Some minimal technical areas had to be placed in the cantonments. The northern quartering, lit by a small south-facing opening, contains the kitchen area, optimized for this purpose. The south quartering, which receives overhead light through an opening in the roof, is occupied by toilets. All new constructions and installations in the cantonments are built with no connections to the existing physical limits of the monumental spaces, thus being a box within a box. The terrace, which is accessed from the battery, and covers these two spaces, is still open to the public and permits a higher view of the sea and the surrounding landscape.

Larger technical equipment needed to ensure heating (AVAC) standards was located outside the fort, on the exterior plateau, hidden from immediate view. Thus a hidden, buried building structure was designed to cater for the need to retain sewage, according to the park's nature regulations, and to keep the larger air conditioning equipment out of sight.

Juxtaposed plasterboard walls and plastered ceilings painted white on the inside and technical wood flooring mounted on adjustable pedestals allow the reversibility of the architectural solution in the courtyard. Inside the cantonments, all self-supported walls and floors are kept apart from all existing structures.

On the northern and east facade (in the extended area), a weathering-steel (COR-TEN steel) security guard was applied. The choice of this material took into account the chromatic integration into the surroundings and the clear and unequivocal understanding of the intervention.

As previously stated, Forte do Guincho is part of a larger intervention area composed by three distinct areas: the surroundings of the restaurant near to the fort and its parking area; the fort's surroundings and its access route; and the walkway connecting the fort to the existing car park. The landscape of Ponta do Abano, which is the name of the promontory where the fort was built, is strongly marked by the Atlantic, which has a decisive influence on the plant species that colonize the territory. Undisciplined car access and soil compaction interfere with these highly sensitive ecological ecosystems. To solve these problems and preserve the local vegetation, a large landscape architectural and reforestation

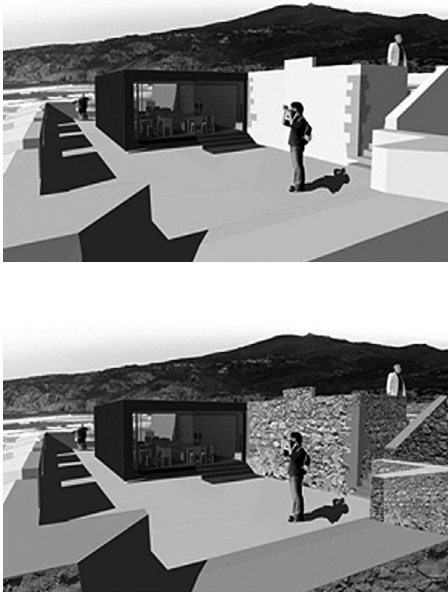


Figure 5 – Three-dimensional simulation of the tea house structure: fort walls with and without coverage

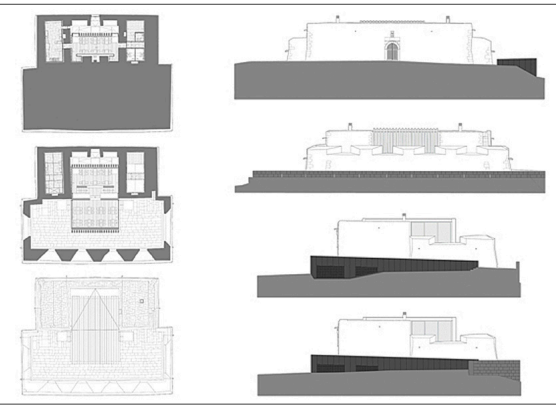


Figure 6 – Proposed plans and elevations

project, privileging the existing ecological diversity and specificity of the intervention area, was proposed.

The project proposed a single car park concentrated in the area already used for this purpose, next to the nearby restaurant, eliminating the need for another car park near the fort. It also proposed recovering the pavement that encircles the building and the installation of a pedestrian path between Guincho beach and the fort, built as an elevated wooden platform, shaped by the existing land topography and allowing the landscape to be enjoyed without damaging the existing natural ecosystem.

The landscape project (Figure 7) proposed by NPK⁷ ensured a minimal paved area surrounding the building and confining its access, built with a stone-paving material similar to the already existing. The limits and sizing of the pavement were adapted to the terrain, outlining the existing rocky outcrops. A linear connection between the fort and the parking area was proposed for use by pedestrians and emergency and service vehicles, in order to regulate both the flow of people and vehicles in the area surrounding the building.

Since the rarity of this remarkable landscape and botanical ecosystem was recognized, its importance was ensured through the promoting of a respectful in-situ contact with it. From this perspective, people are encouraged to park in the existing car park at Guincho beach and then walk along the pedestrian path from that point up to the fort on an elevated wooden platform. The path, about four hundred metres long and coinciding with existing natural pedestrian tracks, shaped by the existing land topography, allows users to enjoy and interact with the ecosystem without damaging it. The design of this wooden walkway aims to eliminate all existing motor-vehicle paths in the coastal cliffs area; to minimize obstruction to the spreading of vegetation (a fundamental process to ensure ecosystem sustainability); and to maintain access as far as possible at current existing levels, preventing the destruction of the land morphology and existing vegetation. At the end of the walkway, near the fort, the wooden path becomes an irregular stone pavement, continuing the pavement surrounding the fort and minimizing its presence. Besides these issues, the project foresees the placement of informative signs about nature and biodiversity conservation in protected areas.

The restaurant car park was planned in the area already used for this purpose to minimize the negative impacts. The proposed design optimizes and controls the space and maximizes the number of available places and, at the same time, eliminates the need to create a new car parking area near the fort.

The intervention proposes the creation of a permeable area with native species in an area close to the restaurant, to reduce the extent of the paved surface. This proposal results in a surface integrated into the surrounding landscape. It is further proposed that all exotic and invasive species in the intervention area be manually removed. The removal

⁷ NPK – Arquitectos Paisagistas Associados (NPK – Associated Landscape Architects) with Leonor Cheis de Sousa.



Figure 7 – Landscape architecture project

would be progressively monitored and include all necessary treatments for species control, until their final eradication.

Detailed proposed conservation actions for the fort

The conservation aims to maintain the existing building and facilitate future maintenance actions. Thus, the following actions were identified:

Preliminary photographic survey

The preliminary photographic documentation of the most significant aspects/elements constituted the starting point for the conservation work and a memory of the existing ruin.

Cleaning

The first phase of the conservation work should start with a general cleaning of the walls, floors and all fort areas. At this initial stage, all of the items are gathered – all of the decorated stone fragments that are loose or unstable should be collected, identified and recorded in an architectural survey –by code and number, thus preventing their loss. Later, all of the fragments found and collected must be fixed again to the support. At the same time, all fragments should undergo pre-cleaning and the removal of any efflorescence, thereby avoiding the circulation and deposition of salts in adjacent areas.

Treatment of infesting vegetation

This treatment is carried out by applying herbicides to all vegetation, and includes the repetition of the process over a period of time. Whenever necessary, and if possible, the herbicides should be used at the whole-wall level. This methodology allows greater efficiency by intervening in different cycles of vegetation, anticipating the technical times needed for the active ingredients to work. In all treated areas, a manual eradication of dry biomass will be required, including, where necessary, the cutting of roots in order not to affect the more unstable areas. There may be situations in which roots are functioning as anchors for elements already detached from the support.

Vegetation disinfections will be performed in two consecutive phases and without interruption: 1) chemical treatments, with specific herbicides for dry vegetation; 2) manual removal of dry vegetation and actions that limit growth of new plants. After the removal of living vegetation, an application of mortar in all joints and horizontal planes of the wall tops is required. In those cases where it is not possible to complete the extraction of plants because their roots are too deep, and removal may endanger the stability of the structure, all holes will be cut and closed with mortar caps. In the manual removal of vegetation, areas where the plants are anchored should be left perfectly clean.

Treatment of biological colonization

The biocide treatment aims to eliminate the biological colonization of stones and shall be performed by applying a product with a quaternary

ammonium base. Depending on the progress of the treatment, a slight manual brushing of all the stones should be undertaken in order to prepare the surfaces for subsequent actions.

Gap reintegration and injury fill

Intervention should be taken first in all areas that demonstrate instability. Gaps will be filled with stone materials of the same lithological type that exists in contiguous areas, respecting the typology and the stereotomy of the masonry where it will be inserted. The interstices between the larger blocks should be filled with smaller elements and different types of cuts and sizes should be adopted. This phase of stabilization and gap filling, since it is statically precarious, should be carried out carefully to prevent any collapse of existing historic structures. The new additions of stone should always be based on lime mortar, based in the binder or with hydraulic lime kind mortars, with pozzolanic additive and/or drying, careful selection of inerts and aggregates, properly calibrated and washed to maximize the integration of wall colours and textures.

Treatment of joints, micro-plastering, fissures and fractures

The joint-treatment phase should be addressed with all the other work that should be done with lime mortar, such as fractures and cracks micro-plastering. The non-functioning of reclosing mortars in joints is one of the characterizing features of the state of conservation of the walls. The joints' lack of sealing capability allows water infiltration into the structures, mortar leaching and the subsequent appearance of instability phenomena in the stone elements. In general, the treatment of joints should involve removal of the degraded and unstable existing mortars, lowering of the cement mortar, the removal of the loose interior materials from the joints, filling of the structural gaps and the reclosing of the surface with the indicated mortars.

The approach to opening joints should consist of: 1) removal of all non-functional mortar in the process of disaggregation or powdery; 2) elimination of the mortar overlaying the stones and lowering of un-aesthetic mortar; and 3) lowering of the joints filled with cement, since they are functional. In the joints where fracturing and imminent detachment of the edges are observable, attachment/consolidation work should be performed. After opening, joints should be cleaned in order to improve the adhesion of mortars, by compressed air, controlled washing with water and brushing, to remove earth deposits.

In the filling of deep and superficial joints, the lime mortars to be used at different stages of the work should have similar mechanical and physical properties to the existing mortars, namely: a coefficient of thermal expansion similar to the former; a coefficient of vapour permeability as similar as possible to the original material; a lower-compression tensile strength and higher porosity than the rock; less or equal resistance to compression than the old mortar, and a porosity greater or equal to that of the old mortar.

The need to use different mortars in colour and texture, varying the siliceous and/or calcareous aggregates in terms of particle size and colour, in order to obtain textures and sets of colours adequate to the pre-existing mortars in adjacent areas, should be evaluated. These fillings, as other fillings, should be preceded by a cleaning of the disaggregated and incoherent materials.

The filling operation should be performed in two stages. The first consists of filling in depth, and the second relates to surface finish. During the application of the mortar, the mortar surface should be exposed, particularly in places where the joints are quite broad. It is noteworthy that, in many areas, only after the deteriorated mortar is removed and the joints cleaned does some static instability become obvious. In many cases, the lack of material in the joints and the poor connection between stones lead to structural instability.

Particular attention should be given to the finish treatment applied on the horizontal surfaces of the wall tops, in order to facilitate rainwater drainage and to restrict infiltration in the structures. A careful analysis of the walls and, when necessary, a regularization of the surfaces, in the aim of an overall preventive treatment, is required. This intervention should aim, on the one hand, to extinguish weak points in the structure, to consolidate interdependent surfaces and, on the other hand, to ensure some aesthetic and visual uniformity in the monument.

Finally, during the work, an extra evaluation should be carried out in order to assess the opportunity to improve the aesthetic integration in filled areas where more recent mortars have been applied and in case of visible dissonance. A treatment based on a patina made with lime water and pigments should be considered, while maintaining a clear chromatic differentiation, and without simulating the existing patina.

Any existing cracks and fractures should also be worked upon from a structural perspective, whenever they present unstable situations – in this case, micro-injections may be required and consolidation made with epoxy resins. Stabilized situations where there are no structural issues, yet which constitute points of infiltration, fissures and fractures should be injected with micro-mortars formulated with binders of fine inert. In areas with micro-fissuration and stone detachment, the micro-injection of fluid epoxy resin could be used, in continuity lines, in order to create anchoring points.

THE ARCHITECTURAL SURFACE QUESTION

One of the most difficult subjects to address was how to deal with the exterior surface of the fort (ruin) and how to address its conservation in terms of image and as an architectonic communication tool. It was clear to the team that conservation would imply a full analysis of all pathologies of the existing fort and a detailed study of the ways to address all the detected problems. This would constitute the basis of any conservation effort. However, there was an ongoing architectonic discussion regarding

the communication of the building, based on its history, but also on the aesthetic memory of the decay, that sparked another field of research.

The issue of maintaining visible walls and corner stones and their joints, as opposed to covering them, was considered a sensitive issue in the project, which conditioned the choice of wood for the construction of the new object. On the one hand, the fort's current image and its integration into the landscape depend on its chromaticity and masonry texture, while, on the other hand, the lack of a surface coat aggravates the erosion caused by atmospheric agents and, consequently, the conditions of the monument's conservation.

Any intervention on built heritage includes tasks which directly or indirectly aim to prolong a monument's life by interrupting the intensity of alteration processes and by reducing the probability of new events, in order to maintain physical, cultural and functional integrity.

In general, the current state of conservation of the fort is related mainly to the degradation of the stone, which is exposed to strong wind and water action. The absence of a plaster coating, along with the degradation of the joints and the use of hydraulic mortars, accelerates the process of rock detachment.

The decision to treat the joints resulted from a critical analysis of the following aspects:

- the advantages and disadvantages of the possible options;
- the principles and concepts that should guide any heritage-based intervention;
- the state of conservation of the fort;
- the understanding of Forte do Guincho individually and in comparison to the other forts along the coast;
- samples taken at the site, over a long time span;
- the evaluation of real needs, both from the technical and human aspect.

The application of a new covering would have technical, economic and historical advantages, although it would be an aesthetic intervention with immediate consequences for the fort's image and its integration into the landscape. The existence of several gaps at the top of the walls and lack of historical military information did not allow the walls' limits to be established and meant it was impossible to make a technical (military) assessment (mostly based on the military changes in artillery warfare). Since there was no accurate data about these limits, the option of covering the fort would have led to its reconstruction and a false historical creation.

The pre-existence of mortars on the masonry, at the existing joints on the extensions, built in the 19th century, with traces of old plaster and its use as an external sacrifice layer, was observed and verified. The

presence of such traces of mortar and plaster, the existence of some written testimonies and the comparison with other maritime fortresses confirmed the hypothesis that the fort had been completely plastered on the outside. However, existing data is insufficient to determine the type of covering, its extension, limits and the finish used. It was also noted that the image of the unplastered fort has been present in the collective memory since the 20th century. It was further noted that other fort intervention projects had chosen to apply plaster to all exterior surfaces and thus it was considered pedagogic to undertake an analysis of the different presentation options for monuments, including that of ruin.

Therefore, the option of applying a plaster coating over the walls did not fit the project design principles, because changing the formal identity of the fort precludes an adequate understanding of the new piece and the monument. Taking the concept of “minimal intervention” and the aim of prolonging the monument’s life as basic assumptions, the option to treat the joints caused fewer injuries to the original materials than covering the walls totally and did not invalidate future studies and research on the evolution of the fort’s construction, since it retained all of the mortars and plasters. A proper execution would reduce erosion intensity and the probability of new pathologies, avoiding water entry in the walls, and would permit the conservation of the building. Another advantage of treating the joints, both at the functional and aesthetic level, is the facilitation of future maintenance, since the application of the new mortar is always less intrusive than the repair of an area of deteriorated plaster. Moreover, the application of new plaster would always create an area where the existing and new plaster would come together and both would have different colours, due to the different carbonation stages. Whilst this might happen to the mortar used in the treatment of joints, the application area is very small, which significantly reduces the visual impact.

Taking into account all of these aspects, the micro-plastering of joints was adopted in the final project, because in the analysis of different factors it out-performed the applicability of a new coating.

During the tests (Figure 8) conducted in 2008, it was found (under normal conditions, in strong winds) to be difficult to ensure a slow and gradual drying of the plaster executed with lime mortar. This control was easier to ensure in small areas than in large plaster areas. Thus, in treating the joints, it is also easier to guarantee proper execution.

The intervention on the walls, without applying a new coating, involved a careful and slow joint-treatment process, because it implies practical difficulties in execution and maintenance due to the widespread loss of stone limits in large areas. A successful aesthetic result of this task clearly depends on the proper execution, ensuring compatibility and stability between the materials and products used and the reversibility of the systems, by minimizing the aesthetic variations. For this reason, joint micro-plastering constitutes an intervention framed within the field of restoration expertise.



Figure 8 – Joint treatment and wall coating plaster tests

CONCLUSIONS

Forte do Guincho is situated on a promontory to the north of Guincho beach, between it and Abano beach, an area included in the Sintra-Cascais Natural Park. The maritime fortification was built in the 17th century and was an integral part of an extensive defensive line erected during the reign of King João IV which defended the entrance to the mouth of the Tagus River.

The fort was built from irregular stone masonry, except for the cut stone corners. The presence of mortar and cement in gap areas on the masonry, and occasionally on the corner stones, can be seen. After a careful observation of existing traces of mortar, traces of exterior plastering were detected on a brick wall built during the expansion of the battery. Although these mortars are visible, the characteristic visual appearance of the fort is not that of plastered masonry, but rather that of irregular unplastered masonry.

However, the presence of these traces of mortar, the existence of several written testimonies and the comparison with the remaining maritime fortresses confirm the hypothesis that the fort was plastered on the outside. Nevertheless, with the existing data it is not possible to state the kind of plaster used or its extent, finish and colour.

Initially, the authors were led to believe that the best approach might be to cover all walls of the fort, because this plaster would also work as “sacrifice” layer to retard erosion. However, by carefully considering this option, it was noted that:

- Existing traces of mortar do not allow, through a visual analysis, certainty about when the plaster was applied or its type and finish, nor how the plaster was applied and/or if it was applied to all surfaces/facades of the fort.
- The existence of several gaps in the upper part of the walls, which in some cases has resulted in the imprecision of the upper wall, forced rethinking the option to cover the monument since it would reconstruct these limits. Since there are no accurate data about these limits, it could have led to historical inaccuracy.
- The fort is subject to very aggressive weather conditions, with very strong wind carrying sand and sea salts, making plaster application very difficult. This situation is easily observable in other coastal forts, exposed to similar but not as extreme situations, where immediately after applying the plaster certain areas with a lack of mortar are visible.
- Lastly, there is the issue of the fort’s image. In fact, when one looks at the landscape, the visual image of the fort, built in masonry stone, either in colour or texture, is perfectly integrated into the natural landscape, raising concerns about the visual impact on the landscape implied by the covering option. Moreover, this image of the visible masonry is present in the collective memory, as the fort has been as it now stands since the early 20th century.

Based on the assumption of the key concept of “minimal intervention”, advocated by most conservation and restoration doctrines, the joint-treatment option seems to be the right one. Some aspects that led to the choice of this solution are:

- From the point of view of the principles and concepts in conservation and restoration, it seems that the minimal intervention choice – joint treatment – is the right one because any action taken with regard to heritage, however careful, introduces injuries to the original materials, determining a loss of authenticity. Thus, the tasks and processes that involve direct intervention in a monument’s conservation should be kept to a minimum and be consistent with the proposed objectives. In the aim of prolonging the monument’s life, the joint-treatment option allows the reduction and/or interruption of the intensity of the alteration processes and reduces the probability of new events, since it does not allow the entry of water into the structures.
- Another prominent feature is the fact that this option keeps all traces of old mortars and plasters as testimonies, and does not invalidate future studies and research on the fort, especially in terms of its constructive history. Plastering the fort would invalidate these studies because traces and testimonies would be covered with new mortar.

The chosen option may raise problems in terms of praxis, since the joint treatment may have a negative visual impact. The definition and characterization of the type and method of execution cannot guarantee the aesthetic result, so this approach can lead to major problems. Four trials on the fort’s walls, with the objective of supporting the decision-making process, were performed and served as a model of good practice for a future intervention, guiding the operators towards the desired result. This solution facilitates future maintenance actions, because the area of application of the new mortar is always less than that of the repair of deteriorated plaster, which always presents a junction area of the two plasters. The new plaster will never have the same chromatic appearance as the existing one, due to different stages of carbonation. Although this situation can happen with the mortar applied in the treatment of the joints, the area is very small, so the visual impact is less significant. It should be noted that it was decided to perform the joints treatment in order to keep all existing mortar traces and the maintenance actions should repeat the same methodology.

FINAL REMARKS

The architectural intervention mainly seeks to restore the monument and assign it a new function, in the aim of conserving this important example of historical Portuguese heritage and allowing it to be used and enjoyed by the public.

The distinction between the existing and new architectonic objects depends not only on the new structural and aesthetic solution, but also on the approach to the fort walls. The systematic and careful

treatment of joints seemed more appropriate, both at the functional and aesthetic level, because it is based on criteria of architectural and historical authenticity, integrity and reversibility. Thus, the option of leaving the masonry joints in full view is the one that most benefits the monument, from the technical and methodological points of view, in terms of materials and products applied, respecting the correct praxis in conservation and ensuring compatibility, stability and reversibility of the systems, thus minimizing the material and aesthetic intrusions.

Finally, the authors would like to mention that the option to treat joints and not plaster the fort was shared by the entire team, and this was supported by the municipal and government architects who oversee and manage the monument.

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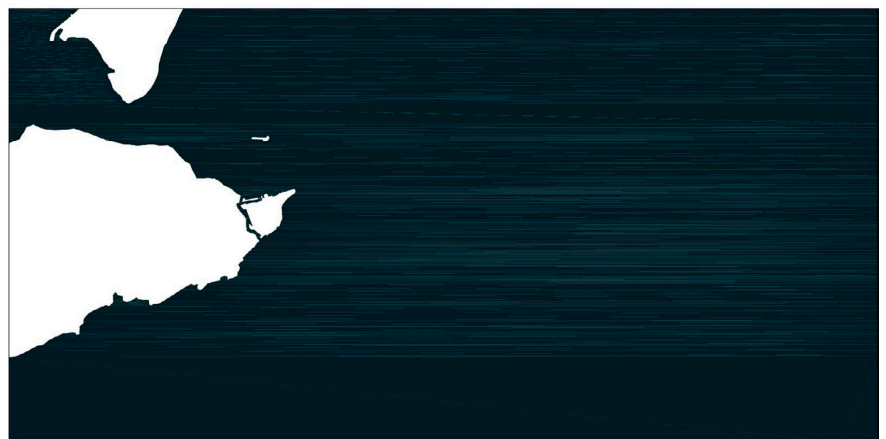
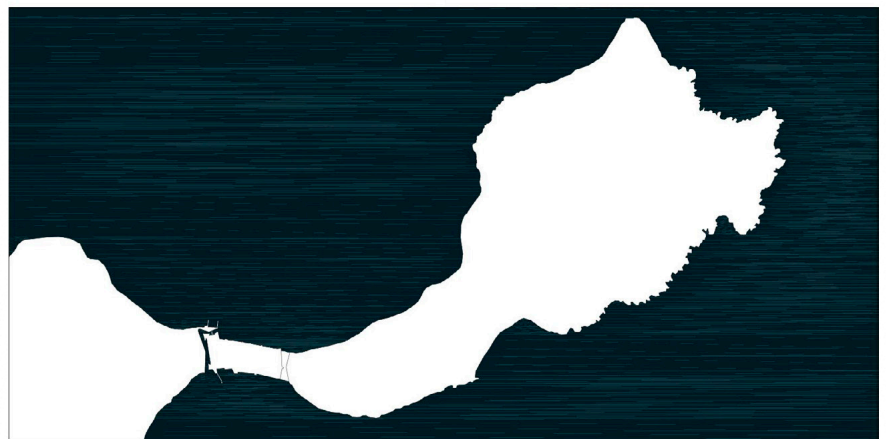
ABSTRACT

This paper is part of a PhD research in architecture, carried out at the University of Seville from 2005 to 2013. The research aimed to develop an architectural study of the fortified sets of Mazagan (Morocco) and Ceuta (Spain), in North Africa, and Diu in India. The first bastioned fortifications were built in Africa and Asia by the Portuguese in the decade of the 1540s. We developed a knowledge base that did not yet exist, but that we find essential to the understanding of this heritage and to the future definition of conservation strategies. From a methodological point of view, the research focuses on the field of architectural analysis, as a synthesis that integrates different points corresponding to different knowledge areas, including project and architectural analysis, history of architecture, construction and heritage conservation. Graphic work assumes particular relevance throughout the investigation process.

FIRST BASTIONED FORTIFICATIONS OF PORTUGAL'S OVERSEAS EXPANSION

SITING AND RELATIONSHIP WITH THE TERRITORY

At the end of the reign of King Manuel I, the Portuguese crown possessed a vast number of territories spread over half the world and linked by sea – from North Africa to Brazil and India. However, the fortified structures that defended the Portuguese fortresses were still based on



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Figure 1 – Map drawn to illustrate the location of the Portuguese fortifications of Mazagan, Ceuta and Diu. Image credit: João Matos

medieval defensive systems and had serious difficulties in coping with the increasing military capacity of Portugal's opponents in a period marked by the rapid evolution of warfare techniques and major changes regarding the form and function of fortifications. In the 1540s, when control of the major strategic points in Portugal's overseas expansion was definitely compromised, the first bastioned fortifications were built in Mazagan (today El Jadida, 1541–42) and Ceuta (1541–49), in North Africa, and Diu (1548–49), in India.

Before the construction of these fortifications, each of the three possessions already had a consolidated set of defensive structures. Mazagan was protected by the Manueline castle built in 1514; Ceuta had a complete set of walls, built largely by the Muslims, later transformed and updated by the Portuguese; and Diu was defended by the fortification built in 1535, which was rebuilt and reinforced in the period between the sieges of 1538 and 1546.

Each one of the bastioned fortifications built in Mazagan, Ceuta and Diu, corresponded to a particular situation and had its own distinct layout, related to the specific geographic conditions and suited to the pre-existing defence structures on site at the time of construction. Despite the differences found between the three fortifications, it is possible to identify a set of common features, particularly as regards choice of site and the relationship with the physical environment. Part of these characteristics are no longer evident in the structures still standing today; however, the interpretation of each set of existing constructions, in parallel with the analysis of the graphic elements of the structures built in the 1540s, allows us to identify some of the more salient common features, among which the following stand out:

- definition of an isolated position in relation to the surrounding territory;
- construction using site features and pre-existing built structures;
- distinction between land front and sea front;
- reinforcement of the system of access from the exterior.

DEFINITION OF AN ISOLATED POSITION IN RELATION TO THE SURROUNDING TERRITORY

Maritime enclaves – as a mode of territorial occupation in which a defensive perimeter encloses and protects an urban coastal area – have been known to the Portuguese since the conquest of Ceuta. However, the reality imposed by the evolution of artillery, which turned old walled fences into obsolete defensive structures, led to the rethinking of occupation strategies and the need to devise a new concept of fortified town. Coastal fortifications commonly defend a territory or a port against enemies from the sea. In the case of Mazagan, Ceuta and Diu, this logic was turned on its head, through the creation of a defensive system fully facing the land. Designed by those who controlled the war at sea and

wanted to ensure a permanent presence in hostile territory, they are sea fortifications turned landward.

The erection of each of these fortified structures entailed a large territorial operation based on defining an impregnable defensive perimeter. The opening of a wide ditch introduced an abrupt break in the connection with the mainland and created an embedded platform along the coast, surrounded by water and isolated. At the outer edge of this platform a defensive perimeter was built, formed by solid bastioned fronts facing the land, while the fronts facing the sea were composed by plainer curtain walls. Before the 1540s, in regions like Hormuz, Canamor or the first fortress in Diu, the Portuguese had already tested a similar type of siting, although still without the introduction of pentagonal bastions and neglecting a methodical and reciprocal defence system between bastions.

The comparison between the different historical paths of Mazagan, Ceuta and Diu provides an insight into how the relationship of the three fortifications with the surrounding territory evolved in parallel. In Diu, in 1535, the building of the first fortress at the eastern end of the island began with the digging of a sea ditch which circumscribed a plot of land isolated from the mainland, at the edge of which the defensive perimeter was erected. However, the fortification was rudimentary in its nature, with walls, towers and a defensive system based on medieval features. In 1541, the plans for the fortress of Ceuta¹ proposed a similar solution in terms of siting, with the construction of a wide, deep ditch, also used as a maritime channel, ensuring separation between the town and the mainland. The plans introduced the bastioned model and included an improved system of access from the exterior field and from the sea. In the same year, work began on the construction of the bastioned fortress in Mazagan, also fully isolated from the land but in this case with a long ditch that ran along the three land fronts. In Diu, around 1544, in addition to the work to reinforce the land front by introducing robust cylindrical bastions, a new system of connection and access to the exterior field was designed, resembling the plans for the fortress of Ceuta. After the siege of 1546, in front of the ruined land curtains, construction began on the bastioned front with the digging of a new maritime ditch, with the fortress of Ceuta serving as reference.² By the end of the 1540s, the three sets of bastioned structures were completed according to the same principles of relationship with the territory.

CONSTRUCTION USING SITE FEATURES AND PRE-EXISTING BUILT STRUCTURES

Considering the construction effort and the costs involved in a work of this nature and size, the choice of the site and the definition of how the relationship with the surrounding territory was to be established were major decisions in the design process. Since constructions were carried out according to their location in the territory, it was essential that the selected site ensured, from the outset, natural conditions that were favourable to the construction of the fortification. In that sense,

¹ Project by Benedetto da Ravenna in collaboration with Miguel de Arruda.

² The person chiefly responsible for the Ceuta influence on the bastion front erected in Diu was João de Castro, who had visited the construction work at Ceuta in 1544.

based on a thorough knowledge of the site and context, it was essential that the design of the fortified system enhanced the specific conditions of the place and, at the same time, considered the incorporation and reuse of pre-existing structures.

In the case of Mazagan, the choice of location and the setting of the fortress were determined by the intention to incorporate the pre-existing Manueline castle, which lies approximately at the geometric centre of the complex. In this case, the location and the scale of the bastioned perimeter required the execution of several highly difficult tasks, such as the construction of a significant part of the complex in the sea and the opening of long ditches in the rock mass.³ Of the three fortresses, Mazagan was the one where this type of siting involved the greatest construction effort given the scale of the complex and the fact that the physical and geographical characteristics of the site were not favourable.

In Ceuta, on the contrary, the project for the bastion fortress was carried out from the very beginning in such a way as to enhance the peculiar natural conditions of its location. Bastions, curtains and repairs on the bastioned land front were carried out by integrating the ancient walls into the new construction.⁴ At the same time, the construction of the ditch/channel made use of the natural depression at the site. A new system of access from the exterior field was established – a side entry protected against assault from land – leading to a reduction in the defensive perimeter and the demolition of an existing urban area. In fact, Ceuta's fortress is a case in point, in that a construction process based mainly on transformation and reuse of the pre-existing site and constructions resulted in a new modern and uniformly built complex.

In Diu, the option to build a bastioned front ahead of the existing walled front resulted from the state of disrepair in which the latter stood following the second siege, and was motivated by the urgency to recover the defensive power of the fortress. In this case, in view of the ruined front, a new ditch was cut out of the rock, and new curtain and bastion ramparts were built directly on the rock mass. After the closing of the new perimeter and once defence of the whole complex was ensured, the old curtains were rebuilt within the perimeter, now in a second line. In Diu, as in Ceuta, the bastion complex took full advantage of a very favourable location, allowing the creation of a large, modern fortification with a relatively controlled construction effort.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN LAND FRONT AND SEA FRONT

In the three fortresses there is a clear difference between the defensive capacity of the land fronts – formed by powerful bastioned fronts – and the sea fronts, consisting of narrower curtains where the use of artillery was not considered. Indeed, in this period, the sea fronts of Portuguese fortifications rarely included artillery.⁵ In the case of Ceuta and Diu, the sea fronts were largely based on the pre-existing curtains. In the case of Mazagan fortress, where the fortified perimeter was designed and built

³ During the construction work, João de Castilho, who was responsible for the project, complained in a letter to the king about the difficulties of building in the sea in face of the great autumn storms: *And may God forgive those who knew of the storms of this land of the Northwest, and when this work was undertaken did not utter a word of advice, and may Your Highness believe that the waves of this sea are ten fathoms high.* Letter from João de Castilho to King João III, September 1542; BN, codex 1758, pp. 143–144v (Moreira 2001, 138). Luís de Loureiro, captain of the fortress, in a letter to the King, also mentions the great difficulties he faced in building the Angel bastion (Mazagan) (CENIVAL et al., 30–32).

⁴ The text by Benedetto da Ravenna explicitly states how the pre-existing structures should be incorporated into the new building, namely by “jacketing” the curtain wall (Matos 2012, 261–274).

⁵ King João III himself, at the time when the plans for the Mazagan fortress were being defined, stated that there was no need to include artillery on the sea front. Cf. letter from King João III to Miguel de Arruda; BN, codex 1758, pp. 7458–7459 (Moreira 2001, 98–100).

as a whole from the outset, there is also an explicit difference between the profile of the land fronts and the sea front, with the latter having a significantly narrower rampart and no artillery.⁶ In each of the fortifications, this difference is expressed clearly in the intersection between the sea and land front: with a demi-bastion, consisting of a single flank, facing the land where the artillery power was concentrated, exhibiting a coplanar face with the sea curtain and no gunboat.

Sea curtains worked as watch posts in the control of maritime routes, and played an important role in ensuring good access to the sea and good conditions for the supply of the fortress in periods of siege. Thus, maritime gateways were strategically located to protect against attacks from land and provide vessels with a safe approach and landing.

REINFORCEMENT OF THE SYSTEM OF ACCESS FROM THE EXTERIOR

In each of the fortifications, access from the exterior field was made through an elaborate system of doors and antechambers, preceded by the other external constructions. Mazagan was the only fortress where access was achieved via the land front, exposed to artillery attack. In this case, the access system was reinforced by the presence of the Governor's Bastion⁷ – now demolished – located in the middle of the land front and protected by the side bastions. From the exterior, entry was achieved via a double-leaf drawbridge over the ditch. This provided access to the bastion's interior, with two rooms and three gates that provided a connection to the inner court. Across the bridge and ditch the defensive system was complemented by outworks which included a simple layout of ravelins.

In the case of Ceuta, access to the outer gate from the exterior field was gained from an area protected against the attack of enemy artillery from land and included an advanced section of the wall – now lost – which corresponded to the *albacar* door. From here, access to the interior of the fortress was provided by a drawbridge over the ditch, leading to a gate that, similar to the construction in Mazagan, included two interior rooms and three doors. In the exterior, ahead of the extensive bastion front, the outworks ensured different defensive levels.

In Diu, the construction of the system of access from the outside – which is still standing – preceded the construction of the bastion front by two years. Here again access was achieved via an area protected against enemy artillery, which included a hallway platform in front of the northern curtain wall, surrounded by water and under the protection of the bastions and the sea fort. This platform was connected to the precinct that preceded the fortress gate via a drawbridge. The way the system was linked to the defensive perimeter and the succession of spaces preceding the fortification gate show strong parallels with the plans for the design of Ceuta fortress, which had been proposed to King João III three years earlier. However, it is not possible to confirm whether in that precise moment the Ceuta project, which was also undergoing construction, could have had any direct influence.

⁶ All gunboats that exist today on this front correspond to construction work carried out by the Moroccans between the second half of the 19th and early 20th century.

⁷ The governor's bastion, in whose form and exceptional typology it is possible to recognise the influence of the entrance bastion to Fortezza da Basso in Florence, by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (Matos 2012, 421).

The study of these three cases in parallel allows us to identify a specific model of maritime fortification which was adjusted to the needs of Portugal's overseas expansion and had a set of common characteristics, namely as regards siting and the relationship with the surrounding territory. As the first bastioned fortifications built outside Europe on the shores of the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, each of the three fortresses was to play a pioneering role in disseminating the bastion system globally. However, the rapid pace of change in the form and functioning of fortifications, typical of this period, meant that fortresses built by the Portuguese in the following decade had significantly different characteristics, namely in terms of scale, relationship with the surrounding territory and morphology.

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between the city of Safi and the central government has been very fragile at several moments in its history. Even after independence, the delicate relations with the national territory remain a feature of the city. This political context has led the State to distance itself from the development of local cultural policies and the preservation of the built heritage. Investment in industrial growth has also brought profound changes to the social fabric of the city, with a strong impact on its restructuring and on the preservation of historic districts.

Only one of the monuments inscribed on the city's list of heritage buildings is open to the public. Civil society, represented by a very significant number of local associations, has had a very important role in the challenge of reintegrating cultural heritage in the revalorisation strategies designed for the city.

In his work *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town*, Herzfeld introduced the concepts of "monumental time" and "social time" as tools for understanding heritage. His considerations alert us to the difficulty in creating balance between the norms and trends of the heritagisation process, that shape what he terms "monumental time", and the time experienced by the inhabitants of places, whose actions give a sense of present and confer social time to the places they inhabit.

KEYWORDS

heritagisation, Safi, memory, city, post-colonialism

HERITAGISATION AND SOCIAL TIME – SAFI: A CITY OF RESILIENCE AND RESILIENT PEOPLE

The past is everywhere a battleground of rival attachments. In discovering, correcting, elaborating, inventing and celebrating their histories, competing groups struggle to validate present goals by appealing to continuity with, or inheritance from, ancestral and other precursors. The politics of the past is no trivial academic game – it is an integral part of every people's earnest search for a heritage essential to autonomy and identity.¹

In May 2014 I invited historian Hamid Triki from Safi to come and present a preparatory class to first-year students of the National School of Architecture in Marrakech, as they would be leaving soon for Safi to conduct ethnographic fieldwork for the subject "Introduction to the Sociology of Housing and Urban Development". For the students, mostly from Marrakech, Safi was an unknown city and had a very negative connotation.

Hamid Triki's exposition enabled students to better understand how heritage contributes to the construction of the present identity of Safi and how the uses of heritage can be important in rebuilding the image of the city by calling upon its past. Triki began precisely by pointing out how a very important city historically has been neglected to the point of being excluded from the current historical Moroccan landscape: "It isn't even mentioned in the weather report!"

This neglectful approach to the city meant that its historic past took on an ever more important role in the claims of several groups fighting for the city's recognition. The Portuguese legacy has a very prominent presence in the architectural heritage of the city and its cultural wealth and unique characteristics serve to justify its importance. Triki further explained that even though the Portuguese occupation in the 16th century "did nothing but harm" – driven only by the purpose of territorial domination – "it left a rich legacy in the urban structure of the Medina and monuments that must be safeguarded". The negative connotation of a colonial past may be dissipated by the greater value of a heritage resource.

But if we acknowledge that heritage must be valued as a resource that can contribute to the spatial quality of the city, we must then try to understand why the rich heritage of Safi has not always been perceived by the State and central administration in the same way as local populations. Gathercole and Lowenthal explain how culture is sometimes interpreted differently by the two parties:

At the core of the state, culture is seen as a force to be harnessed for national development. At the periphery, however, culture is often regarded as a way to protect local interests against outside encroachment [...].²

¹ Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990, 302.

² Ibid., p. 187



Figure 1 – Field trip of the students of the National School of Architecture in Marrakech, supported by the IRMHSS and several local associations. Photo by Ana Neno, May 2014

The neglect of heritage and the feebleness of the public cultural sector in Safi – in relation to neighbouring cities such as Marrakech, Essaouira or El Jadida – are thus sometimes associated with conflicts arising not only from a certain spirit of protest in the city (mentioned in some historical documents), but also from other events in modern and contemporary history, as stated by Triki in his communication: “the conflict with Hassan II against the inauguration of the chemical industry and the exploitation of phosphates, the project for the exploitation of nuclear energy, the emergence of a strong trade union movement in the ports and canning industries, a strong local political consciousness.” Safi has been last on the agenda of official visits to Moroccan cities since the succession to the throne of Mohammed VI.

At the time of the French protectorate, in the correspondence between local actors and the colonial administration of the Residency General, there are references to a certain alienation and abandonment of the city. On the occasion of a visit by the Minister Plenipotentiary of the colonial administration to the city in 1948, Mr. Girard, delegate of the 3e Collège, delivered a short speech in representation of the population of Safi to request government intervention for the development of the city: “Safi has too often been forgotten and we would like, Sir, for your visit to mark the very beginning of a period during which the amenities that the community wishes may have an effective start.”

In the 1940s, according to another report, the development of the port, driven by the creation of the phosphate company OCP, seriously disrupted the city’s balance: “a weakness, a clear break between the countryside and the city.”³

Later in the 1950s, official reports note that the city of Safi was considered the second largest port and the second most important industrial city in Morocco. With an area of 40km², it was compared to the city of Lyon. Reports also indicated a huge growth in population – a doubling in relation to census figures of the early 1930s – and forecast its steady growth. However, while a strong development of the fishing and industrial sectors was announced, social instability posed a serious threat to the central government:

- The population – composed, alongside a minority of former urban settlers, of a patchwork of tribes from the regions of Marrakech and Agadir – is poor, shifting, doomed to permanent and seasonal unemployment.(*)
- Politically, Safi is known for being the second base of the Istiqlal. The “link to the fishing and canning industries” facilitates the dissemination of propaganda and slogans, and explains the fast response capacity.
- Let us recall the following events:
 - 1951 – the personnel from the Territory were besieged at “la Kechla” for 48 hours;
 - 1952 – the Mahakma⁴ was beset; the Pasha had to open fire
 - August 1954.

³ Unknown author, Listing on the Urban Control organisation of SAFI (Moroccan Affairs – Districts), Nantes, Nantes Diplomatic Archives Centre, 30 May 1955, p. 1.

⁴ *Mahakma* designates the law courts.

– 36 terrorist attacks, causing 4 deaths and 10 injured, have been committed since December 1953. [...]

(*) To fight unemployment, the creation of a Placement Office has been requested with the participation of the Municipality and Division of Labour.

In addition, an employment plan has been established⁵.

The relationship between the city of Safi and the central government has been very fragile at several moments in its history. Even after independence, the delicate relations with the national territory remain a feature of the city. This political context has led the State to distance itself from the development of local cultural policies and the preservation of the built heritage. Investment in industrial growth has also brought profound changes to the social fabric of the city, with a strong impact on its restructuring and on the preservation of historic districts.

Population growth is still a current phenomenon and social asymmetries, ever more accentuated, have stimulated new discussions on the future of the city's heritage at the local management level but also among civil society. Civil society, represented by a very significant number of local associations, has had a very important role in the challenge of reintegrating cultural heritage in the revalorisation strategies designed for the city.

Gathercole and Lowenthal mention how important these new heritage actors have become and how their needs and aspirations must be integrated into public policies:

Majority and minority, elite and folk, rulers and ruled, trained and amateur all differ over how to identify, safeguard and interpret the past. Increasing public involvement demands new perspectives on collecting and custodial care, display and commemoration.⁶

In Safi, a real awareness of the need to include the community in shaping the strategies for the custodial care, display and commemoration of the city's heritage has emerged in recent years. Since 2012, in the context of my doctoral thesis, I have conducted research on issues concerning the processes and policies of heritagisation in the city of Safi. This research has comprised periods of ethnographic work in the archives of the Cultural Heritage Directorate in Rabat and the Diplomatic Archives in Nantes, as well as a long period of field ethnography. In the field, I tried to observe the experiences of local communities and participate in some events with local associations or management authorities, especially with the Regional Inspectorate of Historical Monuments and Sites of Safi (IRMHSS – Inspection Régionale des Monuments Historiques et Sites de Safi).

⁵ Unknown author, Report on the Reorganisation of the Territory of Safi, Nantes Diplomatic Archives Centre, 27 September 1948, p. 1.

⁶ Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990, 303.

The guidelines for the various stages of the research were the evolution of discourse throughout the history of heritagisation in Safi and the appropriation of heritage in the construction of a local identity, but also in the evolution of the city's landscape.

Architectural and other manifestations of heritage now enhance community and identity in every state. A rich and representative patrimony is said to promote citizenship, catalyse creativity, attract foreign sympathy, and enhance all aspects of national life (e.g. Bator 1983, Lowenthal 1987).⁷

In his work *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town*, Herzfeld introduced the concepts of “monumental time” and “social time” as tools for understanding heritage. Monumental time is therefore tied to a historicist perspective of the object, selectively of course, and social time analyses the social experience of heritagisation and its consequences in the daily life of the community and of place.

Between social and monumental time lies a discursive chasm, separating popular from official understandings of history. Social time is the grist of everyday experience. It is above all the kind of time in which events cannot be predicted but in which every effort can be made to influence them. It is the time that gives events their reality, because it encounters each as one of a kind. Monumental time, by contrast, is reductive and generic. It encounters events as realizations of some supreme destiny, and it reduces social experience to collective predictability. Its main focus is on the past – a past constituted by categories and stereotypes. In its extreme forms, it is the time frame of the nation–state. To it belongs the vicarious fatalism – the call to submit to one’s ordained destiny – that marks all authoritarian control.⁸

In Morocco, the origin of the formal processes of heritagisation is based on a discourse firmly attached to colonial policies, where native peoples were considered a passive “object” to be identified, with no real role in the construction of a common heritage. Traditions have thus been identified, classified and legitimised by the coloniser, while at the same time being “invented” in some way and decontextualized from its cultural roots and local dynamics. When Morocco gained independence from France in 1956, its cultural legacy, classified by the coloniser, was already embedded in Moroccan daily life and had undergone, without opposition, a process of national appropriation, transforming into a symbol of Moroccan identity or a much desired ‘Moroccanness’.

The case of heritage assets of said Portuguese origin falls into this dynamic of heritagisation, but with a very interesting specificity: while originally colonial heritage, it has very quickly integrated the basis of Moroccan identity and has been used in the discourse of communities to validate the idea of antiquity and multiculturalism.

It is within this logic of a unifying monumental time, which serves global interests, that we can understand official discourses on the heritage of Portuguese origin in Morocco and, more specifically, on the case under study: Safi.

⁷ Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990, 308.

⁸ Herzfeld 1991, 10.

In Safi, I had the opportunity to observe, through ethnographic research, how the discourses on the historical monuments of the city

are fragmented and have resulted in other perspectives on space based on the daily experience of the community. Social time gives these objects a much more interesting complexity and they are viewed in a way which is not always homogeneous and consensual. This kind of conflict between different views on heritage is a central issue in the case of Rethemnos:

In Rethemnos, this imposed predestination shores up the very fabric of the physical environment. The state has declared the Old Town to be a national historic “monument”, although monuments are exactly what residents adamantly insist they do not want to inhabit. They resist the erosion of the uncertainty in their lives and of the transience of their physical surroundings. In their everyday lives, they resent others’ attempts to focus too precisely, or to impose order, on their activities.⁹

In the case of the province of Safi, 14 monuments were classified as Moroccan national heritage. All these classifications date back to the period of the French protectorate. The first classification in Safi was granted to the Quartier des Poitiers (Potters’ Quarter) in 1920 (*dahir* of 19 November 1920, classified, Official Bulletin no. 423 of 23 November 1920, p. 16) and the last was the residence of the Caid of the Abda tribes, the Dar-Si-Aïssa, in 1954 (Vizierial Order of 2 December 1953, classified, Official Bulletin no. 2150 of 8 January 1954, p. 41).

The heritage objects identified for classification and safeguarding by the French colonial administration did not merely include monuments of local origin, called vernacular, but also, and above all, assets assigned to the period of Portuguese occupation.

With regard to our case study, the monuments and sites of Portuguese origin classified in Safi, from the earliest examples of heritagisation until today, are:

- the Portuguese Sea Castle (*dahir* of 7 November 1922, classified, Official Bulletin of 21 November 1922, p. 1642) ;
- the Land Castle (*kechla*) of Safi (*dahir* of 25 November 1922, classified, Official Bulletin no. 528 of 5 December 1922, p. 1718) ;
- the city ramparts (*dahir* of 3 July 1923, classified, Official Bulletin no. 560 of 17 July 1923, p. 871) ;
- the Portuguese Cathedral in Safi (*dahir* of 21 January 1924, classified, Official Bulletin no. 593 of 26 February 1924, p. 382) ;
- the restricted areas of artistic protection around the Portuguese Sea Castle of Safi (*dahir* of 20 February 1924, Official Bulletin no. 596 of 25 March 1924, p. 544) ;
- and the ruins of the Portuguese church at the cul-de-sac of Sidi Abdelkrim in Safi (*dahir* of 7 May 1930, classified, Official Bulletin no. 921 of 2 June 1930, p. 735).

⁹ *Ibid.*

With the exception of the Colline des Potiers (Potters' Hill) and the monuments and sites of Portuguese origin, all other classified objects are located outside the urban limits of Safi. This means that the heritage chosen to represent the city of Safi mostly comprised an impressive array of sites of foreign origin which was classified by the colonisers and which has remained an icon of the city until today.

Nevertheless, if some of these monuments are generally understood by the community as important symbols of the city, such as the Sea Castle or even the *kechla*, others have lost local recognition, as is the case of the remains of the Portuguese cathedral, or have almost disappeared, erased from memory and place, as the remains of the church at the cul-de-sac of Sidi Abdelkrim.

Safi has experienced a significant growth in population over recent decades which, as we have seen, has had very important consequences in urban areas, especially in what is considered the historic centre of the city, where these classified monuments are concentrated.

After a rural exodus from the surrounding regions, a new population has gradually settled in the old medina of Safi. In response to this phenomenon and as a result of independence and a break with colonial policies, the old families from the city abandoned the historic centre in search of comfort and modernity elsewhere, in the new centres of expansion within the city.

The new inhabitants of the medina are therefore mainly made up of those afflicted by poverty and a low educational level, as well as a lack of attachment to this new place, very different from their places of origin.

The voices of these new residents are often hidden behind the discourses of some of the best informed and positioned people in the community, and also forgotten in the construction of official discourses.

Ethnography can empower voices not usually heard in discussions of tradition, historic conservation, and the like, the voices of those who live in the spaces decreed as monumental by the state. It can recover the unofficial meanings that people often read into official discursive forms (see de Certeau 1984, xiii; Herzfeld 1987a, 144–151). In this way, it places in question official interpretations of past and present.¹⁰

My first contact with Safi in the context of ethnography was in October 2012. At that time, I understood well the difficulty of accessing the countryside from Marrakech, where I lived. The national road, 160 km long, was a major obstacle and an obvious constraint to the development of the city. Bad road conditions are a constant limitation and increase the distance between these two cities which once had an important relationship.

I knew quite well the structure of the historic centre of Safi, especially from the maps of the Protectorate period and through several visits that I had had the opportunity to make with people related to heritage

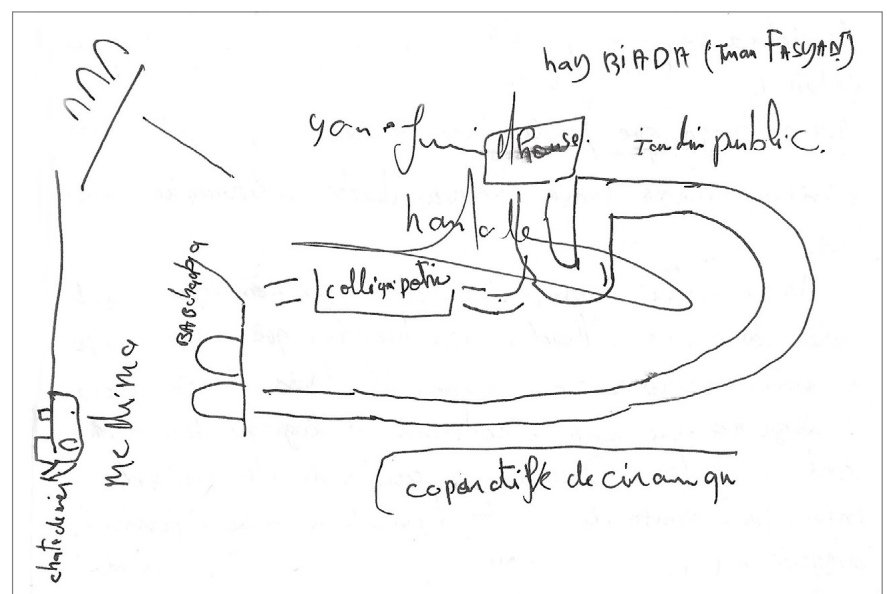
¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

management. What I considered important was to get in contact with the residents through the observation of their activities in this area and several informal interactions. That’s how I met Hamada, one of the many young people who work in the ceramics trade in Safi. Hamada was 25 and lived in Hay Biada, one of the oldest neighbourhoods in Safi, north of the ramparts of the old medina. For this youngster, the city was a place he was proud of and of which he kept photo albums that he claimed to share on its Facebook page.

This first meeting made me discover how these young people are attached to the memory of the glorious and nostalgic past of their city as opposed to the difficulties they experience today. I asked Hamada to draw his mental map of the city. Despite his difficulties, I realised that apart from everyday places – the neighbourhood where he lived, the potters’ hill and the ceramics cooperative – the remaining area did not represent any fundamental reference point in his daily life. I asked him to place the Sea Castle in his map. He also introduced a blank space he called the medina and the castle on the other side. I did not interpret this space as a lack of knowledge of the area, which should be very familiar to Hamada. I interpreted it as the non-recognition of points of interest in the current state of the old medina.

This brief first encounter has led me to reflect on the reasons underlying this attachment of Safi’s community to the memories of the city, especially to the widely disseminated images of the colonial period, while simultaneously refusing the historic centre and the very elements they value in their collected images of the past.

Herzfeld described his study on Rethmenos as “a study of how people negotiate their sense of place. It is about situating moral identity, about battling the form and future of the physical environment, about shoring up familiar cultural spaces against the encroaching, encompassing strangeness of larger worlds”.¹¹



¹¹ Ibid., p. 24.

Figure 2 – Mental map of everyday space in the city of Safi by Hamada, October 2012

The use of colonial postcard images of the city of Safi¹² was one of the ways found by the community – particularly the poorest classes who live in the historic districts – to validate their sense of belonging, as the new ways of life in these cities no longer fulfil them and the development of heritage regulations has prevented their access to certain monuments on a daily basis as before.

Only one of the monuments inscribed on the city's list of heritage buildings is open to the public. The remains of the former Portuguese Gothic cathedral had been used as public baths until the very beginning of the 20th century and their inclusion on the national heritage list. This *hammam* was one of the best known buildings in the medina, still present in the memories of older people. With the listing process, the cathedral underwent rehabilitation and a reappropriation process was naturally put in place.

Though the conservation of the monument was necessary to pass this masterpiece on to future generations, it is a fact that current generations can no longer make use of this space in their daily lives. The *hammam* at Derb Bouiba has regained the designation of Portuguese cathedral. The cathedral's new status has granted it a new value in official discourse, but it is no longer part of the spatial vocabulary of the inhabitants of the medina, who can no longer visit it.

By the same token, we should also recognize that most bureaucrats are neither the heartless lackeys nor the choiceless victims of some generic teleology – the state, postmodern hegemony, colonialism. They, too, are situated actors struggling to bend partly recalcitrant boundaries. While their assigned task is to reinforce the monumentalization of official time, through acts of commemoration on the one hand and through their insistence on the eternal validity of law on the other, in practice they must confront an enormous array of decisions to be made and risks to be taken. They must work with conflicting official guidelines on the one side, and under constant social pressure on the other.¹³

Herzfeld's considerations alert us to the difficulty of creating balance between the norms and trends of the *patrimonialisation* process, that shape what he terms "monumental time", and the time experienced by the inhabitants of places, whose actions give a sense of present and confer social time to the places they inhabit. According to Paula Godinho:

The adjective "up-to-date" has become ambiguous in designating what is ongoing and that which characterises our age. In order for the past not to be abolished, it is necessary that all that is experienced is updated. The time differences between the past, present and future are annihilated thanks to these attempts at updating.¹⁴

¹² See as an example one of the several Facebook pages that share these old postcards: www.facebook.com/allmedina.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 13–14.

¹⁴ Godinho 2012, 14.



Figure 3 – Cleaning and valorisation initiative in the passage and terrace of the Sea Castle in Safi. Organisation: JEC, Assfou, IRMHSS and Ministry for Youth and Sports. Photo: Ana Neno, June 2013



Figure 4 – International workshop organised by the UNESCO Chair and the University of Évora, University of California, Berkeley and IRMHSS with the participation of the National School of Architecture in Rabat, University Cadi Ayyad in Marrakech, the Safi Urban Agency and numerous local associations in Safi. Photo: Ana Neno, January 2015

We are witnessing a very interesting time in Safi, where the practice of dialogue has been developed between associations representing civil society who are on the ground and engage in every possible action to safeguard and revitalise the historical centre, and some local authorities, in particular the Regional Inspectorate of Historic Monuments and Sites who are ever more aware of the importance of such actions:

[...] it is the combination of heritage, identity and territory as a mirror of the present political challenges that turn these memory processes into objects of struggle and conflict. For several decades now, local authorities, farmers, tourism committees, actors in border areas, transnational communities and certain media have become cultural entrepreneurs who are likely to be the ones proposing cultural heritage contents or challenging official versions.¹⁵

Very often we see actions developed and coordinated by local authorities and administrations that have derived from the initiatives of these associations, who manage to mobilise a large number of participants, especially young people who live in the historic centre. I could list a number of examples that I know of and still others that are found regularly on social networks.

However, my goal in this article is not to describe and specify these actions, but rather to leave some considerations on these dialogues on heritage which have been developing in Safi and gaining great popularity in recent years.

Actors in the heritage sector have multiplied and are now claiming a place in the future of historic monuments. The openness of local governments to this movement is crucial for the protection of a national heritage that is still unfortunately in a very sensitive state of preservation and, in certain cases, even at risk of disappearing, as in the case of the Sea Castle.

It is important to continue to develop and expand platforms for dialogue with large segments of the population that are still not aware of these matters. In Bourdieu’s studies the relationship between individuals and their environment is fundamental to understanding society:

One of the questions that Pierre Bourdieu tried to answer in his work has been concerned with “what motivates human action”? How do people react in response to external stimuli? Is the extent to how they act influenced or maybe even determined by structural factors?¹⁶

Cleaning and repairing initiatives in some streets of the old medina in Safi by local associations such as the Youth Association of Building and International Cooperation (JEC – Jeunesse et Coopération des Chantiers Internationaux) in cooperation with the Regional Inspectorate of Historical Monuments and Sites have already had interesting effects in the old medina and they are about to be repeated due to their success among the locals.

¹⁵ Bondaz 2012, 9–22.

¹⁶ Hillier and Rooksby 2005, 20.



Figure 5 – Repair work in a street of the old medina in Safi, organised by JEC and IRMSS. Photo by JEC, June 2015

Small actions will therefore have echoes for many and motivate numerous actors to take a place in the dynamics of the preservation of the heritage and historic districts of the city of Safi.

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Biographies



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