
RECORDS, ARCHIVES AND MEMORY

SELECTED PAPERS FROM THE
CONFERENCE AND SCHOOL
ON RECORDS, ARCHIVES
AND MEMORY STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF ZADAR,
CROATIA, MAY 2013



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INTRODUCTION

MIRNA WILLER, ANNE J. GILLILAND AND MARIJANA TOMIC
Editors

In 2009, the Summer School in the Study of Old Books was organised by the Department of Library and Information Science of the University of Zadar. The Summer School was open to students from Zadar and from other schools in the region and across Europe. That event, which resulted in the first publication of proceedings in this series, brought together experts addressing current scholarship and developments in practice relating to old and rare books. It was specifically intended to feature aspects that are prominent in or distinctive to Croatia and/or southeastern Europe as well as the state of the art elsewhere in Europe and the United States. Following the success of this event, another Summer School was organised at the University of Zadar in 2011 in the Study of Historical Manuscripts. It took a similar approach and broadened its scope to include expertise from Armenia.

In contemplating a similar event for 2013 we decided to address a trio of related areas that have historical, cultural and contemporary facets and relevance and that have become increasingly important areas of research and practice: records and recordkeeping; archives and archival practice; and memory studies and issues of remembering and forgetting. These are also areas in which, in addition to old and rare books and historical manuscripts, the University of Zadar's recently retitled Department of Information Sciences, has been developing new Master's and doctoral curricula, and so they were seen to be particularly timely. To address this ambitious scope we expanded the Summer School to include a conference and invited the participation of leading scholars and professionals from Australia, Austria, Croatia, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States.

This volume includes selected refereed papers from that event that, while not intended to be all-encompassing, nevertheless highlight a thought-provoking diversity of issues and approaches and draw upon several disciplines including the information sciences, archivistcs, history, librarianship and digital humanities. The en-

tire volume begs interesting questions about cultural heritage and also about humanities and social science research. For example, how is cultural heritage and historical viewed differently by the different professions involved with its identification, preservation, description and use? How do archives and other memory institutions reconcile humanities and social science research agendas and associated digital developments with exigencies to address very different kinds of user needs emerging out of human and civil rights concerns? Might we perhaps design new systems to better address both more effectively?

We believe that the volume also both addresses and augments our ongoing objective of juxtaposing and interfacing key developments in different geographic regions that have their own histories, cultures and documentary forms and considerations (especially those in southeastern and also central and eastern Europe that are not always featured in English language monographs), with global concerns such as standards for the description and exchange of information about cultural heritage, or rights and ethics considerations. For example, even within the archival field, archivists are not all reading or even able to access the same literatures. Despite the standardization of many professional practices internationally, much theoretical work developed in the Anglo tradition (especially the United Kingdom, North America and Australia) has not taken into account the conceptual ideas that underpin some of the non-English-speaking European traditions. Moreover, those traditions themselves have a variety of historical relationships between archives, libraries, manuscript repositories/libraries, museums, publishing history, etc. After all, if we understand intuitively that cultural heritage is different from culture to culture and region to region, why would we also not appreciate that the discourse, conceptualizations and configurations of institutions and fields engaged with that cultural heritage would likely also differ? One of the contributions of this book, therefore, is to illustrate some of what is distinctive among these different theoretical perspectives and traditions as well as some of the points of convergence around common interests and needs such as the identification and interpretation of historical evidence. It is our intention to continue this work through future conferences and summer schools.

FOREWORD

ARCHIVAL TURNS AND RETURNS

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The past fifteen years have witnessed a growing multidisciplinary interest in different aspects of archives and archival phenomena. The most notable movement was the “archival turn” in various disciplines. One of the archival turns entailed a move from archives as sources to archives as epistemological sites and the outcome of cultural practices. Another archival turn engages with the archive as a metaphor, often leading to ontological reframing of the archive. To the extent that archivistics adopts these reconceptualizations one can speak of an “archival return” in exchange for the use of archivistics’ concepts by other disciplines.

Archivistics is inspired by the way other disciplines approach the archive(s). One example is the archive viewed as art (and art viewed as archive). Some of these extra-archivistics approaches have, through the adoption of methods (in particular research methodologies), a great but more formal effect on archivistics. On the other hand, “turns” in other disciplines may have an intrinsic or material effect on the ontology of the archive(s), inevitably leading to the adoption of concepts. Among these turns are a linguistic turn, a social turn, a performative turn, and a representational turn. The conclusion is that archival turns and returns challenge research in archivistics to understand and apply a multiform approach of archive(s) “as it is” in conjunction with treating phenomena “as archives”. The impact of these turns and returns on the research agenda of the archivistics multiverse will hopefully increase as more students and scholars coming from elsewhere engage with the archivistics domain.



CULTURAL HERITAGE (PATRIMONY)

AN INTRODUCTION

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ABSTRACT

Cultural heritage is important because it strongly influences our sense of identity, our loyalties, and our behavior. Memory institutions (archives, libraries, museums, schools, and historic sites) have a responsibility for preserving and interpreting the cultural record, so there are practical reasons to study cultural heritage. Attention to cultural heritage leads to wider awareness of the complexity and cultural bases of archives, libraries, and museums. Specialized terms are explained. The role of time is discussed and the past, history, and heritage are distinguished. Cultural heritage has some specialized legal and economic consequences and is deeply associated with much of the conflict and destruction in the world.

KEY WORDS

cultural heritage, cultural policies, identity, memory institutions,
collective memory

Those who work in memory institutions (notably archives, libraries, museums, and historic sites) concern themselves with three distinct fields of study within the general theme of cultural heritage:

1. *Culture*: Examination of cultures and cultural heritages;
2. *Techniques*: The evaluation and selection, preservation, management, organization and interpretation of cultural heritage resources; and
3. *Institutions*: Study of those institutions that preserve, manage, organize, and interpret cultural heritage resources (and, indeed, to some extent define them) and their evolution over time.

These three areas are both important and interesting. They are quite different from each other and have their own substantial literatures. Here, however, we focus on the nature of cultural heritage itself and selected terms and concepts.

Why study cultural heritage?

There are important reasons to examine cultural heritage:

1. Cultural heritage affects individuals' self-identity, self-esteem, and relationships with others.
2. Cultural heritage is formative in the development of social groups.
3. Perceptions of self and of others are influenced by similarities and differences in cultural heritage. *Romeo and Juliet* is based on the consequences of two groups seeing themselves as importantly different.
4. Invoking cultural heritage and the associated sense of identity is used to influence individuals and social groups, especially to instill loyalty.
5. There are powerful economic and political consequences of loyalty and rivalry. As a result, governments, institutions, and individuals are strongly motivated to influence your attitudes, values, and behavior. This is done, in part, through appeal to selected aspects of cultural heritage.
6. It is the mission of archives, libraries, museums, and other "memory institutions" to support the shaping of the understanding of the history and heritage of the populations served. Therefore, the leaders and staff of these institutions have a professional obligation to understand what this mission requires and how best to achieve it.

Most obviously a sense of cultural heritage is influenced by selectively praising what is shared by a group in order to indicate commonality, thereby promoting a sense of community, then appealing for loyalty within the group. Indirectly, this sense of a shared and desirable affinity can be advanced by influencing the selective creation, preservation, (re) interpretation, and suppression (through concealment, discrediting, or destruction) of cultural objects and narratives. Individuals involved in transmitting knowledge include parents, teachers, librarians, museum curators, archivists, historians, and researchers. Their direction and priorities are influenced by the setting of policies, by making laws, and by priorities in the allocation of resources (funding, space, collections, staff). These agendas are necessarily selective both because of political influences and because resources are always limited.

Large vested commercial, political, and economic interests can be seen by browsing any newspaper and noting news and advertisements that have an ethnic or sectarian aspect. When I first taught a

course about cultural heritage I feared that the students would assume that cultural heritage was a combination of innocent nostalgia and a warm sense of togetherness. So I took my newspaper to class and we identified articles that had a cultural identity or cultural heritage aspect. The *San Francisco Chronicle* of 30 August 1997 included reports on: ethnic cleansing in Kenya; restrictions on alcohol sales in Protestant counties in Texas; political activism among Chinese Americans in San Francisco; criticism of scholarships to encourage white students to attend predominantly black colleges; the Japanese Ministry of Education's illegal exclusion of wartime atrocities from textbooks; sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland; an arrest in Vietnam for killing endangered squirrels to make traditional Chinese medicine; and a massacre of three hundred Algerian villagers that was blamed on Islamic extremists (there have been suspicions that military officers were acquiring valuable farm land very cheaply after such massacres and that accusing religious extremists was an easy way to discourage investigation). All that in one day's newspaper. Then, as now, much of the misery and destruction in the world derives from issues involving cultural identity and cultural heritage.

7. There is, in addition, an academic incentive to study cultural heritage. It opens the archive, library, and museum fields to wider awareness of both conceptual and practical issues.

Adding deliberate attention to cultural heritage leads naturally to an awareness of a broader perspective. Librarians specialize in published materials, archivists focus on their series of records, and museum staff curate and interpret their collected objects. But attention to cultural heritage issues encourages in each a wider awareness of the range of cultural influences including historic sites, school curricula, and socio-economic data sets. Since a cultural heritage perspective cuts across genres, a wider sense of "bibliographic" description, extending across multiple media and genres, is encouraged.

Cultural heritage and cultural identity are especially subjective and emotional ("affective") areas of understanding and so attention to them requires an awareness and sensitivity to how meaning is constructed. That awareness is liable to be lacking when information services are seen as technical fact-finding or document delivery services suitable for delegation to algorithmic systems. With emotional issues, *what* is said may be less significant than *how* it is said. Linguists distinguish between the literal meaning (denotation) of a

word and associated and contextual aspects that may influence how a word is understood (connotation). When statements are made about peoples' sense of identity and personal values, the connotation commonly reflects attitudes and value judgments in significant ways that resist algorithmic treatment. Attention to cultural heritage issues moves information system design beyond the practical manipulation of well-defined objects in operational contexts (such as accounting systems, spare parts inventories, and most database systems) into socially sensitive, politicized areas, notably sex, race, death, and patriotism. (There is a saying that the first casualty of war is truth.) Finally, because culture pervades society, attention to cultural issues requires an integrative approach across areas that might otherwise be considered in isolation: archives, museum studies, bibliography, cultural policy, anthropology, rhetoric, education, and so on.

Culture

The word "culture" has a long and complex history that has been conveniently summarized by Raymond Williams in his useful guide to words used in the social sciences.¹ Today "culture" is used with two primary meanings. In everyday speech, it usually refers to "high culture", such as grand opera, orchestral concerts, fine art, and other exotic and expensive activities. In academic discourse, however, "culture" is used as a general term for how we behave. Edward B. Tylor's classic definition of 1871 is: "Culture or civilization taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."² There are two important points here: First, "culture" includes all aspects of belief and behavior; and, second, it is learned through social interaction, often unconsciously. It is not genetically inherited.

Several other words and phrases are important when discussing cultural heritage, including:

Ethnic group is commonly used to refer to a social minority, such as the Roma, or an immigrant population. Hence the phrase "ethnic cuisine" is used to refer to restaurants serving unusual food. But "ethnic" really means *any* group that is in some way set apart, including the

1 Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: a vocabulary of culture and society*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. Pp. 87-93.

2 Tylor, Edward B. *Primitive culture*. London: J. Murray, 1871. P. 1.

dominant social group and occupational groups, including the police, the military or religious communities, all bodies that develop their own “corporate culture.” Consequently, according to this definition anyone is likely to have membership in more than one kind of ethnic group.

Identity in this context means the psychological self-perception of an individual or of a group. Inevitably, what is special about us is the way in which we differ from others.

“*The other*” refers to those who are perceived as different from us, those in other ethnic groups. This *us* versus *other* dichotomy is a very deep, fundamental, emotional, and influential aspect of human behavior because our identity is, by definition, how our group differs from others. It is revealed in many ways: loyalty, pride, rivalry, hostility, aggression, patriotism, chauvinism, and more. Danger arises because while loyalty and pride, for example, can have beneficial effects, the temptation is to extend one’s sense of difference into rivalry and selfish or destructive outcomes. Nationalism is the obvious manifestation, but it arises in relation to all of the many group and institutional affiliations in which we participate, including sports, religion, clubs, and family. As society becomes more complex with networked communications and the relative decline in the power of the nation state, we participate in more and more different groups and so the *us* versus *other* effects also become more complex.

Voice is the self-expression from within an ethnic group asserting assent or dissent.

Archetype is the term applied to typical or characteristic examples. In cultural studies, definitions and boundaries are often unclear or do not exist. There may well be a continuum of transitional forms between recognizably different examples. In the absence of clear definitions, explanations have to be qualitative and discursive. In this situation, speaking in terms of typical examples (archetypes) of different groups makes discussion much easier. The danger is in forgetting that one is dealing in generalities based on a simplified, symbolic form that may not be closely related to individual cases in the real world.

Authenticity refers to the origin and form of objects and behaviors. When examined closely, determining what is and what is not “authentic” becomes problematic. An object may have the proper origin but be uncharacteristic or it may be of the expected form but of some alien origin. In any case, it is easy to overlook the actual variety and hard to know the true origin of objects and behavior.

Time: the past, history, and cultural heritage

It is important to distinguish between the past, history, and cultural heritage. The past has passed. You cannot go there! And because life and behavior, i.e., culture, changes over time, if you could travel back in time, you would find the past to be culturally different from the present. Lowenthal stated it nicely: “The past is a foreign country”.³ The difference is that you cannot visit the past as you could a foreign country.

History is composed of narratives about the past, always multiple, always incomplete. The words “history” and “story” have the same origin. Life is so complex that all historical accounts must necessarily involve great selectivity and extreme simplification. Each account has some purpose and so some point of view.

Historians ordinarily describe events in which they were not involved and which took place in a context that was culturally different from their own. So they need for their interpretations to find and depend on evidence, which means documents in a broad sense. “No documents, no history,” declared the French historian, N. D. Fustel de Coulanges. We can add: No history, no identity. This situation has several important consequences. In particular, historians need evidence and they depend heavily on the collections of memory institutions (archives, libraries, and museums), so what gets collected, preserved, and made accessible will heavily influence what historical narratives will be written and what can be included in them. So the successful destruction or suppression of evidence through the bombing of libraries and the destruction of records will also be influential.

There are large and interesting literatures on the politics of museums and of textbooks. Leaders want loyalty and community pride. For this reason historical narratives, which include historic site interpretation and the presentation of museum exhibits, are inevitably politically sensitive. Hence the tendency in textbooks and museums to avoid attention to unpleasant actions by one’s own group. Many questions arise: Whose history is being told? How selective is it? Whose history is not being told? How has the voice of every group been included?

Some are attracted to what is old because it is old (antiquarianism). Others want a romantic account, wishing to remember the pleasant and to forget the bad (nostalgia).

³ Lowenthal, David. *The past is a foreign country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Because culture, the way we live, is dynamic, not static, attitudes, language, and values change over time. This can be seen in the role of war memorials, which are viewed with great emotion when the memories of loved ones who died remain fresh. But as time passes, the “affect” (the emotional impact) diminishes. As generations pass, the memorial has less and less significance. A similar effect can be seen in the obsolescence of subject indexing in catalogs and bibliographies. Language is used for naming documents (subject headings, classifications, ontologies, thesauri, etc.), either by marking documents with descriptive names or assigning documents to named categories. Even with differences of notation, with words (“Economics”) or codes (“330”) and vocabulary control (“Fiddles” see “Violins”; broader term “Bowed stringed instruments”), description is a language activity. The terms used were current when the indexing was done, but as time passes language, readers, and attitudes change and past indexing terms relating to socially sensitive topics (death, race, sex, patriotism, war) tend to become offensive and unacceptable.⁴ Sanford Berman’s classic critique of Library of Congress Subject Headings provides a good starting point.⁵

Tradition and social memory

Culture, hence cultural heritage, is essentially active. It is performed through living, as is implied by Tylor’s definition. One *lives* culture. Hence, if particular ethnic traditions are to be maintained, there has to be continuing active engagement. The word *tradition* is commonly used for this more or less conscious “handing on” of customs. But the role of performance has a corollary that is often forgotten: Traditions can also be created by introducing performance of new or imagined “traditional” customs. Some of the English and Scottish tradition that appears so historic was created in the nineteenth century, along with the Gothic revival in architecture.⁶ Church rituals, such as a royal funeral, are carefully designed and powerfully affective.

Memory is what the individual remembers. *Social memory* or *collective memory* refers to the memories that are shared within a group, such as tales of ancestors told at a family reunion or the commemora-

⁴ Buckland, Michael. Obsolescence in subject description. // Journal of documentation 68, 2(2011), 154-161.

⁵ Berman, Sanford. *Prejudices and antipathies: a tract on the LC heads concerning people*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1971. Reprinted, Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1993.

⁶ The invention of tradition / edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

tion of some past military event. These commemorative activities are a way to affirm the shared identity of a group through a celebration of what they select to remember. Understandably the commemorations and their meaning evolve as the needs of those celebrating change. (Fentress and Wickham provide an excellent introduction.⁷).

Likewise, it is because culture is how we live that cultures change as our lives do. This is especially the case with the tendency for ethnic minorities to influence, and more markedly, be influenced by the dominant culture. There may be a desire to retain a minority language, but economic and social success tend to depend on being fluent in the language of the ambient dominant culture, so local terminology, dialects, and minority languages tend to fade over time. National language policies are a sensitive and controversial topic because they promote standard forms at the expense of local and minority variety. Similarly, the language of emigrants and those in isolated locations, such as remote islands, tend to become progressively different from the form of that language in the country of origin, retaining, for example, word usage and pronunciation that are increasingly archaic as usage elsewhere evolves.

Objects: material culture

Material culture refers to cultural phenomena embodied in physical objects such as those collected in ethnographic museums. Such objects consciously or unconsciously constitute an expression of a group. In many cases, the collected artifacts in ethnographic museums may be a large part of the evidence surviving for some past culture. The combination of the material culture, heritage sites, and literature by and about the group of interest is sometimes referred to as the *cultural record*. Preserving, managing, organizing, making accessible, and interpreting these resources is the major challenge for memory institutions.

Cultural property. One thinks of property as something that one owns and can control, but that is a simplification. In practice, owning property is not absolute, but a bundle of more or less restrictive legal rights. Owning an automobile does not authorize one to drive on the wrong side of the road or on other people's land. Owning a house may entitle one to prevent other people from entering, but not police who have a search warrant. "Cultural property" is property where rights are

7 Fentress, James; Chris Wickham. Social memory. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

limited because of the cultural characteristics of the property. It may be acceptable to demolish a building that is of no special architectural interest. But if a building is an exceptional example of a traditional form of architecture, then it is likely to be subject to legislated restraints requiring not only that it be preserved but also that any changes to it must be approved by inspectors as conforming to its style and materials. The reason is the desire to preserve irreplaceable cultural heritage. Similarly, there are commonly restrictions on selling to other countries objects that are considered to have significance as cultural heritage. This applies especially to works of art. In the United Kingdom, legislation, known as the Waverly Rules, require that British institutions must have an opportunity to buy cultural treasures intended to be sold abroad.

Cultural values and policies

Cultural heritage policies are purposive. They reflect social, political and economic agendas and, therefore, values. They are, therefore, likely to be more or less controversial because of disagreements over values, factual interpretations, and priorities

*Example: The Enola Gay controversy.*⁸ The Smithsonian Institution is the national museum in the USA and its National Air and Space Museum planned an exhibit to marking the 50th anniversary in 1995 of the end of World War II featuring a restoration of the *Enola Gay*, the bomber that helped to end the war by dropping the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. A fierce controversy developed over how this event should be presented. For military veterans it had been a justified act that had achieved decisive victory and finally ending an appalling war in which so many of their comrades had been killed or injured. But others questioned the necessity for using that terrible bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in a nearly defeated Japan. Historians had questioned whether the public justification for bombing at the time had been entirely honest. Anger over the exhibit eventually threatened the funding of the Smithsonian budget. The exhibit was withdrawn and later replaced by a less controversial one.

Cultural relativism. A liberal view supporting equality among peoples indicates that their cultural preferences should be respected and a policy of respect and equal treatment is known as *multicultural-*

⁸ Gallagher, Edward J. The Enola Gay controversy [cited 2013-11-5]. Available at: <http://digital.lib.lehigh.edu/trial/enola/>

ism. Yet, when examined closely, one soon finds conflict when underlying values differ. For example, most people would agree that sticking knives deep into live animals for amusement is wrong, but it is defended as cultural heritage when it is called bull-fighting. Slavery and the exploitation of women have been long-established cultural traditions. Activists seeking equality for women are engaged in cultural engineering and deliberately trying to change long-established cultural heritage. Critical analysis of cultural practices is likely to raise ethical conflicts. Holding personal values can conflict with accepting the equality of different cultures.

Cultural policies. Given the political importance of identity and loyalty, governments, corporations, and other organizations have a wide variety of policies intended to influence cultural outcomes. For example, modern times have been associated with increased standardization. The rise of the nation state, printing, increased literacy, and the rise of nationalism was associated in the nineteenth century with school textbooks designed to guide teachers as well as pupils and university departments to establish and teach canonical accounts of the national history and the national language.

The Romantic Movement in the arts aligned with political interests and led to policies to protect and to preserve ancient buildings that were considered to reflect attractive national traditions. One of the pioneers was the novelist Prosper Mérimée (1803 – 1870), author of *Carmen*, who became France's first inspector-general of historical monuments and rescued the walls of Carcassonne from being demolished to provide space for new houses. Another was architect Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814 – 1879) whose “restorations” were more gothic than the originals.

In the twentieth century immigration and citizenship policies in most countries strongly favored the dominant “race.” Race has no biological meaning in this context because *homo sapiens* is a single species, but, of course, that has not prevented the widespread use of “race” for designating ethnic groups, widespread “racism” and “racist” policies.

Cultural foreign policy (or *cultural diplomacy*) refers to diplomatic and other initiatives taken by all but the poorest countries to promote a sympathetic knowledge of their country in other countries. The programs include cultural attachés in embassies, subsidized cultural centers, cultural exchanges, tours by musicians and intellectuals, financial support for foreign scholars, endowed chairs in foreign universities,

carefully designed news services, and the promotion of the national tourist industry. These activities peaked during Cold War rivalries and reflected commercial and political agendas as well as a sustained effort to induce favorable attitudes. It is a form of propaganda, which depends on credibility if it is to be effective.⁹

The British Council, for example, promotes the active use of the English language and has provided excellent library services in many cities around the world for journalists, politicians, academics and others expected to be influential. The British Broadcasting Corporation “has offices around the world, with staff who have local language skills who can better understand what local audiences and clients are looking for, and who act as global ambassadors for the BBC and the UK.”¹⁰ Large cities commonly have or had a “Goethe Haus”, a “Maison française”, and/or a United States Information Service library.

Economics of cultural heritage

Tourism is a leading industry in most countries and heritage sites (national parks, museums, old towns, stately homes, picturesque villages, and traditional landscapes) form a central part of the attraction and require a major investment of public funding for conservation and restoration. Strict controls on land use and building practices are necessary. Many countries try, with difficulty, to protect their publishing and film industries from free trade competition.

The high prices paid by collectors have generated a very large underground trade in forged and stolen works of art, robbery of archaeological sites, and the smuggling of protected material culture.

Memory institutions. Memory infrastructure

Archives, libraries, museums, and schools are deeply engaged in cultural policies. This is an active, not a passive role. Public and national libraries, in particular, are not simply collections or information services. Their purpose is to develop their communities: economically, socially, politically, and culturally. Large public libraries in the USA used to teach English to immigrants and hold classes on how to prepare for

⁹ One good introduction is Oren Stephens: *Facts to a candid world: America's overseas information program*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1955.

¹⁰ British Broadcasting Corporation. *Inside the BBC. What we do. Around the world* [cited 2013-11-5] Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/insidethebbc/whatwedo/aroundtheworld/>

citizenship before other institutions were available to provide this kind of help. Cultural policies are so embedded in the world around us that they are easily overlooked unless one pauses to examine them.

Museums are expected to celebrate their region and to have explicitly educational programs. It is not surprising that they focus on the positive achievements of the past rather than the disgraceful. Museum exhibits are necessarily interpretive and an interpretation that visitors find offensive can create difficulties for the museum even if it is historically correct. Museums and historic site interpretations tend to tell the history of the struggles, suffering, and achievements of good people.

Example. The Atatürk Mausoleum commemorating Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founding figure of modern Turkey, is a major attraction in Ankara, the capital. It is huge, covering the top of a hill and set within a large Peace Park. It is approached along an imposing avenue (Road of the Lions), flanked by statues evocative of the ancient civilizations of Anatolia. The main building (the Hall of Honor, the location of Atatürk's tomb) is somewhat reminiscent of the Parthenon and faces on to a Ceremonial Plaza designed for 15,000 people and surrounded by low buildings containing memorabilia of Atatürk. It is guarded by imposing soldiers in impeccable uniforms.

Close to Atatürk's tomb are brass plaques containing inscriptions. One reads:

INSCRIPTION OF ATATÜRK'S LAST MESSAGE TO
THE TURKISH ARMY.

I ADDRESS THE TURKISH ARMY WHOSE RECORD OF VICTORY STARTED AT THE DAWN OF THE HISTORY OF MANKIND AND WHICH HAS CARRIED THE LIGHT OF CIVILIZATION IN ITS VICTORIOUS PROGRESS. IF YOU SAVED YOUR COUNTRY FROM OPPRESSION, TRAGEDY AND ENEMY INVASION IN THE MOST CRITICAL AND DIFFICULT TIMES, I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE FRUITFULL ERA OF THE REPUBLIC

EQUIPPED WITH ALL THE MODERN WEAPONS AND MEANS OF MILITARY SCIENCE, YOU WILL CONDUCT YOUR DUTY WITH THE SAME LOYALTY. OUR GREAT NATION AND I ARE SURE THAT YOU ARE ALWAYS PREPARED TO CARRY

OUT YOUR DUTY OF DEFENDING THE HONOUR OF OUR COUNTRY AND OUR CIVILIZATION AGAINST ANY DANGER, FROM INSIDE OR OUTSIDE.

OCTOBER 29, 1938. PRESIDENT MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK.

THIS MESSAGE HAS BEEN INSCRIBED ON THE WALL OF THE MAUSOLEUM ON THE OCCASION OF THE CENTENNIAL OF ATATÜRK'S BIRTH.

Completed in 1953, the Mausoleum was designed to impress and to reinforce loyalty to Atatürk's vision of a modernized Turkey. It is a fine example of an investment in creation of a cultural heritage.

In conclusion: about cultural heritage

Cultural heritage includes resources from which our cultural identity is formed. Culture is present, so cultural heritage is historical. Cultural heritage is active not passive, even though choices may have been made for us by our parents, teachers, and other influential individuals. Culture and cultural heritage are both an individual and a group phenomenon. Cultural heritage influences our knowledge, beliefs, and emotions. We are all in multiple social groups (family, workplace, friends) so we share in multiple cultures. Cultural heritage is partly a matter of choice. We can accept and reject traditions, though often only with difficulty, and we can move to new environments. Cultural heritage meets individual and group needs and it helps explain how we think and how we live. The specific fields of study within cultural heritage – the examination of individual cultures and cultural heritages; the preservation, management, organization and interpretation of cultural heritage resources; and the study of the institutions that manage cultural heritage resources – are easier to address than cultural heritage in the abstract.

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Appendix: Three cultural heritage assignments.

1. Find a newspaper with international coverage and examine what is reported in it. Note which of the news events (and the rhetoric about those events) has a cultural or cultural heritage component, including differences in ethnic, religious, and political values. Make a list with very brief explanations. What proportion of the newspaper is included?
2. Look at a selection of the examples and comments in Sanford Berman's *Prejudices and antipathies: a tract on the LC heads concerning people*. (1971, reprinted 1993). Has the Library of Congress made the changes that Berman wanted? (Use <http://authorities.loc.gov/>). Very briefly report on what you found. Do you agree with Berman. Add an example of your own.
3. What is changing *your* cultural heritage? What policies influence that change?

KULTURNA BAŠTINA (PATRIMONIJ) UVOD

Sažetak

Kulturna je baština važna zato što snažno utječe na naš osjećaj identiteta, na našu odanost i na naše ponašanje. Institucije pamćenja (arhivi, knjižnice, muzeji, škole i povijesna nalazišta) odgovorne su za očuvanje i tumačenje kulturne povijesti. Otuda i praktični razlozi za proučavanje kulturne baštine. Briga o kulturnoj baštini vodi k široj svijesti o kompleksnosti i kulturnim temeljima arhiva, knjižnica i muzeja. U radu se objašnjavaju specijalizirani pojmovi. Razpravlja je uloga vremena, uz razgraničenja pojmove prošlost, povijest i baština. Kulturna baština ima osebujne pravne i ekonomski posljedice i duboko je povezana s brojnim sukobima i razaranjima u svijetu.

Ključne riječi: kulturna baština, kulturne politike, identitet, institucije pamćenja, kolektivno pamćenje



THE CONTRIBUTION OF ARCHIVAL PRINCIPLES TO A META-SCIENCE METHODOLOGY FOR DIGITAL HERITAGE

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the contribution of archival principles to the definition and implementation of a common methodology for digital heritage curation and protection, and identifies general implications for both the archival science itself and for a meta-science perspective. This theoretical approach has been successfully developed by the international archival community in the last fifteen years and its outputs have been able to support other disciplines and research projects dedicated to the curation and preservation of digital heritage by strengthening their conceptual frameworks and consistency. More comprehensive research is required in the future to clarify and reinforce the suggestions proposed here, but the experiences of many international projects in this sector – specifically those characterized by large and collaborative research and cross-disciplinary approaches such as DELOS, ERPANET, InterPARES, CASPAR and APARSEN – can confirm this preliminary analysis. They can also provide basic elements for better exploring the positive role of activities such as *integration* and *cooperation* as opposed to ambiguous concepts like *convergence*. In order to provide support for these suggestions, the article uses the archival concept of evidence of authenticity as an example of how it has been incorporated into international research outputs in the digital preservation field.

KEY WORDS

meta-science, authenticity, digital records, preservation, curation

An assumption and its implications: science and meta-science

The line of reasoning that is proposed here for further discussion has a strong connection with Sue McKemmish and Anne Gilliland's chapter "Archival and Recordkeeping Research: Past, Present and Future," in Williamson and Johanson's 2012 *Research Methods: Information Man-*

agement, Systems, and Contexts. In that chapter, McKemmish and Gilliland provide “an overview of research in the archival multiverse, reviewing and reflecting on historical developments, current trends and future directions” and testifying to “the rapid diversification and expansion of archival and recordkeeping research over the past 25 years and the development of important research infrastructure”.¹ They focus their analysis on issues relevant for sustaining and extending “archival and recordkeeping research to address the needs of our societies, organizations and communities” and on presenting and discussing “philosophical and theoretical frameworks used in archival and recordkeeping research drawn from archival science and other fields, particularly those that support the exploration of records and recordkeeping as they exist in multiple cultural and social contexts”.² In concert with this work, the perspective of this article relates to the capacity of archival and recordkeeping research to provide conceptual frameworks and consistent terminology derived from its professional and disciplinary³ tradition to other scientific fields. Specifically, the article focuses on the field’s capacity to contribute to the development of a common scientific methodology for curating and protecting digital assets. Of course, many concepts have to be analyzed and validated in relation to the major outcomes of archival and recordkeeping research, including fundamental terms such as science and meta-science and their possible application in new environments and perspectives.

Science, according to *Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary*, is “knowledge attained through study or practice, or knowledge covering general truths of the operation of general laws as obtained and tested through scientific method”.⁴ In this context, the term can be assumed also to have the meaning, recognized in many vocabularies, of an “organized body of knowledge”. Meta-science is (at the moment) more simply defined as “theory or science of science”⁵ and is a scientific gen-

1 McKemmish, Sue; Anne Gilliland. Archival and recordkeeping research: past, present and future. // Research methods: information management, systems, and contexts. Prahran, VIC: Tilde University Press, 2013.

2 Ibid.

3 The term *discipline* is defined in this paper as a branch of specialized scientific knowledge for research and education, based on a systematic approach to its object, on robust principles and methods and on clear relations with other branches. A scientific discipline has its own technical language and criteria for outcomes assessment and control.

4 Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary. Science, *ad vocem* [cited 2013-8-5]. Available at: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/science>

5 Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary. Meta-science, *ad vocem* [cited 2013-8-5]. Available at: www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/metascience

eralization intended to provide a new space for exploring the complexity of the contemporary world and providing a contribution to theoretical and practical investigations with a multidisciplinary approach.

The concept of science does not require further investigation in this context. The term “meta-science,” commonly used in the traditional scientific domains, has recently been adopted by scholars in information studies with the intention of expanding its use and its relationships beyond the traditional basic science domains where the expression was first and mainly adopted. As confirmed by Rosenbloom’s 2009 article⁶ assessing the related concepts from the perspective of the computing domain: “the Metascience Expression (ME) language has been developed to aid in understanding the structure of, and relationships among, great scientific domains”, with the aim of “understanding and shaping the interactions among a coherent, distinctive and extensive body of structures and processes”. According to a more extensive definition of the term, it “not only includes the traditional sciences and engineering, but also mathematics, the humanities and the ‘profession’. In the world of information sciences, specifically and not by chance in computing science, this terminology “has been developed to aid in understanding the structure of, and relationships among, great scientific domains” and applied (among others) “to provide new insight into the relationship between science and society”.⁷

The last sentence sounds familiar to archivists. Because meta-science “can be based on any number of scientific domains”, this article can be seen as an exercise of meta-science in the archival and record-keeping field. Similarly to Rosenbloom’s declaration that his exercise “has been done in isolation from the more traditional meta-science approaches” and for this reason it “should be viewed more as reflections from a computer scientist than as a deeply scholarly article within an existing tradition”,⁸ the analysis laid out in this article has to be considered a personal exercise, even though it has been based on much international research experience and investigation and can count on convergent perspectives with other scholars in the field.

⁶ Rosenbloom, Paul S. The great scientific domains and society: a metascience perspective from the domain of computing. // The international journal of science in society 1, 1(2009), 133-143 [cited: 2013-8-5]. Available at: http://cs.usc.edu/~rosenblo/Pubs/Y09_18145_TheGreatScientificDomainsandSociety_final.pdf

⁷ Ibid., p. 134-135.

⁸ Ibid.

The concept of science is here intended to extend beyond “the normal barriers that separate [...] research from applications”. It can be defined as “the *understanding and shaping of the interactions* among a *coherent, distinctive and extensive body of structures and processes*”. Rosenbloom’s article provides a detailed explanation for this definition, but for scholars, students and professionals in archival science and recordkeeping it should be easy to recognize in the terminology here adopted the fundamental body of their scientific knowledge. Of course, the main thesis presented here is not to identify archival science itself as a meta-science, but simply to propose the archival and recordkeeping sciences as disciplines whose methodology and principles can provide relevant support to the meta-science goals of *understanding and shaping adequate structures and processes for building and preserving digital heritage*.

This perspective (if proved reliable) could have some positive consequences for the disciplines involved but, at least, implies larger scientific (and not only practical) recognition for crucial concepts and methods to be applied to other domains. Among other possibilities, it should have the capacity to strengthen more strategic and persistent alliances for the protection of digital heritage, as the 2012 Vancouver UNESCO Conference conclusions and recommendations clearly and strongly suggested.⁹

A common conceptual framework based on archival and recordkeeping terminology

The methods and principles developed by archival and recordkeeping research represent a robust, consolidated and open conceptual framework with high capacity for nourishing the research environment and stimulating new approaches for the future. Many aspects of this evolution can be considered enabling factors, as McKemmish and Gilliland have already pointed out, albeit from a different perspective:

- “archival science is emerging as a meta-field that cuts across so-called ‘content disciplines’”,

⁹ Unesco/UBC Vancouver Declaration. The Memory of the World in the digital age: digitization and preservation. Vancouver, British Columbia, 26 to 28 September 2012 [cited: 2013-8-5]. Available at: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/news-and-in-focus-articles/all-news/news/unesco_releases_vancouver_declaration_on_digitization_and_preservation/

- the archival research has been characterized in the last decade by “a significant expansion of the field’s research front, with an increasing number of large, collaborative research programs”,
- “the growing diversity of archival and recordkeeping research” [as illustrated in the table 4.1 of that chapter] shows “a move beyond the local, to span organisational, disciplinary, cultural and national boundaries”,
- “the trend towards trans-disciplinary and trans-institutional collaborations tackling multiple facets of priority research problems is strengthening”,
- “the crucial role played by domain experts/archival and record-keeping professionals in institution-based research and development initiatives, as well as in collaborative research projects, highlights the important role of archival education programs”,
- “while the construct of the Archive is itself an object of study, it provides the evidence for the study of other phenomena”,
- “the maturation and rich potential of archival research methods” are clearly reflected when literature and projects are analyzed in detail see (table 4.4).

As previously underlined, McKemmish and Gilliland,¹⁰ while recognizing “an increasing awareness and shared understanding of the role and importance of archival research in other fields” and “the potential for transformative research to occur in fertile trans-disciplinary research collaborations”, mainly addressed methods and techniques derived and adapted from other disciplines “to address the needs of our societies, organisations and communities”. The specific effort of this article is concentrated on the capacity of mature archival and recordkeeping research to support other disciplines’ investigations and contribute to addressing “the needs of our societies, organisations and communities” by creating and protecting qualified digital heritage. The term to invoke is the same outlined by McKemmish and Gilliland: “transdisciplinarity” – rather than “convergence” and beyond “inter- and multi-disciplinarity”. Interdisciplinary research implies that “its goal and objectives could only be achieved through the contribution of several disciplines, integrating methodologies, concepts, principles and techniques from a variety of fields as needed”. Multidisciplinary research examines the same problem “in the con-

10 McKemmish, S.; A. Gilliland. Op. cit.

text of each separate discipline and solved it within such discipline, without any integration of theory or methods, after which the results were compared and the best solutions adopted".¹¹

Transdisciplinarity (used for the first time in 1970 by Jean Piaget) is multi-referential and multi-dimensional. It involves the transfer of one or more methods or ideas from one discipline to another and – as the prefix "trans" indicates – implies thinking at the same time within, across and outside each discipline and beyond all disciplines. Its purpose is to gain an understanding of present reality, one imperative of which is the unity of knowledge. "Rigor, openness, and tolerance are the fundamental characteristics of the transdisciplinary attitude and vision. Rigor in argument, taking into account all existing data, is the best defense against possible distortions. Openness involves an acceptance of the unknown, the unexpected and the unforeseeable. Tolerance implies acknowledging the right to ideas and truths opposed to our own."¹²

This concept of transdisciplinarity can be employed for our disciplines to describe the increasing effort made by many international and national projects in the archival and recordkeeping field to support and broaden their vision. It can be interpreted also as a scientific and intellectual approach aimed at implementing capacities and tools for understanding the present complex world. It does not imply a new epistemology, but rather a more open attitude to developing, adopting and transmitting knowledge to future scholars and practitioners. It is based on the capacity to provide an overarching and more comprehensive methodology for developing human knowledge and preserving disciplinary diversity. Of course, any transdisciplinary project by definition is also disciplinary, interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary.¹³

With these concepts in mind and, as mentioned, in continuity with other positions in the field (McKemmish-Gilliland), but with a

11 Duranti, Luciana. Preserving authentic electronic art over the long-term: The InterPARES 2 Project. Paper presented at the Electronic Media Group Annual Meeting of the American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works. Portland, Oregon. June 14, 2004 [cited: 2013-8-5]. Available at: <http://www.google.it/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CC4QFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fcool.conservation-us.org%2Fcoolaic%2Fsg%2Femg%2Flibrary%2Fpdf%2Fduranti%2FDuranti-EMG2004.pdf&ei=NL3-UeutGIG34ASy2YHIBg&usg=AFQjCNHzrzLmcGzPX9l7R1WhndTlxZCQ&sig2=mK8YHUmVbgGOdN21gPnhQ&cbvm=bv.50165853,d.bGE>

12 See: InterPARES 3 Final report [cited: 2013-8-5]. Available at: http://www.interpares.org/display_file.cfm?doc=InterPARES_International_Alliance_ip3_final_report.pdf

13 Ibid.

shift of emphasis, this article is intended to enlighten some recent developments of the archival and recordkeeping research. In so doing, it references the contributions of this research to other disciplines and to the present and future complexity, specifically but not exclusively related to digital heritage in terms of implementation of a *transdisciplinary* methodology beyond the documentary sectors, and (if possible) for a more comprehensive understanding and shaping of the digital heritage domain.

Because the perspective from which the literature and research outputs investigated here concerns the protection of digital heritage, some other assumptions have to be considered. More specifically,

- digital heritage protection includes its accurate creation, the persistent tracking, and documentation of all the relevant transactions involved in its maintenance and preservation,
- for facing the most complex challenges involved in this effort, the concepts and tools developed by the documentary sectors (specifically those related to the digital recordkeeping) can provide the best evidence for other domains and implement a related transdisciplinary methodology.

Of course, this approach can include many concepts relevant in the field that could be useful to investigate. In this article this effort will be concentrated, due to space and time constraints, on two main areas: a brief general overview of crucial terms, and a detailed exemplification based on outputs and deliverables developed by recent digital preservation research projects. This exemplification will be limited to the concept of authenticity in the digital context.

Concepts such as authenticity, reliability, trustworthy custody, digital continuity, provenance and context that have an archival foundation are already part of a common vocabulary in digital curation and preservation research, even if in many cases the definitions of common use are not rooted in the archival domain and lack methodological consistency. The glossaries developed by research projects in the e-science sector normally adopt only or mainly terms from the Open Archival Information Systems (OAIS) Reference Model that emanated out of the space data community and was approved as ISO standard¹⁴ without paying much attention to the need for a standardized and qualified use

¹⁴ The OAIS Reference Model specifically states that it is consciously not necessarily using terminology that is used in archival science. The aim is to provide a cross-domain terminology.

of other terminology. Even the ISO Records Management standards often fail to control for coherence when the same concept is adopted in different cross-domain environments (also when it refers to different concepts and subjects). European and wider international projects such as CASPAR, APARSEN, DigCCurrV, as well as the applied investigation behind the digital repositories standardization processes (e.g., audit checklist requirements and ISO 16363 relating to digital repositories certification) have largely exploited the main archival and recordkeeping concepts and terms (e.g., provenance, authenticity, record trustworthiness, record continuum) as part of their contribution to the creation of a coherent, distinctive and extensive body of structures and processes necessary for a scientific approach to the digital heritage protection, but without recognizing their lineage.

The lack of consistency of international research terminology (and of many international recommendations) is partially due to a lack of awareness that the unambiguous and consistent definition of concepts – when not confined to a specific discipline – requires time and attention, as the OAIS example clearly demonstrates: the OAIS glossary has been developed with the contribution of all the domains involved and can be/has been interpreted and accepted as a transdisciplinary output. For this reason, even if it presents overlapping areas and ambiguity, it has been adopted in many research areas including specific disciplinary domains that have their own vocabularies and are not accustomed to including external contributions. In the 2012 version of the standard, the OAIS model has also been able to evolve by adopting new definitions or refining those already present such as “authenticity”, as it will be discussed later.

It could be useful to investigate the resistance to accepting more stringent cooperation among sectors where terminology is involved and when terms developed by documentary heritage disciplines are available. This aspect is relevant for projects related to digital heritage protection: an area whose dynamism and complexity should require more focus on a well-defined set of terms able to evolve consistently in collaboration with other disciplines. The identification of some basic research questions could help to better delineate this issue for discussion. They include the following crucial but still unsolved questions:

- which *archival concepts and methodological tools and standards* can be or have been already identified (even if not explicitly recognized) as relevant for and supportive of other domains?

- which *research areas* have been positively influenced in recent years (more or less explicitly) by the contribution of the archival and recordkeeping disciplines?
- which *projects* (promoted and led by archival institutions or with their significant presence and able to seriously contribute to “the development of important research infrastructure” in the digital heritage environment) have had continuity of funding? What impacts did they have?
- which *methodological tools* could support such analysis other than and beyond a historical reconstruction based on oral interviews of those involved and the examination of specific research outputs and deliverables?

Although substantive and accurate answers to these demanding questions require time and considerable dedicated investigation, some significant examples are already available thanks to a series of research projects funded by the European Commission and by other international funding bodies in the sector of digital preservation. They are related to concepts such as authenticity and integrity and their capacity to contribute to the definition of a common cross-reference research agenda and to the persistency of its conceptual infrastructure cannot be denied. The following discussion seeks to verify the relevance of these suggestions and to identify possible further developments in the same direction. This overview will include the InterPARES, CASPAR and APARSEN projects, with specific reference to their investigations relating to the concept of authenticity and the evidence necessary to establish it. Another promising research area is that addressing digital repositories’ certification. In both these areas a crucial role is played by the standardization processes developed both by the ISO standard on records management and by archival requirements for business continuity. Other areas of development that might be looked at could include digital libraries and institutional repositories. In both cases a demanding effort is underway to support a more influential and significant role for archival institutions in implementing comprehensive and qualified functional requirements of digital infrastructures. One example is the APEX network, a European project which involves European national archives. There are also specific initiatives like the Sapienza Digital Library. In both cases, the projects are trying to transform static and unconvincing solutions for complex types of digital library by enriching a simple

(i.e., meagre) metadata structure with contextual information and thereby increasing the intelligibility of the digital resources made available on the web.

Authenticity evidence and digital heritage: the research continuity from InterPARES findings to CASPAR and APARSEN

Authenticity is a crucial concept increasingly recognized for its centrality among the terms commonly used and referred to by the communication, information and knowledge society. The InterPARES¹⁵ projects have dedicated a large amount of their effort to defining this concept and the requirements to be supported when evidence of digital authenticity (a.k.a. *authenticity evidence* intended as proof or documentation relevant for presuming or supporting the assessment of digital authenticity) has to be preserved. It is not by chance that the documentary disciplines have defined authenticity in terms of the identity and integrity of digital resources. The knowledge and experience of archival institutions and scholars have in this respect undoubtedly been central. However, the concept of authenticity is central also for research on digital preservation and for building measures and tools for trusted digital repositories of any type. As generally recognized, in today's research environment, the information society by its nature directly works on the creation and narration of social and individual identities and, for this reason, requires tools, procedures and fundamentally solid concepts for entrusting and documenting their authenticity specifically when facing the challenges of the digital world, and not only in case of official records and their legal value. For this reason the conceptual framework for preservation developed by InterPARES on the basis of authenticity principles can be considered a crucial contribution of the archival community and its multi-century tradition to the definition of a common basic methodology for facing digital challenges to protect memory and ensure persistency

15 The series of InterPARES projects (1999-2017) can be defined as an incredibly productive and long-lasting international environment developed in the last twenty years with stimulating results, such as a common terminology, robust conceptual frameworks and significant occasions for international and cross-domain comparisons and advanced educational programs. The projects – this is an important aspect of their success strictly related to their original special nature – had a very clear and strong disciplinary (archival) focus but had and have also the capability of involving other communities with an interdisciplinary approach and (specifically in the second and third phases with InterPARES 2 and InterPARES 3 and presumably also in the future project just funded, the InterPARES Trust) of supporting other research environments with their basic conceptual framework.

Authenticity has also been creatively and thoroughly analysed by Paola Carucci who, in 1987, exported the diplomatics framework for analysis to study the genesis of the contemporary paper records.¹⁶ This approach has been further investigated and creatively extended to the digital environment by Luciana Duranti and by the InterPARES research teams. On this basis, more inclusive principles and methods and a conceptual template for analysis have been elaborated and further refined by the InterPARES researchers over the last twenty years.

With specific reference to authenticity, therefore, a rich body of archival literature has been developed. Nevertheless, not many European projects have used this frame of reference, which, while not necessarily universally applicable in itself, is consistent and conceptually robust, and the term and its definition (developed by InterPARES researchers) have become a common basis for understanding. The only exceptions have been CASPAR and now the APARSEN projects (two European projects dedicated to the preservation of data and digital heritage for e-science, performing art, digital music and cultural resources). Thanks to the presence of archivists involved in this research and of course with the support of experts from other crucial areas, including specifically and not by chance scholars such as David Giaretta¹⁷ who have been involved in the development of OAIS reference model, these projects have integrated InterPARES template elements for authenticity into the OAIS model. Their explicit aim has been to provide a more detailed definition of basic functions of the standard that are in compliance with archival requirements. It has to be mentioned that other European projects on digital preservation, even those that had specified the management of authenticity as part of their crucial requirements, have not proposed original solutions in this field and have basically ignored the real questions involved.¹⁸

This lack of interest is not easy to understand and is even more difficult to justify, specifically because today terms such as *trust* and *reliability*, which lie at the centre of any research and debate on digital pres-

¹⁶ Carucci, Paola. *Il documento contemporaneo*. Roma: Carocci editore, 1987.

¹⁷ Giaretta, David. *Advanced digital preservation*. Berlin; Heidelberg: Springer, 2011.

¹⁸ See the analysis on this aspect in APARSEN, Deliverable 24.1 Report on authenticity and plan for an interoperable authenticity evaluation system, April 2012 [cited: 2013-8-5]. Available at: http://www.alliancepermanentaccess.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/04/APARSEN-REP-D24_1-01-2_3.pdf

ervation, acquire their intelligibility and resonance if and when they can be concretely measured against the capacity to verify or, at least, presume the authenticity of the digital resources to be preserved. The tendency of ignoring the complexity of ensuring authenticity of digital objects in long-term digital preservation is emblematic of the present capacity to overcome critical factors by ignoring them. Of course, the implementation of tools able to support authenticity in digital preservation is a demanding (and unavoidable) task, both from the organizational point of view and because of the costs involved. Against this flow, CASPAR and APARSEN projects have recognized:

- the centrality of a conceptual framework for ensuring and presuming authenticity as part of the chain of custody for any kind of digital heritage,
- the meaningfulness of archival and recordkeeping concepts when defining functions and requirements in this area, and
- the essential need for transdisciplinary cooperation that includes, among others, roles and profiles from the archival domain (senior and junior academic scholars with competence on authenticity of digital records), experts for conceptual modeling and business workflows, IT developers and IT engineers with experience of orchestration systems for digital curation and preservation, scholars involved in the dynamic definition of the OAIS model, experts in domains and contents which require new concepts and tools for supporting authenticity (digital music, e-science, performing arts) and professionals responsible for managing digital repositories and auditors involved in certification processes.

As already discussed, the two projects have based their strategic developments in digital preservation on the conceptual framework built by InterPARES and its interrelating principles, policies and procedures. These were designed to compare and assess the quality and consistency of digital practices with regard to authenticity issues. More specifically, CASPAR and APARSEN researchers have recognized that the main principles and concepts, originally defined by the archival and recordkeeping communities, could be transformed into a series of interrelated assumptions able to support the level and the quality of integration and cooperation among investigators and domains and to define a common vision for further developments. The following list provides some examples of this effort in term of theoretical and practical findings:

- authenticity includes identity and integrity: CASPAR developed these InterPARES concepts and published a position paper on authenticity that provided the basis of the orchestration framework for digital preservation;¹⁹
- in any domain, ensuring evidence of authenticity for digital heritage necessitates the collection of appropriate documentation and information: APARSEN further applied this principle present both in InterPARES and in the activities on the audit checklist for digital repository certification in developing a systematic approach for auditing and certifying digital preservation repositories;
- a standardized workflow able to ensure the continuity of information collection from the creation phase onwards is required to make the preservation effort of digital heritage sustainable: APARSEN accepted and implemented principles related to the chain of preservation and business continuity as elaborated by the archival and recordkeeping communities and incorporated into the main standards on record management such as ISO 15489:2001 Code of Practice – Records Management and ISO 23081:2006 Metadata for Records; guidelines have been approved to define when and which evidence of authenticity should be collected, and how to structure and preserve it;²⁰
- a definition of authenticity has been included in the updated version of OAIS in 2012 (“the degree of authenticity is judged on the basis of evidence”) thanks to the direct contribution of CASPAR, APARSEN and InterPARES teams.

As already mentioned, the specific contribution of CASPAR and APARSEN to the implementation of tools to support evidence of authenticity has been developed on the basis of the previous research findings in the field. These include InterPARES’ conclusions that while authenticity is an absolute in itself (i.e., something is either authentic or it is not), the presumption of authenticity is graduated

19 Factor, Michael; Henis, Ealan; Naor, Dalit; Rabinovici-Cohen, Simona; Reshef, Petra; Ronen, Shahar; Michetti, Giovanni; Guercio, Maria. Authenticity and provenance in long term digital preservation: modeling and implementation in preservation aware storage. // TaPP ’09: First Workshop on the Theory and Practice of Provenance, San Francisco, 23 February 2009 [cited: 2013-8-5]. Available at: http://www.usenix.org/event/tapp09/tech/full_papers/factor/factor.pdf

20 APARSEN, Deliverable 24.1. Op. cit. See also APARSEN Project: Deliverable 24.2. Implementation and testing of an authenticity protocol on a specific domain, 2012 [cited: 2013-8-5]. Available at: http://www.alliancepermanentaccess.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/04/APARSEN-REP-D24_2-01-2_2.pdf

and its assessment is supported not only by the preservation system but also by the information collected during the whole chain of custody of digital resources/records. InterPARES links authenticity to the transformations that a digital resource undergoes in the various phases of its life and recognizes that authenticity is inferred from the trustworthiness of all the information collected and cannot simply be limited to ‘technical evidence’, i.e., mechanisms to validate the integrity at bit level (such as digests, electronic signatures and digital seals). ‘Non-technical evidence’ should also be collected, such as the identity of the author, evidence of the reliability of the creation system, trustworthiness of the custodian, and specifically when the bit stream is modified by transformations. Significant steps implemented by the CASPAR and APARSEN teams have been dedicated to the identification of a systematic methodology (qualified by a consistent terminology and a standardized approach) to collect and preserve evidence of authenticity evidence from the creation of digital assets onwards. The proposal is not limited to the recordkeeping environment even if recordkeeping and archival definitions, standards and tools constitute its conceptual framework. More functional requirements have been defined to support this methodology and to transform what was initially a theoretical approach into practical guidelines:

- a formal model based on a core set of events (compliant with ISO standards on record management and the European specifications MoReq 2 and MoReq 2010),
- event templates to specify and standardize controls and evidence to be gathered,
- definition of a normalized (but flexible) series of *authenticity evidence records* (AER) to ensure interoperability in the course of business processes and among digital repositories,
- operational guidelines to guide the implementation of the model.

APARSEN has transformed this proposal into specific tools and services²¹ and is cooperating with SCIDIP-ES, another ongoing European project, to implement the model by creating detailed AERs related to provenance and context information and, more specifically, to collect and to support the interoperability of e-health data and various types of scientific data.²²

²¹ APARSEN. Deliverable 21.1. Overview of preservation services. 2013 [cited: 2013-8-5]. Available at: <http://www.alliancepermanentaccess.org/index.php/aparsen/aparsen-research/wp21-preservation-services/>

Final remarks

Of course this general overview on such complex questions cannot and does not pretend to be exhaustive: the aim has been simply to show by an example the potential for transdisciplinary use of archival and recordkeeping concepts and principles, when they are methodologically consistent, widely discussed, and interpreted with open minds. The interlocutory and provisional nature of this approach cannot allow for any conclusion, only for some general remarks. The first one comes from a keynote speech presented by Seamus Ross in 2007 at the Budapest conference on digital libraries. It is not recent, but from the point of view discussed here, it remains convincing:

[The digital contents in any domain] “require knowledge of its context of creation, and [...] demand evidence of its provenance. These are processes to which archives respond well because they have developed an appropriate theoretical framework and have operationalised it in repository design, management and use over at least three centuries. The archival framework meets requirements surrounding the production, management, selection, dissemination, preservation and curation needs of information. It also supports a layering of services from repository services at the foundation to user services at upper levels.”²³

Some other considerations could be added to this general and shareable statement that could constitute a basis for future investigations in the direction of a more cooperative research environment:

- the archival and recordkeeping framework has proved its consistency with the requirements for documenting authenticity over time in a dynamic environment as recognized by many other scientific domains addressing digital preservation,
- in the last decade this framework has been developed and accepted as part of the archival discipline both with reference to

22 Salza, Silvio; Maria Guercio. Authenticity management in long term digital preservation on medical records. // I-Pres: proceedings of the 9th International Conference on preservation of digital objects, Toronto, October 1-5, 2012. Toronto: University of Toronto, 2012. Pp. 171-179 [cited: 2013-8-5]. Available at: <https://ipres.ischool.utoronto.ca/sites/ipres.ischool.utoronto.ca/files/IPres%202012%20Conference%20Proceedings%20Final.pdf>; Briguglio, Luigi; Salza, Silvio; Guercio, Maria. Preserving authenticity evidence to assess provenance and integrity of digital resources. Berlin; New York: Springer, 2013. Pp. 66-77.

23 Ross, Seamus. Digital preservation, archival science and methodological foundations for digital libraries. // ECDL 11, Budapest 2007. P. 8 [cited: 2013-8-5]. Available at: http://www.ecdl2007.org/Keynote_ECDL2007_SROSS.pdf

the vocabulary and to the functional model, but this effort has not been conducted in isolation: a large international community has actively participated to support a standardized approach with positive consequences for the potential re-use of principles, vocabularies, models,

- this common basis has provided a significant contribution to the collection of relevant information about the integrity and identity of digital resources necessary for the creation and preservation processes.

Of course, this effort has not been always linear. On the contrary it was, is and will inevitably be conflicting and contradictory. In particular, it has to be recognized that the development of a conceptual methodology for authenticity evidence outside the archival and recordkeeping community has required the considerable investment of time of many researchers and it has met with not irrelevant resistance before being accepted. For instance, it took 18 months for the CASPAR researchers charged with the task of developing methodology and tools for authenticity to convince the project team on the relevance of this approach. This effort and its success are mainly and increasingly based on international cooperation (especially when built on the will and the capacity to know and trust each other), multidisciplinary knowledge and transdisciplinary ambitions. Certain conditions were also instrumental in making this happen:

- the international community has been able to discuss openly, meet frequently and has been aware of its capacity to plan strategic roadmaps,
- advanced research projects have been largely funded,
- young scholars (open, curious, creative and with robust methodological knowledge in their own domain) have been educated and incorporated early into an open research environment. At the same time PhD programs have increased in number and in quality, and have an increasingly international perspective.

The future of our research and the quality of its findings heavily depend upon this capacity of sharing ideas among traditions, domains and generations.

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- International Research on Permanent Authentic Records in Electronic Systems (Inter-PARES) 3 Final report [cited: 2013-8-5]. Available at: http://www.interpares.org/display_file.cfm?doc=InterPARES_International_Alliance_ip3_final_report.pdf
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PRINOS ARHIVISTIČKIH NAČELA META-ZNANSTVENOJ METODOLOGIJI ZA DIGITALNU BAŠTINU

Sažetak

U članku se raspravlja o prinosu arhivističkih načela definiciji i implementaciji zajedničke metodologije za skrb i zaštitu digitalne baštine, te identificiraju općenite implikacije i za arhivističku znanost i za perspektivu meta-znanosti. Ovaj teorijski pristup uspješno je razvijen u međunarodnoj arhivističkoj zajednici u posljednjih petnaest godina, a njegovi ishodi uspješno su podupirali druge discipline i istraživačke projekte namijenjene skrbi i zaštiti digitalne baštine osnažujući njihove konceptualne okvire i konzistentnost. U budućnosti je potrebno provesti opsežnije istraživanje da bi se razjasnili i osnažili ovdje izneseni prijedlozi, ali i skustva mnogih međunarodnih projekata u ovom sektoru – osobito onih koje odlikuju velika suradnička istraživanja i multidisciplinarni pristup, kao što su DELOS, ERPANET, InterPARES, CASPAR i APARSEN – mogu potvrditi ove preliminarne analize. Oni također mogu osigurati osnovne elemente za bolje istraživanje pozitivne uloge aktivnosti, kao što su *integracija* i *suradnja* u opreci prema neodređenim konceptima, kao što je *konvergencija*. Kako bi se poduprli navedeni prijedlozi, u članku je korišten arhivistički koncept dokazivanja autentičnosti kao primjer načina na koji je taj koncept bio uklopljen u međunarodne istraživačke ishode u polju digitalne zaštite.

Ključne riječi: meta-znanost, autentičnost, digitalni zapisi, zaštita građe, skrb



ARCHIVES, MEMORIES AND IDENTITIES¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper first reviews some of the literature and research (including non-archival texts which have an impact on the archivists' discourse) on memory (section 2) and identity (section 3) and the role of archives in the formation of memory and identity (section 4). After this review of theories and concepts, section 5 provides some examples of and suggestions for archival policies and practices which would enhance the role of archives and archivists in the construction of individual and collective memories and identities. In a short conclusion (section 6) the main strands of the paper are woven together.

KEY WORDS

collective memory, identity, memory studies, identity studies, archives, mediation

1 Introduction

Many archives call themselves the “Memory of the city” or the “Memory of the nation”. There is even a “Memory of the world” - a UNESCO programme to promote “the documented, collective memory of the peoples of the world – their documentary heritage.”² That this is a

1 This article is a slightly amended and abridged version of my “Archives, Memories and Identities” in: Caroline Brown (ed). *Archives and recordkeeping: theory into practice*. London: Facet, 2014. Pp. 131-70. It reflects what participants and I discussed in a workshop during the RAMS: Conference and School on Records, Archives and Memory Studies, Zadar, Croatia, 6 to 10 May, 2013.

2 *Memory of the World General Guidelines to safeguard documentary heritage*. 2002 [cited: 2014-02-14]. Available at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001256/125637e.pdf>

misleading analogy³ we discover once we have developed “a more refined sense of what memory means in different contexts, but also a sensitivity to the differences between individual and social memory.”⁴ This in turn, as Margaret Hedstrom argues, will help to create a greater awareness of how collective memory operates.

“Whether conscious of it or not, archivists are major players in the business of identity politics.”⁵ Many archivists claim that through the experience of archival documents identities are constructed and reconstructed.⁶ All recordkeepers, particularly those involved with community archives and other memory institutions, rather than relying on conceptions of identity that “were long ago rejected by serious scholars as a means of understanding or articulating ethnic, gender, national, or other differences,”⁷ have to understand how identities are produced and - like memories and archives - are managed, contested, transmitted, and re-contextualized.

The literature is abundant, especially because studies and practices using concepts of memory and identity are situated in numerous disciplinary domains and interdisciplinary discourses. Barbara Misztal⁸ provides a remarkable synthesis of some 500 monographs and articles on social memory.⁹ Within the archivists’ discipline one of the early publications is by a historian, Kenneth Foote.¹⁰ His ar-

- 3 Brothman, B. Perfect present, perfect gift: finding a place for archival consciousness in social theory, *Archival science* 10(2010), 141-189; Hedstrom, M. Archives and collective memory: more than a metaphor less than an analogy. // Eastwood, T. and MacNeil, H., editors. *Currents of archival thinking*. Santa Barbara, CA [etc.]: Libraries Unlimited, 2010. P. 174; Jimerson, R.C. Archives power: memory, accountability, and social justice. Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2009. Pp. 213-214.
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- 5 Schwartz, J. and Cook, T. Archives, records, and power: the making of modern memory. // *Archival science* 2(2002), 1-19, 16.
- 6 Craven, L. From the archivist’s cardigan to the very dead sheep: what are archives? What are archivists? What do they do? // Craven, L. (ed.). *What are Archives?: cultural and theoretical perspectives: a reader*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008. Pp. 7-30, 17.
- 7 Kaplan, E. We are what we collect, we collect what we are: archives and the construction of identity. // *American archivist* 63(2000), 126-151, 146.
- 8 Misztal, B.A. *Theories of social remembering*. Maidenhead, Berkshire, England; Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press, 2003.
- 9 See also Erli, A., Nünning, A. and Young, S.B. (eds). *Cultural memory studies: an international and interdisciplinary handbook*. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008; Elliott, A. (ed.). *Routledge handbook of identity studies*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2011.
- 10 Foote, K.E. To remember and forget: archives, memory, and culture. // *American archivist* 53(1990), 378-392.

ticle (based on a paper presented at the Society of American Archivists in 1985) discussed archives as one of the resources for a society's memory and as a means to combat societal forgetting. Barbara Craig¹¹ reviewed selected themes in the literature on memory and their pertinence to archives. Margaret Hedstrom¹² wrote the most recent and comprehensive review of the challenges from memory studies to archival theory and practice. Of the many other scholars in archivististics (or: archival science) who have dealt with memory and archives the most important are Schwartz and Cook,¹³ Ketelaar,¹⁴ Piggott,¹⁵ Millar,¹⁶ Jimerson,¹⁷ Brothman,¹⁸ and Josias.¹⁹ Among the studies of particular cases of the nexus between archives, memories and identities are McIntosh,²⁰ Kaplan,²¹ Bastian,²² Tucker,²³ and Daniel.²⁴ Examining archives created by totalitarian regimes inevita-

- 11 Craig, B.L. Selected themes on the literature on memory and their pertinence to archives. // *American archivist* 65(2002), 276-289.
- 12 Hedstrom, M. Op. cit.
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- 23 Tucker, S. The most public of all history: family history and heritage albums in the transmission of records. PhD thesis. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2009 [cited: 2014-02-14] Available at: <http://dare.uva.nl/record/325290>
- 24 Daniel, D. Documenting the immigrant and ethnic experience in American archives. // *American archivist* 73(2010), 82-104.

bly entails discussing their role in reshaping collective memories.²⁵ Studies of community archives are important to understand the interplay between communities and their archives, memories and identities.²⁶

This summary shows that the literature in the archival domain dates mainly from this century. This is, I believe, because the archival profession (including the growing number of faculty and PhD students in archivistics) only recently came to revisit the agency of archives as societal resources and the agency of archivists as mediators for memories and identities. This fitted in the search, around the turn of the century,

“for the archivist’s own identity as a conscious mediator aiding society in forming its own multiple identities through recourse to archival memory and as an active agent protecting evidence in the face of the blistering complexity of rapidly changing societal organizations and digital media”²⁷

Until recently, the archival literature on collective memory was fairly insular and self-referential, as Trond Jacobsen, Ricardo Punza-

- 25 Harris, V. The archival sliver: power, memory, and archives in South Africa. // Archival science 2(2002), 63-86; Harris, V. Archives and justice. A South African perspective. Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2007; Ketelaar, E. Archives as spaces of memory. Op. cit.; Ketelaar, E. A living archive, shared by communities of records. // Bastian, J.A. and Alexander, B. (eds). Community archives: the shaping of memory. London: Facet, 2009. Pp. 109-132; Quintana, A.G. Archival policies in the protection of human rights. Paris: International Council on Archives. 2009 [cited: 2014-02-14]. Available at: <http://www.ica.org/download.php?id=971>; Nannelli, E. Memory, records, history: the records of the Commission for reception, truth, and reconciliation in Timor-Leste. // Archival science 9(2009), 29-41; Caswell, M. Khmer Rouge archives: accountability, truth, and memory in Cambodia. // Archival science 10(2010), 25-44; Josias, A. Op. cit.; Jump, M. The role of archives in the movement for the recovery of historical memory in Spain: La Rioja: a regional case study. // Journal of the Society of Archivists 33(2012), 149-166; Van Engen [et al.] (eds). Archives without Borders/Archivos sin Fronteras: Proceedings of the International Congress in The Hague, August 30-31, 2010/Actas del Congreso Internacional en La Haya, 30-31 de agosto, 2010. [Antwerpen]: Vlaamse Vereniging voor bibliotheek, archief & documentatie, 2012.
- 26 Flinn, A., Stevens, M. and Shepherd, E. Whose memories, whose archives?: independent community archives, autonomy and the mainstream. // Archival science 9 (2009), 71-86; Flinn, A. ‘An attack on professionalism and scholarship’?: democratising archives and the production of knowledge. // Ariadne 62(2010) [cited: 2014-02-14]. Available at: <http://www.ariadne.ac.uk/issue62/flinn>; Flinn, A. The impact of independent and community archives on professional archival thinking and practice. // Hill, J. (ed.). The future of archives and recordkeeping: a reader. London: Facet, 2011. Pp. 145-169; Moore, S. and Pell, S. Autonomous archives. // International journal of heritage studies 16, 4-5(2010), 255-268; Newman, J. Sustaining community archives. // Archifacts (October 2011-April 2012), 11-24.
- 27 Cook, T. Evidence, memory, identity, and community: four shifting archival paradigms. // Archival science 13(2013), 95-120, p. 113.

lan and Margaret Hedstrom have demonstrated.²⁸ They reviewed 165 articles on collective memory published from 1980 to 2010 in the four leading English-language archival journals. These articles referred to 1174 publications; among the 20 most influential only six were written by non-archivists: Derrida, Halbwachs, Lowenthal, Foote, Stoler, and LeGoff.²⁹

2 Memories

2.1 Social frameworks of memory

The French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs was the first to study individual memory in its social context. His book *La mémoire collective* was published posthumously in 1950. At the time of writing, mainly during the years 1935 to 1938, it was not customary to speak, even metaphorically, of the memory of a group.³⁰ Frederick Bartlett – the Cambridge psychologist and a contemporary of Halbwachs – wrote about memory *in* the group, instead of memory *of* the group. According to Halbwachs each individual memory is a viewpoint on the collective memory.³¹ In his earlier book *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925) Halbwachs had developed the thesis that every memory is socially framed: “no memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections.”³²

Collective memory is a metaphor, because a collectivity, a group of people, has no memory itself: the individuals, who make up the collectivity, have. Halbwachs argued

“While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember.”³³

Nevertheless Halbwachs laid “what might seem excessive emphasis on the collective nature of social consciousness.”³⁴ Thus he paid hardly any attention to the question of how individual consciousness might re-

28 Jacobsen, T., Punzalan, R. and Hedstrom, M. Invoking collective memory: mapping the emergence of a concept in archival studies. // Archival science 13(2013), 217-51.

29 Ibid., p. 228 mention five non-archivists, but accidentally they have classed Foote as an archivist.

30 Halbwachs, M. *The collective memory*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980. P. 50.

31 In the English translation, Ibid., p. 48, the word ‘individual’ is missing.

32 Halbwachs, M. *On collective memory*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992. P. 43.

33 Halbwachs, M. *The collective memory*. Op. cit., p. 48.

34 Fentress, J. and Wickham, C. *Social memory: new perspectives on the past*. Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992. P. IX.

late to those of the collectivities these individuals are a member of. Individual memory becomes “social” through transmission and sharing of experiences and emotions. This, as Halbwachs saw it, is a social process.

2.2 Individual memory

Individual memory (the autobiographical memory) fades if it is not supported and nourished in contact with other people or – as we will see – in contact with “memory texts”.³⁵ One’s memory is as it were rooted in other people’s remembrances, intertwined with the memories of other people. This is clear, even in what is mostly considered to be a reflection of the most personal way of remembering, the diary – particularly the modern blog, but also the traditional paper diary.³⁶ As Annette Kuhn concludes, echoing Halbwachs:

“in all memory texts, personal and collective remembering emerge again and again as continuous with one another...All memory texts...constantly call to mind the collective nature of the activity of remembering.”³⁷

The first social framework of any individual’s memories is constituted by his or her family. Personal memory (remembrance of what one has experienced) is not sealed off from other people’s remembrances, from what Halbwachs called social or historical memory.³⁸ The family too, has a memory: as with any other collective group the family has “its memories which it alone commemorates, and its secrets that are revealed only to its members.”³⁹ Through the family memory the individual is connected with a past he or she has not experienced. This connectivity is the basis for any culture.

2.3 Group memory

Family memory, in turn, is embedded in (and permeated by) larger frameworks of kinship, local and regional memories, religion, nation, etc. even if, as in the case of (im)migrants, the family replaces the nation as the frame of memory and identity.⁴⁰ Halbwachs therefore dis-

35 Halbwachs, M. On collective memory. Op. cit., p. 53.

36 Piggott, M. The diary: social phenomenon, professional challenge. // Archives and manuscripts 31(2003), 83-90; Van Dijck, J. Mediated memories in the digital age. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007.

37 Kuhn, A. Family secrets: acts of memory and imagination. London: Verso, 1995. P. 6. Kuhn uses ‘memory texts’ in a narrower sense than I do in this article.

38 Halbwachs, M. The collective memory. Op. cit., p. 52.

39 Halbwachs, M. On collective memory. Op. cit., p. 59.

cussed the collective memory of the family first before he went on to describe religious collective memory and that of social classes.

The memory of a group is not merely the sum of the memories of its members, nor is the memory of an organization only the sum of the memories of its units. Group (or unit) members share memories, tacit knowledge, and social cohesion. For example, members of different groups, even within the same organization, often inhabit different social and language worlds.⁴¹ Once the group or unit's information is to be shared with other units within the organisation this information has to be made understandable for outsiders. This is done by formalizing the information, thereby stripping it of information that was meant to stay inside the group.

2.4 Collective memory

What we call collective memory is a cultural practice of constructing the self-image of a community. There is no single collective memory. Even if members of a group have experienced what they remember, they neither remember the same things nor do they remember in the same way. The collective memory of the Vietnam War is shared by people who have not experienced that war or the anti-war movement. It is what Alison Landsberg calls a prosthetic memory, a deeply felt memory of a past event through which one did not live but which has been constructed by reading and viewing books, movies, and other media.⁴² But the people who didn't take part and even those who did, remember the events differently. Their memories differ according to the nature of the social frameworks in which they functioned then and function now, the groups of which they were a member then and are a member now. This has led Ann Curthoys to state that "particular social groups are constructing different 'Vietnams'"⁴³ In the same way different people (re)construct a different Holocaust.⁴⁴ To a large extent these differ-

40 Fortier, A.M. *Migrant belongings: memory, space, identity*. Oxford: Berg, 2000.

41 King, J.L. and Star, J.L. Conceptual foundations for the development of organizational decision support systems. // *Proceedings of the Hawaii International Conference on Systems Science* (1990), 143-151.

42 Landsberg, A. *Prosthetic memory: the transformation of American remembrance in the age of mass culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

43 Curthoys, A. 'Vietnam': public memory of an anti-war movement. // Darian-Smith, K. and Hamilton, P. (eds). *Memory and history in twentieth-century Australia*. Melbourne; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. P. 114.

44 Rapaport, L. *Jews in Germany after the Holocaust: memory, identity, and Jewish-German relations*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

ences originate from differences in the way media transform the “historical” Vietnam War and the “historical” Holocaust into a represented and symbolic Vietnam War and Holocaust.

The collective memory distorts the past just as the memory of an individual doesn’t store an exact picture of the world. As the neurologist Antonio Damasio explains, the memory you have of someone you met is not stored as a lifelike copy, like a Polaroid picture, but rather as “dispositions”, a set of codings for reactivation or reconstruction that provide

“some kind of image that approximates the image that you actually had in perception”.⁴⁵

Many studies of memory are content to describe the representation of the past without bothering to explore the transmission, diffusion and, ultimately, the meaning of this representation.⁴⁶ However, as Paul Connerton argues, the social formation of memory can only be understood by studying “those acts of transfer that make remembering in common possible.”⁴⁷

The collective memory is maintained and handed on by written and printed documents and oral traditions, through rituals, ceremonies and other performances,⁴⁸ but also in monuments, buildings and even in the landscape itself.⁴⁹ Through these “memory texts” the collective memory is construed and found, but also often “invented”, distorted and sometimes even falsified.

The German scholars Jan and Aleida Assmann introduced the term cultural memory (*das kulturelle Gedächtnis*), focusing on the cultural practices “of transmitting and storing information deemed vital for the constitution and continuation of a specific group”.⁵⁰ Sociologist Barbara Misztal defines cultural memory as

45 Damasio, A. and Mulder, A. The memory as living archive: Interview with Antonio Damasio. // Brouwer, J., Mulder, A., and Charlton, S. (eds). *Information is alive: Art and theory on archiving and retrieving data*. Rotterdam: V2_Publishing/NAI Publishers, 2003. P. 153.

46 Confino, A. Collective memory and cultural history: problems of method. // *American historical review* 102(1997), 1386-1403.

47 Connerton, P. *How societies remember*. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989. P. 39.

48 Ibid.

49 Schama, S. *Landscape and memory*. Glasgow: Harper Collins, 1995.

50 Assmann, A. Re-framing memory: between individual and collective forms of constructing the past. // Tilmans, K., Van Vree, F. and Winter, J. (eds). *Performing the past: memory, history and identity in modern Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010. Pp. 35-50. P. 43.

“the representation of the past, both that shared by a group and that which is collectively commemorated, that enacts and gives substance to the group’s identity, its present conditions and its vision of the future”⁵¹

For Halbwachs social identities precede collective memories, whereas Benedict Anderson argued that communities construct memories with a view to constructing identity.⁵²

3 Identities

3.1 Identification

“Your ID, please”, the police officer asks. He or she wants to confirm your identity, by asking for your driving licence, passport or other legal identity card. People identify themselves with documents. If they belong to the *sans papiers*, the undocumented people, life is very difficult indeed. The documents often have an image of the person, mostly literally with a photo or a finger print. Identification leads to confirmation of identity that is resemblance to a particular person, but not to confirmation of identity in the sense of individuality, character and personal characteristics.⁵³

Who are we? As Franco Ferrarotti wrote “We are nothing in an absolute sense. We are only what we have been – more exactly, what we remember we were. We are memories personified.”⁵⁴ This answer shows that he chooses a constructivist approach to the connection between memories and identities. In this approach identities are constructed culturally, and are fluid and multiple. Another view (the essentialist approach) sees identity as intrinsic and fixed.⁵⁵ Both positions view identity as “real”, either as a social construct or as intrinsic to individu-

51 Misztal, B.A. Op. cit., p. 7.

52 Megill, A. Historical knowledge, historical error: a contemporary guide to practice. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007. P. 47; Anderson, B. Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism. 2nd ed. London; New York: Verso, 1991.

53 Groebner, V. Who are you?: identification, deception and surveillance in early modern Europe. Brooklyn, NY: Zone books, 2007; Lyon, D. Identifying citizens: ID cards as surveillance. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity, 2009.

54 Ferrarotti, F. The temptation to forget: racism, anti-semitism, neo-nazism. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1994. P. 1; Ferrarotti, F. L’Italia tra storia e memoria: appartenenza e identità. 2nd ed. Roma: Donzelli, 1997. P. 4; see also Lyman, S.M. Some dilemmas of history and memory. // International journal of politics, culture and society 9(1996), 623-635.

55 Brubaker, R. and Cooper, F. Beyond ‘identity’. // Theory and society 29(2000), 1-47; Kaplan, E. Op. cit.; Schwartz, J. and Cook, T. Op. cit.; Lyon, D. Op. cit.

als and communities. In both approaches ‘identity’ risks being reified making identity some sort of objective entity, whereas

“Both ‘collective memory’ and ‘collective identity’ are rather the effects of intersubjective practices of signification, neither given nor fixed but constantly re-created within the framework of marginally contestable rules for discourse.”⁵⁶

Brubaker and Cooper⁵⁷ have tried to “unbundle the thick tangle of meanings that have accumulated around the term ‘identity’ ” by proposing three *clusters* of terms: identification and categorization; self-understanding and social location; commonality, connectedness, groupness. None of these covers the whole spectrum of “identity”, but together they provide an analytical framework for dealing with same-ness among members of a group or category, (individual or collective) “selfhood”, and “groupness” as a product of social or political action.

3.2 Social frameworks of identity

“Identities always involve others”.⁵⁸ I am a Dutchman, a quarter of me is Frisian, I am grandfather, archivist, and educator – and for the greater part all these identities have been constructed by memories. These memories function within social frameworks, the first being the family. The stories, often repeated in the family, enable us to fit in our own experience in a meaningful way. In this way we begin to understand who we understand ourselves to be. Out of the same need, people who were abandoned or adopted in childhood – and others who were victims of ill-treatment or abuse in boarding schools or homes – go in search of records of the institutions that replace the family as keeper of personal histories. In these places they hope to find the stories and memories that can construct their social identity. There are many other situations that incite people to look for other sources to either affirm or redefine their identity.

Psychologist Nico Frijda suggests that appropriating the past is an element in the construction of an individual’s identity. It does so in a double way, by “shaping or affirming the identity of one’s group, and by accepting or redefining membership within that group.”⁵⁹ This

⁵⁶ Boyarin, J. Space, time and the politics of memory. // Boyarin J (ed). Remapping memory: the politics of timespace. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994. Pp. 1-38, 23.

⁵⁷ Brubaker, R. and Cooper, F. Op. cit.

⁵⁸ Lyon, D. Op. cit., p. 12.

argument is shared by James Booth who argues that “gathering in” the past, appropriating it, “gives us identity and a moral narrative of pride, shame, and indebtedness, that ties us across time to *our* past and the burdens this past imposes simply by virtue of being ours.”⁶⁰

3.3 Collective identity

“What we are faced with – what we are living – is the constitution of both group ‘membership’ and individual ‘identity’ out of a dynamically chosen selection of memories, and the constant reshaping, reinvention, and reinforcement of those memories as members contest and create the boundaries and links among themselves.”⁶¹

As with individual identity, collective identity is based on memories, but collective memory also needs collective will and collective interests. “The cohesion of collective identity must be sustained *through time*, through a collective memory, through lived and shared traditions, through the sense of a common past and heritage,” Morley and Robins write in their book *Spaces of Identity*.⁶²

Whether one is Australian, French, American, British or Canadian, it is impossible to divest oneself from the past, neither on the day of a memorial event like ANZAC day (April 25) or November 11 (Armistice Day in France and Belgium, Veterans Day in the United States and Remembrance Day in the British Commonwealth), but all the year round, day and night. “We in the land of the perpetrators”, means for Habermas and other Germans that their “community of memory” cannot be freed from its Nazi past.⁶³ This presence of our past – as members of different, overlapping communities – is not merely genealogical or traditional: it is not something that you leave behind; the past as “a foreign country”⁶⁴ which you may or may not visit as you like. The past is a moral imperative for our belonging to a community. The

59 Frijda, N.H. Commemorating. // Pennebaker, J.W., Paez, D., and Rimé, B. (eds). Collective memory of political events: social psychological perspectives. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997. Pp. 103-127, 109.

60 Booth, W.J. Communities of memory: on identity, memory, and debt. // American political science review 93(1999), 249-263, 254.

61 Boyarin, J. Op. cit., p. 26.

62 Morley, D. and Robins, K. Spaces of identity: global media, electronic landscapes, and cultural boundaries. London; New York: Routledge, 1995.

63 Booth, W.J. Op. cit., p. 258.

64 Lowenthal, D. The past is a foreign country. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

common past, sustained through time into the present, is what gives continuity, cohesion and coherence to a community.⁶⁵ To be a family, a community (religious or otherwise) involves an embeddedness in its past. And this past is a living moral presence. A *community of memory* (a term proposed by Peter Burke as early as 1989)⁶⁶ is also a community which shares shame and pride in the deeds of its fellow members, and shares its past, for better and for worse. The present generation cannot be held responsible for what their fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers did or did not do. But because they are members of a community of memory, the present generation shares pride and shame. They may celebrate or they may apologize and make reparations for what was done by their community.⁶⁷

For many groups the basis for their collective identity is the “founding trauma”, as Dominick LaCapra⁶⁸ has called it. This is an event in the past or even in the mythical past that is the centripetal force binding the members of the group. Examples are slavery, the Holocaust, the discrimination of homosexuals, the internment of Japanese Americans and Canadians, and also the death on the Cross, the Resurrection and other traumatic occurrences which are central to religions. Many communities cherish and cultivate their “founding trauma” by storytelling, not only in the Bible and in the Koran, but also through many other ways of memory work. This helps the transmission to future generations and the perpetuation of the community of memory. What is the role of archives in this process?

4 Archives

4.1 *Touchstones of memory*

Most studies conflate archives and collective memory.⁶⁹ However, archives are not *the* cultural or social memory of a community.⁷⁰ They are “among countless different devices used in the process of transforming

⁶⁵ Morley, D. and Robins, K. Op. cit.

⁶⁶ Burke, P. *History as social memory*. // Butler, T. (ed). *Memory: history, culture, and the mind*. Oxford, UK; New York, NY: Basil Blackwell, 1989. Pp. 97-113.

⁶⁷ Thompson, J. *Taking responsibility for the past: Reparation and historical justice*. Oxford: Polity, 2002.

⁶⁸ LaCapra, D. *History in transit: experience, identity, critical theory*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004. Pp. 56-57.

⁶⁹ Hedstrom, M. *Archives and collective memory*. Op. cit.

⁷⁰ Taylor, H. *Heritage revisited: documents as artifacts in the context of museums and material culture*. // *Archivaria* 40(1995), 8-20, 11.

individual memories into collective remembering.”⁷¹ They are, in Verne Harris’ words, a sliver of social memory.⁷² Laura Millar views archives as touchstones upon which memories may be retrieved, preserved, and articulated. As Angelika Menne-Haritz⁷³ argued: archives do not store memory, but they offer the *possibility* to create memory. Margaret Hedstrom proposes

“Further understanding of the role of archives in collective memory formation depends on placing archival documents in relation to an array of other memory devices and singling out the unique contribution of archives to this process.”⁷⁴

4.2 Canon and archive

In Aleida Assmann’s schema cultural memory (see section 2.4) consists of what she formerly used to call functional and storage memory,⁷⁵ but recently termed the “canon” and the “archive” (her quotation marks). Any memory text – artefact, ritual, document or monument – can be part of the archive or of the canon. Assmann writes

“The active memory of the canon perpetuates what a society has consciously selected and maintains as salient and vital for a common orientation and a shared remembering; its institutions are the literary and visual canon, the school curricula, the museum, and the stage, along with holidays, shared customs, and remembrance days.”⁷⁶

The archival memory, on the contrary, lingers in a state of latency - Sam Wineburg⁷⁷ uses the term “occlusion.” It is accessible only to specialists; it is not ‘transformed into a living memory supported by public awareness and validation by cultural institutions and the public media.’⁷⁸ Not transformed into a living memory, or: not yet, or: no longer.

71 Millar, L. Op. cit., p. 119.

72 Harris, V. The archival sliver. Op. cit.

73 Menne-Haritz, A. Access: the reformulation of an archival paradigm. // Archival science 1(2001), 57-82, 59.

74 Hedstrom, M. Archives and collective memory. Op. cit., p. 176.

75 Ketelaar, E. The archive as a time machine. Op. cit.

76 Assmann, A. Memory, individual and collective. // Goodin, R.E., Tilly, C. (eds). The Oxford Handbook of contextual political analysis. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Pp. 210-224, 221; Assmann, A. Re-framing memory. Op. cit., p. 43.

77 Wineburg, S. Historical thinking and other unnatural acts: charting the future of teaching the past. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001. Pp. 242-243.

78 Assmann, A. Memory, individual and collective. Op. cit., p. 221; Assmann, A. Re-framing memory. Op. cit. P. 44; see also Robin, R. La mémoire saturée. Paris: Stock, 2003. Pp. 407-408.

The archive's and the canon's memories are interacting in both directions. And thereby 'cultural memory has an inbuilt capacity for ongoing changes, innovations, transformations, and reconfigurations.'⁷⁹ One is reminded of Pierre Nora's distinction between living memory and archival memory.⁸⁰

Although Assmann's "archive" may be different from the archive as defined in the archivists' professional terminology, and although I challenge Assmann's assumption that archival memory can be made dynamic only through permeating the borderline with functional memory, her schema has more merit than I formerly thought.⁸¹ In the first place: the archive is neither conflated with cultural memory,⁸² nor is it seen as something outside cultural memory, because it is conceptualized as one of the components of cultural memory. Also, I now see in her distinction between canon and archive a solution to the problem of how to define the unique qualities of archives as "touchstones" for memory.⁸³ I will return to this issue in section 4.7, after having discussed four conditions for the archive as a component of cultural memory. These are labelled: inscription and spaciality, meaning making, appropriation, and invention and mediation.

4.3 Inscription and spaciality

Assmann's archive is storage memory, controlled by

"systems of recording that function as external means of storage, the most prominent being the technique of writing, which takes memory out of mental storage and fixes it independently of living bearers".⁸⁴

As Derrida wrote "There is no archive without consignation in an external place which assures the possibility of memorization, of repetition, of reproduction, or of reimpression."⁸⁵ On the other hand, in the

79 Assmann, A. Memory, individual and collective. Op. cit., p. 221; Assmann, A. Re-framing memory. Op. cit., p. 44.

80 Nora, P. General Introduction: between memory and history. // Nora, P. (ed.). Realms of memory: rethinking the French past: I. Conflicts and divisions. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

81 Ketelaar, E. The archive as a time machine. Op. cit.

82 Hedstrom, M. Archives and collective memory. Op. cit.

83 Millar, L. Op. cit.

84 Assmann, A. Cultural memory and Western civilization: functions, media, archives. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011. P. 328; Ricoeur, P. Memory, history, forgetting. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. P. 167.

85 Derrida, J. Archive fever. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996. P. 11.

digital age memory is no longer seen as “a single measurable capacity” stored away for later retrieval, because (as Laura Millar borrows from psychologist Endel Tulving) the tendency to link memory with storage in a randomly accessible and ever-present electronic “place” has altered our understanding of the nature of remembering.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, place or space and inscription are essential: “you need the space for storage and the mechanism for placing memories in the store correctly and for getting these back clearly and in a useable form.”^{87,88}

4.4 Meaning making

Identity formation is based on meaning making, as the title of a book by psychologist Urs Fuhrer indicates: *Cultivating minds: identity as meaning making practice*.⁸⁹ Fuhrer views forming an identity as a process that takes place in four mutually constitutive systems: the subject, objects, social partners, and the world. Social partners communicate the social context for identity formation. Objects or artefacts interact between the self and her cultural context. This interaction through a medium is called mediation.⁹⁰ These artefacts can be archival documents; social partners can be family members, colleagues or peers. An example is the making of a photo album, either physical, or virtual on Flickr; or arranging one’s personal archives, keeping a blog or contributing to Flickr or YouTube or a community such as the one created by the National Archives of the United States of America with “Our Archives” (www.ourarchives.wikispaces.net). In all these cases the meanings of information objects are co-created both in the framework of personal experience, and in the interaction (of what

86 Millar, L. Op. cit., p. 108.

87 Craig, B.L. Op. cit., p. 285.

88 The Amsterdam city archives used as an inscription medium a computer installed in a travelling trunk that travelled along migrant organizations in Amsterdam. This facilitated migrant organizations in creating an archive of their memories that can be shared among community members; secondly, it acquired memories to be stored in the municipal archives. See Vos, V.J. and Ketelaar E. Amsterdam communities’ memories: research into how modern media can be applied to archive community. // Stillman, L., Johanson, G. (eds). *Memory constructing and sharing memory: community informatics, identity and empowerment: selected papers from the 3rd Prato International Community Informatics Conference; Community Informatics Research Network 9- 11 October 2006*. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007. Pp. 330-342.

89 Fuhrer, U. *Cultivating minds: identity as meaning making practice*. London: Routledge, 2004; Craven, L. Op. cit.; Ketelaar, E. *Cultivating archives: meanings and identities*. // *Archival science* 12(2012), 19-33.

90 Verbeek, P.P. *What things do: philosophical reflections on technology, agency, and design*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005.

Van Dijck calls: mediated memories) with social partners who surround the blogger or wiki-contributor, with the networks and communities of which archive creator and archive user form a part.⁹¹

4.5 Appropriation

Rituals celebrating a national holiday, religious rituals and so forth are living memory, whether celebrated or contested. "Memory sites ... only stay alive as long as people consider it worthwhile to argue about their meaning."⁹² To stay (or become) living, memory texts have to be taken possession of as one's own (appropriated), just as heritage exists only through appropriation: a patrimony needs not only a testator and (usually) a will, but also an heir who accepts the conditions and is prepared to cultivate the heritage.⁹³ As living signs, memory texts "must be cultivated to retain their significance; as cultivated objects, things can grow in significance over time and take on new layers of meaning."⁹⁴ The rituals in the Netherlands on 4 May, the eve of the Liberation in 1945, today commemorate all people who have died in war or during peacekeeping operations from 1940 to the present day. One sees a comparable extension of meanings on Anzac day in Australia and New Zealand. In Quebec, Victoria Day (the birthday of Queen Victoria (14 May), now celebrated on the first Monday before 25 May) has been National Patriot's Day since 2003, while elsewhere in Canada the long weekend of Victoria Day marks the end of the skiing season, the beginning of spring.

Archival documents do not constitute memory.⁹⁵ Only when the archive is actually used and activated, does it cross the boundary with the canon (see 4.2) and becomes part of the *living* and *lived* cultural

91 Van Dijck, J. Op. cit.; Johnson, A. Users, use and context: supporting interaction between users and digital archive. // Craven, L. (ed.). *What are archives?: cultural and theoretical perspectives: a reader*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008. Pp. 154-155.

92 Rigney, A. The dynamics of remembrance: texts between monumentality and morphing. // Erll, A. and Nünning, A. (eds). *A companion of cultural memory studies*. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010. Pp. 345-353.; see also Spillman, L. When do collective memories last?: founding moments in the United States and Australia. // Olick, J. *States of memory: continuities, conflicts, and transformations in national retrospection*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003. Pp. 161-192, and Zerubavel, E. *Calendars and history: a comparative study of the social organization of national memory*. // Olick, J. *States of memory: continuities, conflicts, and transformations in national retrospection*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003. Pp. 315-337.

93 Leniaud, J.M. *Les archipels du passé: le patrimoine et son histoire*. Paris: Fayard, 2002.

94 Rochberg-Halton, E. *Meaning and modernity: social theory in the pragmatic attitude*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986. P. 170.

95 Jimerson, R.C. Op. cit., p. 213.

memory.⁹⁶ The archive is a living archive only when it is appropriated by a particular user or a community for a certain purpose. This appropriation is implicit, for example when a historian talks about “my sources”, or explicit when people talk about “my file”, when they mean the file created by a care provider or the immigration services. Ann Rigney writes

“Meaning as such is never fixed once and for all, but is something that happens in the way events, texts, and other cultural products are appropriated (over and over again, always with a difference).”⁹⁷

4.6 Invention and mediation

Louise Craven notes: “...identity as meaning making is perpetually constructed and reconstructed through the experience of archival documents.”⁹⁸ Experiencing archives entails, in Jacques Derrida’s words, “invention”: on the one hand discovering what is already there, and on the other hand inventing, constituting someone or something.⁹⁹ The Latin *invenio* has this double meaning: finding, discovering and inventing, realizing. In that invention the record acquires new meanings that help in structuring and restructuring the relationship between the self and the world.

Archival documents, as is the case with so many other artefacts, ‘survive in ways unintended by makers and owners to become evidence on which other interpretations of the past can be reconstructed’.¹⁰⁰ They are re-contextualized in different contexts and activated in a dynamic open-ended process.¹⁰¹ Invention is not just happening, however, it involves mediation. Mediation is not only (see section 4.4) experiencing archives through media (or technologies), nowadays especially digital technologies. Mediation is also interaction with and intervention by actors involved in definition, selection, organisation, interpretation and presentation of meaning.¹⁰²

96 Steedman, C. *Dust*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001. P. 68.

97 Rigney, A. Op. cit., p. 348.

98 Craven, L. P. Op. cit., p. 17.

99 Derrida, J. *Copy, archive, signature: a conversation on photography*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010. P. 43.

100 Radley, A. *Artefacts, memory and a sense of the past*. // Middleton, D. and Edwards, D. (eds). *Collective remembering*. London; Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1990. Pp. 46-59, 58.

101 Ketelaar, E. *Archives as spaces of memory*. Op. cit.

102 Altheide, D.L. *An ecology of communication: cultural formats of control*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1995; Blouin, F. *Archivists, mediation, and constructs of social memory*. // *Archival issues* 24(1999), 101-112.

As to the former mediation: the custodians of both the canon and the archive (see section 4.2) play an active and significant role:¹⁰³ “their daily imprint on the archival record is inescapable.”¹⁰⁴ Archives are “very active sites of constant and multiple possibilities: acquisition and destruction, cultural determinism and challenge, social conformity and opposition, opportunities gained and lost for discovery and repression.”¹⁰⁵ And the same is true for the canon. One may recall the fight about who should be listed as “Great Britons”.¹⁰⁶

Technologies of mediation condition not only the form or the structure, but also the content of the record and thereby the memories and identities sustained by the record. As Derrida wrote, “the mutation in technology changes not simply the archiving process, but what is archivable – that is, the content of what has to be archived is changed by the technology.”¹⁰⁷ With a mobile phone one creates a text message or picture which both in form and in content will be different from a message sent by e-mail or a message conveyed in a handwritten letter. Memory and media are shaping each other in a complex interplay with social and cultural norms as José Van Dijck (echoing McLuhan) asserts in her book *Mediated memories*.¹⁰⁸ Blogs and social media connect private and public memories and identities, and allow for new experiences and representations of the self and others.

4.7 Archives and other memory texts

How to distinguish archives from other “memory texts” like artefacts, songs, rituals, traditions, and a myriad of other non-documentary touchstones?¹⁰⁹ I propose to answer that question by taking as a guide *The idea of uniqueness*, a classic essay by historian and archivist James O’Toole.¹¹⁰ He reviewed four aspects of the uniqueness of an archival

103 Blouin, F. Ibid.; Bastian, J. Flowers for Homestead. Op. cit., p. 121.

104 Jimerson, R.C. Op. cit., p. 213.

105 Blouin, F.X. and Rosenberg, W. *Processing the past: contesting authority in history and the archives*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. P. 160.

106 BBC TWO reveals the nation’s top 100 Greatest Britons of all time. 2002 [cited: 2014-02-14]. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2002/08_august/21/100_britons.shtml

107 Derrida, J. *Archive fever*. Op. cit., p. 17; Derrida, J. and Stiegler, B. *Echographies of television: filmed interviews*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002. P. 46.

108 Van Dijck, J. Op. cit.

109 Ketelaar, E. *Sharing*. Op. cit.; Bastian, J. ‘Play mas’. Op. cit.

110 O’Toole, J.M. On the idea of uniqueness. // *American archivist* 57(1994), 632–658.

document: the physical document itself is unique, or the information it contains is unique, or the process which the record produced is unique, or, fourthly, the uniqueness is derived from the way individual items have been assembled into files, that is the document in the context of other documents. O'Toole writes

"If we are to identify uniqueness in some archival records, we must be precise about which of the four distinct characteristics we mean and why, in any particular case, one particular kind of uniqueness is important."¹¹¹

I would argue that of the four parameters the last two are the most important to define the unique qualities of archives as distinct from other memory tools. Archives are unique because of their "contextual envelope",¹¹² constituted by the uniqueness of the processes and functions that produced records and by the context of other documents created by the same activity over time. Archives are not unique because the information they contain is unique, and only rarely because the document as artefact has an intrinsic uniqueness. The latter is close to the symbolic significance of a document. O'Toole, in another essay, explored the symbolic nature of archival documents.¹¹³ His primary question was "When does the true significance and meaning of a record derive less from what appears in its surface text and more from its symbolic standing-in for something else?"¹¹⁴ Most archival documents which are venerated as artefacts – from the Magna Carta to the American Declaration of Independence – are not or no longer kept as unique sources of information, but because of their symbolic significance.

Stressing the uniqueness of archives in these contextual terms, doesn't necessarily dismiss the archival practice of accepting a different view of "archival memory texts". For example, for Andrew Flinn "the value of an archival document is not best understood as something innate to it, but by the significance invested in it by those who, including the archivist, have created, selected, shaped and used it *as an archive*." (my italics EK).¹¹⁵

111 Ibid., p. 658.

112 Craig, B.L. Op. cit., p. 287.

113 O'Toole, J.M. The symbolic significance of archives. // American archivist 56(1993), 234-255.

114 Ibid., p. 238.

115 Flinn, A. The impact of independent and community archives on professional archival thinking and practice. Op. cit., p. 161.

I agree that documents – as other cultural artefacts – do not possess an inherent value discernible within the documents themselves.¹¹⁶ The value of a record or archive is “in the eye of the beholder”.¹¹⁷ The creator, the user and the archivist alike construct stories which establish for them who they are and who they are not, where they fit in and where they don’t, who belongs to them and who doesn’t.¹¹⁸ They find meaning and make meaning in an archive or a record and those meanings help, as I argued (section 4.6), in structuring and restructuring the relationship between the self and the world and thereby in the formation of their identities. However, the constructivist view of the value and meaning of archives should not lead to a blurring of the line between viewing something “as archive” and archive(s) “as it is”.¹¹⁹ The former is metaphoric, the latter has the unique qualities discussed by O’Toole. Some people think that there is a danger in lumping archives (archival documents) and other memory texts together. Kate Eichhorn warns

“Since the archival turn in the early 1990s, researchers have reconfigured everything from collections of graffiti under highway overpasses to the human genome as types of archives. The plasticity of the concept has opened up new avenues through which to question the authority of the archive while simultaneously legitimizing non-institutional collections as important sites of research and inquiry. However, there is also a danger in the term’s over-application. If any collection can be an archive, we risk losing sight of an important distinction between carefully constructed and highly regulated collections that produce ‘official’ narratives about the past and shape people’s lives in the present and random collections of objects and documents that bring pleasure to the collector but have little or no impact on the larger order of things.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Booms, H. Society and the formation of a documentary heritage: issues in the appraisal of archival sources. // *Archivaria* 24(1987), 69-107, 82; see McRanor, S. A critical analysis of intrinsic value. // *American archivist* 59(1996), 400-411; Ketelaar, E. Tacit narratives: the meanings of archives. // *Archival science* 1(2001), 143-155.

¹¹⁷ Digital Preservation Testbed. White paper emulation: context and current status. 2003 [cited: 2014-02-14]. Available at http://www.digitaleduurzaamheid.nl/bibliotheek/docs/white_paper_emulatie_EN.pdf

¹¹⁸ Ketelaar, E. Cultivating archives. Op. cit.

¹¹⁹ I borrow this distinction from Diana Taylor. *The archive and the repertoire: performing cultural memory in the Americas*. Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2003. P. 3.

¹²⁰ Eichhorn, K. Archival genres: gathering texts and reading spaces. // *Invisible culture* Issue 12 May (2008) [cited: 2015-02-23]. Available at: <http://ivc.lib.rochester.edu/portfolio/archival-genres-gathering-texts-and-reading-spaces/>

I see this differently. Let anything be “as archives” and let everyone be an archivist.¹²¹ The question “what is an archive?”, is important for archival theory and methodology, but in practice it is more important to ask “how does this particular individual or group perceive and understand an archive?” This allows “locating cultural expressions beneath a wide and all-encompassing umbrella of records and archives”.¹²² Whether these have little or no impact on what Eichhorn calls “the larger order of things”, is not an essential characteristic of archive(s) “as it is”: created, received and maintained as evidence and/or as an asset by an organization or person, in pursuance of legal obligations or in the transaction of business or for its purposes.¹²³

5 Politics of memory¹²⁴

The agency of the archivist in the construction and transmission of cultural memories is frequently overlooked in memory studies, that not take into account (probably not know) the growing number of studies by scholars of archivistics.¹²⁵ Archival mediation entails appraisal, or assigning value to records, at every stage in the records continuum.¹²⁶ Archivists mediate “competitive and shifting cultural notions of value.”¹²⁷ Archivists – just like museum curators and historians – are always trying to bring documents across the border between dormant and active memory. Although the actors are not politicians, this is identity politics using or misusing cultural memory and cultural heritage.¹²⁸

- 121 Ketelaar, E. Everyone an archivist. // Bütkofer, N., Hofman, H. and Ross, S. (eds). Managing and archiving records in the digital era: changing professional orientations. Baden [Switzerland]: hier + jetzt, Verlag für Kultur und Geschichte, 2006. Pp. 9-14.
- 122 Bastian, J. The records of memory, the archives of identity: celebrations, texts and archival sensibilities. // Archival science 13(2013), 121-131.
- 123 ISO 30300: Information and Documentation – Records Management - Part 2: Guidelines. Genève: International Standards Organization, 2011. 3.1.7.
- 124 Sections 5.1 through 5. 4 of my “Archives, memories and identities” (see footnote 1) provide examples of approaches which may enhance the role of archives and archivists in the construction and transmission of individual and collective memories and identities.
- 125 Schwartz, J. and Cook, T. Op. cit.; Jimerson, R.C. Op. cit.; Tucker, S. Op. cit.; Harris, V. Ethics and the archive: ‘an incessant movement of recontextualisation’ // Cook, T. (ed). Controlling the past: documenting society and institutions: essays in honor of Helen Willa Samuels. Chicago: Society of American archivists, 2011. Pp. 345-362; Cook, T. The archive(s) is a foreign country: historians, archivists, and the changing archival landscape. // American archivist 74(2011), 600-632.
- 126 Blouin, F. Op. cit.; Brothman, B. Archives, life cycles, and death wishes: a helical model of record formation. // Archivaria 61(2006), 235-69.
- 127 Blouin, F.X. and Rosenberg, W. Op. cit., p. 153.
- 128 Thomassen, T. Archiefwetenschap, erfgoed en politisering. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011 [cited: 2014-02-14]. Available at: <http://dare.uva.nl/aup/en/record/374809>

Archivists hold “enormous power and discretion over societal memory, deeply masked behind a public image of denial and self-effacement.”¹²⁹

Like memory, an archive is not just a place for storage, but a process, a mediated social and cultural practice.¹³⁰ That process develops in a space. Any archive is a site of trauma and of contestation¹³¹ where battles about the politics of memory are fought. Because it will continue to be challenged, contested, and expanded, the archive will be a living archive, that, as I have advocated

“may help members of a community not only to come to grips with their own past but also to acknowledge that the past they share with neighbouring ethnic and political communities is not a monolithic truth, history, or memory, but allows, even requires, questioning and contestation. For this, the archive provides a space.”¹³²

But the archive is not only a space of contestation, but also, as Michael Moss writes

“a place of ‘dreams’, of re-enactment for both the user and the archivist (curator), who together always are engaged either passively or actively in the process of refiguration that is never ending”.¹³³

Constructing and reconstructing archival memory and social memory alike is a political act, an act of memory politics.¹³⁴ The archivist cannot pretend to be outside these politics of memory: he or she is one of the actors who, in the words of Jacques Derrida

“must practice a politics of memory and, simultaneously, in the same movement, a critique of the politics of memory”.¹³⁵

129 Nesmith, T. Seeing archives: postmodernism and the changing intellectual place of archives. // *American archivist* 65(2002), 24-41, 32.

130 Ketelaar, E. Writing on archiving machines. // Neef, S., Van Dijck, J. and Ketelaar, E. (eds). *Sign Here! Handwriting in the age of new media*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006. Pp. 183-195.

131 Harris, V. Exploring archives. Op. cit.; Harris, V. Archives and justice. Op. cit.; Murphy, F. Archives of sorrow: an exploration of Australia’s stolen generations and their journey into the past. // *History and anthropology* 22(2011), 481-495.

132 Ketelaar, E. A living archive, shared by communities of records. Op. cit., pp. 123-124.

133 Moss, M. *Opening Pandora’s box: what is an archive in the digital environment?* // Craven L. (ed). *What are archives?: cultural and theoretical perspectives: a reader*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008. Pp. 1-87, 83.

134 Brown, R.H. and Davis-Brown, B. The making of memory: the politics of archives, libraries and museums in the construction of national consciousness. // *History of the human sciences* 11, 4(1998), 17-32; Thomassen, T. Op. cit.

135 Derrida, J. and Stiegler, B. Op. cit., p. 63.

6 Conclusion

It is critical that archivists comprehend the connections between archives and the construction of individual and collective memories and identities. Such understanding is necessary to interject in *all* dimensions of the records continuum

“a larger social mission into archives and to align archives not only with the preservation of the past and production of history, but with the social causes of accountability, justice, identity formation, and reconciliation”.¹³⁶

Archives are unique because of their provenance, but they are constructs. So are memories and identities, which are imagined, constructed, maintained and transferred within social frameworks. In those processes archives may play a critical role, as touchstones and mostly in conjunction with other artefacts which are considered to be “as archives”.

Nevertheless archive(s) “as it is” have a unique quality and it is the archivist’s calling to advocate that uniqueness benefiting many if not most processes of “meaning making” leading to identification and categorization; self-understanding and social location; commonality, connectedness, groupness. These identities are rooted in memories and these memories need inscription and need a space. Both inscription and space will increasingly be “located” “in the cloud” and maintained (in distributed custody) by individuals, groups, and memory institutions. Together they are actors in an ecology which comprises archives/records and other memory texts in a societal context. For archivists this means a lot: partnerships with communities and professionals in other memory institutions; endeavouring to implement new forms of Web 2.0 and participatory archiving; and embracing a paradigm shift already occurring, which Terry Cook labels *Community*, enriching “our own identity as archivists, transformed to be relevant actors out in our society’s communities more than proficient professionals behind the walls of our own institutions”.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Hedstrom, M. Archives and collective memory. Op. cit., p. 173.

¹³⁷ Cook, T. Evidence, memory, identity, and community. Op. cit., p. 116.

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ARHIVI, PAMĆENJE I IDENTITETI

Sažetak

U radu se najprije prikazuje literatura i istraživanja (ne samo arhivska) koja utječe na arhivistički diskurs o pamćenju (poglavlje 2), o identitetu (poglavlje 3) i o ulozi arhivista u oblikovanju pamćenja i identiteta (poglavlje 4). Nakon prikaza teorija i koncepata, u petom poglavlju podastrijeti su primjeri arhivskih politika i praksi, kao i prijedlozi za jačanje uloge arhiva i arhivista u oblikovanju osobnog i kolektivnog pamćenja i identiteta. U kratkom zaključku (poglavlje 6) okupljene su temeljne ideje rada.

Ključne riječi: kolektivno pamćenje, identitet, istraživanja pamćenja, istraživanja identiteta, arhivi, medijacija

RECORDS, ARCHIVES AND MEMORY IN POST-CONFLICT CONTEXTS

PREFATORY REMARKS

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In these prefatory remarks we discuss the background to the papers we presented at the Records, Archives and Memory Studies Conference. In the postscript we provide a brief overview of our subsequent research and writing that further explores and develops the archival issues and ideas referenced in our papers.

There is an expression in English: “the elephant in the room.” It means the big thing that everyone knows is there, but that no one really wants to acknowledge. It would be very difficult for a conference or summer school on the subject of records, archives or memory held in Zadar not to acknowledge the many, many ways in which each of these has been intertwined with the centuries of conflict in this region. Our original intention was to talk about that elephant, and in the abstract for this session we laid out several related themes that have come to the fore following major conflicts around the world:

- The immediate human needs associated with loss, fragmentation or inaccessibility of records which underpin identity and memory, and provide evidence of rights or abuse of rights;
- Dealing with the conflict, trauma and grief associated with accessing, reading and having to produce the archival record;
- Various ways to reconstitute or supplement the archival record;
- Resolving archival conflicts relating to legal and moral ownership, and other rights in records;
- Longer-term issues associated with the repatriation of records, often requiring international negotiation; and

- Past roles of archives and their potential future roles in redress, reconciliation, and nation-building.

Recent research on the aftermath of the wars in the 1990s associated with the breakup of the former Yugoslavia has also identified a long list of specific issues:
- The various connections between records, memory and nationalism – for example, (re)constituting a nation and the histories of its peoples; turning myth into memory and vice versa, and the strategies, technologies, media and art forms being used to do so; political uses of archived demographic and statistical data; the dominant role of government archives, but also the strong history of monastic libraries and other religious archives and manuscript repositories that have close associations with ethnic identity and history; and whether there might be strategic roles that could be played by academic and community archives.
- The long roots of conflict and the issues that arise because of these for archival and other memory work.
- The effects and affect of opening records of contested or traumatic events after long periods of closure—for example, records relating to World War II or the activities of national intelligence services.
- Who owns the records created or captured as a result of wars that created new nations, and where should those records be located? How to resolve legal and moral claims involving pre-war records? Who holds the records of war and how should they be managed, for example, casualty counts, landmine maps, satellite data, data collected by United States' drones?
- The difficult and politically-charged work of repatriation of records; pros, cons, and the fiscal, technological and logistical feasibility of making, preserving and providing access to digital copies.
- How to move forward in daily life:
 - When there is no record or the record is hard to locate because it wasn't consistently and systematically kept or because it is distributed across several different agencies or offices (for example, land record needs stemming from nationalization of property, property swaps, returning displaced individuals and families, buying from others on installments, and new laws requiring retrospective production of building and renovation permits).

- When there is no record because it was completely or partially destroyed by war or conflict (for example, property, educational and licensing records).
- When records are withheld, suppressed or otherwise inaccessible for political reasons (for example, newspaper archives, records relating to state pensions and other benefits now located in other, recently formed countries).
- When individuals and agencies are inappropriately profiting from their own bureaucratic procedures or continuing to persecute particular individuals, communities or ethnicities based through control over original vital records (for example, requiring the production of certified copies of original documents from one's birthplace or former domicile every few months in order to continue to maintain right to work for Internally Displaced Persons, or to establish refugee status or citizenship; or to return a body of a family member to be buried in that person's former homeland, town or village);
- When documentary evidence is needed to obtain reparations from another country but a record was never created, no longer exists, or contains information that is not commensurate with that in records held in the other country (for example, Jewish, Roma and Slav survivors of World War II Nazi concentration camps and forced labor units).
- When the official record is not accurate (for example, medical records for those in, or called up to military service in times of war that were altered to obtain exemptions or where wounded soldiers requested to be sent back to the front despite the severity of their wounds, but must be relied upon later in life to claim various health and pension benefits)
- The implications of changed and variant names for individuals, places and events for recordkeeping and for archival authority file development.
- The critical role that specialised indexes and interfaces for archival holdings can play in support of human rights and daily life needs for non-expert or non-scholarly archival users.
- The benefits and challenges of networking or negotiating the universe of additional documentation, sometimes extra-nationally funded, of conflicts and their legacies, including oral histories, ethnographies, social media content, murals and graffiti, for ex-

ample with Croatian-related documentation, the digitization of the records of the Jasenovac concentration camp by the U.S. Holocaust Museum; the Former Yugoslavia Witnesses Documentation Project in Croatia and Project Balkan Voices; and documentation of diasporic emigrant and refugee experiences (e.g., oral histories created by the Croatian American Cultural Center in San Francisco, California).

- The role of professional education in archival and museum studies.

However, upon reflection, we decided that each of our papers would concentrate on one particular facet of the roles and impact of records, recordkeeping processes and memory on individual and community lives in the context of conflicts and traumatic events that have national and ethnic dimensions. Drawing upon cases that come from our own backgrounds in Northern Ireland and Australia we attempted to illustrate how the kinds of pressing archival considerations that these raise should be of concern to many different parties and communities in locations around the world.

This refocusing of our papers was in recognition that the topic of this session engages a complex set of issues that are highly sensitive and that not everyone might be ready to engage. The felt impacts and consequences of records can span multiple generations, particularly when the records are associated with wars and ethnic conflicts and their aftermath. The legacy of records, recordkeeping and other forms of historical artifacts and processes in terms of how they contribute to the development of collective memory, and sometimes to the transmutation of that collective memory into community myth can motivate communities and call them to action for centuries. Today, in addition to more traditional forms of bureaucratic records, that legacy includes entirely new kinds of records which must be taken into account, for example, military strategic records, satellite surveillance records, social media generated by members of displaced communities, journalists' digital footage, and tweets.

When records or archives are at risk, archivists and others who realize their importance, have acted to rescue, relocate, hide, or otherwise protect and preserve them. This is an immediate action. Later, there may be much longer negotiations and other actions related to replevin, repatriation and reconstruction of records and the recovery of memory in the form of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Again, there may also be new records, for example, records of special tribu-

nals, commissions, and watchdog organizations; as well as all sorts of politicized or sectarian social media sites. Eventually there may come a moment – it may be many years later – when the memory and effects of the events are not so raw, and when those who experienced them firsthand may decide to talk about them. This disclosure might take the form of autobiographies, or might be captured by archivists, historians, anthropologists and other documentary initiatives in the form of oral or video histories, digital storytelling, ethnographies, or biographies. It might instead be self- or community-initiated, quite often by individuals and communities in the diaspora – that is, those who live away from the original place as migrant workers, emigrants, refugees or other displaced persons.

Records, recordkeeping and recordkeeping processes are continuously threaded throughout the lives and activities of individuals, families, communities, and people who find themselves grouped together because of a certain shared experience or characteristic. They play a range of roles and exercise control over human lives bureaucratically, practically, procedurally and emotionally in terms of human identity, rights, welfare, sometimes even survival. It is this centrality and instrumentality of records, recordkeeping and memory in human lives that, as the list we provided above and our own papers included here suggest, we believe is the most urgent for those working with records, archives and memory to address. We are aware, however, that this often does not sit comfortably with other visions of archives as cultural heritage institutions that primarily support scholarly research. At RAMS in 2013, we had excellent discussions about memory, documents, metadata, linking, authenticity, scholarly uses and how to model recordkeeping in society. These are all really important and fascinating subjects in and of themselves. But when we asked the question about how each might come into play in terms of the human implications of records, archives and memory, it was apparent to all that while these are vital subjects, they are often also inadequate or under-considered in these respects. Our two separate presentations, therefore, attempted to illustrate these human implications and also to suggest how archival and memory work can acknowledge and address such implications.



MEMORY POLITICS AND RECONCILIATION IN THE WAKE OF ETHNIC CONFLICT

A NORTHERN IRISH EXAMPLE

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ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with the politics of memory and their consequences – how memory in its tangible and intangible forms is understood, performed, and acted upon in the popular imagination, and how it influences contemporary situations and inter-community relationships. Specifically, the paper is concerned with exploring the roles that the politics of memory can play not just in promoting continued community division in the aftermath of ethnic or religious conflicts in regions with complex and layered histories, but also the inverse – in promoting reconciliation. The paper takes as its primary example the multiple co-existing yet divergent accumulating narratives about the past that contributed to the eruption and later to the sustenance of The Troubles in Northern Ireland. After a brief historical review, it examines the experiences of one contemporary case that has been held up locally and internationally as exemplary in redirecting memory politics in support of reconciliation between divided communities – that of Derry~Londonderry, Northern Ireland's second city and the site of the first violent confrontations of the Troubles. Bearing in mind the concept of “archival reconciliation” proposed by Sue McKemmish et al. with regard to the construction of Australian Indigeneity, past, present and future, and Verne Harris’ recent discussion of “healing” with reference to the experiences of the Nelson Mandela Foundation with human rights archives and memory work in post-apartheid South Africa, the paper concludes with some reflections on the responsibilities of memory institutions, and especially of archives, to address the politics of memory, even when those politics can traverse centuries of events; and actively contribute to reconciliation and peacebuilding in the wake of physical conflict, combatting, to use Harris’ words, the weariness, stress and “stuckness” that can replace energy and hope during lengthy transition and recovery processes.

KEY WORDS

Archives, community, Derry~Londonderry, memory, Northern Ireland, politics of memory, reconciliation

Introduction

In his 2000 review article tracing the emergence of memory in historical discourse, historian Kerwin Lee Klein describes “the memory industry” as ranging “from the museum trade to the legal battles over repressed memory and on to the market for academic books and articles that invoke memory as key word.”¹ Several works published in the 1980s such as Pierre Nora’s *Les Lieux de mémoire*, Paul Connerton’s *Bodily Practices: How Societies Remember*, and Jan Assmann and Tonio Hölscher’s *Kultur und Gedächtnis* proved to be seminal in bringing memory to the attention of the scholarly community, and memory studies is now widely recognized as a distinct area of interdisciplinary scholarship.² For institutions such as archives and museums that are repositories of and portals to records and other historical documentation and artifacts, responding to the turn toward memory necessitates complicating comfortable and “accepted” notions of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Taken to its logical conclusions, it also demands that archives and museums work closely and participatively with communities of memory³ to develop management practices and curatorial interpretations capable of highlighting diverse, critical, contingent and dynamic understandings of the past. However, despite the complexification of memory evident in the growing body of scholarship in memory studies as well as in archival studies⁴ in recent decades, many memory

- 1 Klein, Kerwin Lee. On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse. // Representations 69 (Winter 2000), 127-150, 127.
- 2 For a review of this literature, see Eric Ketelaar. Archives, memories and identities. // Brown, Caroline ed. Archives and recordkeeping: theory into practice. London: Facet, 2014. Pp. 131-170.
- 3 Archival scholar Eric Ketelaar provides the following definition: “Collective identity is based on the elective processes of memory, so that a given group recognises itself through its memory of a common past. A community is a “community of memory”. That common past is not merely genealogical or traditional, something which you can take or leave. It is more: a moral imperative for one’s belonging to a community. The common past, sustained through time into the present, is what gives continuity, cohesion and coherence to a community. To be a community, a family, a religious community, a profession involves an embeddedness in its past and, consequently, in the memory texts through which that past is mediated.” Ketelaar, Eric. Sharing: collected memories in communities of records. // Archives and manuscripts 33(2005), 44-61, 50.
- 4 Cook, Terry. Archives, records, and power: from (postmodern) theory to (archival) performance. // Archival science 2(2002), 171-185, and Cook, Terry. Evidence, memory, identity and community: four shifting archival paradigms. // Archival science 13(2013), 95-120; Anderson, Gail. Reinventing the museum: historical and contemporary perspectives on the paradigm shift. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004; Marstine, Janet, ed. New museum theory and practice: an introduction. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006; Gilliland, Anne J. Neutrality, social justice and the obligations of archival educators and education in the twenty-first century. // Archival science 11, 3-4(2011), 193-209rethinking history;

institutions and professions have been slower or reluctant to make the necessary epistemological shift in their institutional and professional stances away from authoritative, grand narrative, “value-neutral,” fact and tangible artifact-based approaches to acknowledge overtly and, as necessary, redirect their role in the messy and contentious business of community heritage and memory politics.

At the same time, as much of the growing body of scholarship discusses, tangible and intangible memory, and its performance through acts of memorialization and commemoration, are not just the province of “memory institutions” such as museums and archives, of places and objects of memorialization such as historic sites, monuments and memorials, or of scholarly study and theorizing. Memory and its performance also occupy a prominent and agentive space in the popular imagination, especially as activated and acted upon by communities, whether consciously or unconsciously, in the process of furthering their own agendas and reinforcing their own identities.⁵ And when notions of nation and patrimony are in dispute and ethnic identities have been constructed around particular narratives, the focus of this popular imagination may be less on patrimonial memory as articulated by Nora, and more on social memory that is closely tied to the construction of those identities and claims of a specific ethnic or religious community within a region. Precisely because of its fluidity, emotiveness and range of possible experiences and interpretations, memory can be a very powerful motivator for individual and collective behaviours. It also has a connective capacity that supports linkages being made between events that are widely disparate in time and character. Such connective capacity lends the resulting narratives a quality of substantiveness and authority

Clough, Dixie; Blanche, Balade. Putting new museum theory into practice. // *Curator: the museum journal* 58, 1(2015), 17-26; Gilliland, Anne J.; Sue McKemmish. Rights in records as a platform for participative archiving. // Cox, Richard J., Alison Langmead and Eleanor Mattern, eds. *Studies in archival education and research: selected papers from the 2014 AERI Conference*. Los Angeles: Litwin Press, 2015 (in press).

⁵ Peter Carrier observes that:

The shift from historical to social consciousness, which displaces authority from the professional historian to society itself, has coincided with a radical modification of the supports sustaining collective memory. Positivist historians in the nineteenth century had recourse to documentary evidence stored in archives in order to legitimate a specific reconstruction of the facts of the past worthy of social consensus or collective memory. Public opinion, on the other hand, legitimates or renders its understanding of the ‘presence of the past in the present’ intelligible by means of ‘significant units’ or symbolic places representing particularist, non-consensual interests or memories of an atomized society.

Carrier, Peter. // *Places, politics and the archiving of memory*. // Radstone, Susannah ed. *Memory and methodology*. Oxford: Berg, 2000. P. 46.

as well as a reassuring teleology that in turn may result in individuals, groups or entire populations acting upon them as though they were intrinsically truthful or natural inevitabilities.

When memory is thus performed and acted upon, it inevitably has consequences.⁶ This paper is concerned with the politics of memory and those consequences – how memory is understood, performed, and acted upon in the popular imagination, and how it influences contemporary situations and inter-community relationships. Specifically, the paper is concerned with exploring the roles that such politics of memory can play not just in promoting continued community division in the aftermath of ethnic or religious conflicts in regions with complex and layered histories, but also the inverse – in promoting reconciliation. It introduces some strategies that have been attempted for achieving reconciliation in the face of difficult pasts in European countries and the challenges that these have surfaced. As its primary example, it reviews the multiple co-existing yet divergent accumulating narratives about the past that contributed to the eruption and the sustenance of The Troubles in Northern Ireland in the latter twentieth century. After providing some brief historical context, it examines the experiences of the historic and historically divided city of Derry~Londonderry, Northern Ireland's second city and the site of the first violent confrontations of the Troubles.⁷ It identifies some of the narratives that have been formative or instrumental within the city's Protestant and Catholic communities and the forms in which they have been manifested and performed. It also discusses recent efforts, considered both nationally and internationally to be exemplary, to redirect memory politics in

6 Crooke examines two community heritage projects in Northern Ireland and concludes that:

community heritage has become a means to mould and communicate histories, understandings of identity, and definitions of culture and cultural relevance within groups and to others. By means of display contributors are drawing others into their project, disseminating the message further. By nature of its involvement the museum space is implicated in this process. The result of this is a socially and politically engaged heritage embedded in contemporary concerns and shared with consequence.

Crooke, Elizabeth. The politics of community heritage: motivations, authority and control. // International journal of heritage studies 16, 1-2(2010), 16-29, 28.

7 Geographic place names carry with them their own memory politics, and, as explained later in the paper, this city has been known by several names, each with its own historical, cultural and political significance. In this paper the author has chosen to use Derry~Londonderry, in part because it is the name officially being used today by Derry City Council, and in part because it is considered locally to be an overt manifestation of the city's advances in bringing about reconciliation between its Catholic and Protestant communities.

support of peace building and reconciliation between the communities. Bearing in mind the concept of “archival reconciliation” proposed by Sue McKemmish et al with regard to the construction of Australian Indigeneity, past, present and future,⁸ and Verne Harris’ recent discussion of “healing” with reference to the experiences of the Nelson Mandela Foundation with human rights archives and memory work in post-apartheid South Africa,⁹ the paper concludes with some reflections on the responsibilities of memory institutions, and especially of archives, to address the politics of memory, even when that memory can traverse centuries of events, and to contribute actively to reconciliation and peacebuilding in the wake of physical conflict.

Memory, politics and reconciliation

Discussing several possible reasons for memory’s rise to prominence since the 1980s, Klein alludes to how identity has become an integral component of memory discourse.¹⁰ One of the growing areas of work in this regard addresses ethnic identity and how it has been implicated in violence, often recurrent, between communities, in different regions around the world. For example, in his 2002 article, “On Memory, Identity and War,” historian Patrick Finney writes of the ubiquity of the past and of variant historical analogies in the ethnically-based conflicts of the 1990s in South Eastern Europe:

Western policy-makers and pundits interpreted them as the product of ancient ethnic enmities unleashed by the collapse of communism, while indigenous nationalists concocted extravagant narratives of historical victimization and destiny to ground new identities and mobilize populations for war.¹¹

Finney continues:

... drawing on wider bodies of scholarship exploring the work of memory under and after state socialism and in relation to the trauma of war, connections between memory, identity and war in the region began to be scrutinized. Of particular interest here

⁸ McKemmish, Sue; Shannon Faulkhead and Lynette Russell. Distrust in the archive: reconciling records. // *Archival science* 11, 3-4(2011), 211-239, 220.

⁹ Harris, Verne. The antonyms of our remembering. // *Archival science* 14, 3-4(2014), 215-229.

¹⁰ Klein, K. L. *Ibid.*

¹¹ Finney, Patrick. On memory, identity and war. // *Rethinking history: the journal of theory and practice* 6, 1(2002), 1-13, 1.

were the role of historical narratives in grounding national and other senses of identity, the efforts by nationalists to co-opt or stimulate private memories of past traumas and wrongdoings as part of these projects (including the broader issue of the resistance to or negotiation of would be dominant memories at local levels) and the question of the agency of ‘history’.¹²

It is hardly surprising in the wake of a century of massive global and regional conflicts, widespread and persistent ethnic and religious strife, the rise and fall of fascist regimes and communist states, the end of apartheid, and the establishment of truth commissions and international tribunals pursuing justice regarding war crimes and crimes against humanity, that the politics of memory have become such a locus not only of political interest but also of peace, reconciliation and social justice processes and scholarship.¹³ While a cessation of violence is most often brokered through peace negotiations, memories of the past can remain a divisive force between communities even while they and their nations are engaged in processes intended to build a forward-oriented peaceful coexistence and enhanced mutual understanding. Nations, international bodies and memory institutions have tried with varying degrees of success to deal with divisive pasts politically, legislatively and institutionally – through courts, tribunals and truth and reconciliation commissions or truth-seeking and memory initiatives; the enactment of laws and adoption of human rights-oriented declarations; official visits by representatives of historically opposing factions

12 Ibid.

13 See, for example, Rappaport, Joanne. *The politics of memory*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998; Amadiume, Ifi and Abdulahi Ahmad Naim. *The politics of memory: truth, healing, and social justice*. New York: Zed Books, 2000; Barahona de Brito, Alexandra, Carmen Gonzalez Enriquez, and Paloma Aguilera Fernández. *The politics of memory and democratization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Ballinger, Pamela. *History in exile: memory and identity at the borders of the Balkans*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002; Sarat, Austin and Thomas R. Kearns, eds. *History, memory and the law*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 2002; Huyssen, Andreas. *Present pasts: urban palimpsests and the politics of memory*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003; Hodgkins, Katharine and Susannah Radstone. *Contested pasts: the politics of memory*. New York: Routledge, 2003; Wolf, Joan B. *Harnessing the holocaust: the politics of memory in France*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004; Lebow, Richard Ned; Wulf Kansteiner and Claudio Fogu, eds. *The politics of memory in post-war Europe*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006; Lazzara, Michael J. *Chile in transition: the poetics and politics of memory*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006; Rivera, Lauren A. *Managing “spoiled” national identity: war, tourism, and memory in Croatia*. // *American sociological review* 73, 4(2008), 613-634; Rush, Peter D. and Oliviera Simić, eds. *The arts of transitional justice: culture, activism, and memory after atrocity*. New York: Springer, 2014.

or combatants to sites of major or controversial historic significance or attendance at commemorative events; moving the dates of commemorative holidays and changing city and street names once associated with former regimes or conflicts; educational programs and curricula; and exhibits and other cultural and outreach programs.

One example that illustrates the difficulties facing national efforts can be found in Spain, a country still coming to terms today with the deep national divides and traumatic memories associated with the Spanish Civil War of 1936 to 1939, and the ensuing repressive regime of General Francisco Franco. After Franco's death in 1975, a Pact of Forgetting (*el pacto del olvido*) was made between both leftist and rightist parties. Legislatively codified in 1977 as the Spanish Amnesty Law, the Pact was designed to support the transition to democracy and promote looking to the future rather than to the past. However, the legality of the amnesties provided for under the Amnesty Law have been challenged by the United Nations on the basis of international principles such as universal justice and conventions supporting the prosecution of those accused of crimes against humanity. In 2007, Spain's Socialist Party government enacted a controversial Law of Historical Memory (Ley 52/2007). It included provisions regarding mass graves and the removal of Francoist monuments and symbols from public spaces.¹⁴ Bodies of nationalist Civil War "martyrs" had been exhumed in the 1940s by the Franco regime and ceremoniously reburied and lauded. The bodies of their enemies were interred in common or mass graves or simply left where they fell or were thrown.¹⁵ The Law of Historical Memory initiated the location and exhumation of mass graves and the subsequent identification and reburial of bodies. Although government subsidies for the exhumations have since been withdrawn, the initiative has continued. Helen Graham argues that:

The importance of the mass graves initiative in Spain goes far beyond righting a specific historical wrong, for it offers the constitutional state a means of identifying and naming all its citizens – past

¹⁴ Hadzelek, Aleksandra. Spain's 'pact of silence' and the removal of Franco's statues. // Kirby, Diane ed. Past law, present histories. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2012 [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: http://press.anu.edu.au/apps/bookworm/view/Past+Law%2C+Present+Hi_stories/9961/ch09.html#toc_marker-13

¹⁵ Graham, Helen. Franco's crypt: Spanish culture and memory since 1936: review. // The Guardian (21 March, 2014) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/mar/21/francos-crypt-spanish-culture-memory-since-1936-review-jeremy-treglown>

and present – as an act of democratic inclusion and a reminder that in democracy no section of a citizenry can be “expendable” in this way, nor should one segment be mobilised against another.¹⁶

If the mass graves initiative sought to encourage national unity in the present, the provision for the removal of Francoist symbols and monuments essentially mandated the removal from public view of the physical traces of a key part of Spain’s twentieth century past. Acts of removal and obliteration of the images and iconography of a despised ruler or government have occurred spontaneously many times in recent decades in countries around the globe, notably in uprisings against, or at the end of Communist or Soviet domination in countries such as Hungary, Albania and Lithuania, and with the ousting of military and political leaders such as Saddam Hussein, Muammar Qaddafi or Hosni Mubarak.¹⁷ While these acts are understandable in the heat of the moment, there are dueling considerations when it comes to the systematic, officially mandated erasure, seen also in former colonial nations, of the traces of an entire period in the history of a country. Do such legally sanctioned acts of erasure or state-sanctioned amnesia best support the current population in moving beyond the traumas and injustices of civil war or a repressive regime? What might be the effects of this act on the needs and perspectives of future populations in terms of awareness and understanding of their country’s past and accessing their personal connections to it?

Of course, after regime change or civil war, the physical past can also be left to deteriorate and slip out of public consciousness, either deliberately or because it is no longer sustained or reinforced in the collective memory by sympathetic parties, commemorations, subsequent events, or dominant historical narratives. An example of this might be the once much-visited monuments and memorials erected in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to commemorate sites of World War II battles and concentration camps. Designed by prominent Yugoslav sculptors and architects, they lost much of their symbolic meaning after the breakup of the country in the 1990s and the transition from communism. Maybe another life might be imagined for them, however. For example, as one commentator asked:

16 Ibid.

17 Hudson, John. Down goes the dictator!: a visual history of statue vandalism. // Foreign policy (5 March, 2013) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/03/05/down-goes-the-dictator-a-visual-history-of-statue-vandalism/>

Can these former monuments continue to exist as pure sculptures? On the one hand their physical dilapidated condition and institutional neglect reflect a more general social historical fracturing. And on the other hand, they are still of stunning beauty without any symbolic significance.¹⁸

Even where there is a concerted will and investment to preserve evidence and memorials of the past there remain concerns about their future purpose and how they might be understood and used over time. For example, efforts to preserve Nazi-era concentration camps are increasingly challenged by inevitable physical deterioration as well as by the passings of remaining camp survivors, most of whom are now in their eighties or nineties. January 27th 2015 marked the 70th anniversary of the liberation of the concentration camp at Auschwitz at the end of World War II. Commemorations this year were tinged with a strong awareness that this is likely the last “decade” anniversary of the liberation that will be attended by a substantial number of survivors. Media commentaries on the anniversary have noticeably focused on the experiences of survivors who had been children – the youngest prisoners – in the camp.¹⁹ Paweł Sawicki, chief spokesman for the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, observes that:

This year’s anniversary also coincides with a shift in the way the site’s administrators conceive of their mission. From now on ... the site will be organized to explain to generations who were not alive during the war what happened rather than to act as a memorial to those who suffered through it.²⁰

He further explains how the museum had not previously exhibited photographs or stories of the Nazi commanders and soldiers:

The people who lived through it knew their faces, and did not want to see them ... But new visitors, who grew up after the war, need to hear that side of the story, too, ... and to see the faces of those responsible.²¹

¹⁸ Crack Two. 25 abandoned Yugoslavia monuments that look like they’re from the future (April 15, 2011) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://www.cracktwo.com/2011/04/25-abandoned-soviet-monuments-that-look.html>

¹⁹ See, for example, Connolly, Kate. Tales from Auschwitz: survivor stories. // The Guardian (26 January, 2015) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/26/tales-from-auschwitz-survivor-stories>

²⁰ Lyman, Rick. For Auschwitz museum, and survivors, a moment of passage. // New York times (January 23, 2015).

²¹ Ibid.

Judaic studies scholar James E. Young also argues that the narratives associated with such sites change with time – that memorials are not impervious to the mutability of interpretation to which all cultural artifacts are subject, and may take on lives of their own that are not the same as the creators' original intentions: "New generations visit memorials under new circumstances and invest them with new meanings."²²

This inevitable retrospective interpretation of monuments and memorials can raise another issue – what to do when the event(s) or individuals being commemorated are not the subject *per se* of the controversy, but rather when the controversy is centred on how the representations or design choices made in the memorial reflect other aspects of the era that today might be regarded as wrong, offensive or otherwise problematic. An example is the recent controversy in a small predominantly African American city in the southern United States where several mostly white military veterans raised money to alter a memorial to soldiers who had died in both World Wars and the Korea and Vietnam conflicts. The memorial had been erected on city property by veterans from the same veterans' organization, the American Legion, after World War II. The sides of the memorial that list soldiers from World War I and World War II divide them into two categories, "white" and "colored," while the lists placed on the other sides for the conflicts that occurred after racial segregation ended in the American South do not make such distinctions. Opponents of altering the memorial have argued that it reflects the social structures of the time and that changing the memorial to remove the segregationist aspects would damage its "historical integrity." However, the local mayor was quoted as saying, "I think if history offends people it needs to be rewritten if possible." When he was informed that it was against the state's Confederate Flag Law to relocate, disturb or alter any historical monument without a two thirds majority vote of the legislature (a political legacy from the U.S.' own Civil War, in which the Confederate and pro-slavery American South were defeated), the mayor responded further, suggesting that a more sinister agenda might be at work, "I wonder if some of the opposition is racism hiding behind history."²³

22 Young, James E. *The texture of memory: holocaust memorials and meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993. P. 3.

23 Collins, Jeffrey. War memorial separates dead by race, divides Southern city. // Associated Press (February 6, 2015) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://news.yahoo.com/war-memorial-separates-dead-race-divides-southern-city-094144917.html>

The creation of new monuments and memorials also generates controversy, whether they commemorate past or more recent events. In his book, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory: France and Germany Since 1989*, historian Peter Carrier examines how political strategists use symbolism and rhetoric to invest monuments and memorials with the responsibility to “guarantee remembrance.” Exploring their semantic contingency, he examines the debates over the monument built in 1994 at Vélo d’Hiver (Vél’ d’Hiv’), a site in Paris where Jews during the Second World War were rounded up by the Nazis and deported to camps (a debate he labels “the Promise of National Reconciliation 1992–97”), and the Monument for the Murdered Jews of Europe inaugurated in 2005 in Berlin as a “central symbol of the genocide against Jews” (“the Promise of Consensus 1988–2000”).²⁴ A different example can be found in the proliferation of memorials and monuments since the end of the wars of the 1990s between the republics of the former Yugoslavia, and amid continuing disputes involving Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia. Many of these are disputed as being biased or provocative ideological and nationalist symbols. Jukic et al. aver that, “The problem is at its most acute where the ethnic divisions are at their most troubled, and where more memorials have been built than anywhere else, in Bosnia and Herzegovina.”²⁵ Journalist Radhika Singh, reporting on commemoration services held in front of the former Keraterm death camp on the 22nd anniversary of the mass killings of Bosnian Muslims from Prijedor echoes this sentiment and asserts that: Memorials in Bosnia and Herzegovina take on many forms and are erected by members of all ethnic groups. However, all types of memorials have one thing in common: their purpose is commemoration rather than reconciliation. Instead of setting in place a common historical record that helps to piece the country together, they are ethnically divisive. Instead of helping people deal with, and move on from, the past, it forces them to defend it.²⁶

²⁴ Carrier, Peter. Holocaust monuments and national memory: France and Germany since 1989. Oxford: Berghahn, 2005.

²⁵ Jukic, Elvira M.; Sinisa Jakov Marusic, Milena Milosevic, Boris Pavelic, Edona Peci, Marija Ristic. Ethnic divisions set in stone. // Balkan insight (25 June 2013) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/ethnic-divisions-set-in-stone>. See also Halilovich, Hariz. Beyond the sadness: memories and homecomings among survivors of ‘ethnic cleansing’ in a Bosnian village. // Memory studies 4, 1(2011), 42-52.

²⁶ Singh, Radhika. Divisive memorials are holding back Bosnia. // Balkan insight (July 27, 2014) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/divisive-memorials-are-holding-back-bosnia>

Singh concludes that the narratives in Bosnia are:

created by political motives, held in place by ethnic hatred and distrust, and exacerbated by the contentious issue of memorialization.

Memorials in Bosnia can, and should, serve a different purpose. They should be participatory, for one thing, and create a dialogue between ethnicities rather than push them further apart from one another.²⁷

Sources of Irish memory narratives

In order to understand the long roots of the conflict in Northern Ireland and to contextualize the narratives and memory politics that have been at work in that region, it is necessary to digress briefly to review some salient parts of Irish history. From the time of the Norman invasion of England in the 12th century, England claimed sovereignty over Ireland. The Normans imposed feudal law in Ireland but themselves intermarried with the local Gaelic nobility and over time became “Gaelicised.” English rule was only firmly established in certain eastern parts of the island (known as the Pale) until more systematic “civilizing” colonisation took place in the 16th and 17th centuries in the form of “plantations” first of English nobility, and then of Scottish private settlers and tenant farmers in the northern province of Ulster on lands that had been confiscated from rebellious Gaelic chieftains and granted to the settlers by the English Crown. Scotland already historically enjoyed close familial ties as well as settling and trading relationships with the northern and northeastern counties of Ireland because of its geographic proximity. While the Gaelic (and Gaelic or Irish-speaking) Irish and the descendants of the Normans were Roman Catholic, the predominantly English-speaking plantation settlers were Protestants, predominantly of two denominations. The so-called Anglo-Irish ruling class was mostly Anglican while the Scots settlers were mainly Presbyterians (dissenting Protestants). The Williamite War in Ireland between Catholic (Jacobites) and Protestant (Williamites) claimants for the English throne ultimately strengthened English and Protestant dominance in Ireland. The unsuccessful besieging by Jacobite forces of the city of Derry from 1689 to 1690 – the longest siege in British military history – and the victory of King William of Orange over those forces at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, were to become iconic reference points for Ulster Protestants devoted to a Protestant Crown and

27 Ibid.

the union with Great Britain. They were also the source of inspiration for the Orange Order, a Protestant fraternal order founded in 1795 in Armagh, a border country of the northern province of Ulster. However, religious oppression in the form of harsh penal laws imposed by the English Crown on both Catholics and dissenting Protestants as well as poverty, famine and unemployment encouraged successive waves of emigration to America, Australia and elsewhere; as well as the formation of several political and sometimes secret and armed organizations dedicated to promoting either nationalist or unionist causes, sometimes through nationalist uprisings or guerrilla campaigns.

For many peoples in Europe, the First World War marked the end of centuries of colonial rule and the establishment of new countries that responded to nationalist sentiments that had been rising and fomenting in the years leading up to and during the war. At the same time, these new countries often incorporated multiple ethnic or religious identities as well as deep-rooted historical and emerging political loyalties and aspirations that complicated and sometimes destabilized the establishment of the new nation and any sense of a unified national identity. Yugoslavia (in the form of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) was one such country, and Ireland was another. In Ireland, the First World War broke out just as a bill establishing Home Rule, long agitated for by Irish nationalists, was passed. Because of opposition from unionist Protestants, six of the nine counties of Ulster (the six that would later come to comprise Northern Ireland) were temporarily excluded. The Home Rule Act was suspended, however, due to the outbreak of the war.

Although the Irish successfully fought British conscription efforts toward the end of the war, some 210,000 Irishmen served in the British Army during the war, particularly in its first years. They did so for a variety of reasons – to advance either the unionist or the nationalist causes,²⁸ out of a sense of duty, because of poverty, or be-

28 Jeffery argues that, “Nationalists, for whom the establishment of an Irish ‘home rule’ parliament in Dublin had been the principal political aim for most of the 19th century, were committed to the war effort by their leader, John Redmond, in September 1914. This was on the grounds that the necessary legislation had been passed (though in fact it was suspended for the duration of the war), and that the ‘freedom of small nations’ (such as Belgium or Serbia) was that of Ireland as well.

The plight of gallant, Catholic little Belgium, invaded by a militaristic aggressor, was disadvantageously compared with Ireland, achieving freedom (so Redmond argued) within the British Empire, rather like Canada or Australia.” Jeffery, Keith. Ireland and World War One (Last updated 2011-03-10) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/britain_wwone/ireland_wwone_01.shtml

cause they felt they might return better equipped to fight for an independent Ireland. The formation of separate Irish divisions of soldiers underscored the political and religious stratification in Ireland at the time, and the service as well as the massive casualties sustained by Irish soldiers were to become important foci in the formation of unionist community identity and memory as well as of nationalist amnesia. Many Ulster Protestants who had joined the paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) formed in 1912 to oppose home rule and to keep Ulster within the union with Great Britain enlisted in the 36th (Ulster) Division. Two divisions of Kitchener's "new Army" were also raised in Ireland – the 10th and the 16th (Irish) Divisions. The Ulster Division was overwhelmingly Protestant and unionist, while the Irish Divisions were predominantly Catholic and nationalist. The Ulster Division sustained huge casualties at the Somme. 5,500 were killed on the first two days of the battle, those days happening to coincide with the anniversary of the 1690 Battle of the Boyne – the most prominent anniversary annually observed by the Orange Order. Local newspapers relayed the story, conveyed in a letter from an English army officer to the Belfast Grand Master of Orange Lodges, of how the gallant Ulstermen went over the top at the Somme with the battle-cry of the defenders in the siege of Derry, "No Surrender!"²⁹ Other stories tell of the soldiers singing and whistling Orange songs as battle commenced. Whether these stories convey actual or apocryphal events, Northern Irish historian Keith Jeffery notes that,

the losses came to be identified particularly with the Ulster Unionist cause. And the close-knit character of the formation meant that the casualties had a disproportionate impact back home. The 12 July Orange parades were cancelled, and five minutes' silence was observed in Belfast that day.³⁰

According to sociologist David Officer, the annual Apprentice Boys parade around the walls of Derry and the Anglican Bishop of Derry's sermon to the assembled Apprentice Boys a few weeks later, "offered another opportunity not only to highlight the display of

²⁹ Hill, Jacqueline. Art imitating war: 'Observe the Sons of Ulster Marching Towards the Somme' and its place in history. // *Études d'histoire et de civilisation* 34, 1(2009), 37-52.

³⁰ Jeffery, K. Op. cit.

Orange virility in battle but also to claim that spirit as alive and well back home.”³¹

The Somme became for Ulster Protestants, therefore, an enduring symbol of their loyalty to the union with Britain and to the Crown and helped to shape their own conceptions of their distinct identity. Officer writes of how this was reinforced by the way in which local newspapers covered notifications of dead, missing or wounded:

Whilst the *Newsletter* changed the title of its column from ‘Ulster and the War’ to a ‘Roll of Honour’, the *Belfast Evening Telegraph* carried individual photographs of the dead ... It was perhaps in this way that the full human tragedy of war was grasped in a concrete form for the first time. This evidence, both in the individualized image of a particular soldier, but also in the conglomerate portrait which it presented to the public, realized the Unionist and Protestant community in the North in a way which had never been achieved before. In a sense this was no longer an ‘imagined community’; its ideal representation was personified on the printed page for all to see.”³²

After the creation of the Irish Free State in 1921, however, veterans who lived there, primarily from the Irish Divisions, became victims of a national amnesia about their service in the war. That Irish people had fought for the British was an uncomfortable and unpopular piece of history in an independent Ireland. The official refusal to acknowledge their participation, to commemorate Armistice Day or to attend First World War memorial services persisted until 1998 when, on the 80th anniversary of the Armistice, the President of Ireland and Queen Elizabeth II dedicated the Island of Ireland Peace Tower or Irish Peace Park at the Messines Ypres Salient battlefield in Belgium to all Irish people who fell in the war. The hope was that this event and the monument, built by the All-Ireland Journey of Reconciliation Trust and the people of Messines in the style of an Irish round tower used by monks to defend themselves against

31 Officer, David. ‘For God and for Ulster’: the Ulsterman on the Somme. // McBride, Ian ed. History and memory in modern Ireland. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Pp.160-182, 176-178.

32 Ibid., p.176. See also Brown, Kris. ‘Our Father Organization’: the cult of the Somme and the Unionist ‘Golden Age’ in modern Ulster loyalist commemoration. // The Round table: The Commonwealth journal of international affairs 96, 393(2007), 707-723.

Viking raiders, would support peace and reconciliation within Ireland today.³³

Another event occurred earlier at the end of April 1916 that would come to be as significant to Irish nationalists as the Somme was to unionists. The Easter Rising – a republican (nationalist) rebellion that took place in Dublin over Easter week. Although the Rising was quickly subdued by British forces, the rapid execution by the British of most of the rebels following courts martial increased popular support for independence. The 1916 Rising and its leaders, viewed by many as martyrs, became potent symbols for the nationalist republican movement. In parliamentary elections in 1918, the pro-independence republican party, Sinn Féin, received an overwhelming endorsement and in 1919 declared the establishment of the Irish Republic. The Irish Republican Army (IRA), a group that grew out of an earlier political organisation, the Irish Volunteer Force, that had been one of several participating organisations in the Easter Rising, waged a war of independence in the form of a guerrilla campaign over the next three years. In December 1921, the Anglo-Irish Treaty established an independent Irish Republic, with the exception of the same previously excepted six Northern counties, which were given the option to choose to remain a part of the United Kingdom. Exercising that option, the counties remained British and became the region of the United Kingdom referred to officially today as Northern Ireland.

The partition of the island was unacceptable to many nationalists, however, and a year-long civil war broke out in the new Irish Republic (the Irish Free State) between those who supported the Anglo-Irish Treaty and those who rejected it. The Free State forces won the war,

33 Island of Ireland Peace Park [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://www.greatwar.co.uk/ypres-salient/memorial-island-of-ireland-peace-park.htm>. In a website dedicated to Irish soldiers in the First World War, the Office of the Taoiseach [the Irish Prime Minister] acknowledges that:

When the Bosnian Serb Gavrilo Princip fired the shots that killed the heir to the Austrian crown Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife during their state visit to Sarajevo in June 1914, he started a chain of events that would directly affect Irish people in every part of Ireland and some of those living in Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States. The course of Irish history was greatly altered, leading to the emergence of forces that still influence the politics of today. The increased awareness of the Irish aspects of the War have helped to put those forces to positive use by allowing people from the two major traditions to meet on common ground.

Irish soldiers in the First World War [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: http://www.taoiseach.gov.ie/eng/Historical_Information/1916_Commemorations/Irish_Soldiers_in_the_First_World_War.html

heavily supported by British arms, but the war left the new republic bitterly divided. Its two largest political parties today are directly descended from the two sides of the conflict. In his seminal book, *Modern Ireland: 1600-1972*, leading revisionist historian R.F. Foster concludes that by the early 1970s, Ireland:

still retained a powerful sense of national identity ... But the cultural reinforcement of nationalist rhetoric had overridden many implicit contradictions, often finding its strongest affirmation in a negative and sectarian consensus.

This had provided a powerful impetus to political mobilization from the early nineteenth century on; it also meant that the independent state that emerged from the process had little option to be pluralist.”

He also points to a problem of identity present from 17th century onwards that remained evident among those in the Republic:

the concept of being ‘more’ or ‘less’ Irish than one’s neighbour; Irishness as a scale or spectrum rather than a simple national, or residential, qualification; at worst Irishness as a matter of aggressively displayed credentials ... [a] sense of difference comes strongly through, though its expression was conditioned by altering circumstances, and adapted for different interest-groups, as the years passed.”³⁴

Memory politics in Northern Ireland: war by other means

The violent political and sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland known as The Troubles was triggered by responses to a movement in the late 1960s for increased civil rights for the Catholic nationalist community. The conflict escalated in the 1970s and 1980s, and eventually subsided as a result of the peace processes of the mid-1990s. The Good Friday Agreement of 1998, brokered with assistance of U.S. President Bill Clinton and his Special Envoy George Mitchell, mandated among other things, the establishment of a power-sharing Legislative Assembly, police reform, and the decommissioning of weapons held by the various paramilitary organizations. Although the physical violence largely ceased at that point, the conflict between the two major communities was transmuted into one of memory, further augmenting centuries of

34 Foster, R.F. *Modern Ireland: 1600-1972*. London: Penguin, 1988. P. 596.

memory and identity politics that had fueled the most recent as well as many prior outbreaks of violence. Indeed, the very notion of community, used so freely in many nations and cultures, is, as museum studies scholar Elizabeth Crooke observed in 2010, highly politically charged in Northern Ireland's divided society, "with questions concerning belonging, representation and agendas underpinning any engagement."³⁵

As with the wider development of memory studies and research examining the politics of memory in specific settings, there has been an abundance of scholarship since the 1990s addressing issues of memory and narratives of the past in Northern Ireland.³⁶ Irish literature scholar Edna Longley provides us with a long list of the problems of memory in Northern Ireland:

the religious basis of secular remembrance; the transition from older encodings to 'modern memory'; how endemic division

³⁵ Crooke, E. Op. cit., p. 16. Crooke further expands on the distinctive notion of community in the Northern Irish context:

"In Northern Ireland, the concept of community has particular resonance--this is partly because the term is freely used but it is also because community is interwoven with issues of recognition, rights and representation. Dominic Bryan (2006, p. 605) observes that in Northern Ireland community is 'central to the political discourse of all the political parties and local activists, it is common parlance in much government policy and legislation and is continually quoted by those demanding peace and reconciliation'. It is also what he describes as a 'negotiated process' that very often arises from 'fear of "the other"' (Bryan 2006, p. 608). He provides the example of paramilitary groups which legitimise their existence on the grounds of defending their community and their traditions. As a result, Bryan notes, in Northern Ireland, 'the phrase "community worker" or "community representative" is, at times, read as a euphemism for paramilitary or ex-paramilitary' (Bryan 2006, p. 614). This provides an entirely 'other' context for how community should be understood." (19-20).

³⁶ See, for example, Longley, Edna. *The rising, the Somme and Irish memory.* // Ní Dhonnchadha, Máirín and Theo Dorgan, eds. *Revising the rising.* Derry: Field Day, 1991. Pp. 29-49; Leonard, Jane. *The twinge of memory: Armistice Day in Ireland since 1919.* // English, Richard and Graham S. Walker, eds. *Unionism in modern Ireland: new perspectives on politics and culture.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Press, 1996. Pp.99-114; Lundy, Patricia and Mark McGovern. *The politics of memory in post-conflict Northern Ireland.* // *Peace review* 13(2001), 27-34; Lundy, Patricia and Mark McGovern. // *The ethics of silence: action research, community 'truth-telling' and post-conflict transition in the North of Ireland* 4, 1(2006), 49-64; Lundy, Patricia and Mark McGovern. *Whose justice?: rethinking transitional justice from the bottom up.* // *Journal of law and society* 35, 2(2008), 265-292; Pinkerton, Patrick. *Resisting memory: the politics of memorialisation in post-conflict Northern Ireland.* // *The British journal of politics & international relations* 14, 1(February 2012), 131-152; Braniff, Máire, Sara McDowell and Jonny Byrne. *Violence, space and memory in the new Northern Ireland.* // *OpenSecurity: conflict and peacebuilding* (14 December 2012) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/maire-braniff-sara-mcdowell-jonny-byrne/violence-space-and-memory-in-new-northern-ireland>; McGrattan, Cillian. *Memory, politics and identity: haunted by history.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013; Viggiani, Elisabetta. *Talking stones: the politics of memorialization in post-conflict Northern Ireland.* Oxford: Berghahn, 2014.

maintains sites of memory as sites of conflict. Also on the syllabus are: tension between metropolitan and local constructions of national memory; the reflexes that read history into current events, and *vice versa*; remembering the world wars; the problem of remembering civil war; the problem of forgetting it; the mnemonic role of literature and art; newer (sometimes contradictory) themes like identity politics, post-nationalist memory, commemoration as healing or ‘mourning work’; conflict between custodians of popular memory and those who would modify its practices or relativise its premises; the identical way in which competing ‘ethnic’ groups vaunt ‘precedence, antiquity, continuity, coherence, heroism, sacrifice’; the fact that *lieux de mémoire* can denote not only particular monuments of numinous places, but territories marked inwardly by communal mediations of history, outwardly by insignia and ritual.³⁷

Performances of community memory most notably include commemorative marches or parades held primarily by loyalist “marching orders” during the annual “marching season” and drawing participating marchers from lodges established by emigrants and their descendants as far away as Canada, the United States and Australia.³⁸ Several traditional routes of these marches traverse heavily Catholic nationalist areas. These routes, often viewed by Catholics as a deliberate act of provocation rather than a reperformance of an historical event, especially when coupled with the marchers’ intimidating demeanours, drumbeating, and sectarian banners and song lyrics, have been annual triggers for inter-community violence in many locations, even since the Good Friday Agreement. The Northern Ireland Parades Commission, established in 1998 and appointed by the Secretary of State, is supposed to intervene (its motto is *Encouraging resolution through local dialogue*) when parade routes, participants or events are deemed to be contentious or offensive.

37 Longley, L. Op. cit., p.223.

38 Founded in the 18th and 19th centuries, the major Protestant orders are the Loyal Orange Institution (more commonly referred to as the Orange Order) and the Apprentice Boys of Derry. Marching season comprises dates that commemorate events significant to the history and identity of the Protestant community in Northern Ireland such as the Battle of the Boyne, the Battle of the Somme, the closing of the gates during the siege of Derry, and the relief of the siege of Derry). The Catholic fraternal order, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, marches less frequently and only in certain counties. These events have not been the subject of as much controversy and confrontation as the Protestant marches.

These marches and other anniversary events,³⁹ together with provocative flying of politically-chosen national and locally designed flags, the placement of controversial monuments, and the prominent display of murals that creatively depict and often elide recent and historical events⁴⁰ by both loyalist and nationalist communities have become some of the primary battlegrounds for continuing sectarian conflict. While there are republican elements within the nationalist community that might be nervous about how some of the less-vaunted difficult recent past might be surfaced through too much emphasis on memory, especially in light of recent investigations regarding those “missing” from the Troubles as well as alleged cases of abuse by republican paramilitaries, loyalists have maintained that commemorative marches are a key exercise of their human rights in terms of traditional cultural expression and religious freedom. Similarly divergent attitudes about cultural expression and community heritage can be discerned with the murals, whose numbers have ballooned in recent years, and which frequently blur the lines between political intent, community memory and memorialization, and individual artistic expression. In 2012, as Northern Ireland faced a decade of culturally and politically significant anniversaries,⁴¹ sociologist Maire Braniff and her colleagues warned that, “Sparked in the embers of a year where culture, histories and memory in Northern Ireland have been subjected to political mobilisation and violence, a growing mass have begun to question what next for a society which continues

39 For example, Longley describes attending the twenty-sixth anniversary of Bloody Sunday in Derry in 1998 as a “salutary encounter with the implacability of Irish memory” including a controversy over a Fair Employment Commission ruling against wearing commemorative Bloody Sunday black ribbons in Derry workplaces.” Longley, E. Op. cit., p. 231.

40 CAIN, the Conflict Archive on the Internet includes video footage and various mappings (downloadable as a mobile app) of the hundreds of memorials located in public spaces categorised by physical type (plaques, murals, memorial gardens, memorial stones, memorial enclosures, other memorials) and nature (civilian, British Security, paramilitary-Republican, paramilitary-Loyalist, other), http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/victims/gis/googlemaps/images/CAIN_Google-Map_V5.jpg [cited: 2015-02-28].

41 In particular during this period, the centenaries of the centenary of the founding of the Apprentice Boys of Derry in 1814; the start of World War I in 1914, the Battles of the Somme in 1916, and the end of the war; of the 1916 Easter Rising, the partitioning of Ireland, the founding of the Irish Free State (and of Northern Ireland) and the end of the Irish Civil War. Other notable anniversaries include the 75th anniversary of the start and of the end of World War II; the 325th anniversaries of the closing of the gates in Derry in 1688, the relief of the siege of Derry in 1689, and the Battle of the Boyne in 1690; and the 225th anniversary of the establishment of the Orange Order in 1795. 2018 will mark the 20th anniversary of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement.

to choke under the burden of its past.”⁴² Concerned, therefore, that the peace process was threatened by this “war by other means,” peace negotiations were reopened in late 2014 between relevant parties in Northern Ireland and the British and Irish governments.

At the same time, the richness of cultural traditions and events associated with community collective memory and the development of new venues and events for celebrating the region’s artistic and musical heritage have also been viewed by some as potential keys to achieving ongoing reconciliation between the region’s various communities and factions. Such a stance acknowledges that there is validity in claims made by both communities about their distinctive forms of cultural and religious expression and that more inter-community understanding and respect for such expressions might indeed support ongoing peace-building between the communities. But the key word here is *ongoing*. Shifts in behaviours and growth in respect happen in small, incremental ways, and they take time. They are also often met with scepticism. For example, in 2007, the lead article in the English newspaper *The Guardian* pondered that such shifts were truly possible and would not ultimately fuel another outbreak of inter-community violence:

Images from Northern Ireland’s conflict, though it is barely over, now claim to assert cultural identity; to be no more threatening than Morris dancing is in England. “Sharp uniforms, painted banners, flute, drum and bagpipe playing from award-winning bands ... create a colourful kaleidoscope for the senses,” Tourism Ireland promises on its website about an event described this summer as “Orangefest 2007” but until now better known as the marching season, with all its associated strife and disorder. The murals of Belfast and Derry have attracted tourists for at least a decade, but the shock seeing of bombs, balaclavas and Armalite rifles painted on the ends of ordinary terrace houses on the Falls Road and the Shankill [in Belfast] is giving way to a new surprise at more pacific artwork remembering [footballer] George Best or the sinking of the Belfast-built Titanic.

... Should the iconography of Northern Ireland be classified alongside Beatlemania? Not yet. There is a danger of a less palatable nostalgia for battles: a nostalgia that should be put aside. The Orange Order’s commemoration of 17th-century conflict fed 20th-

42 Braniff, M., et al. Op. cit.

century feuds. A small province consisting of two groups, if both remain intent on expressing their differences through imagery, will find peace harder to achieve. Murals and marches are evolving. But it is too soon to be certain that they celebrate the end of conflict rather than sustain the threat of its return.”⁴³

In 2009, after many years of negotiation, the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, a two week-long international exposition of living cultural heritage held annually in July outdoors on the National Mall of the United States in Washington, D.C. by the Smithsonian Institution’s Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, brought together cultural exemplars from both Protestant and Catholic communities of Northern Ireland.⁴⁴ These exemplars showcased both the artisans and the skills involved in traditional practices such as fence weaving and stonemasonry, including those distinctive to one or both communities such as mural painting, making traditional Protestant and Celtic musical instruments, and embroidering Irish step dancing costumes. They also highlighted aspects iconic to the Northern Irish story, including the Protestant fraternal orders and the Belfast shipbuilders Harland and Wolff, who built the ill-fated *Titanic*. Praising the success of the event, the Northern Irish Council wrote that:

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival is a prestigious and widely respected annual event that provides “a professionally curated, outdoor museum exhibit of contemporary, cultural traditions”. As such, it was much more than a tourism or trade showcase because it provided visitors with an insight into our culture through access to a wide range of local people acting as cultural ambassadors.

Quite simply, it showcased ordinary people, with extraordinary talents. Northern Ireland’s participation in 2007 sent out a powerful and persuasive message about the new spirit and transformation underway here. An unprecedented partnership of politicians from all parties, business and community leaders, public servants, cultural experts, academics, artists and performers, chefs, journalists, craft workers, poets, researchers and students combined to show the US that Northern Ireland is now moving forward.

⁴³ Paintings of peace. // The Guardian (30 August 2007) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2007/aug/31/politics.northernireland>

⁴⁴ Smithsonian Institution, <http://www.festival.si.edu/about/mission.aspx> [cited: 2015-02-28].

They grasped the opportunity that the programme presented, pulling together to make it a success and to show their determination to build a more harmonious and prosperous future for all in Northern Ireland.⁴⁵

Peacebuilding and reconciliation in Derry~Londonderry

Political scientist Charles Lerche reviews many different understandings of reconciliation in the context of peacebuilding. He concludes that, “reconciliation should include the search for a model of governance and social relations that enables all groups in society to deal equitably and creatively with conflict.”⁴⁶ Derry~Londonderry, today a predominantly Catholic city in a predominantly Protestant county, has been the site of multiple efforts even before the 1998 Good Friday Peace Agreement to attempt such reconciliation. The historic city of approximately 100,000 people within the city boundaries was, in the late 1960s, the site of civil rights marches and non-violent civil disobedience to protest unequal access to social housing, political gerrymandering and other discrimination against the city’s Catholic population by the city’s largely Protestant administration at a time when there was widespread unemployment and economic depression. The marchers met with a brutal response from the largely Protestant police force and then also from loyalists as they passed through Protestant areas. The situation quickly deteriorated into sectarian violence that over the next three decades destroyed much of the city. The Troubles also resulted in all but a tiny minority of Protestants relocating across the broad River Foyle from the west bank Cityside to the Waterside on the east bank. This effectively rendered Derry~Londonderry a divided city that has been compared to other cities whose ethnic communities have become physical divided in the wake of conflict such as Mostar in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Reconciliation efforts in Derry~Londonderry, widely regarded to be successful, especially in comparison to the situation in Belfast and other parts of Northern Ireland, have attempted to address, on a local basis, the politics of memory and especially how religious freedoms and cultural diversity may be reconciled in ways that do not

45 Northern Irish Arts Council. // Rediscover Northern Ireland review (2007), 2 [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <https://www.artscouncil-ni.org/publications/Promotional/RediscoverNIReviewBrochurefinalversion.pdf>

46 Lerche, Charles. Peace building through reconciliation. // The international journal of peace studies 5, 2(Autumn/Winter 2000) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol5_2/lerche.htm

commercialize or degrade the history and culture, antagonize or intimidate the other community, or erase, downplay or glorify difficult aspects of that history. Reconciliation is a primary aim, but so too is attracting others to a part of the world that desperately needs outside investment to sustain its economy – another lynchpin of enduring peace – and promoting tourism that exploits the natural beauty and rich heritage of the region.

Situated along the sloping banks of the River Foyle near where its mouth opens out into the wide salt lough that in turns opens into the North Atlantic, it has been an area of settlement for at least 9,000 years and its Irish name, Doire Colmcille (the oak grove dedicated to Colmcille) refers to its importance as a monastic site said to have been founded by St. Columba in 545 C.E.⁴⁷ Its rich cultural and socio-political history ties it, among other events, to the reestablishment of Christianity in western Europe, the Ulster Plantation, the Williamite War in Ireland, emigration to North America of Presbyterian farmers during the 18th century and the Irish potato famine in the 19th, the Ulster Division and the First World War, and the Battle for the North Atlantic during the Second World War. As with any place, its past is encoded into its language, place names, events, and particularly the physical space, but here the past insists on being ubiquitously and conspicuously present.

Derry~Londonderry's historic centre is enclosed by city walls. It is often referred to as "the Maiden City" because the walls, built between 1614 and 1618 by the London guilds that chartered the city during the Ulster Plantation, have never been breached, either during the 1689-1690 siege in which an estimated 10,000 defenders died, or in the more recent Troubles. The walls both in themselves and as a vantage point remain perhaps the most significant site of memory for the city. They stand a visible reminder of a city and inhabitants that have been in defensive mode for much the past 450 years, but that also take pride in having survived major periods of war and violence. It is said that someone who walks round the length of the walls will always return to the city. During the Troubles, the walls were sealed off from the public by the British Army for strategic reasons. Military towers with video cameras, barbed wire and soldiers were installed amid the deteriorating siege cannon. Heavily fortified army checkpoints were

⁴⁷ McBride, Ian. *The siege of Derry in Ulster Protestant mythology*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997; Ó Baoill, Ruari. *Island city: the archaeology of Derry~Londonderry*. Belfast: Northern Ireland Development Agency & Derry City Council, 2014.

placed within each of the gates and cars were not permitted in much of the area inside the walls. Today the walls have been reopened for locals and tourists to walk. As of 2014, the Apprentice Boys of Derry,⁴⁸ the Protestant marching order that honours the defensive actions during the siege of the apprentices of the London guilds that chartered the city of Derry (adding “London” to Derry), as a result of proactive and productive talks in Derry~Londonderry about such parades, were once again permitted to march on the walls as part of their parades. Although the Orange Order commemorations of the Twelfth of July anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne is the most widely observed Northern Irish event, the Apprentice Boys Relief Celebrations commemorating the lifting of the siege of Derry on the Twelfth of August is the largest of all the Northern Irish parades. With a new emphasis placed on the festive rather than the sectarian aspects of the Apprentice Boys events, the hope is that this will bring the communities together and attract much-needed tourism back to the city. It is a significant psychological and symbolic shift for the city.

It is not a long walk around the walls, but it is one that is punctuated with a wide range of plaques and memorials, restored siege cannon, and other artifacts strategically placed by the City and its different communities. For example, they remind the walker that according to the 15th century *Annals of Ulster*, one of the Gaelic high kings of Ireland, Domnaill, son of Ardgair, son of Lochlainn lived and died in Derry. They also mark the site of a former whiskey distillery. On the Royal Bastion, overlooking the republican stronghold of the Bogside, is the plinth of the Walker Memorial Pillar (Figure 1). Erected by the Apprentice Boys in 1828, it was originally 24 feet high before its pillar bearing the statue of siege governor George Walker was destroyed in 1973 by an IRA bomb. From 1832 onwards it was used on the first Saturday of each December, after the Apprentice Boys’ march to commemorate the closing of the gates in 1688, to hang and then burn an effigy of Robert Lundy. Lundy, a military leader during the siege at one

48 “Apprentice Boys of Derry Association are an historical organisation whose members are committed to maintaining the spirit of liberty displayed by the Apprentice Boys in 1688 against oppression. The Apprentice Boys perpetuate that spirit of liberty, inherent to the Reformed Protestant faith, by faithfully commemorating the “Derry Celebrations” within the Maiden City and in other localities, keeping alive the memory of the Brave 13 and the heroic sacrifices of the besieged within the Walls. The Association raises its profile to audiences beyond the City, through parades, exhibitions, lectures and any other appropriate means of communication.” The Associated Clubs of the Apprentice Boys of Derry, <http://www.apprenticeboys.co.uk/about-us> [cited: 2015-02-28].

point made the decision to surrender the city. Several guild apprentices rushed out and shut the city gates in the face of the Catholic forces of the English King James. Lundy was considered by many thereafter to have been a traitor and during centenary commemorations of the siege in 1788, his effigy was first paraded through the city and then burned. After the 1973 bombing, Walker's statue was restored and placed in the garden beside the Apprentice Boys Hall close by. Today its plinth remains, its inscription resonant with a narrative and reasoning that motivated Derry unionists then and centuries later:

... the garrison and brave inhabitants of this City [who] most gallantly defended it through a protracted siege from the 7th December, 1688 to the 12th of August following, against an arbitrary and bigoted Monarch leading an army of upwards of 20,000 men ...

From the walls one can see the entire layout of the city, set among the surrounding hills of Donegal in the Republic of Ireland and those of County Londonderry in the North, the river and lough dividing them. Strategically placed atop one of the Donegal hills and clearly vis-



FIGURE 1.
Plinth of Walker Memorial Pillar, 2014

ible from almost anywhere in the city is Grianan of Aileach (Grianán Ailigh in Irish), the 6th century ring fort. One of the royal sites of Gaelic Ireland, and where the kings of Ulster were crowned, it is said that from Grianan one is able to see four counties of Ulster. The republican stronghold of the Bogside occupies what was originally marshland under the walls. It is instantly recognizable by the sole remaining gable end known as Free Derry Corner that still proudly proclaims the area that was barricaded off from British forces by Irish Republic Army (IRA) paramilitaries for over a year until the infamous Operation Motorman in summer 1972 when British Army tanks and bulldozers pushed their way in and government security forces took control (Figure 2). Usually painted as black lettering on a white wall, in a gesture of solidarity with the 2014 Palestinian Intifada, the white backdrop was replaced for a time with the Palestinian flag. Alongside the green, white and orange of the tricolour (the national flag of Ireland), in many places the Palestinian flag hangs out of the windows of flats and flies from lampposts. So too does the Scottish flag, in homage to the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence from Britain.

A few yards away, close to where the Bloody Sunday Monument will be installed, the Museum of Free Derry under development by the Bloody Sunday Trust, will house the National Civil Rights Archive.⁴⁹

The Museum of Free Derry will tell this part of the city's history from the point of view of the people who lived through, and were most affected by, these events: it will be the community's story told from the community's perspective, not the distorted version parroted by the government and most of the media over the years. We believe it is vital that all those involved in the events of the last almost 40 years take the opportunity to tell their own stories in a subjective but honest way as a first step towards a greater understanding of all the elements that led to the most recent phase of the conflict in Ireland. This is not something that can be achieved through attempting to give a single 'official' version of events.⁵⁰

During the Troubles, many of the major confrontations, as well as the Bloody Sunday shootings that were the subject of the lengthy Saville Inquiry (established in 1998, but whose report wasn't published until 2010), took place in or near the Bogside. Today murals created by

49 The Museum of Free Derry, The National Civil Rights Archive, <http://www.museumoffreederry.org/> [cited: 2015-02-28].

50 Ibid. <http://www.museumoffreederry.org/introduction.html>

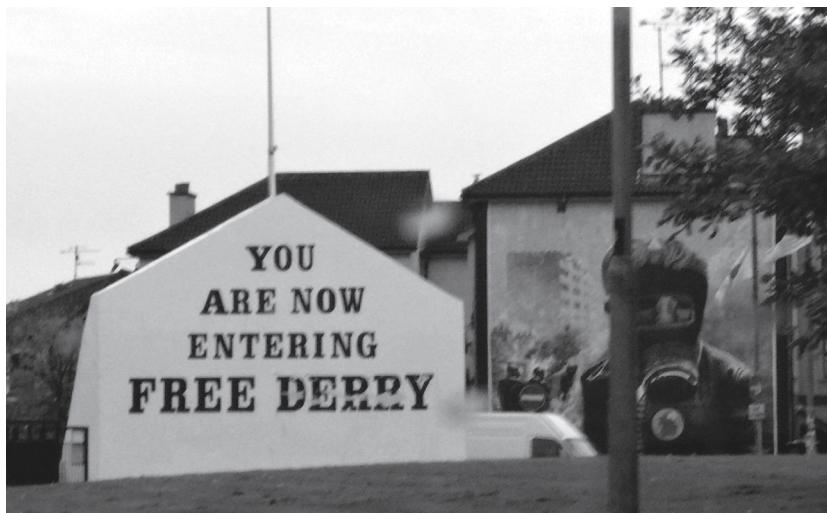


FIGURE 2.
Free Derry Corner in the Bogside, 2014

different groups and artists reference these events and other iconic aspects of Irish nationalist history. The murals memorialise iconic aspects of The Troubles as well as invoking symbols and narratives from Irish history and associating these with struggles in other countries and the lineage of the Irish overseas. Murals became a powerful mechanism, especially from the 1960s onwards in the United States, for communities in struggle for recognition and civil rights to identify and express themselves. In Northern Ireland, murals of various provenances convey the history, loyalties, iconography, and hagiography of the different communities.⁵¹ They may be resistant or triumphalist, sentimental or surprising. To make sense of them they need to be considered not simply in terms of the statements they are making or for their artists and artistry, but also in terms of their spatial relation to each other and to other symbolic space such as the city walls or Free Derry Corner. They must also be contemplated in terms of their own temporality and transience. They have been painted at different moments, by different

51 Sperling Cockcroft, Eva; John Pitman Weber and James D. Cockcroft. *Toward a people's art: the contemporary mural movement*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998; Rolston, Bill. *Re-imaging: mural painting and the state in Northern Ireland*. // *International journal of cultural studies* 15, 5(2012), 447–466.

artists and with different aims. They have an air of permanence in their solidity, their absence of graffiti, and often their frequent retouching, and yet some may later be painted over with a new mural, or even removed for exhibition. In a landscape of newer housing projects that were built on the sites of the area's former row houses whose poor living conditions were a target of the civil rights movement, they serve in the stead of those former places.

After the Good Friday Agreement, Republican muralists seeking to reimagine their narratives decided not to paint any more violent depictions of paramilitaries. In the Bogside, murals with a range of provenances are prominently on display. One that quickly draws the eye, in part because its content surprises many not familiar with Irish political hagiography, depicts Che Guevara as well as the Cuban and Irish flags against a red background and under the banner “Ernesto Che Guevara Lynch.” It quotes Guevara’s father (who was of Irish descent) as saying: “In my son’s veins flowed the blood of Irish rebels” (Figure 3).



FIGURE 3.
Bogside mural of Che Guevara, 2014

Nearby is a large painted plaque with a background of the red, yellow and purple stripes of the Spanish Republican flag, replete with the three-pointed red star of the Popular Front, and the starry plough – the flag of the Irish socialists that is associated today with militant socialism and that was first used in 1914 by the Irish Citizen Army and flown during the 1916 Easter Rising. The plaque reads: “In memory of those from this area who left Ireland to fight against Fascism during the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1938” and lists their names.

Perhaps the most striking, especially from the vantage point of the walls, is a set of twelve murals, known as the People’s Gallery, painted between 1994 and 2008 “for the people” by three men, the now world-famous Bogside Artists. Although their murals have been criticized for being one-sided and sectarian, the Bogside Artists, who also make street art, maintain that their intent is not political but instead to create a “human document.” Working only on donations, they have conducted many art workshops for both Protestant and Catholic children to promote cross-community understanding.⁵² Among their murals, to describe only a few, “The Death of Innocence – Annette McGavigan Mural” shows a young girl in the uniform of the Catholic girls grammar school, flanked by an Armalite semi-automatic rifle in two pieces and a butterfly. “Bernadette – Battle of the Bogside” depicts Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, one of the student leaders of the civil rights organization, People’s Democracy, who later survived a brutal murder attempt by loyalist paramilitaries. “Operation Motorman – The Summer Invasion” depicts a British soldier with a sledgehammer breaking down the door of a home, and close by “The Saturday Matinee – The Rioter” shows a youth with a broken stone in his hand looking at an oncoming British Army armored vehicle. Yet another, “Peace Mural,” shows the outline of a dove, simultaneously referencing peace and St. Columba, against an oak leaf symbolizing the city of Derry, and a background of a rainbow-coloured chequerboard (Figure 4).

“A Tribute to John Hume” depicts four heads – those of Derry Nobel Peace Laureate John Hume, Martin Luther King, Mother Teresa, and Nelson Mandela. This mural clearly contrasts with the Che Guevara mural, which places the Irish republican cause in a broader Marxist context of armed revolutionary struggles elsewhere around

⁵² Monot, Thomas. Derry: the Bogside artists: meeting with Tom Kelly. // Un Frenchie en Irlande [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <https://unfrenchieenirlande.wordpress.com/2014/05/27/650/>



FIGURE 4.

Murals from the People's Gallery by the Bogside Artists

the world. “A Tribute to John Hume” recognizes Hume’s support for European integration and his vision that the European Union would increasingly, and to positive effect, break down borders and notions of sovereign states. The contrast between the two murals illustrates also shifting perspectives on nationalist memory and stance. As Irish studies scholar William Hazleton has pointed out, the end of the Cold War and collapse of communism in Europe “made imperialist assumptions and armed struggle more difficult to justify, especially with leaders of other revolutionary movements, like Mandela and Arafat urging Sinn Féin and the IRA to follow the path of peace.”⁵³

As the land rises in elevation behind the Bogside to the republican enclave of the Creggan, so too the nearby Catholic cathedral, St. Eugene’s, rises up, its tall spire stretching to meet that of the Anglican St. Columb’s Cathedral on the walls. The City Cemetery stretches all the way up the hill. One of the only ecumenical burial places in the city, during the Troubles it became a “no-go” area for British security forces and Protestants, making burying and visiting the dead difficult. At the top of the cemetery is the Republican Plot where republican political prisoners who died while on hunger strike, IRA members killed in action or by British forces, and more recently deceased individuals who had been members of the IRA are buried together (Figure 5).

The graves are marked by Celtic crosses and engraved in both English and Irish, in both Latin and Celtic scripts. A central statue depicts a slumped and bound Irish warrior, reminiscent of an American Indian or a slave, a dagger in his right hand, a shield on his left arm, a dove at his head (Figure 6).

53 Hazleton, William. Encouragement from the sidelines: Clinton’s role in the Good Friday Agreement. // *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 11(2000), 103-119, 107.

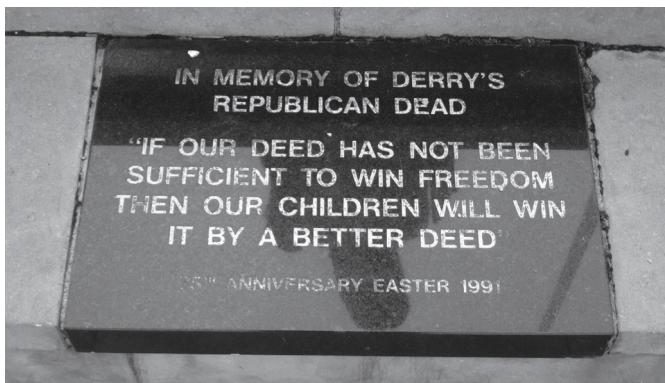


FIGURE 5.

Plaque at the Republican Plot, City Cemetery, 2014



FIGURE 6.

Republican graves, City Cemetery, 2014

Signs on the road into the plot from the top of the Creggan as well as an Irish tricolour remind visitors of the politics and the past of this community. A black, white and emerald green sign of a masked paramilitary man carrying a rocket-propelled grenade aggressively declares “Welcome to the Creggan IRA Watch your back on the way out.” Another sign proclaims the Irish Republican Prisoners Association and protests the internment without trial that occurred for several years in Northern Ireland from 1971 (Figure 7).



FIGURE 7.
Sign at the entrance to the Creggan, 2014

Abutting the Bogside and running down towards the river is the tiny loyalist enclave of the Fountain, one of the few remaining Protestant areas on the west bank. Here the curbstones are painted red, white and blue – the colors of the British Union Jack (the Union flag). Other flags fly from the lampposts and feature a range of Protestant

iconography – several creatively incorporate the Red Hand of Ulster⁵⁴ that adorns the Ulster flag. For example, the flag of the largest loyalist paramilitary organization, the Ulster Defence Association, includes a crown-topped crest and the initials “UDA,” a Red Hand, and a motto in Latin, “Quis Separabit” (Figure 8).



FIGURE 8.
Ulster Defence Association flag, Brandywell, 2014

As of late 2014, a large Israeli flag flies next to them signifying loyalist support for Israel's right of existence and to self-defense, as well as countering the statements implied in the neighboring Bogside and Creggan by the display of the Palestinian flag. Recognizing the recent independence referendum in Scotland, the Scottish flag is also prominently displayed – in this case in recognition of the side supporting Scotland's continued participation in the Union, as well as the traditional relationship of Ulster Protestants with Scotland. A prominent white on black mural, the inverse of Free Derry Corner, on the first street outside the city gate declares “Londonderry West Bank Loyalists Still Under Siege No Surrender” (see Figure 9).

54 Myths and controversial appropriations of the ancient symbol of the Red Hand of Ulster by both communities abound. For example, see Declan O'Neill. Hand over fist: The Red Hand of Ulster still has the power to divide Northern Ireland. // The independent (25 April 2010) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/hand-over-fist-the-red-hand-of-ulster-still-has-the-power-to-divide-northern-ireland-1950412.html>



FIGURE 9.
Murals and flags in the Brandywell, 2009

Nearby on another wall a new mural has recently replaced a prior one that depicted the different flags of the United Kingdom and titled “British Ulster Alliance.” This one is a copy of the Iron Maiden Redcoat Eddie Maiden England poster on a black war horse, a sabre in one hand, a spear in the other and a tattered Union Jack flying out behind in the Charge of the Light Brigade at the Battle of Balaclava in 1854. An appropriation this time from contemporary popular culture, the heavy metal rock band Iron Maiden’s “Eddie the Head” has been adopted as a mascot of the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) paramilitary organization and is featured in many loyalists murals, sometimes with the Union Jack replaced by the UDA flag (Figure 10). As this mural might suggest, loyalists have not attempted to soften the images portrayed in the murals of the paramilitary role in the conflict as have the republicans. This stance has proven to be a particularly intractable problem in Belfast, where murals remain most violent and vitriolic, and where Protestant and Catholic communities remain divided by 30-foot “peace walls.” In 2007, the Arts Council of Northern Ireland initiated



FIGURE 10.

Mural in the Fountain depicting “Eddie the Head”

a program called “Re-imaging Communities” that was designed to address local sectarianism. One of its initiatives specifically targeted ways in which the communities themselves might mitigate such murals. A community may request grant money to install new community art, including money to replace paramilitary murals. Professor Bill Rolston, director of the Transitional Justice Institute at the University of Ulster discusses the difficulties as well as the limitations in re-imaging:

Loyalist paramilitary groups will not give up their space,” Rolston said. “They might give up some of it, but they will maintain elements of their space to say, “We’re here. We’re still defending the community. We defended the community for years. Don’t forget what we did, and here are pictures to remind you ... What’s potentially lost is politics, because even the most offensive murals were undeniably political. People were stating a political position on the wall. But now there’s a sort of fear of politics, a fear of mentioning the war,” Rolston said. “The trick of Re-imaging is to persuade people in these areas to still make political statements

about who they are, what they believe in, what they hope for and what they fear – without being offensive.”⁵⁵

Adjacent to the walls above the Bogside and the Fountain is St. Columb's Anglican Cathedral. The cathedral, built by the London guilds in 1633 and one of the last gothic-style cathedrals in Europe, like most cathedrals embodies, contains and performs many aspects of local history and memory. This cathedral has perhaps played a more central role than many in this respect, however. Over its aisles hang the tattered flags of regiments and military campaigns in which local soldiers fought from the siege onwards, as well as of the police force and special police units that were disestablished during the Troubles or as part of the 1990s peace process. In its porch, among other memorials referencing its association with the guilds, a 270 pound mortar shell fired into the city during the siege in July 1689 is displayed. The hollow shell contained a document with terms of surrender that were never adopted by the defenders of the city. It was presented to the cathedral by the Apprentice Boys in 1844 (Figure 11). Each year marching Apprentice

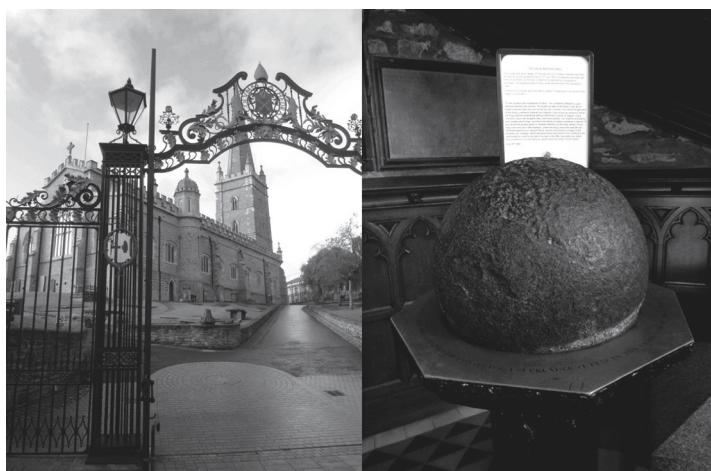


FIGURE 11.
St. Columb's Cathedral and siege mortar shell

⁵⁵ Tongco, Tricia and Shweta Saraswat. Should paramilitary murals in Belfast be repainted?: neighborhood walls have become the latest battleground in the city's struggle over how to commemorate its violent past. // The Atlantic (May 27, 2013) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/05/should-paramilitary-murals-in-belfast-be-repainted/276266/>

Boys assemble in the cathedral for a religious service before laying a wreath of Remembrance at the City's Memorial "to remember all those who have died over the centuries, including the First and Second World Wars, defending our heritage of civil and religious liberty for all."⁵⁶

Nearby is the Apprentice Boys Hall, which hosts the Apprentice Boys Museum. The oldest of the gates reflect the city's different quarters and purposes – Bishop's Gate, Butcher's Gate, Shipquay Gate and Ferryquay Gate, but several of the narrow streets inside the walls that are in proximity to the bastions, such as Artillery and Magazine Streets, took their names from their purposes during the siege. Today the cannon on the walls have been restored, and augmented by others that have been found in the vicinity. A replica O'Doherty Tower, built in 1986, contains a museum with state-of-the art digital installations presenting local history. It is known locally and often affectionately as "Paddy's Folly" because it was initiated and built through the vision and drive of one of the best known figures in the nationalist community during the Troubles, Paddy "Bogside" Doherty. Although initially derided by many in Derry, Doherty sought to generate employment and bring the communities together by creating a place where they could take pride in their shared heritage. A plaque on the walls reminds visitors of this early initiative to use the city's heritage and community memory to promote reconciliation and also create direly needed jobs and provide training in traditional and digital skills for young people: "We called the Tower Paddy's Folly because he went ahead and built it when everything around was being destroyed. It gave us hope at a very bad time."

On the side facing the river, the walls overlook the now pedestrian precinct of Guildhall Square and the once infamous Guildhall, the seat of the Londonderry City Council (renamed Derry City Council in 1984, marking how control had been taken over by nationalist councilors) that was the target of the civil rights movement in Derry (Figure 12).

The eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings surrounding the Guildhall – the Customs House, the Post Office, banks, bars and cafes and lining the street along the river were destroyed or heavily damaged by repeated bombings. The once busy port from which emigrant ships and potato, cattle, coal and grain boats left has moved downstream to the mouth of the lough. The British naval base also

56 <http://www.apprenticeboys.co.uk/about-us>



FIGURE 12.
The Guildhall, seen from the city walls

left and the British Army took over its quarters when it was sent into Northern Ireland. Today the area has been opened up and a bypass built along the riverfront. Among the most recent additions is a pedestrian “Peace Bridge,” opened in 2011, that connects, physically and symbolically, Guildhall Square and a new adjoining Peace Park on the Catholic west bank of the River Foyle to a large former military barracks, built in the eighteenth century and used as the headquarters for the British Army during the Troubles, on the Protestant “Waterside.” Although again some were skeptical that a bridge, especially one which people had to walk across, could make a difference in bringing together communities who, with schools segregated by religion and with the physical separation of the communities, for almost all purposes in their lives never needed to interact, by all accounts it has been highly successful. The Peace Bridge was the central feature of the logo for the 2013 City of Culture Program (discussed below), perhaps indicating a symbolic shift away from the simultaneously defensive and triumphalist postures of the Gaelic Grianan and the plantation city walls to the open-ended linking intent behind the bridge. River walks now extend for several miles along both banks of the river, further encouraging use of the Peace Bridge (Figure 13).



FIGURE 13.
The Peace Bridge, 2014

Also encouraging crossing the bridge, the barracks has been repurposed and renamed as Ebrington Square, a concert venue, hosting events of all sorts from around the world, and also serving as the headquarters for the organizing of the City of Culture. Across the road, to the east of Ebrington Square on the Waterside, is another loyalist enclave renowned for its many iconic loyalist murals during and since the Troubles. Again, the murals are located close together. One of the more recent depicts some of the earlier murals that have been replaced with new ones (Figure 14). Others are more classic representations of loyalist narratives and heritage – the apprentice boys shutting the gates during the siege of Derry, King Billy (William of Orange), or the close relationship between Ulster Protestants and those who settled in the American colonies, the descendants of several of whom became U.S. presidents and prominent generals in the U.S. Civil War. For example, one includes a portrait of George Washington, leading his troops in the Revolutionary War (the American War of Independence) and quoting him as declaring, “If defeated everywhere else I will make my final stand for liberty with the Scotch-Irish (Ulster-Scots) of my native Virginia” (Figure 15).

Back on the city end of the primary, and until the late 1970s, the only bridge joining both sides of the city another public monument



FIGURE 14.
Waterside murals



FIGURE 15.
Waterside murals

references how the river divides the communities, stands a sculpture, "Reconciliation/Hands Across the Divide" by Northern Irish artist Maurice Harron. Symbolizing peace-building efforts, the bronze sculpture of two men look toward each other, one arm of each reaching out



FIGURE 16.
“Reconciliation/Hands Across the Divide,” 2014

across the river, the tips of their fingers almost touching (Figure 16). In 2013, Syrian conceptual artist Khaled Barakeh made a cast of the gap between the hands to provide the illusion of a moment where the hands actually touched. The artwork was then displayed in Belfast in an exhibition titled “Imagined Communities.” Of the sculpture, Barakeh commented that:

They are about to shake hands - this sums up the general feeling I have being here in Northern Ireland: The two sides, are close to meeting, if not embracing, at least recognising the humanity of each other - but are not quite there yet, they are one city, divided, not only by a river, but by ideologies and pain ...

From my own background, I am aware of the differences that can cause turmoil between and within peoples, but I have become so surprised by the culture of division that still exists in modern Northern Ireland.

The double naming of Derry~Londonderry, the separate housing, schools, taxi companies, are a mimesis of the other, replicas of the same, only in different colours.⁵⁷

In 2010 it was announced that Derry~Londonderry would serve through 2013 as the inaugural City of Culture in a new United Kingdom initiative sponsored by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. Its ambitious program proudly declared that:

We invite you to join us and bear witness to the transformation as our small city on the periphery of Europe presents a huge programme of art, music, dance, literature, sport and creative conversation. Join us for the art and the cultural experience, but also to witness the beauty of the place. It is physically and visually transformed. The iconic Peace Bridge has had over 1 million crossings. It has given the city new connection and placed the majestic River Foyle properly at centre stage. Derry now is a romantic city, defined by the quality of its air, the quality of its light and stunning skies and, in 2013, by the quality of its cultural life and the openness of its people.

Among the many events during the year the city hosted, for the first time in Northern Ireland, the Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann, the national festival and competition for Irish music. Award-winning film director and political activist Trisha Ziff, who in 1982 established Camerawork Derry in 1982, also screened her documentary, Mexican Suitcase. Mexican Suitcase is about three boxes of negatives containing iconic photographs taken by Robert Capa of the Spanish Civil War and its victims. The images had disappeared from his studio in Paris at the end of the Second World War and mysteriously showed up again in 2007 in a suitcase from Mexico. The screening, which was followed by a discussion of the film's relevance for the people of Derry, occurred in conjunction with an exhibition of the work of local and freelance photographers who recorded much of the violence in Derry during the Troubles.

Derry~Londonderry was widely judged not only to have brought the city to international attention through the City of Culture activities for all the reasons its program boasted, but perhaps even more im-

⁵⁷ Derry's iconic 'Hands' are finally united. // The Derry journal (February 22, 2013) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://www.derryjournal.com/what-s-on/arts-culture/derry-s-iconic-hands-are-finally-united-1-4819204>

portantly, to have been an exceptional cross-community success and an indicator of how far the city has come along its path to reconciliation. Nevertheless, Haris Pašović, the Bosnian director and producer famous for his productions while under fire during the siege of Sarajevo denounced what he called the “politics industry” and the “human rights industry” and called for artists, writers, filmmakers and historians to collaborate on the ground and become more involved in exposing the truth in post-conflict situations in Bosnia and Northern Ireland. He premiered a new theatrical production “The Conquest of Happiness” as part of the City of Culture events and was struck by similarities between Derry~Londonderry and the Bosnian city of Mostar:

It wasn’t difficult to spot the parallels. Both cities have different communities, mainly on different sides of a river. Both cities are beautiful. Both cities have a complex history. And although there is peace in both cities, the process of integration and bringing communities together has been awfully slow.⁵⁸

In September 1998, after the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, Bill Clinton addressed an Irish-American event and stressed the importance of the ongoing peace-building and reconciliation work in Northern Ireland. He also emphasized, as he has done on many occasions around the world, what a positive example the Good Friday Agreement has been for other divided parts of the world and how he has said in those places, “Look, I know you have a lot of problems and I know you can’t stand your neighbor over there, but let me tell you about Northern Ireland.”⁵⁹ On March 3, 2014, Clinton again visited the city as part of the City of Culture celebrations. Speaking in Guildhall Square, he told the audience, “I walked across that beautiful bridge uniting the city and I asked the leaders to finish the work that still had to be done ... There are still issues that remain unresolved in the nineteen years since the ceasefire and sixteen years since the Good Friday Agreement ... How that is resolved is not for me to say, it is for you.”⁶⁰

⁵⁸ McDonald, Henry. Bosnian Director Haris Pašović sees parallels between Derry and Mostar. // The Guardian (July 1, 2013) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2013/jul/01/haris-pasovic-conquest-of-happiness>

⁵⁹ Clinton, William Jefferson. Current Issues: Northern Ireland. // US Information Service Washington File, American Embassy, London, 14 September 1998, 5 [quoted by Hazleton, W. Op. cit.].

⁶⁰ Bill Clinton says Northern Ireland must resolve outstanding issues. // BBC News Northern Ireland (5 March 2014) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-26435516>

Conclusion

This paper on memory politics has presented a Northern Irish narrative that in important ways is also a European narrative, and thus has a relevance that takes it beyond the region's location on the edge of Europe. It also underscores the centrality of memory politics not only to situations of ethnic conflict but also to the processes of reconciliation and peace-building. As such, several things are clear: that memory considerations cannot be ignored in these processes; that physical changes to space, especially space endowed with historical or community meaning, as well as connective architecture can indeed make a significant difference in community relations; and so too can individuals and cultural initiatives – with sufficient vision and drive, where political or legislated structures and processes often prove inadequate or antithetical to the task of reconciliation, less formal personal and professional actions and interactions may make headway. But that progress is both incremental and slow, in part because that we are not only dealing with the legacy of thirty years of the Troubles, we are dealing with the cumulative effects of and continual interplay between recent and hundreds of years of prior history.

The particular tenacity of that prior history and how it continues to be ritually and artistically represented and commemorated in community performances, murals and flags and other symbols that have significantly more power to move a community than have official documents or cultural treasures may or may not be distinctive to Northern Ireland. Worthy of further study is what happens to those forms of tangible and intangible memory as they are re-imaged into a more shared community heritage and also become an increased locus of tourism. Peace-building, however, is also about anticipating potential triggers for conflict to ensure that it does not happen again, and this is a universal concern with which Europe and indeed the world has yet to grapple. In June 2014, Luxembourg scholar Erna Hennicot-Shoepges, former President of the EU Parliament and Minister for Culture blogged about the assassination in Sarajevo and the outbreak of the First World War:

Mastering opposites before they lead to open conflict – the EU does not yet have that in its program. This would require much more attention to the cultural history of peoples. As long as culture is considered as the sum of the fine arts, and not as the life-blood of every people, it remains insignificant in their allotted

role. Here some more knowledge would revolutionize cultural differences and also European politics.⁶¹

Scholars of Northern Ireland history and politics have much to say about what reconciliation depends. McGrattan suggests that in Northern Ireland the way forward might be a “combination of historical accuracy and ethical pluralism.”⁶² Echoing arguments earlier in the paper about the need for archives and museums to shift stances, he states that:

any response must surely be to resist its essentially de-politicising trajectory and, instead, to re-inscribe popular understandings of history with the voices and experiences of those who suffered from political violence and historic injustice. Writing these experiences and voices out of the historical narrative serves only to reward those who perpetrated violence and leads only to a recycling of division. Reconciliation must begin with the fact of marginalization and the fact of victimhood. And it is only by recognising these facts in alternative historical narratives that new loyalties might be formed and societies divided by their contentious pasts may be able to move to democracies consolidated on justice and accountability, ethics and stability.”⁶³

European studies scholar Joep Leersen, referencing the Irish memory politics surrounding the First World War, points to meaningful gestures such as the building of the monument at Messines and posits that, “A possible way out of what looks like a debilitating division may be that loss and bereavement is nobody’s monopoly; and that at least a recognition of each other’s past sufferings will make some understanding between inimical parties possible.”⁶⁴ Officer argues that reconciliation must involve an act of embrace and engagement:

the act of embrace seeks to acknowledge the interdependency between those who may nevertheless be different whilst engagement

⁶¹ Hennicot-Schoepges, Erna. Sarajevo und der erste Weltkrieg (30 juin 2014) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <http://ehennicotschoepges.lu/2014/06/sarajevo-und-der-erste-weltkrieg/>

⁶² McGrattan, C. Op. cit., p. 175.

⁶³ McGrattan, Cillian. Reconciliation and the destruction of the past in divided societies. // Open security: conflict and peacebuilding (20 June, 2012) [cited: 2015-02-28]. Available at: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/cillian-mcgrattan/reconciliation-and-destruction-of-past-in-divided-societies>

⁶⁴ Leersen, Joep. Monument and trauma: varieties of remembrance. // McBride, Ian ed. History and memory in modern Ireland. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. P. 204-224, 224.

is characterised by honest and committed encounters with others, particularly among those with whom disagreement has occurred. In so doing, risk is entertained and a sense of vulnerability frequently entailed as each is exposed to the critical gaze of the other. In the process the virtues of magnanimity, forgiveness and reasonableness need to find an appropriate place ... To interpret reconciliation and its objectives in this way does not imply a vision of a future society in which contradictions have been eradicated or tensions abated, but what it does anticipate are the grounds upon which a common space can be occupied and from within which fair interaction can proceed. It is a refusal to accept fatalistically the normalised space of division and distance, a common characteristic of societies which have experienced inter-ethnic conflict.⁶⁵

On a final note, what might any of this mean for how institutions such as archives and museums should engage with these tangible and intangible forms of community memory and associated memory politics, and also with reconciliation and peace-building processes? Verne Harris, director of the Mandela Archives in South Africa draws our attention to the perhaps inevitable weariness, stress and “stuckness” that can replace energy and hope during lengthy transition and recovery processes and discusses both the role of healing after trauma and the responsibility of archives to work to combat such negative affect in the process of proactively engaging with memory continues to haunt:

The ghosts demand that we take responsibility before them. Not responsibility for them – responsibility before them, in front of them, seeing them, seeing them again, and re-specting them. They demand that we work to make our lives meaningful by working to make their lives meaningful. The work of memory, and the work of archive, in these framings, is about just such a taking of responsibility.⁶⁶

While recent writings about the so-called community archives movement certainly addresses issues of proactive archives and museum engagement with ethnic, grass roots and oppositional communities, partnership research between Australian archival scholars and the Koorie community may offer some food for thought specifically

65 Officer, David. Northern Ireland: peace without reconciliation. // *The Cyprus review* 19, 1(Spring 2007), 118-119.

66 Harris, V. Op. cit.

with regard to promoting reconciliation and healing. This research has emphasized the historical complicity of official institutions such as archives in recordkeeping processes that implemented oppressive government programs. To provide redress for this complicity and to support more effectively Koorie community needs, the researchers propose “archival reconciliation” as a mechanism for re-conceptualising the archive and the power it wields over community lives, for recognizing alternate forms of archives and memory within the community, for recognizing and acknowledging mutual rights in official records that relate to oneself or one’s community, and for the development of frameworks for the respectful coexistence of Indigenous and non-Indigenous records.⁶⁷ A related approach is suggested by the Protocols developed in Australia and the United States that underscore the importance of mutual understanding and respectful consultation between archives and Indigenous communities with regard to materials that are created by or about them.

These statements all point toward common elements: the recognition that formal memory institutions are but one player in a much broader field of memory, and that field has both affect and consequence; a pluralist approach in the sense of an openness to engaging multiple narratives and notions about their authoritativeness, and a readiness to engage participatively and respectfully with community members on all matters of community memory and heritage; and a willingness to take responsibility for the past, the present and the future. The disillusionment and weariness that can set in as a result of the slowness of the process of reconciliation in part can be combated in part by an increased awareness that actions, even when they occurs at the level of the individual act or small local initiative, not only provide a sense of engagement and of “doing something,” but also, as this brief review indicates, can make a difference when viewed individually and cumulatively over the longer term.

⁶⁷ McKemmish, S. et al. Op. cit.

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POLITIKE PAMĆENJA I POMIRENJE NAKON ETNIČKOG KONFLIKTA SJEVERNOIRSKI PRIMJER

Sažetak

Rad se bavi politikama pamćenja i njihovim posljedicama – kako je pamćenje u svojim opipljivim i neopipljivim oblicima shvaćeno, provedeno, kako se prema njemu postupa u pučkoj predodžbi, te kako pamćenje utječe na suvremena događanja i međudruštvene odnose. Rad se osobito bavi istraživanjem uloge koju politike pamćenja mogu imati, ne samo u poticanju daljnje podjele društva kao posljedice etničkih i religijskih sukoba u područjima s kompleksnim i slojevitim povijesnim okolnostima, nego i obrnuto – u poticanju pomirenja. Kao prvi primjer, u radu su opisane višestruke, ali divergentne akumulirane priče o prošlosti koje su pridonijele eskalaciji i kasnijem podržavanju političkog i sektaškog sukoba poznatog pod nazivom *The Troubles* u Sjevernoj Irskoj. Nakon kratkog povijesnog prikaza, rad istražuje iskustva jednog suvremenog slučaja koji je na lokalnoj i međunarodnoj razini uzdignut kao primjer preusmjeravanja politika pamćenja s ciljem mirenja razdvojenih zajednica – slučaja Derry~Londonderry, drugog po veličini sjevernoirskog grada i mjesta prvih nasilnih konfrontacija sukoba *The Troubles*. Imajući u vidu koncept „arhivskog pomirenja“ koji predlaže Sue McKemmish et al. u odnosu na stvaranje svijesti o australskim urođenicima, u prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti, te nedavnu raspravu Verna Harrisu o „ozdravljenju“ s obzirom na iskustva Zaslade „Nelson Mandela“ u radu s arhivima o ljudskim pravima i pamćenju u Južnoafričkoj Republici nakon apartheida, rad završava razmišljanjima o odgovornosti institucija pamćenja, osobito arhiva, u suočavanju s politikama pamćenja, čak

i nakon stoljeća zbivanja proteklih u takvim politikama, te u aktivnom prinosu pomirenju i stvaranju mira nakon fizičkih konflikata, suzbijajući, kao što kaže Harris, umor, stres i "zaglibljenost" koje mogu zamijeniti energija i nada tijekom procesa duge tranzicije i oporavka.

Ključne riječi: arhivi, zajednica, Derry~Londonderry, pamćenje, Sjeverna Ir-ska, politike pamćenja, pomirenje

THE ARCHIVE, HUMAN RIGHTS AND RECONCILIATION

AN AUSTRALIAN PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents an Australian perspective on the roles and impacts of records, recordkeeping processes and the archive in individual and community lives in colonial and post-colonial contexts in the context of Indigenous human rights. It draws extensively on research undertaken as part of the Australian Research Council funded Trust and Technology Project to illustrate the continuing challenges of ensuring that records of the past that are essential to individual and community recovery and daily lives in post-conflict societies play their part in redress, recovery and reconciliation in the present and future. It posits that “decolonising” the archive would involve transforming recordkeeping and archival frameworks and practices in partnership with Indigenous communities so that multiple, at times contested views of the archive, and multiple perspectives on the records and their contexts can co-exist, and multiple access paths and uses can be enabled.

KEY WORDS

Indigenous Human Rights, archives, reconciliation

Introduction

Australian archivist Adrian Cunningham described records as a double-edged sword, as both instruments of oppression and domination, and enablers of democratic empowerment.¹ This paper explores the role that records have played in Australia as instruments of “colonisation, dispossession, removal and the relentless surveillance to

1 Cunningham, Adrian. The soul and conscious of the archivist: meditations on power, passion and positivism in a crusading profession. // Archiefnuus/Archives news 43, 4(June 2001), 167-77.

which Indigenous people were subjected”,² and the potential role a “decolonised” archive might play in redress, recovery and reconciliation.³ It presents an Australian perspective on the roles and impacts of records, recordkeeping processes and the archive in individual and community lives in colonial and post-colonial contexts, with particular reference to Indigenous human rights agendas. It illustrates aspects of the following themes relevant to archives and records in post-conflict contexts:

- the immediate human needs associated with loss, fragmentation or inaccessibility of records which underpin identity and memory, and provide evidence of rights or abuse of rights
- resolving archival conflicts relating to legal and moral ownership, and other rights in records
- the role of the archives historically in everything that has occurred and their potential future role in redress, reconciliation, and nation building.

The paper draws extensively on research undertaken as part of the Australian Research Council funded Trust and Technology Project relating to how to build trust between the Indigenous communities of Victoria (Koorie people) and the archival community, and how to develop archival services that meet Indigenous archival needs. It also references related research on the archives and Indigenous human rights in Australia.⁴ The Project was an example of “reconciling

2 Russell, Lynette. Indigenous records and archives: mutual obligations and building trust. // Archives and manuscripts 34, 1(May2006), 32-43, 35.

3 McKemmish, Sue; Shannon Faulkhead, Lynette Russell. Distrust in the archive: reconciling records. // Archival science 11, 3-4(2011), 211-239: “The social movement known as reconciliation within Australia began as a ground swell as settler Australians reflected on the dispossession of Aboriginal Australians. The reconciliation movement aimed to end the conflict between Indigenous and settler Australians that has existed within Australian society since the British colonisation of Australia in 1788. In 1991 the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation was established as a statutory authority. Its final report in 2001 “proposed legislation providing a formal framework for advancing the reconciliation process, as well as the establishment of a foundation, Reconciliation Australia, to continue the Council’s work” (ANTAR 2001). While the reconciliation movement is slowly creating ground roots changes within Australian society, many Aboriginal people are cynical or at best ambivalent about it, in part because, as a group, Indigenous Australians still remain disadvantaged on every social indicator available.”

4 This paper draws extensively on the following sources of information relating to the Trust and Technology Project and related research into the Archives and Indigenous Human Rights:

McKemmish, Sue, Shannon Faulkhead, Lynette Russell. Distrust in the archive: reconciling records. // Archival science 11, 3-4(2011), 211-239.

research”, envisaged as a collaborative, co-creative journey, and involving in this case about one hundred Koorie and other Indigenous Australian people along with researchers from the Public Record Office Victoria, the Koorie Heritage Trust Inc, the Victorian Koorie Records Taskforce, the Indigenous Issues Special Interest Group of the Australian Society of Archivists, and Monash University. Monash University was represented through a unique multidisciplinary partnership involving researchers from the Centre of Organisational and Social Informatics in the Faculty of Information Technology and the Centre for Australian Indigenous Studies. Reconciling research as it evolved during the Trust and Technology Project was guided by a research philosophy that considers and incorporates the research design and methods of more than one cultural paradigm, and is linked to critical theory. Research framed by critical theory aims to address significant social issues through rigorous inquiry which challenges status quo, reveals “deep-seated, structural contradictions within social systems” and contributes to their transformation.⁵

McKemmish, Sue, Livia Iacovino, Eric Ketelaar, M. Castan, Lynette Russell. Resetting relationships: archives and Indigenous human rights in Australia. // Archives and manuscripts 39, 1(2011), 107–144.

Monash University Caulfield School of Information Technology and Centre for Australian Indigenous Studies, the Public Record Office of Victoria, the Koorie Heritage Trust Inc., the Victorian Koorie Records Taskforce, and the Australian Society of Archivists Indigenous Issues Special Interest Group Trust and technology: building archival systems for Indigenous oral memory. Final report of the Australian Research Council Project, 2009 [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <http://www.infotech.monash.edu.au/research/centres/cosi/projects/trust/final-report/>

Monash University Caulfield School of Information Technology and Centre for Australian Indigenous Studies, the Public Record Office of Victoria, the Koorie Heritage Trust Inc., the Victorian Koorie Records Taskforce, and the Australian Society of Archivists Indigenous Issues Special Interest Group Trust and technology: building archival systems for Indigenous oral memory. Australian Research Council Project. Statement of principles relating to Australian Indigenous knowledge and the archives, 2009 [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <http://www.infotech.monash.edu.au/research/centres/cosi/projects/trust/deliverables/principles.html>

Monash University Caulfield School of Information Technology and Centre for Australian Indigenous Studies, the Public Record Office of Victoria, the Koorie Heritage Trust Inc., the Victorian Koorie Records Taskforce, and the Australian Society of Archivists Indigenous Issues Special Interest Group Trust and technology: building archival systems for Indigenous oral memory. Australian Research Council Project. Position Statement: Human Rights, Indigenous Communities in Australia and the Archives, 2009 [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <http://www.infotech.monash.edu.au/research/about/centres/cosi/projects/trust/deliverables/human-rights.html>

⁵ Orlikowski, W.; J. Baroudi. Studying Information technology in organizations: research approaches and assumptions. // Information systems research 2, 1 (1991), 1-28, 6.

In exploring recordkeeping and societal power, Eric Ketelaar⁶ has discussed the role of records as instruments of surveillance and repression, comparing the role of recordkeeping in the control of Aboriginal peoples in Australia with its role in other repressive regimes, and referencing Mark Osiel's concept of "administrative massacre". He points to the critical role that records play in what Osiel defines as this "large-scale violation of basic human rights to life and liberty by the central state in a systematic and organized fashion, often against its own citizens". He also references in this regard Giddens' ideas on the generation of state power "through reflexively gathering, storing and controlling information, applied to administrative ends".

On the other hand, as enablers of democratic empowerment Justus Wamukoya has highlighted that:

Proper maintenance of records and the proper provision of information empowers citizens to exercise their civil rights, providing them with information data which they can use to question or criticise government actions, and hold governments and officials accountable.⁷

In the case of Indigenous Australians, the records that played their part in constructing their collective identity in terms of negative tropes of Indigeneity, regulating every aspect of their lives, prohibiting the use of Aboriginal languages and the exercise of cultural practices, breaking up their communities, removing their children, confining them to reserves and thus severing their relationships to country, and restricting their movement, can today potentially play a critical role in the recovery of Indigenous knowledge, culture and language, and provide evidence for establishing identity, family link-ups, community regeneration, land claims and redress of human rights abuse.

6 Ketelaar, Eric. Recordkeeping and societal power. // Sue McKemmish, Michael Piggott, Barbara Reed and Frank Upward (eds.). *Archives: recordkeeping in society*. Wagga Wagga: Charles Sturt University, 2005. Pp. 277-298, and Ketelaar, Eric. Access: the democratic imperative. // *Archives and manuscript* 34, 2(2006), 62-81 referencing: Osiel, Mark. Mass atrocity, collective memory, and the law. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997; quote p. 9; March, Lauren; Steve Kinnane. Ghost files: the missing files of the Department of Indigenous Affairs Archives. // Christine Choo and Shawn Hollbach (eds.). *History and Native Title*. Perth: University of Western Australia, 2003, 111-127; Giddens, Anthony. The nation-state and violence. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985. P. 178.

7 Wamukoya, Justus. Records and archives as a basis for good government. // Verne Harris (ed.). *Archives and the protection of people's rights: proceedings of the XVth General Biennial Conference of the Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives*, Zanzibar, 26-30 July 1999. Pp. 6-14.

Indigenous human rights in Australia

The colonial and Australian governments have violated the human rights of Aboriginal people in many ways:

- Until 1967 many Aboriginal people were not allowed access to public places such as hotels, swimming pools and public transport.
- Aboriginal people experienced widespread discrimination and inequalities for many years.
- Much of this discrimination was through laws set up to prevent Aboriginal people from participating in society as equals.
- Many Aboriginal people were dispossessed, removed from their country and confined to reservations
- Communities were fractured and fragmented
- Many Aboriginal children were removed from their families (the Stolen Generations)
- Many cultural practices and Indigenous languages were banned.⁸

These historic laws, practices and attitudes have ongoing economic, social, cultural, psychological and political consequences today as acknowledged by the parliamentary apology to the Stolen Generations, their families and communities in 2008. The apology also powerfully illustrated that understandings of the past – the narratives that are told and written, and the diverse ways in which they are conveyed – profoundly shape a community's identity and aspirations and provide a mandate for future action. The metaphor of 'turning a new page in Australia's history' was used repeatedly in the apology itself and in commentary on it.

To the Stolen Generations, I say the following: as Prime Minister of Australia, I am sorry. On behalf of the Government of Australia, I am sorry. On behalf of the Parliament of Australia, I am sorry. And I offer you this apology without qualification. We apologise for the hurt, the pain and suffering we, the parliament, have caused you by the laws that previous parliaments have enacted. We apologise for the indignity, the degradation and the humiliation these laws embodied. We offer this apology to the mothers, the fathers, the brothers, the sisters, the families and the commu-

⁸ United Nations, General Assembly. Report by the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of Indigenous people. James Anaya, 4 March 2009: Addendum on the situation of Indigenous peoples in Australia [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/indigenous/rapporteur/docs/ReportVisitAustralia.pdf>

nities whose lives were ripped apart by the actions of successive governments under successive parliaments...

I say to non-Indigenous Australians listening today who may not fully understand why what we are doing is so important, I ask those non-Indigenous Australians to imagine for a moment if this had happened to you. I say to honourable members here present: imagine if this had happened to us. Imagine the crippling effect. Imagine how hard it would be to forgive. But my proposal is this: if the apology we extend today is accepted in the spirit of reconciliation, in which it is offered, we can today resolve together that there be a new beginning for Australia. *And it is to such a new beginning that I believe the nation is now calling us.*⁹

Lynette Russell highlights the role that recordkeeping played as an instrument of control, surveillance and repression in this ripping apart of individual and community lives by the actions of successive governments, and the related archival legacy of today:

Archives, state libraries and other repositories house many significant records about Indigenous communities. These are the products and consequence of colonisation, dispossession, removal and the relentless surveillance to which Indigenous people were subjected.¹⁰

Given how recordkeeping and the archive are implicated in past actions, what role could the Australian archival community play today and into the future in the “new beginning” referenced in the apology, in supporting redress, recovery and reconciliation? As discussed extensively in the latter part of this paper, the findings and recommendations of the Trust and Technology Project point to the role the archival community might play in achieving this aim.

The parliamentary apology also refocused national attention on the 1997 *Bringing Them Home* Report which presented the findings of a national inquiry into the removal of Indigenous children from their families and communities, the Stolen Generations. The Report had also highlighted the significance of historical narratives:

⁹ Australia. Parliament of Australia. Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, MP: Apology to Australia’s Indigenous peoples, February 13, 2007 [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/our-country/our-people/apology-to-australias-indigenous-peoples>

¹⁰ Russell, L. Op.cit., p. 6.

The truth is that the past is very much with us today, in the continuing devastation of the lives of Indigenous Australians. That devastation cannot be addressed unless the whole community listens with an open heart and mind to the stories of what has happened in the past and, having listened and understood, commits itself to reconciliation.¹¹

It also drew attention to the important role which records and recordkeeping institutions should play in supporting family reunions, the recovery of communities, reclaiming of personal and community identity, and reconnecting with country. Related recommendations emphasised the need for Indigenous Australians to reclaim identity by knowing their family background and (re)connecting with the places and cultures of their people; the importance of telling the stories of post-colonisation experience, and, in the longer term, the need for Indigenous communities to control their own historical documentation.

In the years since the release of the Report, government archival institutions and other record holders such as charitable and religious organisations have taken a range of initiatives to provide better access to records and better services to Indigenous people seeking information. These have included the development of name indexes to help Indigenous people find records, and efforts to employ Indigenous people and appoint them to advisory or governing bodies. However most initiatives have been project based, and dependent on short-term funding, and little progress has been made in addressing systemic issues linked to mainstream recordkeeping archival practice and culture. In particular, the recommendations relating to Indigenous community control of their historical documentation have languished. The Trust and Technology research points to the need to implement these *Bringing Them Home* recommendations as a central component of future frameworks for Indigenous archiving “decolonising” the archive.

¹¹ Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC). Bringing them home: report of the national inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families.

Sydney: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997 [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/bringing-them-home-stolen-children-report-1997>, Part 1: Introduction.

Indigenous human rights and the archive

The 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples provides one possible way of framing a decolonisation process. It recognises Indigenous communities as having inherent rights to preserve their identity while participating to the fullest in the mainstream culture.

- Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law.¹²
- Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.¹³

The foundation stones for the exercise of cultural rights as human rights are:

- Right of self-determination
- Principle of non-discrimination
- Free, prior, informed consent
- The role of Indigenous people as active participatory agents.

The principle of self-determination relates to the right and duty of Indigenous peoples to maintain and develop their own cultures and knowledge systems, and includes the right to be recognised as the primary guardians and interpreters of their cultures, supporting the exercise of cultural rights as human rights. Protecting Indigenous cultural and intellectual property is based on the principle of self-determination. The rights of Indigenous peoples as a collective have particular implications for privacy principles and their extension to Indigenous families, communities, and the families of deceased person's as a human right.

12 United Nations, General Assembly (2007) United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Resolution 61/295, Article 1 [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/un-declaration-rights-indigenous-peoples-1>

13 Ibid., Article 31.

The Trust and Technology project found that by far the largest obstacle to the realisation of Indigenous human and cultural rights related to the archival sources of their knowledge is that Australian legal and archival frameworks do not recognise Indigenous cultural rights as human rights, or provide for ownership rights for people who are considered to be the subject of records. The organisations that create or receive and maintain records relating to Indigenous peoples exercise almost all control over them. In relation to government records, privacy, freedom of information and public records laws do give records subjects some rights over the collection, use and disclosure of information about themselves. However, these rights apply only to individual records subjects: they cannot be exercised by Indigenous peoples as a collective or by individuals in relation to deceased family members.¹⁴

Another UN instrument of particular relevance to archives (the Joinet-Orentlicher Principles) assert the inalienable right of peoples whose human rights have been abused to know the truth, and the duty of successor governments to preserve the archive of that abuse. To ensure the preservation of, and access to, archives concerning violations of human rights and humanitarian law, the State must guarantee that they will *give effect* to the right to know, e.g. through the *disclosure* to “records’ subjects” of the existence of relevant records, not just by providing access rights. Current archival laws and related access policies do not address the disclosure provisions of the Principles.¹⁵

During his visit to Australia in August 2009, the UN Special Rapporteur James Anaya found that in spite of some recent advances, Australia’s laws, policies and programs were in urgent need of reform in consultation with Indigenous peoples. His report called for the Commonwealth and state governments to review and reform all legislation, policies, and programmes that affect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, in light of the UN Declaration.¹⁶ No concerted action has been taken by the national or state governments in Australia to review and reform relevant archival legislation, policies and programmes.

¹⁴ Monash University [et al.]. Position Statement. Op. cit.

¹⁵ United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights. Promotion and protection of human rights: impunity report of the Independent Expert to update the set of principles to combat impunity, Diane Orentlicher E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1 8 February 2005 [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/42d66e7a0.pdf>

¹⁶ United Nations, General Assembly. Report by the Special Rapporteur. Op. cit.

Findings and recommendations of the Trust and Technology Project

In late 2010, in association with the ASA Annual Conference, the Trust and Technology team organised a workshop on Archives and Indigenous Human Rights to progress the agenda set down in the recommendations of the Trust and Technology Project, with particular reference to the guide to implementing the 2007 UN Declaration issued by the Australian Human Rights Commission.¹⁷ Keynote speaker, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, Mick Gooda called on the recordkeeping and archival community to work with Indigenous communities so that they could move from being “captive of the archives”¹⁸ to “active participatory agents”:

I want to tell a different story. It’s about how Aboriginal people can be the authors of our stories and not the passive and powerless subjects of stories told and written by others. It is the role of government and others, including archivists and recordkeepers, to position themselves to enable Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders to move from passive and powerless subjects to active participatory agents. I hope my insights assist in pushing towards an archive and recordkeeping system that facilitates the active participation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island peoples.¹⁹

Speakers and participants in the Workshop called on the Australian Society of Archivists and leading archival institutions to provide leadership in embedding Indigenous human rights in archival law, policy, culture and practice in Australia. At the same time it was acknowledged that the process of embedding Indigenous human rights would involve fundamental reforms in laws, policies and practices, and a major shift in recordkeeping and archival professional cultures.

- 17 Australian Human Rights Commission and National Congress of Australia's First Peoples. Community guide to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Canberra: AHRC, 2010 [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/document/publication/declaration_community_guide.pdf.
- 18 Fourmile, Henrietta. Who owns the past?: Aborigines as captives of the archives. // Aboriginal history 13(1989), 1-8.
- 19 Mick Gooda was speaking “Archives and indigenous human rights: towards an understanding of the archival and record keeping implications of Australian and international human rights for Indigenous Australians”, 12 October 2010. See also Gooda, Mick. The practical power of human rights: how international human rights standards can inform archival and recordkeeping practices. // Archival science 12(2012), 141-150.

This acknowledgement is supported by the findings of the Trust and Technology Project which provide clear evidence of the incommensurability of the archival worldviews of Indigenous peoples and the Australian recordkeeping and archival community. It found that many Indigenous Australians view all records that relate to them as *their own* records. From a Koorie perspective, Koorie knowledge and narratives are contained in, and recoverable from, all archival records relating to Koorie people, including government records. The most commonly expressed view of Koorie interviewees in relation to records relating to them is that the so-called subjects of the record or their family have a right to:

- know that there are records relating to them in archival custody (i.e. right of disclosure)
- add their own “stories” to the records held in public archives and other institutions (i.e. a right to “set the record straight”)
- participate as “co-creators” in decision-making about access, ownership and control.²⁰

This contrasts with “mainstream” archival views:

- Archival institutions that house and control records relating to Indigenous Australians view the government or church organisation that captured the records into a recordkeeping system, or the anthropologist who collected the research data, or the historian who recorded the interview as the records’ creator/owner.
- Policies, processes and systems in archival institutions are based on Western constructs of ownership, control, access, privacy, and individual but not collective rights in records.
- These archival traditions relating to knowledge and evidence are fundamentally different from Indigenous traditions.

“Decolonising” the archive would involve developing frameworks and practices in partnership with Indigenous communities in which multiple, at times contested views of the archive, multiple perspectives on the records and their contexts can co-exist, and multiple access paths and uses are enabled.

Not surprisingly, the Trust and Technology Project found widespread dis-trust in the archive:

²⁰ Ross, Fiona; Sue McKemmish, Shannon Faulkhead. Indigenous knowledge and the archives: designing trusted archival systems for Koorie communities. // Archives and manuscripts 34, 2(2006), 112-151.

- The language of the Archive is the language of the colonisers, post-colonial governments, churches, businesses and anthropologists- Metadata is as an artefact of the activities of these recordkeepers and their worldviews
- Metadata frameworks structures, categorizations and language were and are critical components in exercising control over Indigenous peoples
- The Archive has been complicit in destroying identity, memory, and the lives of individuals and entire communities
- Current frameworks and standards continue to privilege the view of the perpetrators/records creators.
- They do not adequately address the multiple contexts of all those documented in the records, or the multiple worldviews of current users.
- There is a need for metadata that assists Indigenous people to access information to support identity, family link-ups, recovery of culture and language, compensation, land claims and reconciliation.
- Moving beyond access, need for recordkeeping frameworks, infrastructure and services that accord with Indigenous community protocols and enable Indigenous community-centric representation, interpretation and commentary.²¹

In response, the Trust and Technology Project developed a Statement of Principles relating to Australian Indigenous Knowledge and the Archives, which focused largely on records of Indigenous communities and individuals created by non-Indigenous organisations, including Australian government organisations.²²

21 McKemmish, S. [et al.]. Dis-trust. Op. cit.

22 The Statement of Principles is based on Australian and International protocols relating to Indigenous culture, knowledge and archives, including the 2007 UN Declaration, the Joinet-Orentlicher Principles, the recommendations of the 1997 Bringing Them Home Report, the findings of the Trust and Technology Project (see footnote 4), and the following sources:

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Library and Information Resource Network Inc. (AT-SILIRN) (2006) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander protocols for libraries, archives and information services [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <http://aiatsis.gov.au/atsilirn/protocols.php>; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC). Our culture our future: a report on Australian Indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights, 1999 [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <http://www.austlii.edu.au/journals/AILR/1999/51.html#Heading360>; First Archivists Circle. Protocols for Native American archival materials, 4/9/07 [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>

Statement of Principles: Australian Indigenous Knowledge and the Archives

Principle 1: Recognition of all Archival Sources of Indigenous Knowledge

Archival systems and services for preserving Indigenous memory and evidence need to be based on recognition of the breadth and diversity of archival sources of Indigenous knowledge and the significance of oral memory and storytelling.

Principle 2: Recognition of Rights in Records

The rights of Indigenous people should extend to making decisions about the creation and management of their knowledge in all its forms, including knowledge contained in records created by non-Indigenous people and organisations about Indigenous people.

Principle 3: Recognition of Rights in Legal and Archival Frameworks

The rights of Indigenous people in records need to be recognised in law and archival frameworks.

Principle 4: Adoption of Holistic, Community-Based Approaches to Indigenous Archiving

Community-based, community controlled archival systems and services based on a holistic, approach to Indigenous archiving – bringing together, integrating, preserving and making accessible to the community, physically or virtually, all archives of value regardless of their source, form or medium – will best meet the needs of Indigenous communities.

Principle 5: Recognition of Need for Indigenous People to Challenge ‘Official’ Records

Indigenous peoples need mechanisms to set the record straight, comment on inaccuracies or limitations, contribute family and individual narratives, and present their version of events alongside the official one.

Principle 6: Recognition of Need for Inclusive Education and Training for Recordkeeping Professional Practice

A set of principles relating to inclusive, pluralistic and culturally aware recordkeeping education and training should inform course recognition and accreditation and the expectations set by employers and professional associations for ongoing professional development.

Principle 7: Reconciling Research, Rethinking the relationship between Academia and Indigenous communities.

University-based researchers need to overhaul research methods which position Indigenous communities as the subjects of research, pursue a participatory model of community-based research, and avoid approaches which involve a re-colonisation or misappropriation of Indigenous knowledge by researchers. The principles of community-based participatory research need to be embedded in academia.

It also developed a Position Statement on Indigenous Human Rights and the Archive, with a related action agenda that specifically addresses self determination, the exercise of cultural rights as human rights, the right of non-discrimination, and implementation of the provisions of the *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles* relating to the right to know the truth and the right of reply. Recommended actions include: engagement of Indigenous communities in decision-making relating to the capture, appraisal, management, preservation and accessibility of records relating to them, wherever held; support for the negotiation of rights via the creation of a register of interested persons (descendants of the relevant community) in the ongoing management of relevant sets of records; examination and amendment of archival law and policies to ensure compatibility with human rights instruments; and acknowledgement of the right of Indigenous communities to determine third party access to records held by archival organisations on the basis of redressing discrimination.²³ To implement the provisions in the *Joinet-Orentlicher Principles*, archival institutions could put in

23 McKemmish, S. [et al.]. Resetting relationships. Op. cit. and Iacovino, Livia. Rethinking archival, ethical and legal frameworks for records of Indigenous Australian communities: a participant relationship model of rights and responsibilities. // Archival science 10, 4(2010), 353-372.

place best practices which: routinely Identify Indigenous communities or individuals in records, contact them via appropriate representative bodies; disclose that there are records relating to them; and develop procedures to enable them to exercise a right of reply – i.e. to set the record straight; make comments upon the inaccuracies or limitations of institutional records; and contribute family narratives which expand upon or give context to institutional records and to present alternative versions of events.²⁴

The Trust and Technology Project also found that the largest obstacle to the realisation of Indigenous rights in records is the Australian legal and archival framework itself. From a rights perspective, this could be addressed by:

- Reforms to legal and archival frameworks and extension of international and national laws and protocols to all records and archival sources of Indigenous knowledge
- Re-definition of records creation enforcing broader spectrum of rights and obligations.

In this regard, the Australian Human Rights Commission recommends that governments and other organisations should negotiate with relevant Indigenous organisations, communities and individuals when making policies, laws or undertaking activities that affect them with the aim of obtaining consent. This is a much stronger obligation than merely providing information or consulting. It involves an honest and open process of negotiation between parties on an equal footing, with Indigenous communities and people engaged as fully participatory agents, and reaching a solution or agreement acceptable to all.²⁵ A major issue for archival institutions and programs with respect to the principle of free, prior, informed consent is that of its possible retrospective application to archival records relating to Indigenous communities where those records have been accumulated and managed in the past without such consent.

Finally the Trust and Technology Project put forward a vision for a community-centred, participatory “sustainable living archive”, a vision which acknowledges that the loss of language and culture is a critical issue for Indigenous communities. They need to record, manage, store, transmit and interact with their narratives in traditional, digital and multimedia forms, including:

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ AHRC. Community guide. Op. cit.

- oral memory contained within country and people, transmitted and accessed through speech, performance, dance, art, ritual and song
- records created by and for Indigenous people, communities and organisations
- digital archives (digitised copies of Indigenous records “repatriated” from library, archives and museums)
- research data archives
- records in all forms and media created by non-Indigenous people and organisations about Indigenous people, including government records, church records relating to Aboriginal Missions, and anthropological records.

The sustainable living archive:

- Would be a Linked Archive encompassing all forms and sources of a community’s Archive
- Indigenous people would move from being passive subjects of the Archive to active participants and decision makers
- Indigenous people would be content owners and users become commentators on and interpreters of their own culture
- The broader community would interact with the Archive in line with the protocols of the content owners
- A *Sustainable Living Archive* would be performative, always in a process of becoming, growing and mutating to meet a community’s changing needs.

Realising this vision would involve:

- Recovery of fragmented archives of an Indigenous community, and their integration into community memory and knowledge systems
- Enabling long-term preservation, transmission and use of online digitised, digital and multimedia content
- Providing viable, adaptable frameworks for community control, protocols and rights management
- Building interfaces enabling communities to control and manage content and access to it, interact with and re-use content, tag and annotate existing content, create new content and layers of context
- Interactive links with the content of other community archives, colonial and post-colonial government and institutional archives.

There are a number of killer archival questions associated with realizing this vision. To take but one example: how to build community-centric, culturally sensitive and community needs-driven metadata frameworks and schema? More specifically:

- How relevant are existing international, national and local standards?
- Is it a matter of extending existing frameworks and standards and developing specific encoding schemes?
- Or is it far more fundamental than that – involving new meta-frameworks and meta-metadata models – enabling “decolonised” metadata?
- How can we work in partnership with communities to pluralise our approaches to encompass other ways of knowing than the western bibliographic, recordkeeping and archiving traditions that are embedded in existing metadata frameworks and standards?

Conclusion

Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation.²⁶

The research reported in this paper highlights the need to further conceptualise and operationalise participatory archiving, and continue to explore the vital transformative role that it might play in post-conflict contexts. It also illustrates the continuing challenges of identifying, obtaining and using records of the past that are essential to individual and community recovery and daily lives post-conflict societies in the present and future. It provides the foundation for continuing research on the role of the participatory archive in furthering human rights, reconciliation and recovery for Indigenous and other communities, the role of rights in records in participatory archiving, the limitations of rights based approach, and the need for major changes in archival cultures and practices globally and locally.

²⁶ Derrida, Jacques. *Archive fever: a Freudian impression*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996. P. 4.

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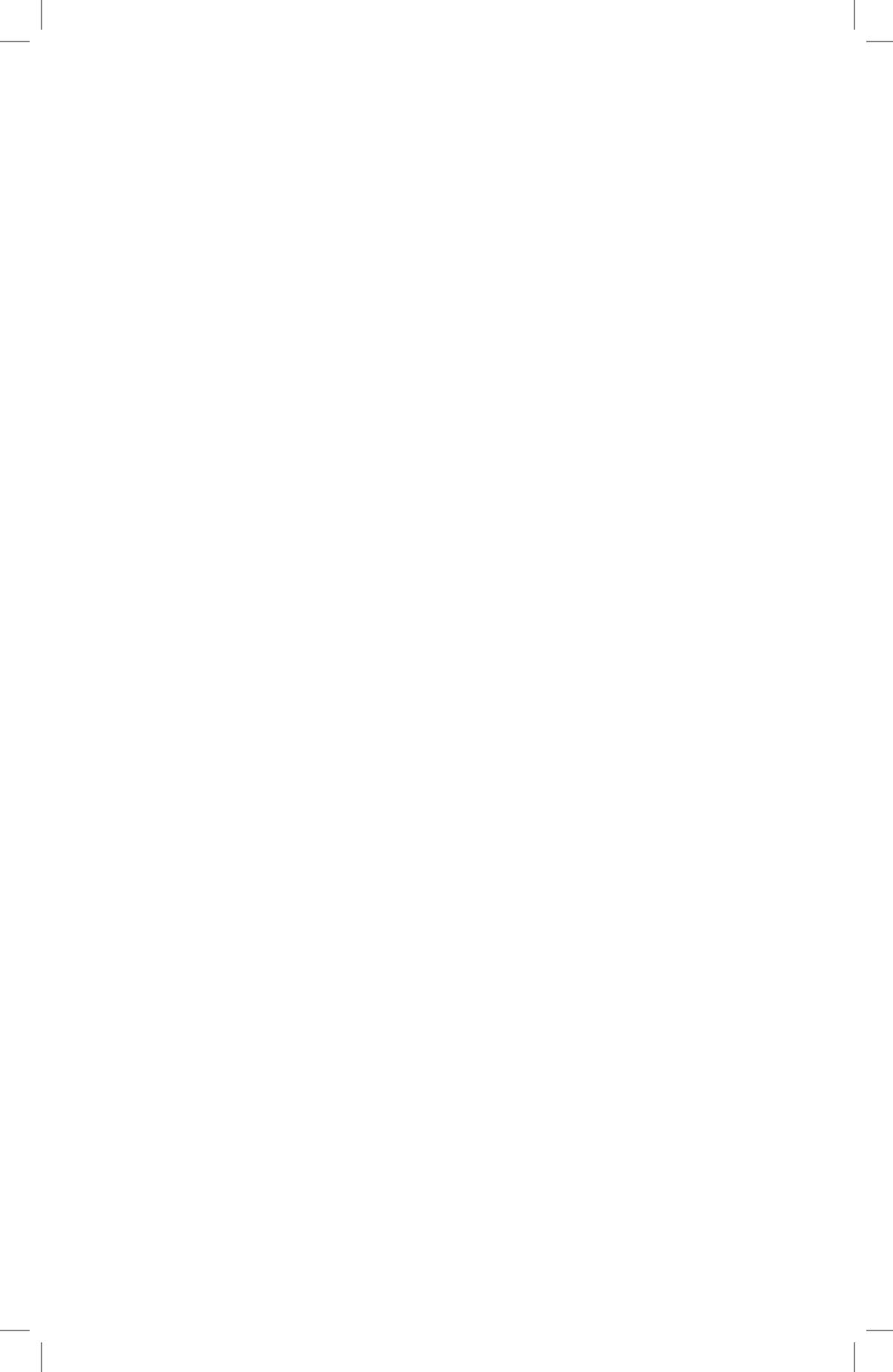
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ARHIV, LJUDSKA PRAVA I POMIRENJE AUSTRALIJSKO MOTRIŠTE

Sažetak

U radu je predstavljeno australijsko motrište na ulogu i utjecaj zapisa, procesa čuvanja zapisa i arhiva u osobnom životu i u životu zajednice u kolonijalnom i post-kolonijalnom kontekstu, posebno u kontekstu ljudskih prava australskih urođenika. Rad se u velikoj mjeri oslanja na istraživanje provedeno u okviru Projekta *Trust and Technology* koji je financirao Australski savjet za istraživanja s ciljem da se razjasni koji su to trajni izazovi jamstva da zapisi prošlosti koji su ključni za oporavak osobe i zajednice kao i za svakodnevni život u postkonfliktnim zajednicama, imaju udjela u pružanju zadovoljštine, oporavku i pomirenju u sadašnjosti i budućnosti. Rad polazi od pretpostavke da bi suradnja sa zajednicama australskih urođenika dovela do “dekolonizacije” arhiva te, poslijedictvo, do promjene registraturnog i arhivističkog okvira i prakse na način da višestruki, povremeno osporavani pogledi na arhiv i višestruka motrišta na zapise i njihov kontekst mogu supostojati, te da se omoguće višestruki načini pristupa i korištenja.

Ključne riječi: ljudska prava australskih urođenika, arhivi, pomirenje



RECORDS, ARCHIVES AND MEMORY IN POST-CONFLICT CONTEXTS

POSTSCRIPT

ANNE J. GILLILAND
&
SUE MCKEMMISH

Further exploration of themes and issues listed in the Prelude and discussed in our RAMS presentations has been undertaken in two specific strands of research in which we and our colleagues have been engaged. Each has engendered a rethinking of participatory archiving, expanded conceptualisations of archival activism,¹ a new concept of archival autonomy recently defined by Evans et al.,² and exploration of the vital transformative roles that these factors individually and collectively might play in post-conflict contexts. One strand (McKemmish et al.) relates to the unmet recordkeeping and archival needs of Indigenous Australians, including members of the Stolen Generations, and also to members of the Former British Child Migrants, Forgotten Australians and Forced Adoption communities.³ The other strand (Gilliland et al.)

1 Novak's 2013 analysis of the archival literature identifies core concepts associated with activism as social power, neutrality/archival transparency, community engagement, diversity/inclusivity, accountability and open government. Novak, Joy. Examining activism in practice: a qualitative study of archival activism, doctoral dissertation. Los Angeles: University of California Los Angeles, 2013. P.2.

2 Recently defined by Evans et al. as: ... the ability for individuals and communities to participate in societal memory, to find their own voice, to become participatory agents in recordkeeping and archiving for identity, memory and accountability purposes. See: Evans, Joanne; Sue McKemmish, Liz Daniels and Gavan McCarthy. Self-determination and archival autonomy: advocating activism. // Archival science (in press).

3 STOLEN GENERATIONS: From 1910 to 1970 up to 50,000 Indigenous Australian children were forcibly taken from their families under policies aimed at the assimilation of 'half-caste' children into white society and 'breeding out' Aboriginality. See: Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. Bringing them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families (1997) [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <http://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/bringing-them-home-report-1997>

FORMER BRITISH CHILD MIGRANTS: It is estimated that child migration programs were responsible for the removal of over 130,000 children from the United Kingdom to Canada, New Zealand, Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) and Australia. Many of these children were removed without their parents' knowledge or consent. See: Child Migrants

addresses the structural, political and emotional violence perpetrated by bureaucratic recordkeeping in new and existing states emerging out of conflict, and the continuing challenges of identifying, obtaining and using records that are essential to individual and community recovery and daily lives within and across states, bureaucracies and spaces of ongoing contestation.⁴

We have also jointly authored two recent papers which explore the role of the participatory archive in furthering human rights, reconciliation and recovery,⁵ the role of rights in records in participative archiving,⁶ the limitations of rights-based approach, and the need for major changes in archival cultures and practices globally and locally. These more recent papers take as their starting point the statement in the *Universal Declaration on Archives* (ICA, 2011) that archives "are authoritative sources of information underpinning accountable and

Trust, "Child Migration History" (2014) [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <http://www.childmigranttrust.com/our-work/child-migration-history>

FORGOTTEN AUSTRALIANS: 500,000 non-Indigenous children, child migrants, and Indigenous children experienced 'care' in institutions or outside a home setting in Australia during the 20th century. See: Alliance for Forgotten Australians. *Forgotten Australians: Supporting Survivors of Childhood Institutional Care in Australia*. 3rd ed. (2011) [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: <http://www.forgottenaustralians.org.au/PDF/MiniAfaBooklet.pdf>

FORCED ADOPTIONS: There were 150,000 adoptions between 1951 and 1975. It is impossible to know exactly how many were forced. See: Community Affairs References Committee: Commonwealth contribution to former forced adoption policies and practices. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2012 [cited: 2015-01-19]. Available at: http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Community_Affairs/Completed_inquiries/2010-13/comcontribformerforcedadoption/report/index

- 4 Gilliland, Anne J. Studying affect and its relationship to the agency of archivists since the Yugoslav wars. // Richard J. Cox, Alison Langmead and Eleanor Mattern, eds. *Studies in Archival Education and Research: Selected Papers from the 2014 AERI Conference*. Los Angeles: Litwin Press, 2015 (in press); Caswell, Michelle and Anne J. Gilliland. False promise and new hope: dead perpetrators, imagined documents, and emergent archival evidence. // Samuel Martínez and Cathy J. Schlund-Vials, eds. Special issue of: *International journal on human rights on Interrogating the Perpetrator* (in press); Gilliland, Anne J. Moving past: probing the agency and affect of recordkeeping in individual and community lives in post-conflict Croatia. // *Archival science* 14, 3-4(2014), 249-274; Halilovich, Hariz. Reclaiming erased lives: archives, records and memories in post-war Bosnia and the Bosnian Diaspora. // *Archival science* 14, 3-4(2014), 231-247; Wood, Stacy; Marika Cifor, Anne J. Gilliland, Kathy Carbone and Ricardo Punzalan. Mobilizing records: re-framing archival description to support human rights. // *Archival science* 14, 3-4(2014), 397-419.
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- 6 Gilliland, Anne J.; Sue McKemmish. Rights in records as a platform for participative archiving. // Richard J. Cox, Alison Langmead and Eleanor Mattern, eds. *Studies in Archival Education and Research: Selected Papers from the 2014 AERI Conference*. Los Angeles: Litwin Press, 2015 (in press).

transparent administrative actions. They play an essential role in the development of societies by safeguarding and contributing to individual and community memory. Open access to archives enriches our knowledge of human society, promotes democracy, protects citizens' rights and enhances the quality of life." They question whether existing archival models and their open access regimes support human rights agendas or deliver on translate rhetoric into reality when it comes to the pressing identity, memory and accountability needs of the victims of human rights abuse. In the *Atlanti* paper, we argue for a new participatory archival model for archives that are central to the promotion of human rights, reconciliation and recovery. We propose a new definition of the participatory archive – one that acknowledges that multiple parties have rights, responsibilities, needs and perspectives with regard to the record. They are created by, for and with multiple communities, according to and respectful of community values, practices, beliefs and needs. The paper explores how the participatory archive, so defined, might offer a space for negotiating different perspectives, experiences and needs and a mechanism for reconciling the dual nature of archives as instruments of surveillance, repression and abuse of human rights, as well as of redress, recovery and reconciliation. The paper also offers principles and approaches to guide the establishment of a participatory archive or the re-structuring of existing archives along participatory lines.

In the paper in the AERI proceedings, we propose an integrated suite of rights in records that acknowledge and respect the interests of the different agents who are involved or implicated in records and recordkeeping processes. The suite of rights is based on research findings, a review of relevant critical literature in archival studies, and our own immersive experiences over many years as archival and recordkeeping researchers, and as educators and practitioners. The guiding principles for the development of the set of rights originate in deep reflection on what constitutes ethical and pluralized recordkeeping and archiving. This deep reflection led us to conclude that while we may advocate for and invoke codified rights in support of transformative practice, the driving impulse to animate and prioritize 21st century recordkeeping and archival practice in human rights, social justice and post-conflict contexts has emanated from, and, we would argue, should ideally always emanate from personal, professional, institutional and national recognition of and response to ethical exigencies rather than as a result of externally-imposed rights-based directives.



THE REPRESENTATION, RIGHTS, AND IDENTITY OF CROATIA'S ROMA COMMUNITY

EXPLORING ARCHIVAL IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Roma are among twenty-two national minorities in Croatia. They have lived in Croatian lands since the fourteenth century, but there are few visible and certainly no comprehensive records either *about* or *from* them in Croatian cultural heritage institutions. The principles according to which records *about* Roma and *of* Roma are collected and preserved within heritage institutions are discussed in terms of their categorization, types of secondary sources and visibility; as well as results from interviews with members of the Roma community. The paper concludes that what is needed is a more inclusive and proactive documentary approach that takes advantage of all the possibilities supported by existing Croatian archival legislation.

KEY WORDS

Roma, archive, museum, archival legislation

Introduction

Historically, archives have predominantly preserved records of society's political elites. Numerous communities are missing from the archival record for reasons such as the repression and persecution of minority groups by the dominant group; reliance within a community on non-textual and non-tangible ways of remembering such as oral tradition; and characterization or misrepresentation of minority collective identity through the eyes of or by the dominant group.

One particular minority group for which this is the case is the Roma, who are widely and negatively referred to as Gypsies. The Roma are one among twenty-two national minorities in Croatia whose rights are constitutionally and legally regulated. The Roma people are one of the oldest minority groups in Croatia, with the earliest written traces of their presence in Croatian territories dating back to the fourteenth century.¹ In 2001, 9,643 persons identified themselves as Roma on the Croatian census.² Various Roma associations estimate, however, that there are nearly 40,000 Roma living in Croatia. Roma culture and life have been recorded by non-Roma and have been misrepresented in many different ways. When this community is described both in popular culture and also in the scholarly literature, a pattern of representations can be discerned. Certain terms are frequently used in association with characterizations of the Roma, including "migrations",³ "transnational identity"⁴ and "discrimination and marginalization,"⁵ but often in a pejorative manner. For example Kanižaj's research⁶ has shown that daily newspapers represent Roma people in negative ways by using stereotypes and sensationalism, often withholding actual facts, negatively concentrating on Roma ethnicity, and emphasizing events related to crime and misdemeanors. The results of one of the largest research studies about the Roma in Croatia, *How do Croatian Roma Live?* were published in 2005. The study concluded that "the traditional socio-cultural identity of the Roma is fading away and that the Roma, to a large degree, are socially identified and represented through negative features or deficiencies: poverty and threat."⁷ Such misrepresentations have become a part of the wider Croatian collective memory and dominant historical narrative.

This paper argues that documenting the life, culture and history of Roma by Roma would be an important step in rectifying the often-

1 Hrvatić, Neven. Romi u Hrvatskoj: od migracija do interkulturalnih odnosa. // Migracijske i etničke teme 20, 4(2004), 367-385, 369.

2 Ibid, p. 373.

3 Ibid, p. 368.

4 McGarry, Aidan. The Roma voice in the European Union: between national belonging and transnational identity. // Social movement studies 10, 3(2011), 283-297, 283.

5 McGarry, Aidan. Ethnic group identity and the Roma social movement: transnational organizing structures of representation. // Nationalities papers 36, 3(2008), 449-470, 464.

6 Kanižaj, Igor. Manjine: između javnosti i stvarnosti. Opatija: ICEJ, 2006. Available at: http://bib.irb.hr/datoteka/284131.Manjine_između_javnosti_i_stvarnosti_Igor_Kanizaj.pdf [cited: 2014-12-02].

7 Mišetić, Anka. The socio-cultural features of the Romani population. // How do Croatian Roma live? / edited by Maja Štambuk. Zagreb: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, 2005. Pp. 343-363, 363.

misrepresented archival and historical record as well as in changing long-held stereotypes. Such an approach might help to diminish the prevalent concentration on negative aspects and to improve the socio-cultural and historical status of Roma within Croatian society. In this respect, archives have great potential social value for communities, especially for groups that have been traditionally misrepresented or underrepresented. Minority groups could be empowered by creating their own archives in order to collect, preserve and disseminate their histories as they deem appropriate in order to correct inaccuracies in the archival record and overcome stereotypes that have been formed over centuries by the dominant culture. Documenting their reality in ways that are both culturally relevant and sensitive to the Roma, and that allow the wider society to view those records could help to dispel incorrect beliefs. Moreover, enabling different communities such as the Roma to preserve their own history and culture can only serve to strengthen the archival record and improve resources for scholarship and research. As Germanic and Gender Studies scholar Claudia Breger has asserted, "Self-representation is...of crucial...[human]... importance as both a prerequisite and a medium for political, social, and symbolic change".⁸ Diasporic communities and other groups that have experienced dispersion and exile are confronted not only with the difficulty of representing themselves but also with uniting the seemingly disparate groups within their own community. Widespread activism, self-representation, and remembering of pivotal events in the community's history are a good way to start to unify under self-identity – not one externally imposed from the perspectives of a dominant culture. The intent of this paper is to begin a conversation on how some of these issues might be addressed from an archival perspective.

This paper focuses, therefore, on possible principles for collecting and preserving Romani records and records about the Roma. There are two main reasons for this. First, there are few records *about* or *of* the Roma in Croatia's public heritage institutions that are clearly visible (i.e., easily locatable) in finding aids such as inventories and catalogues. There are individual cases where a few documents about

⁸ Breger, Claudia. Understanding the 'Other'? communication, history and narration in Margriet de Moor's *Hertog van Egypte* (1996). // The role of the Romanies: images and counter-images of 'Gypsies'/Romanies in European cultures / edited by Nicholas Saul and Susan Tebbutt. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004. Pp. 132-133. Available at: <http://liverpool.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.5949/UPO9781846313950/upso-9780853236795-chapter-10> [cited: 2014-12-02].

the Roma are preserved – for example, in bureaucratic records and ethnographic notes – but among those sources it is difficult to distinguish which records were created by Roma and which by others. Second, but no less important, is the fact that the Roma heavily rely on oral tradition as the primary means for transmitting their history, culture, and traditions within their communities. Traditional narratives are an example of the Roma oral tradition, with the mother as the primary storyteller in the family. Oral tradition is considered to be an integral part of Roma cultural identity. Đorđević observes that *romanity* itself is manifested in creations such as myths and legends, narratives and tales, songs and stories, riddles and fairies “memorized, and not written, always transferred from knee to knee”.⁹ But he also adds that it is necessary to write down all aspects of Roma oral literature.¹⁰ This is because the undue emphasis on textual records within the traditional archival paradigm leaves “little or no space ... for cultures with nontextual mechanisms for recording decisions, actions, relationships or memory, such as those embodied in oral, aural or kinetic traditions”.¹¹

Several different discussions about the Roma address issues of Roma identity, viewing it as a firm base that could serve as a starting point for improving their societal status. Culture is frequently seen as a crucial component of identity. Associated with culture are the phenomena of collective memory, forgetting, cultural transmission, and remembrance of historical events, but archival perspectives on these phenomena are often lacking. For example, have Croatian archives and other memory institutions collected and preserved records on which Croatian Roma history could be written? And more importantly, how do members of the Roma community conceptualize problems in their community that are or might be impossible to address historically without tangible archival records? This paper, therefore, is not about Roma history or its cultural richness and uniqueness, but instead is a consideration of the abilities of Croatian heritage institutions to represent Roma through different collections of archival

⁹ Đorđević, Dragoljub. Introduction. // Rromanipe(n): o kulturnom identitetu Roma: provisanje i zaštita kulturnih prava u Programu javnog zastupništva 2003-2005. / edited by Barbara Davis. Beograd: CARE International, 2005. Pp. 13-20, 17.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.18.

¹¹ Gilliland, Anne; Sue McKemmish, Kelvin White Kelvin, Lu Yang and Lau Andrew. Pluralizing the archival paradigm: can archival education in Pacific Rim communities address the challenge? // The American archivist 71, 1(2008), 87-117, 90.

and other documentary materials with the understanding that "... archives have the power to privilege and to marginalize"¹² by means of their appraisal, acquisition, and description strategies.

Exploratory study

In 2013, Tamara Štefanac conducted an exploratory study focused on the Roma community in Zagreb, Croatia. The study sought to understand fundamental archival issues related to the Roma community in Zagreb and gain better insight into Roma traditions that are related to documents, records and oral tradition. The study consisted of three different but connected components:

1. Analyzing the Croatian archival legislation framework and sources on Roma history;
2. Identifying sources of Roma history in the Zagreb area through an analysis of finding aids of archives and museums in Zagreb; and,
3. Conducting semi-structured interviews with members of the Roma community on topics that included the importance of archives, records and recordkeeping traditions in Croatian Roma communities as well as of oral tradition.

The theoretical framework of this study was influenced by the following concepts drawn from different disciplinary discourses: 1) a representational view on records¹³ as characterized by Yeo: "To differentiate records from other kinds of representation, records can be characterized as persistent representations of activities, created by participants or observers of those activities or by their authorized proxies";¹⁴ 2) a broad and expanded definition of records;¹⁵ 3) the notion of archival power over memory: as Schwartz and Cook state, "Archives validate our experiences, our perceptions, our narratives, our stories. Archives are our memories. Yet what goes on in the archives remains remarkably unknown. Users of archives (historians and others) and shapers of archives (records creators, records managers, and archivists) add layers of meaning, layers which become naturalized, internalized

12 Schwartz, Joan; Terry Cook. Archives, records, and power: the making of modern memory. // Archival science 2(2002), 1-19, 13.

13 Yeo, Geoffrey. Concepts of records (1): Evidence, information and persistent representation. // The American Archivist 70, 2(2007), 315-343.

14 Ibid., p. 337.

15 White, Kelvin L. Meztizaje and remembering in Afro-Mexican communities of the Costa Chica: implications for archival education in Mexico. // Archival science 9(2009), 43-55.

and unquestioned.¹⁶ The study also drew on published research that affirms cultural heritage and orality as vital components of Roma identity.¹⁷ The paper acknowledges contemporary trends of thought that emphasize archival education as a foundation and agent of change that influences daily archival practice, and in particular the relevance of the framework emerging out of the PacRim Project¹⁸ and further developed by White¹⁹ and the Pluralizing the Archival Curriculum Group of the Archival Education and Research Initiative.²⁰ This framework proposed that conceptual expansion, embeddedness, collaboration, leadership, activism and ethics, reflexivity and sustainability should permeate both archival education and practice if these are to become more conscious of the plurality of communities and their practices.

Findings and discussion

Categorization and secondary sources

In his book about the Roma population in Europe, Jean Pierre Liégeois mentions issues of information and documentation work. Liégeois asserts that every institution has an obligation to insure equal access to information and knowledge.²¹ He continues that documentation is the key to information and that continuing work on documentation is a guarantee for mutual access to information. To document and to create records is part of business processes. Keeping and assuring access to these bureaucratic records is considered to be an important activity that supports business processes. In so many cases, people's lives surround these processes. The influences of business processes on personal life and, in a broader sense, on the life of a certain community, can be traced through records and documents.

The 1997 Croatian Act on Archives²² clearly defines rights, obligations and possibilities regarding the collection and preservation of records. Archival records, both public and private, are protected as cultural property. Archival materials are defined as records or documents

16 Schwartz, J.; T. Cook. Op.cit., p. 18.

17 See: Čvorović, Jelena. Gypsy narratives: from poverty to culture. Beograd: Srpska Akademija nauka i umetnosti Etnografski institut, 2004; Mišetić, A. Op. cit.

18 Gilliland, A. [et al.]. Op.cit., pp. 87-117.

19 White, K. L. Op. cit., pp. 43-55.

20 Pluralizing the Archival Curriculum Group, Archival Education and Research Institute. Educating for the archival multiverse. // The American archivist 74(2011), 68-102.

21 Liégeois, Jean-Pierre. Romi u Europi. Zagreb: Ibis grafika, 2009.

22 Zakon o arhivskom gradivu i arhivima (NN 105/97, NN 64/00, NN 65/09) [Act on archives].

created by corporate bodies or persons in pursuance of their activities, being of permanent significance for culture, history and science regardless of the place and time of their creation, or the form and medium in which they have been created or preserved. Archives are defined as institutions for preservation, protection, processing and use of archival material. Archival material can be public or private. Private archival materials are records produced through the actions of private legal entities or persons, unless they are generated by public authorities or in the conduct of public service, and if they are not in the state's ownership. Categorization as a process is defined within regulations on appraisal and the procedure of selection and disposal of archival material.²³ Within this process creators of records are classified into groups depending on the meaning of the totality of material created by their action (i.e., they are appraised at the macro level). State archives and regional archives identify and propose a list of creators of records in private ownership that are deemed to be of great importance for the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Archival Council confirms these lists. Discussing private archival records in Croatia and mainly the example of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Hedbeli concludes that the, "Croatian archival service has not enough knowledge, understanding, and resources for adequate work with private records creators".²⁴ Hedbeli links this deficiency in knowledge and experience with the state's need to learn how to deal with private property, which she views as a remnant of Croatia's prior socialist era. However she also draws attention to the fact that most archive workers are trained on the job and are without formal archival education.

In some cases Roma NGOs are categorized as creators of archival records and they must manage their documentation according to the requirements of the Act on Archives. This documentation is considered valuable enough to preserve for future use. However, what is preserved and what will be preserved in the future greatly depends on the archivist who recognizes records of a private creator as being important and, following the regulations, suggests categorizing the creator as creator of archival material. How archives assign provenance (i.e., according to the creating institution, authority, or author) often

²³ Pravilnik o vrednovanju te postupku odabiranja i izlučivanja arhivskog gradiva (NN 90/02) [Regulations on appraisal and procedure of selection and disposal of records].

²⁴ Hedbeli, Živana. Private archival records in Croatia and non-governmental organizations' initiative. //Atlanti 17, 1-2(2007), 223-232, 226.

results in the subjects of the record (i.e., the Roma) being buried or ignored. Since state and regional archival services do not have a legal obligation to act proactively and do not have outreach programs of this nature, it is questionable how many records by and about the Roma community could be collected and preserved. It would, therefore, be necessary to engage Roma communities regarding how both their history and present-day activities are reflected in existing documentation they have created or collected.

Archive services in Croatia are centrally organized through the State Archives of Croatia, which also encompasses eighteen regional archives, and archival collection centers. A “categorization of creators of archival records” was published in the *Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia* No. 42 in 2007. Hedbeli had previously noted that no clear methodology was applied by the State Archives of Croatia in selecting categories of private creators, but in this publication criteria were established for doing so.²⁵ She concludes that for unknown reasons categorization does not cover some private creators who are members of groups or communities that are abundantly present in Croatia. Members belonging to a range of underrepresented populations or organizations such as minority groups and and/or socially disadvantaged groups were also lacking.

As defined in the *Regulations on the Appraisal and Procedure for the Selection and Elimination of Archival Material*, there are three categories of creators of archival materials.²⁶ Creators that are recognized or, more accurately, are categorized as creators of archival materials are obligated to preserve their documentation, have inventories of documentation, and treat that documentation according to prescribed regulations that could ensure its preservation. Under the jurisdiction of the State Archives of Croatia, just one non-governmental organization that derives from Roma community, *Unija Roma Hrvatske* (the Union of Roma in Croatia) was categorized as a creator of archival material, among other minority associations and organizations.

The regional archives published their categorizations in 2008 in the *Official Gazette* No. 126. Regarding Roma organizations and associations, the State Archives in Zagreb and in Sisak did not categorize any Roma organization or association as a creator of archive material.

25 Ibid., p. 229.

26 Pravilnik o vrednovanju te postupku odabiranja i izlučivanja arhivskog gradiva. Op. cit., Article 5.

The State Archive in Rijeka categorized *Vijeće romske nacionalne manjine za Primorsko-goransku županiju* (*Council of the Roma national minority of Primorje and Gorski Kotar County*), *Udruga Zajednica Roma PGŽ* (*NGO Community of Roma of Primorje and Gorski Kotar County*, *Romsko jedinstvo PGŽ* (*Roma unity Primorje and Gorski Kotar County*), and *Udruženje Roma Hrvatske* (*Affiliation of Croatian Roma*). The State Archive in Pazin categorized *Udruga »Romi za Rome Hrvatske«*, *Podružnica Vodnjan* (*NGO “Roma for Croatian Roma”*, Vodnjan). In the *Official Gazette No.82 (2009)* – under the jurisdiction of the State Archive for the Međimurje region – *Vijeće romske nacionalne manjine Međimurske županije Čakovec* (*Council of Roma national minority, Međimurje county*) is categorized as the creator of archive material. As stated earlier, being categorized as creator of archival records, the creator is supposed to conduct the records in a manner prescribed by regulations. This means that records must be arranged and described, physically protected, and made accessible by archivists.

Clearly categorization is not a fixed entity and it does not preclude that some entity or individual could not be categorized as creator of archival material in the future if the entity produces records that might be appraised as archival records by official archival services. It is often mentioned in the Croatian professional literature that there is a shortage of human resources in archives.²⁷ Lučić also asserts that the appraisal of records of non-governmental organizations should be balanced between those that function at the national and those at the regional level.²⁸ Such an approach would correspond with the jurisdiction of state and regional archives, but still there are no clear criteria for the categorization of private records creators. Categorization and appraisal of records in this form is a one-way process and is done from one perspective. Given how the regulations are defined, it is hard for the official Croatian archive services to support proactive archival outreach activities. From a certain perspective, categorization could be considered as an outreach activity, but not a comprehensive one since the model of categorization is not defined or conceptualized thoroughly – comprehensively it remains possible that most of Roma NGOs' records would not be categorized as archival records and, therefore, would not be legally protected. In Croatia more generally, there have been many

²⁷ See: Hedbeli, Ž. Op. cit.; Lučić, Melina. Arhiv i nevladine neprofitne organizacije: nadzor nad udrugama i akvizicijska politika. // Arhivski vjesnik 46(2004), 53-67.

²⁸ Lučić, M. Op.cit., pp. 53-67.

NGOs with very important documentation that was simply thrown away when the organizations ceased to exist.

Public archives and the official archives service in Croatia support state and public institutions as well as their business processes. In implementing and adhering to the relevant laws and regulations, there remains a possibility for the preservation of private archival records. Formal entities in the form of special archives also exist. Besides categorized creators of records whose records presumably will be tended to, legal and private entities following regulations specified in the Act on Archives may found their own archives. Such “[s]pecialized and private archives (university archives, business archives, church archives, bank archives etc.) may collect and preserve archival and current records created through the activities of their founders and other domestic corporate bodies or persons”.²⁹ It is difficult to imagine, however, how an archival system designed mainly to preserve textual documentation and support the needs and demands of state and regional public authorities could also support demands that come from completely different paradigm. This would demand a fundamental change on both a conceptual and a paradigmatic level.

Besides the official archive service there are some independent initiatives for the documentation of different socio-cultural processes, although a small number of these could be, in terms of law, considered as specialized archives. None of these deals explicitly with the Roma community. Also dealing with heritage, but sometimes for the same purposes and sometimes for absolutely different ones, only the area of Zagreb was focused upon, since this is the most prominent region where Roma have lived since the fourteenth century.

The current state of museums in Zagreb is that there are no preserved sources that can document the lives of the Roma community in Zagreb. The curators of different documentary collections (including audio-visual collections) were contacted via e-mail during this study with questions about whether any sources relevant to the history of the Roma history in Zagreb are preserved within the collections for which they are responsible. The survey focused on original material that could be considered as valid primary sources for researchers. Only two photographs depicting Roma in Zagreb have been identified so far as that might be considered as primary sources (if we choose to believe the photographers' perspectives and define photography as a primary source).

29 Zakon o arhivskom gradivu i arhivima. Op. cit.

Some additional sources are held by ethnology institutes, for example, ethnologists' notes. Dealing with such sources necessitates being aware that they are someone else's interpretation of events, persons, or objects. As Gilliland et al. note, "[t]he documentation created by anthropologists and others who observe and study communities and cultures also does not substitute for the materials a community generates for and about itself and upon which it relies".³⁰ These sources are not records of generated by the event itself, but certainly are records of someone observing that event – i.e., the ethnologist doing his/her research on the Roma.

Regarding library services, the Ministry of Culture has implemented a model of library activity through central libraries of national minorities within public and city libraries.³¹ On the Croatian Ministry of Culture's webpage there is a list of Central Libraries (status as of October 2013). There is no central library of Roma, but there are collections, often called the Roma collection, within some public libraries (such as Library Medveščak and Library Silvije Strahimir Kranjčević in Zagreb, and Library Fran Galović in Koprivnica). Croatian libraries have been collecting literature from and about different Croatian national minorities for several decades, so these endeavors to collect and give access to Roma library material found fertile ground and were much easier to implement than they might have been in archival or museum institutions.

Visibility in archival terms

Certainly some records about Roma exist in different fonds and collections in archives, but the question is this: as small components of much bigger records units, are those records just left to be unearthed through the diligence or serendipitous discovery of researchers or should they be visible in finding aids? Should the records be described just as any other records in descriptive systems – at the same level of aggregation and only reflecting a single provenance or one creator of records? Currently, the latter is the case and the existence of records related to Roma in most finding aids is not reflected. Shilton and Srinivasan suggested a "re-envisioning archival principles of appraisal, arrangement and description to actively incorporate participation from

30 Gilliland A. [et al.]. Op. cit., p. 90.

31 Tantalović, Siniša. Nacionalne manjine u Hrvatskoj. Split: Stina, 2005.

traditionally marginalized communities³² Croatian archival descriptive practices are standardized according to ISAD(G),³³ and acquisition policies are similar to those of many other European countries. In the State Archive in Zagreb one can identify materials relating to Roma in several finding aids, such as an inventory of the Fond DAZG 240 Bolnica Milosrdnih Sestara u Zagrebu (Hospital Sisters of Mercy in Zagreb) at the series level of Uprava (Administration), sub-series Ostali spisi (Other records): Dopisi u vezi dvojbene zavičajnosti i evidencije Roma 1907-1925 (Correspondence regarding doubtful homeland and lists of Roma).³⁴ Since these records were preserved in an amount that could be represented at the sub-series level, they are visible in the finding aid. The other fond is DAZG 1198 Upravna općina Sveta Klara (Administrative municipality Sveta Klara), Evidencije o stanovništву-popisi Roma (Records on population – Lists of Roma). In both of these cases Roma from Zagreb are the subjects of records, and so that is the only perspective on Roma that is presented to researchers. There are no preserved records that were created by the Roma. This absence occurred because of large percentage of non-literate members of the Roma community who did not create records in tangible form. Instead they have transmitted them and their memories in non-tangible forms (e.g., through orality and ritual).

Opinions of members of the Roma community: a brief review

Any consideration of the availability of Roma historical sources in Zagreb would be incomplete without input from Roma community members. There are over hundred Roma NGOs in Croatia, but only a few are active. Although most NGOs have their headquarters registered in Zagreb, the Međimurje region, Rijeka, and Istria, but there are Roma NGOs in all regions of Croatia. Many of them are dedicated to preserving Roma heritage and traditions and are active in various economic, social, and cultural projects. Additionally, their web presence has in-

32 Shilton, Katie; Ramesh Srinivasan. Participatory appraisal and arrangement for multicultural archival collections. //Archivaria 63(2007), 87-101, 90.

33 ISAD(G): general international standard archival description: adopted by the Committee on Descriptive Standards, Stockholm, Sweden, 19-22 September 1999. Ottawa: International Council on Archives, 2000.

34 Evidences of Roma population in Croatia were required records that each county had to produce, but these regulations differed through history. For more on the topic of legal regulation of the Roma population see: Vojak, Danijel. Zakonsko reguliranje položaja romskog stanovništva na području banske Hrvatske: 1873-1918. // Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest 37(2005), 147-162.

creased (for example, see www.romalen.com). Despite such online efforts, no community archive exists for the Roma. How do Roma value archives and records? Why is this? In what ways and how might Roma value archives and records (or not)? Are there any NGOs or private persons who collect material on the history of the Roma in Zagreb? Would the Roma community consider capturing some of their collective memory and recordkeeping in tangible formats, or should archival practice adapt to acknowledge and address non-tangible recordkeeping traditions? Seeking answers to these questions, Štefanac interviewed several members of the Roma community who are involved in Roma NGOs. Interviewees were initially contacted over the telephone to arrange in person meetings. A snowball technique was used to identify additional participants for an interview.

The primary purpose for the interviews was to obtain a better understanding of attitudes and opinions of members of the Roma community toward records and archives. The scope was not to establish firm statistics, but rather to understand Roma attitudes toward archives and also toward oral forms of remembering and transmission. When can oral narratives be considered a record and when are they simply a narrative without “record” value?

Originally the interviews were designed as semi-structured interviews, but during the process of interviewing all structure shattered and every interview took the form of a free-form conversation. During each of the interviews, interviewees emphasized conflicts and unresolved issues from Roma history in Croatian lands. Histories that were written on this topic as well as those that remained unwritten and unknown to the wider circle of people outside Roma community were the main focus of interest. The original plan for analyzing the data had to be replaced by a much simpler description of emerging themes and shared points of view. Each conversation was conducted with one interviewee at a time and lasted for about an hour and a half. Depending on the permission of each participant, some conversations were recorded. Due to all the unexpected situations these interviews cannot be considered as rigorous qualitative data that can be systematically analyzed. Nevertheless some common themes and perspectives emerged in all the interviews.

The first major theme that emerged from each conversation was that of the Roma experience in Croatia during WWII. The closest connections between Roma and archives were seen by members of Roma

community in the shapes of Holocaust /Porrajmos events.³⁵ The second major theme that emerged was about the responsibility and obligation of preserving records of Roma community. All of the interviewees indicated that they privately collect documentary material about their family members. None of NGOs possesses documentary material that is publicly accessible, but there is an awareness of the value of that material, mainly because of its evidential value for members of NGOs in their private business (in many cases value is connected to protecting human and civil rights). None of these NGOs was ever approached by an official archive to evaluate whether that particular NGO should be categorized as a creator of private archive material. Other opinions expressed in common by multiple interviewees were that official institutions, whether archives, museums or libraries have a responsibility to collect and preserve material about them and of them. The reason for this neglect by these institutions is described by one interviewee as the “invisibility [of the Roma] as a nation”.

The power of the archived record was particularly illustrated in one event narrated by an interviewee: Roma community representatives went to Washington, D.C. in 1998 together with Jewish community representatives in regards to rights to war reparations. The interviewee asserted that the Jewish delegation came with lot of paper material, and Roma representatives “had nothing” besides oral testimonies that were overlooked as evidence in many cases. Regarding verbal forms of transmission, opinions varied across interviewees. Each considered formal documents (such as personal documents and documentation of business of any kind) as only being valid when in written form, and thought they should be properly archived in order to be accessible. These opinions might emerge from the facts that in contemporary Croatian society, peoples’ legal requirements can be achieved only through submission of valid documentation.

Verbal form of historical facts and knowledge transmission is regarded as Roma cultural tradition. Some interviewees considered this oral tradition to be enough, without a necessity to record it on some media. Others recognized textual or recorded forms as effective methods of preserving Roma heritage. Oral culture was seen as imperative to community life and culture, but oral forms of preservation and transmission of heritage were considered to be unstable.

35 This term refers to the Roma genocide in Second World War.

The final emerging theme was the concern that the Roma are excluded from participating in any project that concerns them and that is conducted by non-Roma official institutions. The common opinion was that for projects that concern Roma community, the Roma must participate. Reputable support for the interviewees' attitudes about archiving was given by Ivan Rumbak, a researcher of Roma history, and himself of Roma origin, who noticed that "The Roma as nation were not all that interesting to historians, so in most cases they are mentioned in archival material only because they are involved in criminal charges and misdemeanors, etc. Some archives only mention the Roma in passing – Roma caravans arriving and going, divination, and thefts. Because of unconcern on the part of the broader community to document Roma history and their own non-literacy, the Roma remained deprived of material that would present them in positive terms within archival and historical material."³⁶

Conclusion

This exploratory study began with a contemplation of the kinds of records the Roma produce and in what form, beside textual, they keep evidence of their history. A representational view on records and a broad and expanded definition of records were used to help set up a perspective that allowed the questioning of the relevance of records being collected by heritage institutions for addressing the needs of the Roma community. The notion of archival power over memory³⁷ further directed the study to the problems of current archival and museum practice and its legal framework within the Croatian context in order to investigate how it responds to the records about Roma and to the records created by Roma.

A general lack of archival perspectives on preserved and accessible Roma records indicate important shortcomings of the Croatian archival legislation as well as of the conceptual paradigm being applied by the archival field. It is from this paradigm that everyday archival practice derives and exists in Croatia. According to this paradigm, the Roma have no records, despite the (interactive) ways in which text and oral traditions are both used in Roma culture to record important events intentionally as evidence of something. There are no records, broadly

³⁶ Rumbak, Ivan. E-mail correspondence with Tamara Štefanac on November 3rd 2013.

³⁷ Schwartz, J.; T. Cook. Op. cit., pp. 1-19.

defined, by which Roma presence in the Zagreb area could be more widely documented. The museum community does not have inclusive collection development policies nor does it actively support diverse communities. Currently, official archival systems in Croatia have limited possibilities to be sensitive to local, cultural practices while working with archival systems supported by international standards. In the meantime, Roma history is being lost. The Roma community struggles with present societal marginalization. To counter this, change needs to come from Croatian cultural heritage institutions. This change could occur by taking parts of White's pluralization framework, which posited a set of pervasive actions – conceptual expansion, embeddedness, collaboration, leadership, activism and ethics, reflexivity and sustainability – as ways by which both archival education and practice may be pluralized.³⁸ Some of the components, such as activism and ethics, have been theoretically and practically explored in Croatia through the activities of *Documenta: Center for Dealing with the Past*.³⁹ Such associations actively collect, preserve and create records (of all forms, including oral histories) related to war and war-related events in Croatia and its broader region. By broadening their mission and vision statements, Croatian cultural heritage institutions could move toward a conceptual expansion that is generated through reflexivity about their own cultural-business actions and providing guided collaboration on community-based projects that are generated through engagement with and close participation by members of minorities (in this case the Roma).

All these activities and shared responsibilities may assist the Roma community in achieving a better understanding of the value the records they produce. Archival and museum community projects, conceived in a sustainable manner with long-term focused activities and inclusion of minority members, should be welcomed and assisted by archival and museum professionals. It is also important to realize that these ideas do not necessarily determine the media in which these records should be preserved – the Roma community should decide that. Finally, further research on the Roma perhaps should deepen and concretize issues of orality and probe the ways in which Roma oral traditions should or might be considered as records.

38 Pluralizing the Archival Curriculum Group, Archival Education and Research Institute. Op. cit., pp. 68-102.

39 A link containing more information on this activity is available at: <http://www.documenta.hr/en/home.html>

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**ZASTUPLJENOST, PRAVA I IDENTITET
ROMA U HRVATSKOJ
ARHIVISTIČKA RAZMATRANJA**

Sažetak

Kao jedna od 22 nacionalne manjine, Romi su na području Hrvatske prisutni od 14. stoljeća. Unatoč tomu, prisutnost romske zajednice kroz povijest teško se može dokumentirati budući da nema sačuvane sveobuhvatne dokumentacije i arhivskog gradiva u hrvatskim baštinskim ustanovama. U ovom se radu razmatraju načela prema kojima se gradivo važno za romsku zajednicu prikuplja i čuva u baštinskim ustanovama. Razmatra se kategorizacija, vrste sekundarnih izvora i vidljivost dokumenata u obavjesnim pomagalima te se donose rezultati intervjua provođenih s pripadnicima romske nacionalne manjine. U zaključnim razmatranjima iskazuje se potreba za aktivnim i uključivim dokumentarnim pristupom koji koristi sve prednosti unutar postojećeg arhivskog zakonodavnog okvira u Hrvatskoj.

Ključne riječi: Romi, arhiv, muzej, arhivsko zakonodavstvo



INFORMATION ON VANISHED LIBRARIES MATERIALS BURIED IN BOOKS AND ARCHIVES

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&

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ABSTRACT

This article focusses on questions of historical libraries which vanished in the course of time. From where can we get information and evidence of their previous existence? There are so many books of hidden libraries surviving on hundreds of book shelves all over Europe. There was and still is a considerable migration of books – for various reasons. It is a promising task to virtually reconstitute historical libraries by collecting their remnants systematically – an invitation.

KEY WORDS

Book provenance, historical catalogues, hidden libraries, book history, history of libraries, archival sources

Introduction

At my Alma Mater – the University of Graz, Austria – I have responsibility for the Special Collections Department. There we have more than two thousand medieval manuscripts, eleven hundred incunabula, and some 250-280,000 books produced up to the year 1900. The history of this library and the diverse book collections is not yet written.¹ When I became head of this collection of rare books some five years ago, I commenced to plunge into the history of this library, which actually is the history of several dozens of book collections.

The University of Graz was founded in 1585. At the beginning and for the first 200 years it was the university of the Jesuit Fathers. Accordingly, its library was a Jesuit library, which was established as a political

¹ For a preliminary survey see Renhart, Erich. *Die Buchkultur des Barock im Spiegel der Grazer Jesuitenbibliothek* [in print].

instrument in the days of Counter-Reformation. The catalogue of this library has been missing since the end of the 18th century. It is said to have comprised 26 volumes.² My principal questions therefore were: *From where did all the books come to feed this library?* and *From where can I get any information since there is no catalogue extant?* In answering these questions I want to pick out three main areas:

- *information taken from the books themselves*
- *information taken from inventory lists*
- *information taken from archive material.*

1. Information in the books themselves

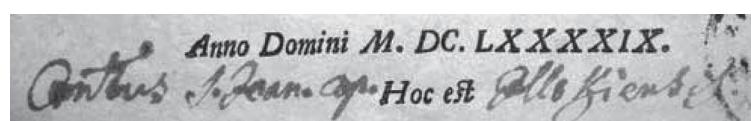
For my research on the historical roots of this library I was able to use a highly helpful instrument: earlier hands created a box of approximately 25.000 index cards. These cards record handwritten remarks on the provenance of single books, the majority of them dating from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. We can frequently find such remarks on the front page but also at various other places in a book. In many cases it was the librarian who had put down a note of the date when a book was added to a library. But we find entries of private holders as well.

Along with short written remarks there is a variety of other testimonies providing helpful data:

- *ex libris*
- *supralibros*
- *stamps and seals, etc.*

The following examples are taken from the Library of the Franciscan Fathers in the town of Ilok in East Slavonia, Croatia. All of them are either handwritten or stamped on the front page of the books providing some scarce information on former book owners or readers. Of such kind are the meagre traces for researchers devoted to the questions of historical book provenance.

1.1 Con[ven]tus S[ancti] I[oanni] Cap[istrani] Illokensis

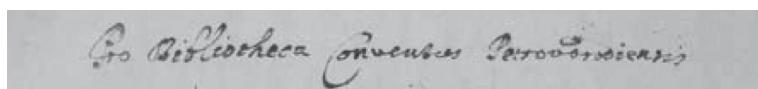


² See Maiwald, Maria. Geschichte der Grazer Universitätsbibliothek. // Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz / Anton Kern. Vol. 3. Wien 1967, XIV.

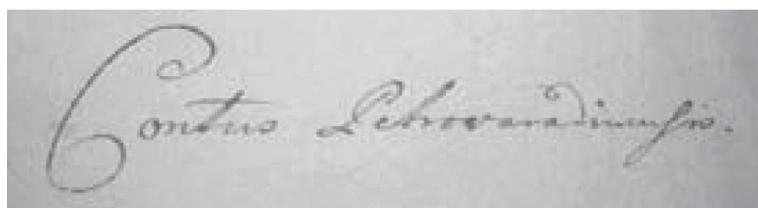
1.2 *Ad bibliothecam Viennensem P. P. Franciscanorum*



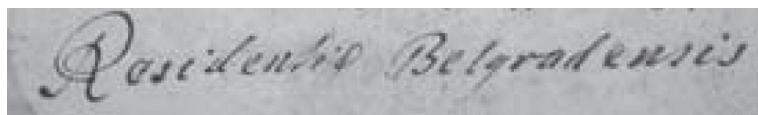
1.3 *Pro Biblioteca Conventus Petrovorodiensis*



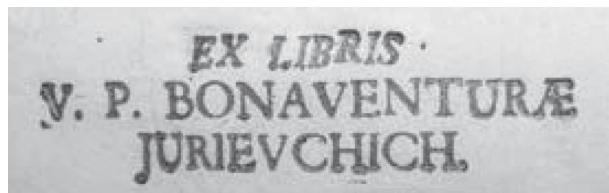
1.4 *Con[ven]tus Petrovaradiensis*



1.5 *Residentia Belgradensis*



1.6 *An ex libris*



1.7 *The stamp of the library*



2. Information provided by inventory and other lists

A library which survived centuries of political and doctrinal changes is not an entity which stands alone. It leaves its traces in the official administration of the state and of other institutions.

The biggest library of Graz was established in the decades when Graz was the capital of Austria, when the Emperor made his residence in Graz. At that time Graz was a relatively small and remote town, close to the southern borders of the Habsburg realm. Its political development coincided with the growth and spread of book printing and Graz became a major centre of book production and of book selling.

The Catholic house of Habsburg definitely wanted to have control over the book market. They installed a rigid system of censorship, the main precepts of which were religious, moral and political purity.³ They

³ Just to give one example of a prohibited book: the book with the shelfmark III 40 162 (Title: *Infinita nature secreta quibuslibet hominibus contingentia preuidenda cauenda ac perseguenda declarant in hoc libro contendat. Physiognomia summi Aristotelis. Physiognomia Michaelis scoti. Physiognomia Coelitis. Chyromantia eiusdem. Cum approbatione Achilini. Cum gratia et priuilegio Papae impressa: 1515.*) On the front page we read the following remark: „*Liber iste plurima tum in Fide suspecta, tum Contra bonos mores tum etiam Superstitiosa maxime ultima continet.*“

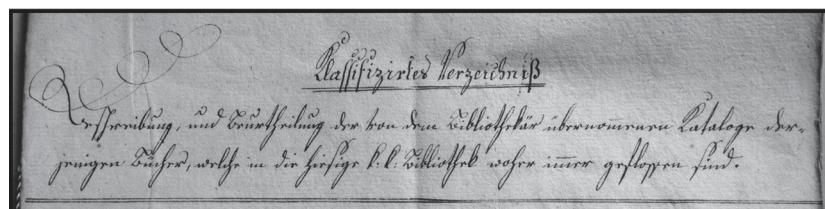
privileged a few printing houses, and effectively gained total control over the market. It is quite clear that new books were officially registered.⁴ Thus, the production was controlled, the sale of books, and finally the use of books. Actually, this was a kind of totalitarianism aiming at cutting the increasing world of ideas.

Among the mass of administrative records we may sometimes find veritable inventory lists, e.g., of the confiscated book collections of many Protestants. Such information may be found in the State Archive in Vienna, in local archives or in other ecclesial archives. We know of a good number of such inventory lists, nonetheless, this category of sources has not yet been studied systematically – at least with regard to the roots of our University Library.

There is another reason why book collections might be officially recorded: in later times, when Vienna was again the see of the Habsburg Crown, Viennese or state institutions cast jealous looks at “what they have there in Graz” and they knew pretty well what to take. For this reason, Graz had to give many especially precious books as tribute to the National Library or to the State Archive. We would, therefore, find many titles of our former book holdings in the inventory lists at that place.

Some examples:

2.1 Protocol of confiscated books (University Archive Graz)

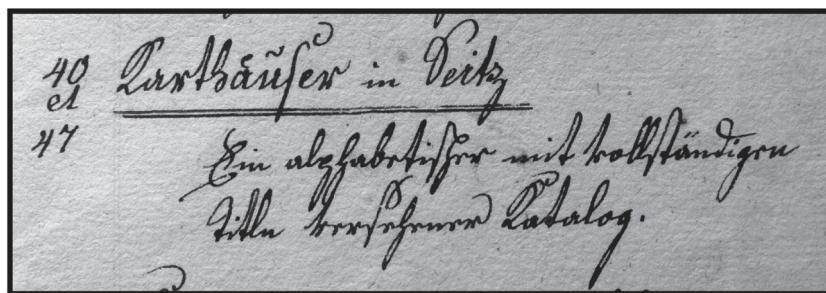


Classifizirtes Verzeichniß. Aufschreibung und Beurtheilung der von dem Bibliothekär übernommenen Kataloge derjenigen Bücher, welche in die hiesige k.k. Bibliothek woher immer geflossen sind.

[Classified list. An evaluated record of catalogues documenting the books that were added to the Imperial Library by the librarian.]

⁴ See Kosch, F. W. Das Bücherrevisionsamt 1781–1848. // Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark 60(1969), 45-84.

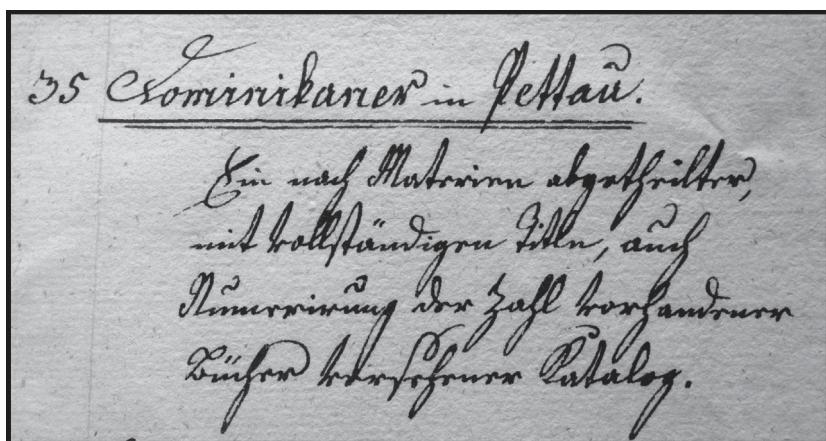
2.2 Excerpt from the protocol of confiscated books mentioned above



Nr. 40 et 47: Karthäuser in Seitz. Ein alphabetischer mit vollständigen Titeln versehener Katalog.

[Nr. 40 and 47: Carthusians in Žiče. A catalogue with complete titles in alphabetical order]

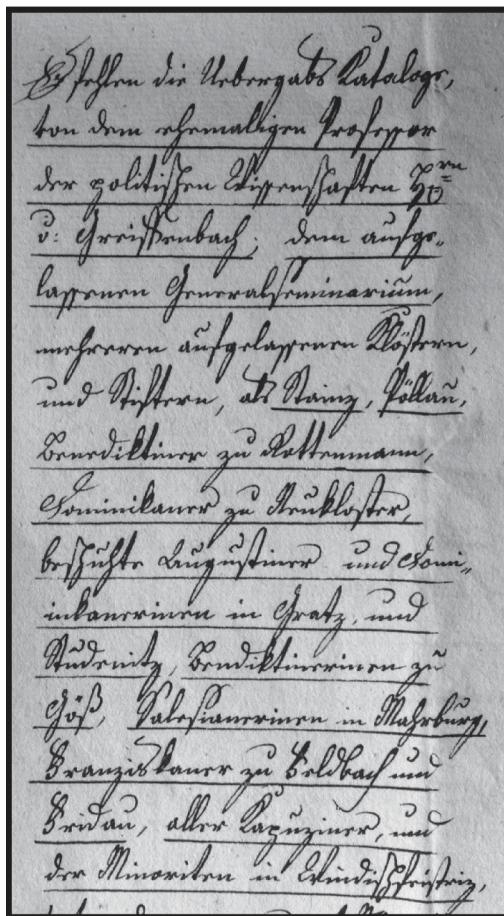
2.3 Excerpt from the same



Nr. 35: Dominikaner in Pettau. Ein nach Materien abgetheilter, mit vollständigen Titeln, auch Nummerierung der Zahl vorhandener Bücher versehener Katalog.

[Nr. 35: Dominicans in Ptuj. A catalogue arranged thematically with complete titles including the current book number.]

2.4 Excerpt from the same – a list of missing catalogues



[We are missing the catalogues of books that were handed over ...
 ... of several dissolved monasteries and abbeys, e.g., of Stainz, Pöllau,
 of the Benedictines in Rottenmann,
 of the Dominicans in Neukloster,
 of the Shod Augustinians and Dominican Nuns in Graz and Studenitz,
 of the Benedictine Nuns in Göß,
 of the Salesian Nuns in Maribor,
 of the Franciscans in Feldbach and Friedau,
 of all Capuchin Monks and the Friars Minor ...].

3. Further archive material

Going through the thousands of index cards recording our notes on historical book provenance, I perceived many dozens of places from whence our books derived. Names appear of individuals,, but also of many places where libraries existed in former centuries. I was asking myself: *how was it possible that we came to keep so many collections – or in most cases, parts of them – in our library?* The answer in this case was simple: by the end of the 18th century many of the monastic libraries has been dissolved by force of political order. Thus, in the period of the Enlightenment the books of many minor collections – as they were considered at the time – were transferred to Graz, which at the time was crowded and filled with confusion:

- *thousands of additional books*
- *insufficient storage capacities*
- *overtaxed librarians, who could not cope with the huge amount of books*
- *librarianship in general that was lacking in professional proficiency*
- *a decreasing appreciation for the ancient book.*

The years around 1800 brought horrible losses of old books, predominantly printed ones, but incunabula and handwritten books not excluded. We know that thousands of books were sold, or even worse: thrown into the river Mur, which cuts Graz into an Eastern and a Western hemisphere. Additionally, we may assume that a considerable number of books were used as fuel for fires and the like. To sum up, what actually did survive and what we still have on our shelves, are the *remnants of historical libraries* - in many cases only the rudimentary debris of a collection.

But, wouldn't it be possible at least to trace one specific historical library? In single cases this might be possible, since even from these turbulent times we may find some kind of record. In the Archive of our university, for example, we found a document in a pile of papers, which testifies to the existence of book collections brought to Graz. This document gives the names of several dozen libraries, enumerated up to "70".

The document does not provide the numbers of books comprising these collections, but it evidences the historical existence of libraries, even in remote places. Furthermore, it confirms the existence of catalogues. It is the normal fate of such collections (books as well as catalogues) to have been scattered, dispersed anywhere in the region with much being lost forever. That is to say, there remains much evidence

of the existence of historical libraries, but in many cases only little evidence of the books that they might have contained.

Apart from such documents there is another category of archival records that may provide information on historical libraries and book collections. In our ecclesiastical organization it had become a rule to hand over the property of a parochial community from priest to priest. At such occasions, the property would sometimes be meticulously inventoried. Hence, we might find further information on book collections in the ecclesial archives.

We can also find useful information on invoices created in the processes of acquiring or selling books and libraries. The same is true for juridical processes such as those relating to disputes between debtors and creditors, or inheritance and legacies. One widely neglected category of sources seems to be bills and accounts of any kind – these are records which we might possibly consider to be a little bit dry and boring. However, they include much material which can be exploited for our purpose of tracing historical libraries.

Finally, a wonderful report on the landscape of European libraries in baroque times is given by Adalbert Blumenschein († 1781), who visited hundreds of libraries.⁵

Text sample:

3.1 Adalbert Blumenschein († 1781). Vienna, National Library, series nova, cod. 2807–2810 [on a historical library in Graz that no longer exists – only a few dispersed objects are discernible]:

Die Bibliothek bey denen unbeschuchten Karmeliten ist ansehnlich. Sie steht in einem von proportionierter Länge und Höhe, mit obenherum laufenden Gallerie, und acht grossen Fenstern zu beiden Seiten versehenen Saale. An der Gewölbedecke findet sich allein das Wappen dieses geistlichen Ordens gemalen. Die Repositorien sind offen und obenher mit vergoldet auch gutgearbeiteten Schnizwerk, nebst den, Bildnissen einiger Gelehrten von dieser Stätten geziert. Die Bücher mögen allenthalben auf 9000 Bände sich erstrecken. (f. 151-152)

[The library of the Discalced Carmelites is considerable. It is placed in the galleries of a well proportioned hall having eight windows on each long side. On the vaulted ceiling there is only the painted emblem

⁵ See also Mairol, Maria. Eine Bibliotheksreise in die Steiermark. // Blätter für Heimatkunde 68(1994), 98-101.

of the Carmelite Order. The book repositories – between the portraits of some local scholars – are freely accessible from the front side. The armoires are decorated with ungilded but well-wrought carvings. The quantity of books might possibly reach the number of 9.000 volumes. (fol. 151-152)]

4. Conclusion

This brief survey simply seeks to invite further and systematic studies in our libraries and archives to detect traces and remnants of what – in better days – was a complete library. Although tens of thousands of books disappeared by the end of the 18th century and also in the following decades in our region, we consider it a rewarding task to try to reconstitute, at least virtually, a historical library. The role of archival material of different categories to provide information is considered to be crucial to this task – but remains widely underestimated.

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Mairold, Maria. Geschichte der Grazer Universitätsbibliothek. // Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz / Anton Kern. Vol. 3. Wien 1967, XIV.
Renhart, Erich. Die Buchkultur des Barock im Spiegel der Grazer Jesuitenbibliothek [in print].

PODACI O NESTALIM KNJIŽNICAMA GRAĐA ZAKOPANA U KNJIGAMA I U ARHIVIMA

Sažetak

Rad se bavi knjižnicama koje su nestale tijekom vremena. Odakle možemo crpiti informacije i dokaze o njihovu postojanju? Toliko je knjiga iz tih knjižnica preživjelo na stotinama knjižničnih polica diljem Europe. Iz različitih razloga migracije knjiga su se događale, a događaju se još uvijek. Virtualno rekonstruirati stare knjižnice sustavnim prikupljanjem njihovih ostataka zadaća je koja obećaje – zapravo, to je poziv.

Ključne riječi: podaci o povijesti primjerka, povjesni katalozi, skrivene knjižnice, povijest knjige, povijest knjižnica, arhivski izvori

THINKING LIKE A BOOK HISTORIAN SEARCHING FOR THE EVIDENCE OF BOOK OWNERSHIP

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ABSTRACT

This paper starts with a short introduction on the role of archives (and other memory institutions) in preserving our historical heritage, emphasizing the fact that they primarily attract attention of historians, including book historians. It furthermore discusses the issue of identifying sources that record book ownership. It takes a look at both published and unpublished sources, demonstrating in what way they can indicate book ownership. The paper focuses on private book owners who, unlike collective book owners (the Church, universities or schools), cannot always be easily identified. At the end there is a short discussion on the reliability of all the sources. The purpose of this paper is not to give a complete list of sources confirming book ownership but rather to show its vast variety, suggesting that archives and other memory institutions, as the repositories holding documents of historical value, are rich in the primary sources necessary for book history research.

KEY WORDS

book history research, archives, book ownership, documents, primary sources

Introduction

As we all know, archives are cultural institutions that collect and preserve our historical heritage.¹ As „an organized collection of the non-

1 According to the *Glossary of Library and Internet Terms* an archive is a „repository holding documents or other material usually those of historical and/or rare value.“ It is also referred to as a special collection(s). *Glossary of Library and Internet Terms* [cited: 2013-01-16]. Available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20090321053645/http://www.usd.edu/library/instruction/glossary.shtml#A>. The *Online Dictionary for Library and Information Science* defines an archive as the building, facility, or area that houses an archival

current records of the activities of a business, government, organization, institution, or other corporate body, or the personal papers of one or more individuals, families, or groups“, they retain documents permanently or for a designated or indeterminate period of time by either their originator or a successor „for their permanent historical, informational, evidential, legal, administrative, or monetary value.“² Archival material – manuscripts, rare books, governmental and other documents, maps, letters, photographs, motion pictures, videos, sound recordings, etc. – are all informational objects that serve as evidence of past events. They record information which is preserved for future use as a memory aid. As Angelika Menne-Haritz notes “archives do not store memory. But they offer the possibility to create memory. Their function is that of amnesia prevention. They allow us to construct memory, refine it, correct it or reassure it whenever it is needed.”³ In short, archives provide access to the past. For that reason they primarily attract the attention of historians who are trying to reconstruct the past or, better to say, produce knowledge or contributions to knowledge about the past. Without archival material, which can be found in other memory institutions as well (libraries, museums), such a task would be impossible to accomplish.

collection, that is a repository, the term preferred by most archivists. (Reitz, M. Joan. ODLIS – Online Dictionary for Library and Information Science [cited: 2013-01-16]. Available at: <http://www.abc-clio.com/ODLIS/searchODLIS.aspx>). According to *A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology* archives are „materials created or received by a person, family, or organization, public or private, in the conduct of their affairs and preserved because of the enduring value contained in the information they contain or as evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creator, especially those materials maintained using the principles of provenance, original order, and collective control.“ *Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology* [cited: 2013-03-16]. Available at: <http://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/a/archives>

- 2 According to the *Online Dictionary for Library and Information Science* historical value means the “capacity to document past events, providing information about the lives and activities of persons involved in them.” Informational value means “usefulness for reference and research.” Evidential value means the “capacity to furnish proof of facts concerning their creator or the events/activities to which they pertain.” Legal value means “utility in the conduct of future legal proceeding or as evidence of past legal decisions.” Administrative value means “utility in the conduct of current or future administrative affairs.” Monetary value means “worth in the market place, based on appraisal by a person experienced in making such judgments.” Reitz, M. J. Op. cit. [cited: 2013-01-16]. Available at: <http://www.abc-clio.com/ODLIS/searchODLIS.aspx>
- 3 Menne-Haritz, Angelika. Access: the reformulation of an archival paradigm. // Archival science 1, 1(2001), 57-92, 59 [cited: 2013-01-16]. Available at: <http://staff-www.uni-marburg.de/~mennear/publikationen/access.pdf>

When in the several last decades, or more accurately from the 1960s, the history of books began to emerge,⁴ it became quite clear that its pioneers based their research on a number of archival sources in trying to uncover a general pattern of book production, circulation and consumption over long stretches of time. Following methodological suggestions raised by Robert Darnton, one of the founders of book history research, and implementing the two types of studies - the macroanalytical and the microanalytical type,⁵ they were trying to answer the questions of "who" read "what", "where", "when", "why" and "how". Following some of the research questions suggested in Darnton's methodological texts, this paper will try to specify the sources linking the „who“ with the „what“ of reading. Or, more precisely, sources recording book ownership since, clearly, book owners are not necessarily book readers as much as book readers are not always book owners.⁶ In spite of that, studying book ownership seems to be very important since it brings to light what status books acquired throughout history and to what social segments they penetrated. The paper will mainly focus on private book owners, mostly from the Middle Ages till the early 20th century, who, unlike collective book owners (for instance, the Church, universities or schools), cannot always be easily identified.

⁴ For more on the history of books see: Darnton, Robert. *What is the history of books?* // Darnton, Robert. *The kiss of Lamourette: reflections in cultural history*. New York: Norton, 1990. Pp. 108-116.

⁵ Macroanalytical studies, claims Darnton, are based on a tradition of quantitative social history relying on sources such as bibliographies, lists of books granted permission to be published, library catalogues, various documents of printing houses and libraries and so on. This type of book history methodology attempts to come to general conclusions about a number of books at different times throughout history as well as their genres. Microanalytical studies tend to uncover reading habits of a particular person or certain social layers and depend upon sources such as catalogues of private libraries, wills, lists of lending libraries members, censors' reports, correspondence, diaries, readers' notes and so on. Darnton, Robert. *First steps toward history of reading*. // Darnton, Robert. *The kiss of Lamourette: reflections in cultural history*. New York: Norton, 1990. Pp. 154-187.

⁶ In other words, a book being in the possession of someone does not necessarily imply that it was read by that person. We often do not read all the books personally owned and we read many books never purchased but borrowed from relatives, friends or lending libraries. Furthermore, throughout their history, books were often considered valuable objects and kept only for that purpose not for the purpose of reading. Also, owned books were sometimes part of dowries and inheritances and thus kept without intention to be read. Rial, Benito. Sixteenth-Century private book inventories and some problems related to their analysis. // *Library and information history* 26, 1(2010), 76-77.

Where to search for the evidence of book ownership?

The most obvious proof of book ownership is the signature. But what happens when a book does not possess such a sign of ownership? Where to search for the evidence of book ownership in that case? The sources could be tentatively divided into two general types. The first group of sources could be obvious signs of book ownership found in the book itself, for instance, *ex-libris* or bookplates, bookbindings, handwritten dedication words, book curses or subscription lists. The second group of sources could be various documents one can find in the archives and other memory institutions, for instance, last wills accompanied with the inventories of goods of the deceased, deeds of donations and charters or written contracts on book returning. Since these were often signed in the presence of public notaries, they are to be mostly found within the public notary files.⁷ Equally important are governmental documents, by which we mostly refer to various censors' reports. Other sources that should be mentioned are inventory books and private library catalogues, reading diaries and memoirs, travel diaries, order forms and invoices for purchased books as well as correspondence, although a list of these sources could certainly be longer. The purpose of this paper is to take a look at each of these, demonstrating in what ways they can indicate book ownership. For that purpose, there are selected examples specific for each group of documents. Some of them have been published, some not.

Signs of book ownership found in the book itself

Ex libris

The most common marks of book ownership are bookplates, usually known as *ex libris*, which in their modern forms are believed to have appeared in the 15th century, being nearly as old as the printed book itself.⁸ *Ex libris* were first small manuscript inscriptions, and

⁷ Benito Rial argues that a lot of notarial documentation has been lost. Notarial documentation „has been treated badly by history, suffering more damage and deterioration than other kinds of documentation“ due to its private character. It has been often abandoned in poor condition or even sold as paper to make cardboard. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁸ Although bookplates date from the reign of Amenophis III in Egypt in the 14th century BC, modern bookplates are believed to have begun in Germany in the 15th century AD, followed by Switzerland, Poland, France, England, Holland, Italy, Croatia, etc. In the 19th century, the revolution in the graphic arts, that is the rise of lithography and other mechanical printing methods which enabled the production of print images and drawings on paper much more cheaply (and quickly) than before, contributed to the widespread use of

later small print or decorative labels which the owner of a book pasted into a book, often on the inside front cover, in order to identify it as his property. Motives for doing so, however, could also be protecting a book from thieves, indicating the owner's own education and reading taste, etc.. Alongside the *ex libris*, there were also the *super libros* stamped on the cover binding of the book and serving the same purpose.⁹ Typically bookplates bear a name of the owner usually followed by an inscription such as *from the books of..., from the library of...*, or in Latin, *ex libris* which means *from the books*. It can consist of a certain motto, symbolic or allegoric motifs, coat of arms or any other motif that relates to the owner or is requested by him from the artist or designer. As such, bookplates are important evidence for the provenance of books. As illustration, several examples have been selected from those found in a number of archives and libraries. For instance, Petar, a Dominican from Dubrovnik, wrote in the codex from the 13th century the following Latin sentence: *Iste liber est fratris Petri Ragusini ordinis fratrum predictorum* (This is the book owned by Petar, a Dominican from Dubrovnik).¹⁰ Although this note was very simple, without any heraldic, symbolic or allegoric motifs, it is sufficient enough to identify the book as his property. In addition, in a book titled „Concordantiae bibliorum“ published in 1566 we find the following note: *Ant(onius) Vramecz C(anonicus) E(cclesiae) Z(agrabiensis) 1570. et Archid(iaconus) Varasdienensis*, which testifies to the fact that the book belonged to the Zagreb canon and Archdeacon of Varaždin, Antun Vramec.¹¹ Furthermore, in the primer dated 1830, we see, written in Croatian, that the primer is owned by the Franciscan Marko Ranth Zaijsije, a cook from Trsat: *Bukvica Fratra Marka Rantha Zaijsia Kuhara*

ex libris. For more on bookplates see: The oldest bookplates. // The cyber journal of heraldic bookplates [cited: 2013-01-21]. Available at: http://www.bookplate.info/Bookplate/introd_2.htm; 1911 Encyclopaedia Britannica/Book-Plates [cited: 2013-01-28]. Available at: http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Eencyclo%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Book-Plates

9 Ex libris overview. // The cyber journal of heraldic bookplates [cited: 2013-01-21]. Available at: <http://www.bookplate.info/Bookplate/introd.htm>

10 Stipčević, Aleksandar. Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata. Knjiga I. Srednji vijek. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2004. P. 298.

11 Magić, Vladimir. Rukopisni „ekslibrisi“ i bilješke na starim knjigama u Metropolitanskoj knjižnici. // Tkalcic 1(1997), 457-465, 456. The book has been kept in the library of Metropolitana in Zagreb, Croatia (Metropolitana, M6898).

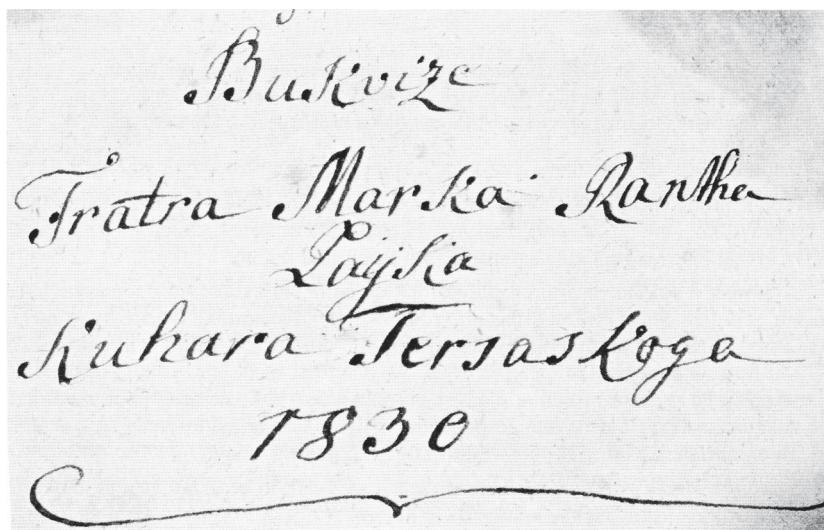


FIGURE 1.

Ex libris of the Franciscan Marko Ranth Zaijsije, a cook from Trsat, 1830

Tersatskoga 1830 (Figure 1).¹² Nikola Zrinski, a Croatian Banus living in the 17th century possessed a very interesting printed *ex libris* containing not only his name, but also his portrait as well as the motto *Sors bona, nihil aliud* (Good fate and nothing else).¹³ Books, however, often changed owners and thus sometimes had more than one mark of ownership. Such is the case of an incunabula which Marko Marulić, the famous Croatian Renaissance poet, left in his will to the Dominicans in Split. It contains the names of two owners – the original owner Marko Marulić, as well as the Dominicans who inherited the book: *Iste liber est Conventus sancti Dominici de*

12 Stipčević, Aleksandar. *Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata. Knjiga II. Od glagoljskog pr-votiska (1483) do hrvatskoga narodnog preporoda (1835)*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005. Pp. 301-302; De Canziani Jakšić, Theodor. *Ex libris u franjevačkom samostanu na Trsatu*. // 2. Međunarodna izložba Ex Libris / ed. by Josip Butković, Juraj Lokmer & Theodor de Canziani Jakšić. Rijeka: Sveučilišna knjižnica, 1999. P. XVII. The primer has been kept in the Franciscan convent in Trsat, Croatia.

13 Stipčević, A. *Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata. Knjiga II. Op. cit.*, pp. 305-306; Laszowski, Emiliј. *Hrvatski „Ex libris“: Ex libris grofa Nikole Zrinskoga*. // Vitezović: *mjesečnik za genealogiju, biografiju, heraldiku i sfragistiku* 1, 10(1904), 153-156, 154.

*Spaleto et fuit domini Marci Maruli. Orate fratres pro eo.*¹⁴ Cases like this make it possible to follow the changes in book ownership over time and as such are very precious to book historians. Sometimes, however, usually when a book was ill-gotten or stolen, a new owner would erase old marks of ownership. Sometimes it was done thoroughly so that it is impossible to find out who was/were previous owner/s. However, if a new owner did not erase old mark/s of ownership too carefully, one can identify it/them rather easily.¹⁵

Bookbindings

Bookbindings are another useful source in identifying book ownership. It has to be kept in mind that prior to 1800, buying books for personal libraries was limited mainly to the well-to-do. These book buyers could often afford to have each copy hand-bound in leather.¹⁶ Thus, their books appeared in a unique binding design specific to books belonging to their libraries and as such recognizable to others. For instance, such a practice was favoured by the Croatian-Hungarian king Matija Korvin (1443-1490), whose books were bound in a distinctive binding known for beautiful miniatures,¹⁷ or the famous French bibliophile Jean Grolier (1479-1565), all of whose books were bound in leather decorated with gold geometrical motifs,¹⁸ or the French king Francis I (1494-1547), a man of letters, whose books were decorated with the royal coat of arms as well as a number of geometrical ornaments, ringlets and the letter "F" referring to his name (Figure 2).¹⁹

14 Stipčević, A. *Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata*. Knjiga II. Op. cit., pp. 300-301. The book has been kept in the Dominican convent in Split, Croatia.

15 Ibid., pp. 299-303.

16 In the 19th century, with the spread of literacy, the number of book buyers increased. However, they were less inclined to arrange for unique bindings for their copies.

17 Matthias Corvinus started to collect books from about 1460. His *Bibliotheca Corviniana* situated in Budim was Europe's greatest collection of secular books (historical chronicles, philosophic and scientific works) in the fifteenth century. Due to the Turkish invasion of Hungary in the 16th century, only about 650 *Corvinæ* survived, and these are now held in several libraries in Hungary and Europe. Stipčević. Aleksandar. *Povijest knjige*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2006. Pp. 329, 412.

18 Ibid., p. 523.

19 Ibid., p. 524.



FIGURE 2.
A bookbinding of the French king Francis I (1494-1547)

Handwritten dedications

Quite a good source for book ownership could also be handwritten dedications, usually written on opening pages. Through dedications of this kind we can surmise that a certain book was in the possession of the one to whom it was dedicated. For the purpose of illustration, books have been selected that are in the possession of the noble family Pejačević who lived in Našice in the eastern parts of Croatia in the course of the 18th, 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. Their library, partly preserved even today,²⁰ holds among other books, those

20 For more on the library see: Bošnjaković, Renata. Knjižnica Pejačević u Našicama: katalog izložbe. Zavičajni muzej Našice, studeni/prosinac 2003. Našice: Zavičajni muzej Našice, 2003.; Bošnjaković, Renata. Knjižnica Pejačević u Našicama. // Osječki zbornik 27 (2004.), 249-267; Bošnjaković, Renata. Knjižnica obitelji Pejačević u Našicama i njezina muzealizacija. // Muzeologija 48/49(2011/2012), 133-148.

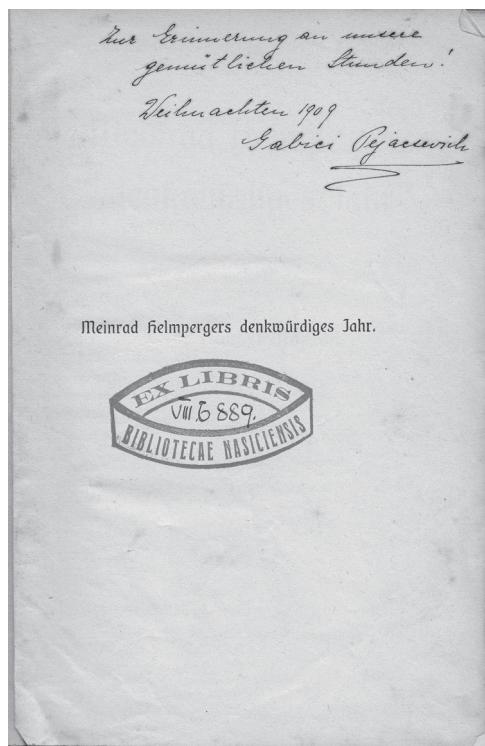


FIGURE 3.

A dedication to Gabrijela Pejačević found in a novel Meinrad Helmpergers denkwürdiges Jahr Kulturhistorischer Roman, 1909

that, beside their owners' signatures, contain dedications by some of the members of the family.²¹ One of them is a novel „Meinrad Helmpergers denkwürdiges Jahr: Kulturhistorischer Roman“ by Enrica Handel-Mazzetti, published in 1909. On its preliminary page one can find a dedication written in German as follows: *Zur Erinnerung an unsere gemütlichen Stunden! Weihnachten 1909. Gabici Pejacsevich* (In memory of pleasant moments! Christmas 1909. To Gabica Pejačević) (Figure 3). Thanks to these words we can be quite sure that the book belonged to Gabrijela Pejačević.²² The next two examples are books

21 Many thanks to Renata Bošnjaković, from the Local Museum of Našice, who graciously gave me information on these books.

22 Gabrijela Pejačević (1894-1977) was a daughter of Count Teodor Pejačević and the younger sister of Dora Pejačević, the first Croatian female composer.

dedicated to Petar Pejačević.²³ The first one is „Heiligenlegenden“ by Ida Hahn-Hahn, also written in German and published in 1914. The dedication, written on the occasion of Petar's christening, was written in Hungarian and dates back to 1920: *Bérmálási emlék jó Péteremnek Marijától* (In memory of the occasion of christening to my good Péter from Marija). The second one is „Du und die Erde : eine Geographie für jedermann“ by Hendrik Willem van Loon, published probably in the 1920s. The dedication to Petar, also written in Hungarian, dates back to 1934: *Édes Petőrdkémnek házasságunk második évfordulójára* (To my little dear Péter on the occasion of his second wedding anniversary). All three of the books were found in the library of the Local Museum of Našice.²⁴

Book curses

Another proof of book ownership are book curses, which had been the usual method of deterring would-be book thieves since ancient times.²⁵ The practice was particularly widespread in the Middle Ages, used mostly by the Catholic Church. Anyone who stole a book, claimed it as his own, tore out its pages or even copied it without permission (which was viewed as theft too), was threatened with severe punishment.²⁶ What did these usually look like? There was no individual standard curse that was used in all books, nevertheless, they followed an established basic structure. Firstly the curse named the deed for which one should be punished, then it inspired fear by calling on God (or gods) to punish the thief, and finally there followed severe consequences of the theft which would affect both the earthly and spiritual life of the cursed.²⁷ Book curses were usually written down by book owners who almost as a rule specified their names too, and together these served to warn everyone that a book belongs to

23 Petar Pejačević (1908-1987) was the last owner of the estates belonging to the Pejačević family. Thanks to him the catalogue of the Pejačević library was made in 1935.

24 Local Museum of Našice, Croatia (ZMN VII/3, ZMN VIII/1, ZMN VIII/3).

25 One of the earliest known book curses was the one that was composed by king Ashurbanipal, who ruled in ancient Assyria from 668 to 627 BC. Anderson, Sandra. Bibliomania: the medieval book curse [cited: 2013-01-29]. Available at: http://capping.slis.ualberta.ca/cap03/sandra/book_curse.html

26 Book curses threatened several different types of punishment to invoke fear among those who would take or damage a book: bodily injury, damnation, excommunication, or anathema. Ibid.

27 Ibid.

the owner and should not be stolen.²⁸ Such a book curse was detected in a book dating back to the 13th century England: *This is the book of St. James of Wigmore. If anyone take it away or maliciously destroys this notice in taking it away from the above-mentioned place, may he be tied by the change of greater excommunication. Amen. So it be. So it be. So it be.*²⁹ A similar example is that detected in a Glagolitic incunabula "Regula pastoralis" written by Pope Gregory the Great, dated to 1494: *To su knige popa Jurai Vlašića kapela(na) petrovačkoga, ki mu je ukrade da bi mu kavrani oči iskluvali. Tako budi* (These are books owned by Juraj Vlašić, chaplain in Petrovac; he who steals them, let the ravens peck out his eyes. So be it.),³⁰ or the one detected in a Glagolitic manuscript dated back to the beginning of the 18th century: *To je kniga mene žakna barića mandića na slavu božju i dive marije, i svetoga ivana karstitela, amen. Ki ukrade ovo slovo, utopil se kako olovo; ku ukrade ove knjige, mori ga ribe jile; ki ukrade ovu hartu, do doskal svetu martu. amen, aleluja, bogu hvala* (This is a book owned by me, a glagolitic priest Barić Mandić in the name of God, Holy Mary and Saint John the Baptist. Who steals this letter, let him get drowned like lead; who steals this book, let fish eats him in the sea; who steals this paper [...] Amen, alleluia, thanks to God).³¹ In all the selected examples, it is clear to whom books belonged.

Subscription lists

Another source of information on book ownership are subscription lists. Subscription lists were a result of a new form of collective funding that gradually replaced the earlier system of individual patronage. Reaching its heyday in the 18th and 19th centuries, subscriptions were always accompanied with subscription lists which usually contained information on subscribers' names, their position on the social scale, occupation, place of residence, number of copies ordered, etc.. Such information makes it possible for book historians to identify the extent,

28 However, until the invention of print, the authors of book curses were usually scribes.

29 Drogin, Marc. *Anathema!: medieval scribes and the history of book curses*. Totowa, NJ: Allenheld & Schram, 1983. P. 86 [cited: 2013-01-29]. Available at: <http://capping.slis.ualberta.ca/cap03/sandra/excommunication.html>

30 Stipčević, A. *Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata*. Knjiga II. Op. cit., p. 307. The book has been kept in the National and University Library in Zagreb, Croatia.

31 Stipčević, A. *Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata*. Knjiga I. Op. cit., p. 296. The book has been kept in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Science and Art in Zagreb, Croatia (Arhiv HAZU I a 34).

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Arneri Biagio i. r. consigliere dell' ecclesio appello.
 Bachinich don Giorgio, parroco e decano a Pasmano.
 Bassich Stefano, sacerdote secolare.
 Basilisco Vincenzo, fabbricatore di rosoli.
 Bellan don Giacomo f. f. di parroco decano di Nona.
 Benaventu (di) Angelo i. r. consigliere di Governo e procuratore camerale.
 Bersi Giuseppe, i. r. preside del tribunale di prima istanza.
 Berthold Francesco, i. r. concepista.
 Bettini Marco, i. r. ispettore superiore delle contribuzioni.
 Bianchi don Carlo Federico, sacerdote secolare.
 Borelli di Francesco, feudatario di Vrana.
 Bortolazzi (de) nob. Domenico, possidente.
 Brambilla Agostino, professore d'umanità.
 Brespa Girolamo, i. r. assistente al comando divisionale di marina.
 Brosovich Giovanni, professore d'umanità.
 Bussardi don Marco, economo del seminario.
 Calvi Giacomo, i. r. consigliere di prima istanza.
 Cancelleria dell'artiglieria distrettuale.
 Caranton Giovanni, i. r. segretario di Governo.
 Carrara don Francesco, alunno del seminario arcivescovile.
 Cattaneo (de) Pietro i. r. direttore degli uffizi di ordine dell' ecclesio appello, in pensione.
 Cattich Antonio, possidente.
 Celligoi Giovanni, i. r. consigliere di Governo ed amministratore dell' intendenza di finanza.
 Cernizza di Antonio gerente municipale.
 Chlumetzky (de) nob. Antonio, i. r. consigliere aulico.

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Clocechiatti dott. Pietro Antonio, i. r. ingegnere civile.
 Colladrovich Giovanni, i. r. segretario all' intendenza di finanza.
 Costacc Vincenzo, i. r. vice-segretario governiale.
 Dalben don Spiridion, sacerdote secolare.
 Danese Francesco, i. r. general-maggiore in pensione.
 Demarchi Giovanni, tipografo.
 Emils Luigi, i. r. ingegnere civile.
 Ferrari (di) Antonio, i. r. contabile alla direzione delle pubbliche costruzioni.
 Filippi Giuseppe, avvocato, possidente.
 Franceschi don Giovanni, alunno del seminario arcivescovile.
 Frossard (di) Andrea, i. r. segretario di Governo.
 Ghetaaldi (de) nob. Biagio, i. r. consigliere di Governo e ciambellano di S. M.
 Gianix Francesco, i. r. vice-segretario di Governo.
 Gianni Giuseppe, i. r. geometra ed archivista provinciale.
 Giaxich don Nicolo, i. r. primo consigliere di Governo.
 Giurich Luigi, possidente.
 Godaessi Giuseppe, i. r. consigliere di Governo.
 Grazio Gio. Antonio, i. r. vice-sardaro.
 Grize Edoardo, i. r. pretore.
 Grueber (de) nobile Guglielmo, i. r. general-magiore e brigadiere.
 Gurato don Giovanni, segretario arcivescovile.
 Helz Francesco, assistente stradale.
 Ivacic Gio. Domenico, i. r. vice-secretario di Governo.
 Ivanishevich Nicolò, studente di teologia.
 Ivicevich don Vincenzo, catechista delle scuole normali.

FIGURE 4.

A subscription list found in Storia della Dalmazia by Ivan Katalinic, 1835

character, geography and social stratification of all those who financially supported the printing of a book.³² How can they serve as the source for book ownership? Subscription lists prove that a book was bought and in all probability personally owned unless it was gifted to someone else. For the purpose of illustration, a book has been selected, "Storia della Dalmazia", written by Croatian historian Ivan Katalinić and published in 1835 in Zadar (Figure 4). Its subscription list shows that the book was bought and in all probability possessed by all those whose names one can find in the list, for instance, by Francesco Carrara, a prominent ethnographer, archaeologist and cultural historian of that time, Giovanni Demarchi, printer and bookstore owner from Zadar, the bishop of Hvar, Ivan Skakoc, the bishop of Dubrovnik, An-

³² Research potentials of subscription lists are discussed more thoroughly in: Lakuš, Jelena; Vukadin, Jelena. Preplatničke liste kao izvor podataka za povijest knjige i čitanja: primjer preplatničkih lista knjiga tiskanih u Dalmaciji u prvoj polovini 19. stoljeća. // Libellarium V, 1(2012), 33-70.

tonije Giuriceo, the bishop of Split and Makarska, Pavle Miošić, the Dubrovnik Franciscan, Inocent Ćulić, a passionate book collector and a founder of the library of the Franciscan convent in Dubrovnik, etc..

Various documents found in archives and other memory institutions

Last wills accompanied with the inventory of goods of the deceased

Last wills, usually accompanied with an inventory of goods owned by the deceased, can also provide useful information on book ownership. Often written or dictated on the deathbed and expressing the final wishes of the testator, they specified the disposition of property. If the deceased person did not leave a will, an inventory should still have been made, as this was regulated with the town statutes.³³ Although last wills and their accompanying inventories rarely listed books prior to the 14th century, around the late 14th and early 15th centuries it became common practice.³⁴ The first three examples that serve as illustrations are even older. These are the examples of the last will of the famous 13th century Croatian Baroque writer Ivan Gundulić and his wife Dobroslava, who left some books of religious content to the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Jakov in Višnjica near Dubrovnik;³⁵ the last will of a nun, Anna de Bisti, who lived in the late 13th century and who left to a Presbyter Simon de Dragoc *breviarium est factum in duo volumina* (Figure 5); and the last will of Teodorata, a woman from late 13th century Dubrovnik, who left her *oracionale cum breviario* to the Abbey of Saint Simeon, while her Psalter she decided to leave to Presbyter Ursacije.³⁶ Furthermore, the last will of Cesare Delfini, the 17th century Zadar physician of Italian origin, proves that, among other things, the inventory also contained some books as follows: *Pezzi de libri tra grandi et picoli de*

33 However, only people of certain wealth had anything to leave in inheritance. Benito Rial writes that „post-mortem inventories were made to record the goods left by someone at death, but not all deaths deserved an inventory. Only one death out of ten has an inventory, one inventory out of ten has books, and one book inventory out of ten has an important quantity of volumes.“ Rial, B. Op. cit., p. 76.

34 These were usually missals, breviaries and other books of similar (religious) content. Stipčević, A. Op. cit. (2004), p. 186.

35 Stipčević, A. Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata. Knjiga I. Op. cit., p. 190; Smičiklas, Tade. Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije. Sv. III. Zagreb: JAZU, 1905. P. 400.

36 Stipčević, A. Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata. Knjiga I. Op. cit., pp. 189-190. Both documents have been kept in the State Archives in Dubrovnik within the collection Testamenta. They are also published in: Lučić, Josip. Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije. Knj. IV. Zagreb: JAZU, 1993. Pp. 293-294.

1321. O p o r u k a. Testamentum Anne de Bisti.

C. In Christi nomine. Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo (nonagesimo) sexto, indizione nona, die vigesimo intrante mense septembris, Ragusii. Coram vobis subscriptis testibus, ego quidem Anna de Bisti reclusa Sancti Angelli sana et bona mente mea de rebus meis meum facio testamentum.

In primis breviarium meum, quod habui in domo cum sorore mea Anna spirituali dimito pro anima mea et dicto sororis mee presbitero Simoni de Dragocna. Et dictum breviarium est factum in duo volumina. Et est in ipso officium totius anni. Et predictus presbiter Simon ipsum breviarium habeat et sit suum in perpetuum. Sed ipse teneatur dicere missas mortuorum pro anima mea et dicte sororis mee. Et totum factum, quod inventum fuerit post obitum meum in remitorio, sit Radoneghe et Mille servicialium mearum. Hoc autem testamentum nullo testimonio rumpi possit. Hii sunt teste Ursacius Nicifiro Bodacie juratus iudex et Vita de Baraba testis. Et ego diaconus etc. — Facta. Datum est Anne.

1322. O p o r u k a. Testamentum Laurencii de Poça.

C. In Christi nomine. Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo sexto, indizione nona, die septimo decimo intrante mense decembri, Ragusii. Coram nobili viro domino Marino Mauroceno comite Ragusii (et juratis) judicibus Andrea Benisse et Binçola de Fusco, nos Savinus filius Pasque de Poça et presbiter Pasqua de (Tasda) per sacramentum testificamur, quod Laurencius Poça sua sana mente in nostra presencia fecit testamentum sic dicens:

Ego Laurencius filius Pasque de Poça positus in infirmitate corporis mei sana tamen et bona mente mea tale ultimum facio testamentum meum. In primis volo et ordino, quod de rebus meis Dessa uxor mea habeat cum perchivio et cum toto absque aliqua questione nongentos yperperos. Et dimito predicatoribus viginti quinque yperperos et viginti quinque yperperos fratribus minoribus. Item decem yperperos monasterio lacromone. Item septem monasteriorum intra Ragusii pro qualibet ipsorum grossos VI. Item quinque yperperos monasterio Punçellarum. Item presbitero Pasqua de Tasda yperperos duos. Item dimito fratri Sabino de ordine fratrum minorum yperperos octo. Item dimito quadraginta yperperos quod dentur (paupe)ribus secundum dispositionem pitroporum meorum. Et pro decima et primicia yperperos duodecim. Item (totum de rebus quod) pertinet michi de parte mea dimito heredi meo. Et si heres meus non supervixerit ... totum devolvatur ad Savinum et Eliam fratres meos. Et Clemens de Goçe quesivit yperperos ... triginta, quos si ipse Clemens vult habere, dentur sibi. Si vero ipse dicit et dimittit ... meo Savino fratri meo in suo arbitrio. Item predictus Savinus de illa ancilla faciat ... sibi. Et constituo pitropos meos Valium de Poça et Eliam fratrem meum. Hoc autem etc. — Facta. Datum est pitropis. Copiam habet Valius de Poça.

Fol. 18'

1323. O p o r u k a. Testamentum Theodorate filie Theodori Triphonis.

C. In Christi nomine. Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo sexto, indizione nona, die XII intrante mense januarii (?), Ragusii. Coram vobis subscriptis testibus, ego Theodorata filia quondam Theodori Triphonis sana et bona mente mea de rebus meis meum facio testamentum.

In primis volo et precipio, quod incontinenti post mortem meam vendatur vinea mea de Jupana cum sella et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis illi qui plus dederit. Verumtamen si presbiter Ursacius de Gleda vellet emere dictam vineam meam cum sella et omnibus

FIGURE 5.

The last will of nun Anna de Bisti, 13th century

*diuersi auctori in tutto numero cinquanta sei, Un libro grande di diverse carte de comos grafia (sic).*³⁷ In addition, the inventory of a draper, Mihovil, from Zadar, living in the 14th century, which consists of more than two hundred pages, proves that Mihovil possessed many books. For instance, he possessed a book by Brunetto Latini, the famous writer and politician of the age; “Livre d’Enanchet”, known during the Middle Ages as work written by the ancient philosopher Seneca; Dante’s “The Divine Comedy;” some works of astrological, medical and historical content; liturgical works, etc..³⁸ The inventory, situated in the Convent of Sveta Marija in Zadar, has been published.³⁹ Examples like these are numerous.⁴⁰ They mostly date back to the High and Late Middle Ages and are mostly to be found within public notary files.

Deeds of donations and charters

Quite similar sources are deeds of donations. These are forms of legal instruments to effect transfer of property, including books, from one person or institution to another, and concluded in the presence of public notary. Such was a deed of donation of an 11th century seigneur from Split, Petar Crni. He donated to the Benedictine Abbey in Sveti Petar in Selo near Poljice, Croatia, beside other things, five liturgical books: ...librum missalem I, calicem ... argentum cum sua pater, et omni apparatu misse, librum passionum sanctorum I, antiphonarium, nocturnale I, psalterium I.⁴¹ This document indicates that before donation these books were in his possession. Furthermore, the district of Pag endowed to the Saint Mihovil Abbey on the island of Susak the monastery of Sveti Petar in Ilovik along with ten books of religious content: ... donamus nostrum monasterium sancti Petri de Neumis insullis (!) monasterio Sansicano cum suis utrisque insullis Neumis et earum pertinentiis et cum X libris ecclesie et tribus aratris bouuum

37 Buklijaš, Tatjana; Lovorka Čoralić. Četiri oporuke zadarskih liječnika iz prve polovice 17. stoljeća: prilozi poznavanju povijesti medicine i društvene povijesti. // Povijesni prilozi 21, 29-43(2001), 40-43. A document has been kept in the State Archives in Zadar within the collection of Zadar public notaries (Državni arhiv u Zadru, Spisi zadarskih bilježnika, Ivan Braićić, busta XI, 25.5.1626).

38 Stipčević, A. Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata. Knjiga I. Op. cit., p. 191; Stipišić, Jakov. Inventar zadarskog trgovca Mihovila iz arhiva sv. Marije i njegovo značenje za kulturnu povijest Zadra. // Zadarska revija 2-3(1967), 184-191.

39 Stipišić, Jakov. Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara pokojnog Petra iz godine 1385. Zadar: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti u Zadru, 2000.

40 Stipčević, A. Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata. Knjiga I. Op. cit., pp. 192-193.

41 Ibid., p. 188.

et duabus campanis ...⁴² Cases like these ones are numerous. One can find plenty of them in the archives.

Written contracts on book returning

Written contracts on book returning, concluded in the presence of the public notary, became a common practice in the Middle Ages and continued to be widely used until the end of the 15th century. The practice appeared for reasons of not returning borrowed books or not returning them on time. It was how book owners tried to protect themselves from readers who forgot to return borrowed books, or borrowed them without any intention of returning them. It seems that the practice occurred quite often since at that time books were still quite expensive. For the purpose of illustration two cases have been selected. The first one is a contract on book returning concluded in June 1299 between the priest Marko from the Benedictine Abbey Sveti Krševan in Zadar and Ivan the priest, also from Zadar, signed in the presence of the public notary, the bishop of Krk, the main vicar of the Zadar archbishopric, and one citizen of Zadar. The contract says that the Breviary, a book owned by the priest Marko, was lent to Ivan for the period of one month. In the case that Ivan does not return the book in due time, he is to be fined for twice the value of the book.⁴³ Owing to this contract we know that Marko possessed that book. Furthermore, owing to a contract on book returning concluded in November 1481 between the Parish of Rogova and a priest named Juraj Mikulić, also from Rogova, we know that the Parish of Rogova possessed one Breviary made of parchment, which was lent to the priest Juraj. He did not return it for eight years and thus the main vicar of the Zadar archbishopric brought the case to trial. According to the judicial decision, the priest had to give back the Breviary to the Parish of Rogova. If he did not, he would have to pay compensation.⁴⁴ Cases like these are common and all can serve as clear evidence of book ownership.

42 Ibid.; Stipišić, Jakov; Miljen Šamšalović. Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije. Sv. I. Zagreb: JAZU, 1967. P. 125.

43 Stipčević, A. Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata. Knjiga I. Op. cit., p. 278; Smičiklas, Tade. Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonij. Sv. VII. Zagreb: JAZU, 1909. Pp. 340-341.

44 Runje, Petar. O knjigama hrvatskih glagoljaša. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1998. Pp. 43-44.

Documents on censorship

Documents on censorship could be of use as well.⁴⁵ For instance, when in 1837 the politically engaged Franciscan Andrija Dorotić (1761-1837) died, the censors examined his entire library searching for forbidden books - those books that might threaten political and religious authority.⁴⁶ They found some books by J. J. Rousseau, a forbidden author at the time, and a few works on Jacobins. Owing to this document, we know that Dorotić possessed Rousseau and some other books. Also, when in 1838 a pastor of the Church of Sveta Ana, Nikola Algarotti, died, he left his library to the Cathedral on the island of Krk, Croatia. The library was examined by the censor who found many books of forbidden irreligious content. Sedlnitzky, who was the head of the Court Police Office in Vienna, wrote to the regent Lilienberg about the case. Owing to this document, we know that Nikola Algarotti owned some books of irreligious content. In addition, owing to the document written to the Regency in May 1842 by the chief of the Zadar police August Martinez, we know that a lawyer, Frano Solis, also owned some forbidden books. Censors went to his house and confiscated them. Documents on censorship are abundant with cases like these. These three were found in the State Archives in Zadar within the Regency collection.⁴⁷

Inventory books and catalogues of private libraries

Inventory books and catalogues of private libraries are brilliant sources for book ownership. Private libraries were usually in the possession of families of considerable rank, wealth, and/or power who were educated and had enough free time for reading and were willing to invest a certain amount of money to buy books. Some of them even employed librarians or other educated persons who made inventory books or catalogues for their libraries. Such were, for instance, the catalogues of

⁴⁵ Censorship was a part of a more or less strong mechanism for controlling production, dissemination and consumption of the printed word that historically existed in one form or another in most of the European countries.

⁴⁶ What was considered dangerous mainly depended upon the political circumstances of a certain period of history and/or a certain country/region, but, basically included works insulting the ruler, spreading gossip, inducing people to work against the constitution, irreligious works, works of "bad" morals, pornographic works, etc.

⁴⁷ Državni arhiv u Zadru, Presidijalni spisi Namjesništva, 1837, 219. XI/2/1. 149, 1838. 219. XI/7 2665, 1842. 270. XI/4. 1118; Pederin, Ivan. Austrijska cenzura i njezin utjecaj na razvijatik knjižnica u Dalmaciji. // Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske 30, 1-4(1987), 39-40.

the Fanfogna Garagnin family from the 18th century Trogir,⁴⁸ the catalogue of the library owned by Marija Giorgi Bona (1754-1833), living in Dubrovnik,⁴⁹ the catalogue of the library owned by Toma Basiljević (1756-1806), a great collector of books,⁵⁰ the catalogue of the library possessed by the family Pejačević,⁵¹ the library catalogue of Ljudevit

48 The first library inventory – “Catalogo dei libri esistenti nella libreria della nobile famiglia Garagnin di Traù” – was made in 1796. It contained 963 titles and 110 pages. In the course of the 19th century several other catalogues were made, both alphabetical and professional. Some of them have been preserved and mainly kept in the Historical Archive in Split and the Trogir Town Museum. One of them was made by a librarian employed by the family and is evidence of the great attention the family paid to books and reading. The catalogue proves that the library included a wide variety of books, from incunabula to books by contemporary writers in almost all fields as well as valuable archival material. Today the library is a part of the Trogir Town Museum and has 5,581 titles. The library inventories and catalogues have been described in details in: Fani Cega. *Povijest knjižnice obitelji Garanjin Fanfogna u Trogiru s posebnim osvrtom na namještaj i stare kataloge.* // Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest 29(1996), 129-137.

49 Marija Giorgi Bona (1754-1833) was a very well educated woman of noble origin whose home was a gathering place for numerous intellectuals of the period. She amassed a considerable library whose books were at the disposal of all of them. Although the fate of the library remains unknown, the catalogue, kept in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Science and Arts in Zagreb, Croatia (Arhiv HAZU, Miscellanea Ragusina Ic 63 (3)), survived. The catalogue shows that Marija Giorgi Bona possessed a great number of books on various subjects such as natural sciences and the classics, representative 18th century editions from the period of English Enlightenment to the French encyclopaedists, biographies of great women, various handbooks, dictionaries and grammars of several languages, etc.. Given the title of the catalogue – “Catalogo della libreria della nobil signora Marietta, vedova di Michele Luca di Giorgi Bona” – its most probable author is Marija Giorgi Bona's daughter-in-law, wife of her oldest son Miho. The complete catalogue as well as its detailed analysis can be found in: Stojan, Slavica. *U salonu Marije Giorgi Bona. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 1996.

50 A preserved catalogue, kept in the State Archives in Dubrovnik, Croatia (Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, Arhiv Bassegli, B2/10-11, B2/12), dates from around 1800 and is arranged in alphabetical order while within the sequence books are grouped by languages. There we can find books on various subjects – historical writings, books on natural history, scientific subjects, philosophy, literature, etc. After Toma's death in 1806, the library passed to Pavao Gučetić, the son of Toma's sister Deša, who incorporated it into the large library of the Gučetić family. This combined library existed until about 1840, when a large part of it was sold. Some catalogues of this library have been preserved as well. Kostić, Veselin. Interest in English language and culture in Ragusa on the eve of the fall of the Republic. // Dubrovnik Annals 15(2011), 156-158. Detailed description of the library has been done in: Muljačić, Žarko. *Toma Basiljević-Baselji predstavnik prosvjećenja u Dubrovniku. Monografije*, vol. CCXCIX, Odelenje literature i jezika, vol. 8. Beograd: SAN, 1958.

51 As has already been mentioned, the family Pejačević had been living in Našice during the course of the 18th, 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. Their library is partly preserved even today. Its catalogue, which has been kept in the Local Museum of Našice, was made in 1935 by Josephus Verbóy, a private family teacher, on the initiative of Petar Earl Pejačević (1908-1987). Owing to the catalogue we know that the family Pejačević owned books of various subjects, particularly literary ones, but also many textbooks, reference books, children books, magazines, etc., mainly in German, Hungarian, French, Italian and English. For a detailed description of the Library and its catalogue see: Bošnjaković, R. *Knjižnica Pejačević u Našicama: katalog izložbe.* Op. cit.; Bošnjaković, R. *Knjižnica Pejačević u Našicama. Op. cit.; Bošnjaković, R. Knjižnica obitelji Pejačević u Našicama i njegina muzealizacija.* Op. cit.

Gaj (1809-1872),⁵² the catalogue of the library owned by the famous Croatian bibliophile, called “the father of Croatian bibliography,” Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816-1889) (Figure 6),⁵³ and many others. All of them clearly prove book ownership.⁵⁴

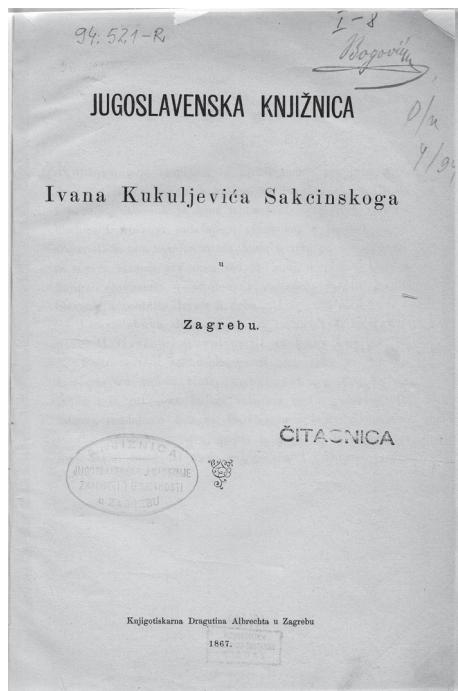


FIGURE 6.

The catalogue of the library owned by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, 1867

52 Ljudevit Gaj was one of the most representative persons of the 19th century Croatian national revival. The catalogue of his library was made upon his death by his son Velimir Gaj – “Knjižnica Gajeva: ogled bibliografskih studija” – and published in Zagreb in 1875. For more on the catalogue see: Stipčević, Aleksandar. Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata. Knj. III. Od početka Hrvatskog narodnog preporoda (1835) do danas. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2008. P. 408.

53 His catalogue, “Jugoslavenska knjižnica Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog u Zagrebu,” was made in 1867 and published in Zagreb in the same year. Today it is kept in the Croatian Academy of Science and Arts in Zagreb, Croatia (HAZU, 94.521-R). The catalogue shows that the library consisted of books of various genres – from books by the classic authors to scientific works and works on hunting. Beside the list of books owned, the catalogue also has additional information, for instance, whether books were bought or acquired by gift. Stipčević, Aleksandar. Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata. Knj. III. Op. cit., pp. 412-415.

54 However, Benito Rial warns that ephemeral literature, devotional pamphlets, catechisms, primers and other books of similar nature were rarely mentioned in private book inventories. Thus, they cannot give a complete view of someone’s book ownership. Rial, B. Op. cit., p. 75.

Reading diaries and memoirs

Reading diaries are also useful sources for identifying book ownership. Their authors usually recorded all the books they had read, both those that were borrowed and those that were personally owned. Besides that, they often contained other interesting information such as the books' prices, the impression books had on readers, etc. A reading diary of the first Croatian female composer Dora Pejačević (1885-1923), written between 1902 and 1921 and entitled "My Book Record," had been such a diary. The diary, later printed by London publishing house McCaw, Stevenson & Orr Limited, is kept in the collection of archival material of the Croatian Musical Institute within the bequest of Dora Pejačević.⁵⁵ The fact that the diary contains three parts – "Books I have read," "Books I wish to read" and "Books worth reading" – shows that Dora had a great passion for books and reading.⁵⁶ In the first part of the diary – "Books I have read" – she recorded the titles and authors she had read as well as the date when she had read the books. She also included various remarks, for instance, that a book was worthy of reading. Sometimes we can see that she borrowed some books from some of her friends. For instance, the first book recorded as borrowed was "Ach, ich armer Narre" by Erica H. Gulden, read in July 1911.⁵⁷ The book was borrowed from her friend Stefi. She read a book borrowed from her friend Anny, "Friedrich Nietzsche sein Leben und sein Werk. Sechzehn Vorlesungen" by Raoul Richter, a professor of philosophy at the University of Leipzig, in February 1915.⁵⁸ In March 1914 Anny lent her a collection of novels "An den Toren des Lebens" by German writer Ernts Hardt.⁵⁹ However, most of the books Dora borrowed were from her close friend Sydonija Nádherný von Borutin.⁶⁰ Thus, books having remarks such as *v. Stefi geliehen bekommen* or *Von Anny bekommen...* were not in her possession. We can suppose, however, that books without such remarks were in her possession or the possession of her family. At least, we can claim that for those books that can be found in the catalogue of the library owned by the family Pejačević such as "Ivanhoe" by

55 „My Book Record,” Zbirka arhivske građe Hrvatskog glazbenog zavoda, Ostavština Dore Pejačević (HGZ VII, 3)

56 The diary has been thoroughly analysed in: Župan, Dinko. „Books I have read“: Dora Pejačević kao čitateljica. // *Scriinia Slavonica* 12(2012), 115-178.

57 „My Book Record,” 36-37.

58 Ibid., pp. 52-53.

59 Ibid., pp. 50-51.

60 Ibid., pp. 48-49.; Župan, D. Op. cit., pp. 143-144.

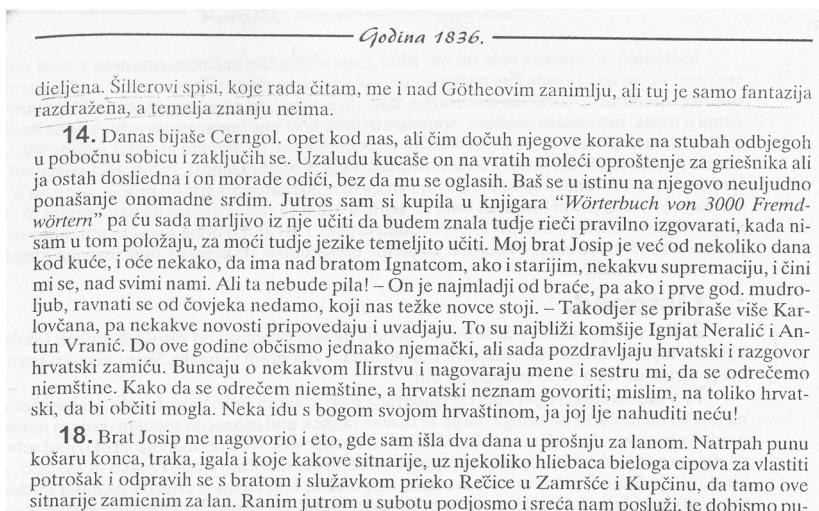


FIGURE 7.

The diary of Dragojla Jarnević, 1836

Sir Walter Scott, which can be found in both sources – the catalogue and the reading diary.⁶¹ Obviously, Dora or another member of her family was the owner of that book. Sometimes book ownership was expressed even more clearly. For instance, in 1918 Dora wrote down that she had received a collection of stories “Der kleine Johannes” as a gift for Christmas.⁶² The book obviously belonged to her.

Unlike the reading diary of Dora Pejačević, the diary of Dragojla Jarnević (1812-1875), one of the most important female representatives of the 19th century Illyrian movement in Croatia, is quite different. She was writing it more or less continuously in the period between 1833 and 1874, recording on its pages everything she found important in her life. Books that she was reading were not in the focus of her interest but, as a passionate reader, Dragojla recorded that in her diary, too. For instance, on 14th September 1836 she wrote that she had bought a dictionary of foreign words, „Wörterbuch von 3000 Fremdwörtern“ in a bookstore (Figure 7).⁶³ On 22nd November 1843 she wrote down

61 Ibid, pp. 6-7.; Ibid, p. 124.

62 Ibid., pp. 68-69; Ibid, p. 144.

63 Jarnević, Dragojla. Dnevnik. Karlovac: Matica hrvatska Karlovac, 2000. P. 77.

that she had bought a Czech grammar.⁶⁴ If we presume that Dragojla did indeed buy these books for her library, not for someone else, we can consider her diary useful for the provenance of book ownership. The diary was printed and published in 2000.

Order forms and invoices

Educated individuals, the most common book buyers, used to buy books in bookstores. Sometimes, however, they ordered books by filling out a book form. Thus, order forms and invoices can also help us in identifying book owners. For the purpose of illustration two examples have been selected. The first are order forms filled out by Croatian writer Ivo Vojnović (1857-1929). On 7th March 1915 he wished to buy some books from the Morpurgo bookstore in Split. These were two books published in "Reklam biblioteka" – "A Christmas Carol" by Charles Dickens and some of Leopardi's poetry, as well as a catalogue of French books.⁶⁵ Ten days later, on 17th March 1915, he sent many thanks to the Morpurgo bookstore for sending him these books. Thus, we know that he had received them. In the lines that follow, we can read that he asked for two more books – one by Pellico and one by Giusti. He also asked for a cheaper edition of Dickens.⁶⁶ On 25th March 1915 he ordered "Don Quijote" in French translation and his own drama "Ekvinocijo" published by Srpska književna zadruga.⁶⁷ The next year Morpurgo asked for "Tragedie" and the collection of poetry by Manzoni, "La Divina commedia" by Dante and tragedies by William Shakespeare.⁶⁸ All the documents have been kept in the State Archives in Split, Croatia, within the inventory of the bookstore "Vid Morpurgo".⁶⁹ The other example is the invoice sent to the 18th century nobleman from Dubrovnik Toma Basiljević Bassegli (1756-1806) by the Viennese bookseller Blumauer. The invoice proves that Toma ordered some books from Blumauer.⁷⁰ The invoice has been kept in the State Archives in Dubrovnik within

64 Ibid., p. 235.

65 Topić, Nada. Profil profesionalnog čitatelja: čitatelske prakse Ive Vojnovića. // Libellarium III, 2(2010), 163-164.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 Državni arhiv u Splitu. Inventar knjižare „Vid Morpurgo“. MOR. K -10/V Poslovno dopisivanje i narudžbe knjiga (1911. - 1915.); MOR. K -11/III Poslovno naručivanje i narudžba knjiga (1916. -1920.)

70 Kostić, V. Op. cit., p. 157.

<i>Facture d'une faire signée C. P. N° 91.</i>	
<i>envoyé le 29e Decembre 1795 à M^r Ph. Bernsteinier</i>	
<i>Frieste, par Ordre de pour Compte de M^r le G^{te}</i>	
<i>Scopli à Raguse.</i>	
1. <i>Nicotoni Opuscule, mathem. & philosoph. 1^{er} Tom.</i>	18
1. " <i>Philosophia natural. mathem. sig.</i>	6
1. <i>Annales de Chimie. 12 Tomes 1789 - 1793. Paris.</i>	24
1. <i>Marij Glaucofus. 3^e éta.</i>	4.30
1. " <i>3^e éta.</i>	4.30
	1.80
<i>24.00</i>	
<i>expédition.</i>	
1. <i>Acathorches sur les Ichthopes. 5 Tomes</i>	7.30
1. " <i>Grand Encyclop. 2^e éta.</i>	3
1. <i>Sinne Systema naturae. Tome 1^{er} pars 1^{er} - 3^{er}</i>	14
1. <i>Gravies Rubens Pro. la Théâtre.</i>	36
1. " <i>Opuscula Ratiocinativa.</i>	7
1. <i>Encyclop. Galvani seu Elementa. 4^e Editio. 1.321</i>	30
1. <i>Tomes de Amphibolis. 2^e étales</i>	54
1. <i>Rostler Dissertationes mathemad.</i>	3
1. <i>Robtum Menetries Linij. 3^e éta.</i>	120
	95.27
<i>Transport</i>	

FIGURE 8.

The invoice sent to Toma Basiljević Bassegli by the Viennese bookseller Blumauer, 1795.

the Collection Bassegli (Figure 8).⁷¹ However, since we cannot be sure that all the books Ivo Vojnović and Toma Bassegli bought eventually ended up in their libraries (they could have given them as gifts to someone else), the use of these sources requires some caution.

Travel pieces

Sometimes we come across information on book ownership in travel pieces. For instance, one of the most famous Croatian bibliophiles and bibliographer, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, writing about his travelling route to Stobreč, a small village near Split, mentions that he procured a few old books written in Glagolitic characters: *Ja sam njeke glagoljske knjige kupio za neznatnu cenu* (I have bought some Glagolitic books for a very low price).⁷² However, since we cannot be sure that these books ended up in his library, these and all other similar reports should be compared to other sources and also used with some caution.

Correspondence

Finally, worthy of mentioning as a source of information on book ownership is correspondence. For the purpose of illustration a few examples have been selected. One of them is the letter written by Jelena Pozza Sorgo–Ragnina (1784–1865) to Antun Mažuranić (1805–1888), a Croatian philologist and adherent of the 19th century Illyrian movement. In that letter she complains to him that the Illyrian Ljudevit Gaj forgot to return her book „Pjesni razlike“ by Dinko Ragnina, which belonged to her family, in spite of the fact that he had promised to do so: *Il mio figlio per serbare la sua parola, non curò, di farmi un dispiacere, e egli offri il libro Dinko Ragnina, ch'è come il Petrarca Illirico, unico libro a Ragusa, ed unico in famiglia. Il Signor Ludovico Gaj gli promise di farlo stampare e di rendere l'Originale con una coppia. ... Mentre il detto Signor Gaj si trovava qui a Ragusa non volti farli cenno su di ciò, senza essere più che certa, se il detto Signor Gaj, fosse quello, che aquistò il mio Dinko. ... Dunque sono a pregare la sua cortesia, di avere la compiacenza, di farsi mediatore, per questo riguardo, mostrando le mie bene giuste querele ad Signor Gaj... La prego di rapresentargli, che ili libro è mio, che assolutamente lo brano, che mi sia reso, che più non attendo, che grido come aquila, e le mie grida fenderanno l'aria assai in altro....*⁷³ The letter has been kept in the National and University Library in Zagreb, Croatia, within the Mažuranić correspondence.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the correspondence between Marija Giorgi Bona (1754–1833) and Alberto Fortis (1741–1803), a famous Venetian writer and cartographer, includes a letter in which

⁷² Kukuljević Sakcinski, Ivan. Putne uspomene iz Hrvatske, Albanije, Krfa i Indije. Zagreb, 1873. P. 66.

⁷³ Pismo Jelene Pozza Sorgo-Ragnina Antunu Mažuraniću, NSK, R 5480 Cb
⁷⁴ Stojan, S. Op. cit., p. 21.

Marija requested some books from Milan in October 1780. On January 8th, 1781, Fortis informed her in one of his letters that he had sent her some books, saying that the rest of her money he would return since some ordered books could not be found.⁷⁵ The document is located in the State Archives in Dubrovnik within the papers of Ernest Katić.⁷⁶ Finally, correspondence of the respected Croatian writer Ivo Vojnović, collected and printed in three volumes,⁷⁷ also contains much information on books he had personally possessed.⁷⁸ For instance, in the beginning of 1907 he writes to Milan Begović (1876-1948), a leading figure of Croatian literary and theatre life of the time, to ask bookstore owner Morpurgo to send him as soon as possible an almanac „Hachette“ from 1907 and a collection of works by Carducci.⁷⁹ In 1923, obviously continuing his correspondence with Begović, Vojnović thanks him for the very interesting „Suvremenik“⁸⁰ and „Kritika“ which he had sent him.⁸¹ In the letter written to Josip Bach (1874-1935), a Croatian actor and theatre director, he writes that he had to pledge his entire edition of „Imperatrix“ and new editions of comedies „Psyche,” „Ekvinocij“ and „Gospogja sa suncokretom“ to the Vasić bookstore in order to raise some money for the purpose of paying his and his mother’s recovery.⁸² Vojnović obviously possessed these books; otherwise he could not have pledged them to the bookstore. However, since all these letters cannot prove that these books eventually ended up in his library, we should use them with some caution.

Conclusion

All in all there are a number of sources that can serve as evidence of book ownership. Some of them are more reliable than others. The most reliable sources are certainly bookplates, bookbindings, handwritten dedications, book curses, last wills, deeds of donation and charters, written contracts on book returning, documents on censorship and inventory books and library catalogues. Some of the sources, however, are not so reliable. For that reason, while using them one should be very

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 57.

⁷⁶ Povjesni arhiv u Dubrovniku, Rukopisna ostavština Ernesta Katića, 170, LXI

⁷⁷ Pisma Iva Vojnovića. Knjiga I – III / edited by Tihomil Maštrović. Zagreb: Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica; Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska - Ogranak Dubrovnik, 2009.

⁷⁸ For detailed information on his reading profile see: Topić, N. Op. cit., pp. 153-182.

⁷⁹ Pisma Iva Vojnovića. Knjiga I. Op. cit., p. 188; Topić, N. Op. cit., p. 161.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 202; Ibid., p. 170.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 203; Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., p. 122; Ibid., p. 168.

cautious. For instance, subscription lists sometimes included the names of those who functioned as patrons but who did not necessarily possess the book to which they subscribed. Also, a book could be bought via subscription but eventually not personally owned. It could be given to someone else.⁸³ For the same reason, order forms and invoices require certain caution, as well. If one ordered a book it does not necessarily mean that one received it or, if received, that a book ended up in the library of the person who ordered it. The same goes for correspondence as well as for the travel diaries. For that reason, all the less reliable sources could be useful only if combined with other sources. Thus, reliability of sources depends on their nature.

Furthermore, it has to be said that working in the archives and other heritage institutions holding records of the past requires knowledge of different languages – Latin, Italian, German, Hungarian, French, and many others, depending on the subject and period of one's interest as well as on the historical circumstances of a certain country or a region. For instance, during the Middle Ages, last wills were likely to be in Latin. Only over time was there a movement towards the vernacular. For the early modern period, at least in the region of Croatian historical lands, languages like Italian, German or Hungarian are needed. Knowledge of various scripts is also necessary – Glagolitic, Gothic, Cyrillic. Of enormous importance is an historical way of thinking, since documents can be only properly understood if put in the cultural, political and social circumstances of the period to which they belong.

To conclude, the purpose of this paper was not to give a complete list of sources confirming book ownership but rather to show its vast variety suggesting that archives as well as other heritage institutions as the repositories holding documents of historical value are rich in primary sources necessary for book history research.

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⁸³ For more on the research limits of subscription lists see: Lakuš, J.; Vukadin, J. Op. cit., p. 40.

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RAZMIŠLJAJNJA POVJESNIČARA KNJIGE U POTRAZI ZA DOKAZIMA O POSJEDOVANJU KNJIGA

Sažetak

Članak započinje kratkim uvodom o važnosti arhiva (i drugih baštinskih ustanova) u očuvanju naše povjesne baštine ističući činjenicu da su njihovi najčešći korisnici povjesničari, posebice povjesničari knjige. U članku se nadalje problematizira pitanje identificiranja izvora u kojima su zabilježeni podaci o posjedovanju knjiga. U nastojanju da se demonstrira na koji način identificirani izvori ukazuju na njihove vlasnike, svaki se od njih, bilo da je riječ o objavljenim ili o neobjavljenim izvorima, podrobno analizira. Rad se prvenstveno bavi privatnim vlasnicima knjiga koji se, za razliku od onih kolektivnih (Crkva, sveučilišta ili škole), ne mogu lako identificirati. Zaključno, autorica raspravlja o pouzdanosti navedenih izvora. Svrha je ovoga rada ukazati na veliku raznolikost izvora koji posjeduju oznake vlasništva, premda ne i dati njihov konačan i potpun popis. Željelo se pokazati da su arhivi i druge baštinske ustanove, kao rezitoriji brojnih dokumenata povjesne vrijednosti, bogati u primarnim izvorima nezaobilaznim u istraživanjima povijesti knjige.

Ključne riječi: istraživanja povijesti knjige, arhivi, posjedovanje knjiga, dokumenti, primarni izvori



DOCUMENT THEORY AN INTRODUCTION

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ABSTRACT

Writing, printing, telecommunications, and copying enabled the rise of the “information society” (more accurately the “document society”) characterized by the division of labor. *Document* (verb) means to make evident. A *document* (noun) is something from which you learn, especially a text. Documents have a phenomenological aspect; employ cultural codes; form media types; and use physical media. The management of documents led to a more inclusive definition, including Briet’s antelope. Documents have technical, social, and mental aspects. Factual assertions require context. Documents are used to shape our lives and culture. Conventionally documents are made as documents; but objects can also be made into documents; or simply regarded as documents. New forms of document require new forms of bibliography. Current trends lead to the recording, the representation, and the analysis of everything, simultaneously.

KEY WORDS

document, information, society, technology

Many fields of study include consideration of documents. Paleographers examine handwriting on documents; archivists worry about the provenance and authenticity of documents; bibliographers are concerned to describe the content and physical construction of individual documents; and so on. *Document theory*, which overlaps with all of these, starts with the notion of a *document* as its point of departure. It is, if you will, a document-centric view of the universe and as the view expands, it progressively connects with the other fields of study in which documents are an important but not the central focus.

Information society, document society

It has been fashionable to speak of a new or emerging “information society” but every society is an “information society” and always was because all communities, both human and animal, are formed by communication, interaction, and collaboration. All depend on communication, on information. There cannot be a “*non-information society*”!

Members of communities, humans and some other animals, communicate through gesture, language, and the use of material objects to signify something. Social interactions and social control are increasingly indirect and through documents. We depend more and more on documents. So “document society” would be more accurate than “information society”. Patrick Wilson wrote of this trend as “second-hand knowledge.”¹ It can be seen as having two aspects. There is an ever increasing division of labor, which makes us more dependent on others and which requires ever-increasing coordination through communication, and there is more and more dependence on documents as the means for this communication. In a significant sense, therefore, the phenomenon of the document society (also known as the information society) is both a by-product of the division of labor and a necessary part of the infrastructure than allows and enables that division.

Terminology

Document, as a verb, means to make evident, to provide an explanation. *Document*, as a noun, was, historically, something you learned from, including a lesson, a lecture, or an example. Gradually, *document* came increasingly to mean a text, but retaining a sense of evidence.

During the twentieth century the word *information* became increasingly popular and was used with many different meanings which largely fall into one of three categories:

- Information-as-knowledge, meaning the knowledge imparted through communication;
- Information-as-process, the process of becoming informed; and
- Information-as-thing, denoting bits, bytes, books, and other physical media. This is the commonest use of the word “information” and can include any material thing or physical action perceived as

¹ Wilson, Patrick. *Second-hand knowledge: an inquiry into cognitive authority*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983.

signifying. In this third sense, “information” becomes a synonym for broad view of “document.”²

A concise history of documents long-term

Among prehistoric humans and among at least some animals communication was through gestures, language, and the display of objects. Four major developments have changed that situation:

1. *Writing.* Writing mediates speech, a performative, ephemeral form of expression, by making it endure, thereby diminishing the effect of time. The temporal stability of *recorded* speech facilitates continuity and prolongs its influence and so enhances its effect. One consequence was the rise of records to augment or replace human memory. There is a large literature on the transition from oral to literate cultures.
2. *Printing.* Printing constitutes an extreme multiplication of writing, making it and speech that it records more productive. There is also an extensive literature on the impact of printing, especially the impact of printing with moveable type in the fifteenth century Europe which facilitated the Reformation and the rise of modern science.
3. *Telecommunications.* Until the nineteenth century telecommunications was, with few exceptions, a matter of someone going on foot, by horse, or by boat to deliver good news or bad. Then a series of innovations, notably the semaphore, telegraph, telephone, radio, and television led to the present digital environment. Telecommunications diminish the effect of distance and delay. Much like printing, telecommunication facilitates coordination, cohesion, and control and is the subject of a large literature.
4. *Document copying.* Transcribing texts is as old as writing, but techniques for generating rapid, reliable, economical copies of documents is essentially a twentieth-century development. There were three really important techniques: Photostat, microfilm, and electrostatic copying (commonly known as xerography). In striking contrast to writing, printing, and telecommunications, there has been little historical or social commentary on the impact of modern copying technology.

² Buckland, Michael Information as thing. // Journal of the American Society of Information Science 42, 5 (1991), 351-360. Preprint: <http://people.ischool.berkeley.edu/~buckland/thing.html>

Three copying technologies

In the eighteenth century manuscripts were copied by “letter press”: A thin moist sheet of paper was pressed against the original so that some of the ink of the original would transfer into the moist sheet. During the nineteenth century photography was used occasionally to copy documents. (The numerous forms of duplicating involve the creation of a new original and are more properly regarded as small-run printing).

Photostat, direct-projection photography on to sensitized paper without an intermediate negative film, was pioneered by René Graf-fin of the Institut Catholique in Paris to facilitate his editing of early Christian writings in Syriac. The image was negative: white writing in a black ground. Left-to-right reversal was corrected by using a mirror. A few photostat cameras were built for European libraries but there was little impact until the Rectigraph Camera Company began marketing photostat equipment in the USA in 1910. The speed, accuracy, and efficiency of photostats for both text and images compared with manual transcription or typewritten copies were quickly recognized. The photostat process was widely adopted and became the copying process of choice at least until the late 1930s.³ *Microfilm* was famously used by Dagron in the siege of Paris in 1870, but widespread use was delayed until compact precision cameras, standard film speeds, and 35 mm safety film all became available during the 1930s when banks, newspapers, libraries and other organizations adopted microfilm and its variants (microfiche, microcard) on a large scale.

Electrostatic copying, better known as xerography, was developed to replace photostats, became available during the 1960s, and remains the technology of choice for copying and for printing digital documents.

Copying techniques need to make legible copies from very varied originals so copying is not in practice separable from image enhancement. A normal photograph of a medieval vellum manuscript using visible light would copy what one saw, but photography using ultraviolet

³ Hawken, William. R. Full-size photocopying. New Brunswick: Graduate Library School, Rutgers—the State University, 1960. The state of the library art, 5, pt 3. Hathi: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015023479549> [cited 2013-11-5]. United States. Report of the commission on economy and efficiency. Washington: Govt. Print Office, 1912. Hathi: <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001044389> [cited 2013-11-5].

light would also reveal erased text. From a technical perspective it is best to consider document copying jointly with image enhancement.⁴

Perception of documents

Documents are concerned with evidence and evidence implies facts. Meaning, however, is constructed in the mind of the observer, even where facts are concerned. Paul Otlet considered that most authors were too wordy, that texts tended to be duplicative, and the print-on-paper bound book (codex) was an inefficient medium. Expressing an idea does not naturally fit line length or page size. He wanted to extract facts and ideas from documents and to design a new and better form of “the book.” Otlet’s principal explanation of his ideas, his *Traité de documentation*, was published in 1934.⁵

The very next year, Ludwik Fleck, publishing his explanation of why concise encyclopedias were fundamentally wrong in his *Genesis and development of the scientific fact*.⁶ Fleck argued that extreme summarization became misleading because too much of the contextual explanation was omitted. Further, he argued, it was fundamentally inadequate to think only in terms of a *fact* and a *reader*, because how a narrative statement of fact would be understood by a writer would depend of prior knowledge and the cultural context of a mindset (*Denkstil*) within a community of thinking (*Denkkollektiv*) of the writer.⁷ Similarly, the understanding of the same fact by a reader would depend on the mindset and cultural context of the reader. As one simple illustration we cite Paracelsus, the colorful physician and scientist, struggling to express his ideas during the transition from alchemy to early modern chemistry. He lacked the concepts and terminology that were later to emerge. As a result we cannot understand much of what he wrote and he would not have understood present-day texts even on the topics in which he

⁴ Buckland, M. K. Lodewyk Bendikson and photographic techniques in documentation: 1910 – 1943. // International Perspectives on the History of Information Science and Technology Worldwide, Baltimore, 2012. / edited by Toni Carbo and Trudi Bellardo Hahn. Medford, NJ: Information Today, 2012. Pp 99-106. Preprint at: <http://people.ischool.berkeley.edu/~buckland/bendikson2012.pdf> 2012 [cited 2013-11-5].

⁵ Otlet, Paul. *Traité de documentation: le livre sur le livre*. Brussels: Editiones mundaneum, 1934.

⁶ Fleck, Ludwik. *Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, (1935/1979).

⁷ Sady, Wojciech. Ludwik Fleck. // The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy (Summer 2012 Edition) / Edward N. Zalta (ed.) [cited 2013-11-5]. Available at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/fleck/>

specialized. Facticity, then, is culturally situated, so documents have an evidentiary component that cannot be understood in only technological terms.

Documents and technology

Any document has multiple aspects:

1. *Phenomenological aspect.* There is a phenomenological aspect to documents. So long as documents are objects perceived as signifying something, the status of being a document is not inherent (essential) but attributed to an object. Meaning is always constructed by a viewer.
We can view the properties of a document as having three aspects:
2. *Cultural codes.* All forms of communicative expression depend on some shared understandings, which can be thought of as language in a broad sense;
3. *Media types.* Different types of expression have evolved: texts, images, numbers, diagrams, art, music, dance, ...
4. *Physical media.* Clay tablets, paper, film, analog magnetic tape, punch cards, digital media, and so on.

The status of being a document, therefore, is attributive (1) and every document has cultural (2), type (3), and physical (4) aspects. Genres are culturally and historically situated combinations. Being digital affects directly only the physical medium, but the consequences are extensive.

The Documentation Movement

In Brussels in 1895 Paul Otlet and Henri LaFontaine founded an International Institute for Bibliography to resolve the difficulties created by the ever-increasing number of documents. Later they adopted *documentation*, rather than bibliography, as the term of choice for their activities. Their mission had important consequences with respect to design and scope. The standard technology at the time--the printed, bound book--had disadvantages: the format was inflexible; the divisions into lines and pages were irrelevant to the meaning, and the narratives, being both internally redundant and duplicative of other texts, were inefficient. Their answer, shared with Wilhelm Ostwald and H. G. Wells, was to prefer a synthesized, updateable, hypertextual encyclopedia on cards which, because it could record in one system everybody's knowledge, was considered a "world brain".

Documentation, then, was concerned with the management (selection, collection, arrangement, indexing, etc.) of documents and it was inevitable that a question would arise: With what kinds of document was documentation concerned? Printed texts were the primary concern, but since documents were of interest because they were evidence of something, then handwritten texts should also be included. And since diagrams, drawings, maps and photographs are used to describe or explain, images should not be excluded. Once one accepts the notion of documents as objects from which one may learn, then there is no basis for limiting the scope to texts recorded on two-dimensional, flat surfaces. If plans and maps can be documents, there is no reason to exclude relief maps and terrestrial globes. If a drawing can be a document, then why not a three-dimensional image (sculpture)? If a diagram, why not an educational or illustrative model or an educational toy? If three-dimensional objects are included, why not biological specimens, archaeological finds, and museum objects? Once three-dimensional objects are included, museum specimens and expressive sculpture cannot reasonably be excluded. If written language is included, then why not recorded spoken language or music? And if recorded speech and music are included, why not live performances?⁸

The compelling logic that since documents were, by definition, concerned with evidence, so too was bibliography and documentation, was advanced further by Suzanne Briet in her manifesto *What is documentation?*

“A document is a proof in support of a fact...

Is a star a document? Is a pebble rolled by a torrent a document? Is a living animal a document? No. But the photographs and catalogues of stars, the stones in a museum of mineralogy, and the animals that are catalogued and shown in a zoo are documents.”⁹

Famously, she declared than a new species of antelope placed in a taxonomy and in a cage was a primary document and that descriptions of it in scientific articles, lectures, news reports, and encyclopedias were secondary documents.

⁸ Buckland, Michael. What is a “document”? // Journal of the American Society for Information Science 48, 9(1997), 804-809. Preprint: <http://people.ischool.berkeley.edu/~buckland/whatdoc.html> [cited 2013-11-5].

⁹ Briet, Suzanne. *What is documentation?* / translated and edited by Ronald E. Day and Laurent Martinet. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1951/2006. Pp. 9-10.

After 1945 the documentation movement was largely forgotten until three factors led to a revival of interest in the 1990s. One was a new interest in the history of documentation and information science; another was inquiry into how digital documents differed from paper one; and, quite separately, legislation establishing a national library in Norway required the legal deposit of new media. Anticipating the need for additional expertise in handling new media, an Institute for Documentation Studies at the University of Tromsø initially headed by Niels W. Lund was founded.¹⁰

Lund's complementary theory of documents

Lund developed a “complementary” theory of documents, arguing that documents have three simultaneous, inseparable, and complementary aspects:

1. Technical and technological aspects;
2. Social roles; and
3. Mental: The intellectual and cognitive aspects of the relationship between an individual and a document.

“...one should view the document from three complementary angles: physical, social, and mental, in combination enabling a complete description. This does not mean that the document possesses each of these features to a some degree but that it can be viewed simultaneously as a physical, social, and mental phenomenon. From this perspective is how these dimensions interact with each other in different ways.”¹¹

The literature on document theory

Much has been written on many different aspects of documents in bibliography, paleography, diplomatic, book design, publishing, archives, and so on, but the literature directly and simply about documents is relatively small. A convenient review of that literature has been provided by Lund in 2009 who stated that the literature is largely divided into

10 Lund, Niels Windfeld. Building a discipline, creating a profession: an essay on the childhood of “dokvit”. // A document (re)turn: contributions from a research field in transition / Roswitha Skare, Niels Windfeld Lund, Andreas Vårheim (eds.). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007. Pp. 11-26.

11 Lund, Niels Windfeld. Document theory. // Annual review of information science and technology 43(2009), 399-432, 424.

two components: technical, concerned with documents themselves; and social, concerned with the role of documents.

1. *Technical.* The professional theory of documents and documentation, concerned directly with documents themselves and their contents, is mainly technical and technological. The importance of documents means that there are well-established interests in them in a variety of fields, including:

- bibliography concerned with the description of documents and selection of documents for any specific purpose;
- Information retrieval concerned with sorting and selection of records in relation to the problematic notion of relevance;
- Bibliometrics (citation analysis and the like) concerned with formal, quantitative relationships between documents and between people and documents; and
- Textual studies, including the interpretative examination of relationships between texts.

These various specialties overlap with documentation. The overlap is to be welcomed because they bring additional shared energy and resources to bear. The differences are mainly a matter of emphasis and/or perspective. Libraries, museums, archives, and other institutions are all engaged in cultural agendas through the suitable management of documents. Suzanne Briet characterized documentation as “a new cultural technique” and as “a necessity for our time.”

2. *Social.* “General document theory” is concerned with what documents do, or, more properly, what is done with documents. It is not only our needs that should concern us, but also the agendas of others. Governments use passports to indicate identity and to confirm citizenship in order to control our travel. Other examples are easy to find: schools use textbooks to guide our learning; religions use sacred texts to inspire beliefs; artists produce images to please us and to challenge us; merchants invest heavily in advertisements to influence what we buy; politicians make statements to seek votes and campaign donations; entertainers use varied media to amuse us and to generate income from us; individuals use messages (letters, e-mail, etc.) to communicate and social media to attract attention; museums use the selective presentation and interpretation of artifacts to explain the past; mass media constantly transmit programs to entertain, to influence us, and to satisfy advertisers; libraries provide access to selective collections of documents to facilitate our reading; and so on. This list could

be extended indefinitely. Anyone could easily make such a list. As the list builds up we see more and more of our lives included. The specific examples enumerated are less important than the cumulative evidence that documents are everywhere in our lives and they shape our society and our culture. The use of documents involves far more than fact-finding and problem solving. The complex totality of our lives and of our behavior is our culture. Tylor's classic definition of culture included "knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."¹² Documents, then, are used to shape our culture.

The literature on the social theory of documents has been largely outside of Library and Information Science.¹³ Components include the *histoire du livre* tradition and work on the "social life of documents" by J. S. Brown, Paul Duguid, and others. Michel Foucault drew attention to the use of documents in the construction of reality and, thereby, in the shaping of power relations. Karl Manheim used the phrase "documentary meaning" to refer to the unintended meanings associated with documents. JoAnn Yates showed the impact of the evolving use of documentary forms in the management of large organizations. Donald McKenzie's lecture *Bibliography and the sociology of texts* was an eloquent plea for both increased attention to the social aspects of document creation and use and also for including a wider variety of document types in bibliography.¹⁴ Bernd Frohmann's *Deflating information* has much to say about the use of documents.¹⁵

Frontiers and agendas: documents

The definition of *document* is still not settled. I find it helpful to identify three views:

1. *The conventional, material view:* The everyday, conventional view of documents is of graphic records, usually text, made on paper (or similar: clay tablets, microfilm, word processor files) that are material, local, transportable. On the fringes, some would argue, are terrestrial globes and sculptures. These objects are *made as* documents.

12 Tylor, E. B. *Primitive culture*. London: J. Murray, 1871. P. 1.

13 Lund, N.W. Document theory. Op. cit., pp. 407-410.

14 McKenzie, Donald. F. *Bibliography and the sociology of texts*. London: The British Library, 1986.

15 Frohmann, Bernd. *Deflating information: from science studies to documentation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

2. *A functional view:* Almost anything can be made to serve as a document, to signify something, to be held up as constituting evidence of some sort. Models, educational toys, natural history collections, and archaeological traces can be considered in this category. Briet's famous antelope, positioned in a taxonomy and in a cage, was made to serve as a document. This view echoes her assertion that bibliography (and documentation) is properly considered to be concerned with access to evidence not just records. These are objects *made into* documents.
3. *A semiotic view:* The two previous views emphasize the *creation* of documents and they both seem inadequate because anything could be *considered as* a document if it is regarded as evidence of something regardless of what, if anything, the creator (if any) of that object intended.

These three views – *made as*, *made into*, and *considered as* – are progressively more inclusive.

Frontiers and agendas: bibliography

Bibliography is concerned with the twin tasks of describing and selecting the best documentary means for some purpose. We may *choose to* limit ourselves to a single kind of document, such as printed books, but in principle bibliography is not and should not be so restricted. We can, therefore, spell out the scope of bibliography by enumerating the conditions that must be satisfied if one is to use a documentary means to some purpose. What follows is one such enumeration.

For a document to be used:

0. Creation: It must exist;
1. Discovery: We need to know of its existence;
2. Location: We need to find a copy;
3. Permission: We may need permission to use it. There may be legal constraints.
4. Condition: Is it in a fit state to use? Is it too deteriorated and/or too obsolete to be worth using?
5. Interoperable: Is it standardized enough to be usable? Digital or microform materials may require unavailable equipment.
6. Description: It is clear enough what it represents?
7. Trust: Are we confident enough of the origin, lineage, version, and error rate?

These requirements are different in kind and call for different sorts of remedy, some more feasible and/or more affordable than others. All need to be resolved for satisfactory document use.¹⁶

Frontiers and agendas: the third literature

It is noticeable that Lund identified three aspects of document theory but only two literatures. His category “professional document theory” literature corresponds, more or less to the “technical aspect” of documents and what he described as “social document theory” literature approximates his “social aspect” of documents. How is this to be explained? It could, of course, be simply a matter of differing definitions, but it seems not. The inference is that there should be a third literature corresponding to his “mental” aspect of documents concerned with the individual’s cognitive and intellectual engagement with documents in addition to the massive literature on information seeking and searching. Is there? If so, where is it and what does it include? It is not that there is no such literature but rather that a coherent overview in relation to documents is needed.

A literature addressing the cognitive / intellectual aspect of documents would presumably address the individual’s mental relationship with documents, whether as creator or perceiver. In general terms, one might reasonably expect to look to studies of rhetoric for the former and of semiotics for the latter. More specialized fields where one might look include educational psychology, hermeneutics, and reading theory. These fields are very little present in the literature of documentation, at least by those names.

A basic issue is that what anyone is likely to learn from a document will be heavily influenced by what that person already knows. Allan Konrad has identified a massive failure of LIS literature to take that aspect into account.¹⁷ To make progress in this matter will require a sharp focus on why and how documents are used.

16 Buckland, Michael. Data management as bibliography. // Bulletin of the American Society for Information Science and Technology 37, 6(2011), 34-37. http://www.asist.org/Bulletin/Aug-11/AugSep11_Buckland.pdf [cited 2013-11-5].

17 Konrad, Allan. On Inquiry: human concept formation and construction of meaning through library and information science intermediation. Ph.D. dissertation. Berkeley: University of California, 2007 [cited 2013-11-5]. Available at: <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/1s76b6hp>

Frontiers and agendas: foundations

Culture and society evolve through communication and collaboration. But mostly we cannot communicate directly and we cannot collaborate in shared work environment for multiple very practical reasons. The other person of interest may be distant in space or time – and may even be dead. The best we can do is to have recourse to documents. What is that other person known to have said, done, or written? Their documents, both by them and about them, incorporate their work and their ideas, much as technology incorporates the labor of past inventors. Viewed this way, documents have become the glue that enables societies to cohere. Documents have increasingly become the means for monitoring, influencing, and negotiating relationships with others. We live in a document society.

Much has been made of the transition from an oral to a literate culture and, how, for example, the ability to record what we need to remember has weakened our cerebral memories. As stated, this is a gross simplification. First, the emphasis on orality disregards the important communicative roles of dance, music, and ritual. Second, the effect was additive: literacy was *added to* orality.

There is far more to the use of documents than literacy because not all the records that affect us are humanly readable. They are neither read nor acted upon by humans, at least not directly. For examples, commercial and transportation are now dominated by printed bar codes. We may see them and we know what they are, but we cannot ourselves *read* them. In the emerging digital environment of bar codes, sensors, and remote databases, increasingly the documents that shape our lives are not humanly readable. Often, they are not visible to a human eye. So now that we are in a *document society*, wherein a sense of documentary processes (“documentality”) is added to literacy and orality.

A concise future of documents long-term

We have offered, above, a concise history of documents since prehistoric times. What do we find when we extrapolate the past into the future using the same components and assuming continuing improvements in technology?

1. *Writing*, a means for the recording of speech is moving steadily towards the recording of everything.
2. *Printing*, the multiplication of texts, is evolving into the representation of anything, especially now with 3D printers.

3. *Telecommunications*, in effect the transportation of documents, becomes, with sustained improvement, effectively pervasive simultaneous interaction.
4. *Document copying*, because it depends for versatility on the use of image enhancement, leads to more than the making of additional copies. The logical development of document copying is the *analysis* of documents, including data sets and visualization.

The simple extrapolation of past trends, then, leads to a document society characterized by ubiquitous recording, pervasive representations, simultaneous interaction regardless of geographical distance, and powerful analysis of the records resulting from that ubiquitous recording. It is not merely that new technology enables the rise of new document genres. It also allows disparate genres to be woven together much more completely than before, a new tapestry.

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TEORIJA DOKUMENTA UVOD

Sažetak

Pisanje, tiskanje, telekomunikacije i umnažanje omogućili su uspon „informacijskog društva“ (točnije „dokumentacijskog društva“) čija je glavna značajka raspodjela poslova. Dokumentirati znači dokazati. Dokument je nešto iz čega učimo, osobito tekst. Dokumenti imaju fenomenološki aspekt, primjenjuju kodove kulture, oblikuju vrste medija i upotrebljavaju fizičke medije. Upravljanje dokumentima vodi do inkluzivnije definicije, uključujući Brietinu antilopu. Dokumenti imaju tehničke, društvene i mentalne aspekte. Tvrđnje utemeljene na činjenicama zahtijevaju kontekst. Dokumenti se koriste za oblikovanje naših života i kulture. Uobičajeno, dokumenti su izrađeni kao dokumenti, no objekti se također mogu pretvoriti u dokumente ili, jednostavnije, mogu se smatrati dokumentima. Novi oblici dokumenata zahtijevaju nove oblike bibliografije. Suvremeni trendovi vode ka bilježenju, prikazivanju i analizi svega, i to istodobno.

Ključne riječi: dokument, informacija, društvo, tehnologija



READING THE DOCUMENT SPACE IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE

A CASE STUDY OF THE DUBINGIAI MICRO-REGION IN LITHUANIA^{1,2}

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ABSTRACT

Understanding space and time is the basic structure for investigating past societies, but our modern geographical knowledge, geographical stereotypes, scientific meta-theories, and historical narratives are powerful firewalls that can get in the way of retrieval, interpretation and reuse of spatial information from historical documents. This paper will introduce the basic concepts of mapping medieval and renaissance territories, borders, micro-regions, and administrative regions, and theoretical approaches to symbolic-iconographic interpretations of medieval and renaissance maps. It is based on the understanding of the geographical space of Central and Northern Europe during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It reports on an interdisciplinary case study of investigations of historical spatiality in the Dubingiai micro-region (near Vilnius, Lithuania) as part of “The Beginnings of Lithuanian Statehood According to the Exploration of Dubingiai micro-region (1st to 15th centuries)” research project.

KEY WORDS

historic spatiality, cartography, Middle Ages, Renaissance,
Dubingiai micro-region

- 1 The article was prepared according to the project, “The Origins of Lithuanian State based on the Research Data in Dubingiai Micro-region” (Project No. VP1-3.1-ŠMM-07-K -01-037), which was financed by European Union funds through the human resources programme 3rd priority 2007-2013 Strengthening Researchers’ Capacities VP1.3.1-ŠMM-07-K. Measure: Assisting Scientific Activities of Scholars and Other Investigators (Global Grand). The article is based on the lecture “Reading the document: Middle Ages and Renaissance geography,” which was given at the University of Zadar Summer School and Conference on Records, Archives and Memory Studies (RAMS) in May 2013.
- 2 English editing by Joanna Chen, MLIS candidate, Department of Information Studies, University of California Los Angeles.

Introduction

In contemporary science, space and time are considered to be the most important dimensions of reality. Much attention is paid to their analysis in Physics and Astronomy. Moreover, these dimensions are very important in the research of cultural heritage and the understanding of heritage. According to the main and prevailing definitions of heritage, historicity (inherited from the past) is accentuated as an essential heritage feature. Meanwhile heritage, in a broad sense, like artifacts and eco-facts deriving from the past, is the main source for historical and archaeological research as well as an important source of understanding about past societies. Historical space and time are important aspects of a heritage object's life cycle and help to identify and explain that object, while the dating of sources and their attachment to certain geographical spaces allows for further historical interpretations. In this area, additional scientific disciplines of history have been formed; historical geography, historical cartography and historical chronology.

While interpreting the space of a certain period, it is important to take into account the invisible "human factor" – the people who lived in the particular historical periods. If we try to separate time and space from man and to understand human concerns or developments by invoking our own (21th century) mental categories, our scientific interpretations might be incorrect. For example, there is a widespread belief that during the Medieval Ages, people were naïve enough to imagine the world was in the shape of a huge pancake that was held up by three whales. The famous Italian medievalist Umberto Eco speaks about the groundlessness of this evaluation. Aristotle suspected that the Earth was round, and the person who proved it scientifically was Greek mathematician and geographer Eratosthenes in the 3rd century B.C.E. This belief that the world was round was also known to Dante Alighieri, Origen, Ambrose, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon and, of course, Christopher Columbus. Eco asks: *“..why did the belief that the Earth was in the shape of a flat circle spread? In the 7th century Isidore Sevillian calculated that the length of the equator is eighty thousand stages. So he thought that the Earth is a circle. However, in the Isidore manuscripts we find a diagram, the so-called T map, which inspired a great number of images of our planet [...] how did it happen, that people who considered our Earth to be round, drew maps where the Earth is flat? The first explanation: we do it in the exactly same way. To*

criticize the flatness of their maps is the same as criticising the flatness of our contemporary atlases...³

The ontological construction of someone belonging to a certain culture is a so-called mythical (cosmological) space. Its concept had a long-lasting effect upon the perception and cognition of a real geographical space, as well as upon the collection and saving of empirical data. For this reason, in interdisciplinary analyses of past societies and their development, we look at the worldview of contemporary people, their understanding of themselves, and the world surrounding them. The results of such research are usually new and unexpected.⁴ Researchers admit that the space of the past is not only a natural, but also a cultural and multifaceted social construct.⁵ If the contemporary understanding of geography is based on empirical and experimental analysis – the discourse of the natural sciences – then historical research should be based on other interdisciplinary ways and discourses of understanding space.

On the other hand, such discourses of “perceiving space in a different way” may be too subjective, overwhelmed by the modern “human factor”. European secularisation, the Renaissance, the scientific “revolutions” of the modern era, rationalism, and positivism all weakened the effect of the perception of mythical space upon that of geographical space. They transformed mythical, religiously motivated space into a cultural category of wider scope, in this way separating the natural (i.e., objective) from humanistic (i.e., subjective) space in research. However, this “purely scientific” attitude was formed in the much wider ideological context of the 19th century, a context marked by the “struggle between science and religion” as well as by nationalism. This ideological context created the “new mythology of science” – the dependence of prevailing scientific meta-theories and historical narratives upon scientific investigation (including those of the natural sciences). Their impact on the objective understanding of geographical reality is not inferior to that of the industrially motivated cosmologies of societies. Umberto Eco aptly described the influence of positiv-

3 Eco, Umberto. *Sukurti priešą ir kiti progeniai rašinai. Tariamos astronomijos*. Vilnius: Tyto Alba, 2011. Pp. 215-216. Lithuanian edition of Eco, Umberto. *Inventing the enemy: and other occasional writings. Imaginary astronomies*.

4 Vaitkevičius, Vytautas. *Kraštovaizdžio skaitymas su patirties žodynu*. // *Liaudies kultūra* 4(2012), 50-61.

5 Lamberg, Marko; Hakanen, Marko. *Afterword: beyond space? // Physical and cultural space in pre-industrial Europe: methodological approaches to spatiality* / edited by Lamberg, Marko; Hakanen, Marko. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011. Pp. 375-381.

ism on the perception of past space: “...*the secular tutoring of the 19th century, disgruntled with the Church for not admitting the heliocentric hypothesis, for all the Christian world [...] maintained the idea that the Earth is flat. [...] took advantage of the fact [...] that the Byzantine geographer Kosmas Indikopleustes in the 6th c. [...] claimed that the cosmos is square shaped, with an arch protuberant upwards from the flat base of the Earth [...] [but] the truth is that the text of Kosmas [...] became known in the western world only in 1706...*” and therefore could not have had any influence on the medieval understanding of space in Western Europe.⁶ Thus, scientists leaned on positivistic meta-theoretical attitudes about the “darkness” and “primitivism” of science in these times. They attributed pseudo-geographical knowledge to medieval people, knowledge which they did not even possess, and brought additional confusion into the understanding of the space of the past through national historical narratives created in the 19th century, thus having a huge impact on history and social geography. We will not stop here to discuss the “anthropological” studies of that period, studies which tried scientifically to prove the superiority of one nation over other nations.⁷ However, we should note one particular area of study – that of the so-called “ethnogenesis of nations” – where spatial information was manipulated to prove the “real dependence” of one or another territory upon a certain country.⁸ On the other hand, works of literature quite often have a bigger impact on historical consciousness than does “objective” scientific research, where scientists (who grew up in the same societies) repeat the same historical narratives and stereotypes of fiction in their works, and in this way provide the authority of science to a story. Probably the most classic example of how fiction influenced the comprehension of past geography is the story of Christopher Columbus. In this case, the “scientific” establishment of the fact that Christopher Columbus proved the roundness of the Earth (as if no one knew of it before him) was made by Irving’s biographical novel, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, published in 1828.⁹

6 Eco, U. Op. cit., pp. 212-215.

7 Eco, Umberto. *Sukurti priešą ir kiti progeniai rašinai*. Sukurti priešą. Vilnius: Tyto Alba, 2011. Pp. 16-25. Lithuanian edition of Eco, Umberto. *Inventing the enemy: and other occasional writings. Inventing the enemy*.

8 Geary, Patrick, J. *The myth of nations: the medieval origins of Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003. Pp. 15-40.

9 Hedges, William, L. *Irving’s Columbus: The problem of romantic biography*. // *The Americas* 13, 2(1956), 127-140; Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *Inventing the flat Earth: Columbus and modern historians*. New York: Praeger, 1991.

Through these meta-theories, historical narratives, and fiction, even the geography of our times, as a typical science of nature, acquires features of the social and human sciences. In the research of the space of the past, the relationship between the natural sciences and SSH (the Social Sciences and Humanities) is equally proportional to the number of written and iconographic sources needed for understanding the exact period and geographical space. This relationship correlates with the research methodology of the sources. The written and iconographic sources created by people of the past reflects their attitudes to the surrounding world and gives modern scientists a chance to choose suitable methods for the “reading of the past” – to comprehend historic space in a way similar to how it was comprehended by the people of those times. This is very topical for the analysis of space comprehension in the Medieval Ages and the Renaissance era. However, if we speak of pre-historical societies and their space comprehension, the natural sciences become more important than SSH, because of the material sources they possesses and because too little scientific evidence from mythology, linguistics and folklore reflects on the social space of those times.

Understanding of space (including historic space) was further modified by the development of information and communication technologies (especially by the widespread application of GIS technology), as well as by the application of computers to the human sciences and the digitisation and presentation of heritage on the internet. Computing – mathematical technology based on algorithms and binary code – provides possibilities for maximizing objectivity in the geographical representation of reality. Paradoxically, the comprehension of space based on historical narratives is much stronger than that based on ICT discourse. When digitising cultural heritage, we link it less to modern geographical space realities, than to the historical space of the 19th century that was marked with the myths of nationalism. For example, in summer 2013, in Europeana, the biggest digital heritage portal of the European Union, there were only 188 objects linked to the place named Klaipėda, whereas the town called Memel (a different national name for the same place) had 1162 objects; similarly, 5777 objects of digital heritage were found linked to Gdansk, while Danzig had 10507 objects. In a similar vein, according to data about periodical publishing, Japan asked local authorities and state-



FIGURE 1.
The location of Dubingiai micro-region

run universities not to post Google maps on their websites because some of them use non-Japanese names for disputed territories.¹⁰

This paper aims to emphasize and reveal how the “human” discourse regarding perceptions of historic space help us to comprehend, interpret and fix the geographical and cartographic data of the past.

10 Japan ‘takes issue with Google maps’ over islands [cited: 2013-09-29]. Available at: <http://www.france24.com/en/20130929-japan-takes-issue-with-google-maps-over-islands>

The aim of the paper is to discuss the fundamental concepts of medieval and renaissance space, and to justify the ancient scheme of symbolic-iconographic interpretation of old maps.

Because of the extensive scope of potential sources for research, the methodological approach of “population and sample ratio” was chosen as the basis for statistical analysis. To substantiate the theoretical statements developed in this article, empirical material collected during the implementation of a scientific project in a small territory of the Dubingiai micro-region (Lithuania) will be used. The name of the project was “The Origins of Lithuanian State Based on Research Data of the Dubingiai Micro-region”.

Dubingiai is a small town, 40 kilometres to the north of Vilnius. It is located near the longest lake in Lithuania – Dubingiai Lake. In the 13th to 17th centuries, Dubingiai was an important regional centre of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Until the end of the 15th century, the town served as a residence of the great dukes of Lithuania, while later, from the 16th to 18th centuries, it was the residence of a very important noble family, the Radvila (Radziwill) family (Figure 1). This paper presumes that in this way (in one micro-region) generalized statements can be applied to a bigger geographical space – not only to the Great Duchy of Lithuania, but also to Eastern, Northern and Central Europe.¹¹

Basic concepts of Medieval and Renaissance space in Lithuania

The problems of comprehending the space of the past, as analysed in this article, were inspired by a small research project that was carried out while trying to relate historic and GIS data. The aim of the research was to visualize cartographically territorial administrative units which existed in the Dubingiai micro-region in 1651: the Dubingiai and Baranava ancient rural districts. Written sources provide lists of villages belonging to these districts, so the task of marking their boundaries was not difficult. The result achieved was somewhat different from what was initially expected, however (Figure 2). The boundaries of the two districts were in a strange juxtaposition; they did not parallel (bordered) or adjoin each other, but rather intersected (i.e.,

¹¹ I am grateful to my colleagues Albinas Kuncevičius, Rimantas Jankauskas, Vyktas Vaitkevičius, Daiva Vaitkevičienė, Ramūnas Šmigelskas and Renaldas Augustinavičius for their discussion and insights on the theme of the article as well as to the participants of the research seminar at the Conference and School on Records, Archives and Memory Studies held at the University of Zadar in May 2013.

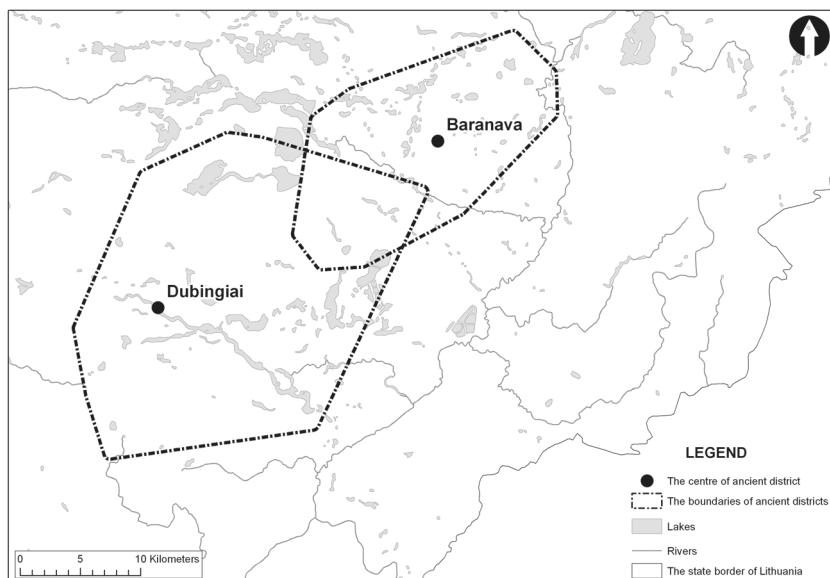


FIGURE 2.

The boundaries of the ancient rural districts of Dubingiai and Baranava. Map created by Renaldas Augustinavičius

were cross-bordered). This was an impetus to continue analysing the comprehension of historic space in medieval and renaissance Catholic and Byzantine (orthodox) Europe because these ideological traditions formed the heritage of Baltic tribes as well as of Lithuanian contexts of space comprehension. When analysing the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) space, we have to emphasise its late conversion to Christianity, which took place in 1387. The pagan space was more pluralistic and less hierarchical and systematized than was the Christian space,¹² which had a dominant parish church and clear hierarchy of cult buildings (cathedral-parish, church-philia, and church-chapel). On the other hand, the tolerant ruling elite of GDL in the 13th to 16th centuries created favourable conditions for cultural interactions between paganism (folk superstitions included), discourses of different Christian movements (Catholics, Orthodoxes and Protestants), Judaism, and even mythological discourses of Islam (Tartarians).

12 Johnson, Matthew. Ideas of landscape. Hoboken: Blackwell Publishing, 2008.

During the research, it was concluded that the fundamental concepts of space in the 13th to 16th centuries were the territory (area) and the border. Other concepts of historic space (for example, region, country, town, road, and cultural landscape) were derivative, predetermined by understandings of the exact territory and its border.

Territory

Two cultural space dimensions are important for understanding the concept of the territory of the past: these are the macro-space and the micro-space. Macro-space is not so much a geographical concept as it is a cosmological category,¹³ which reveals itself in religion, myths, and rituals, whereas the micro-space is more “earthly”, a cultivated, familiar space where a person collects his or her lived experiences. It is an ecological niche populated by a certain community, and sustained by the resources obtained in the ecological niche.¹⁴ This micro-space is the research object of the historical space. To fully comprehend the micro-space and to be able to physically remain in it, it is necessary to identify the macro-space (cosmological) elements, which were the most important for societies of the past. This mythologized view caused the multi-layered understanding of the space of the past; for this reason when interpreting space of our everyday life, we cannot follow economic criteria or our common sense. When analysing the comprehension of past space, we should note that for the structuring of the natural micro-space the cosmological binary opposition of “own” (insider) and “strange” (alien) was applied. According the empirical experience of communities, not just space, but the world of plants and animals were classified into “good” (“own”, useful) and “bad” (“strange”, not-useful, hostile) too. On the basis of this cosmological idea, the oppositional binaries of culture/nature, town/forest, divine/earthbound, and Christian/non-Christian world were formed. These binaries hugely influenced human interpersonal relationships and the territorialisation of space and cartography.¹⁵ What is more, the structurisation of micro-space could be grounded in anthropological (according to the human

13 Hakanen, Marko. The reach of power. // Physical and cultural space in pre-industrial Europe: methodological approaches to spatiality / edited by Lamberg, Marko; Hakanen, Marko. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011. Pp. 199-217.

14 Korpela, Jukka. In Deep, Distant Forests. // Physical and cultural space in pre-industrial Europe: methodological approaches to spatiality / edited by Lamberg, Marko; Hakanen, Marko. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011. Pp. 95-124.

15 Gurevich, Aron. Categories of Medieval Culture. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985.

body) and palaeo-astronomical (according to the sun, moon, planets and stars) knowledge. In this way, the countries of the world were mythologized (east, west, north, south), while certain qualities and even colours were attached to them.¹⁶ Another division of micro-space could be grounded on a different binary opposition – the distinction of sacral (*sacrum*) and everyday (*profanum*) spaces.¹⁷ The sacral space is of course the space of different sacred places, most probably burial places as well; the everyday spaces include homesteads, roads, cultivated fields, forests for hunting, lakes for fishing, rivers, etc.

Proceeding with the idea of the spatial opposition between “own” and “strange”, we should ask the question – how the “strange” becomes the “own”? As it will be explained in detail in the following text, the medieval ruler or nobleman ruled people and not the precise area. Thus, wild fields became cultivated “LAND” and remained like this because of human work. In this way, land acquired the features of personalized land (i.e., having an owner).

When we differentiate land into cultivated (personalized) and non-cultivated (wild), it is interesting to look at the translation and interpretation of the Latin term “terra”, which is found in the written sources of Lithuanian studies of the 14th to 15th centuries. For example, in the description of the march of the Livonian Order to Lithuania in 1375, the territorial units mentioned in the vicinities of Dubingiai were these: *terra Dobinge*, *terra Oswiam*, *terra Asdubingen*, *districtus Heidoiaten*, and *villa Gaweiken*. There is an entrenched provision in historiography that the Latin term “terra” appearing in the texts of the 14th century has to be translated into Lithuanian as “žeme” and interpreted as an early administrative-territorial unit. Recent research proves that this provision is not exactly correct. It is questionable whether topographically integral, formal units with clearly defined borders could exist in 14th to 15th century Lithuania. On the other hand, the “terra” of Hermanni de Wartberge, for example, chronicles is simply the reflection of the German language and inborn mentality of the author. Thus, in that case the Latin “terra” is just an equivalent of the German “land”, which stands not for an administrative-territorial unit but for the non-formal micro-space – the cultivated areas of some bigger village, as an opposition to the “wild” forest. In a similar sense the term “terra” is used in the

¹⁶ Matvejević, Predrag. *Viduržemio jūros brevijorius*. Vilnius: Mintis, 2011. Pp. 87-91. Lithuanian edition of Matvejević, Predrag. *Mediterranean: a cultural landscape*.

¹⁷ Eliade, Mircea. *The sacred and the profane: the nature of religion*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961.

establishment of churches in the 14th to 18th centuries when churches were given land (having in mind cultivated land), for example, "... donatio terrae Lukiany ..." or "... quator homines cum terra Lelkuski...".¹⁸ In medieval western European writings we find a similar interpretation of "terra", which in cartography is marked as "orbis terrarum" – the whole of all the cultivated lands (acquired, worked, and populated).¹⁹ For this reason the medieval maps provide the cities only, while the space around them is left unfilled, or filled with artistic drawings, having nothing in common with the topographical reality. Very often, the space around cities is filled with images of monsters, in this way people used to highlight the wild and unsafe nature of non-cultivated space. The reality in these old maps is represented similarly in modern metro line maps, which help us to reach one station from another, although they do not reflect the real topography of the city.²⁰

This "humanized" and personified space allows us to speak about the application of a communicative paradigm to the concept and definition of territory. Accordingly, we could claim that territory in the medieval ages could be comprehended as a cluster of micro-spaces belonging to certain people or communities – a bigger space, where intensive communication takes place between people living in cultivated spaces (farmsteads, villages, manors, castles, towns, cities, etc.). We can define territories of different sizes according to the possibilities of communication. In this respect, the smallest historical territorial space, the historic micro-region, is a natural and cultural space which developed naturally and historically and where its dwellers maintain close relationships and communicate effectively.²¹

18 Jučas, Mečislovas. *Lietuvos parapijos XV-XVIII a.* Vilnius: Aidai, 2007.; Fijalek, Jan; Semkowicz, Władysław. *Codex diplomaticus Ecclesiae Cathedralis necnon Dioeceseos Vilnensis 1387-1468*, vol. 1, fasc. 1. Kraków: Polska Akademia umiejętności, 1932.

19 Hamerow, Helena. Early medieval settlements: the archaeology of rural communities in North-West Europe 400–900. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

20 Eco, U. *Sukurti priešą ir kiti progeniai rašiniai. Tariamos astronomijos.* Op. cit., pp. 215-216.

21 The end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century the development of transportation and informational communicative technologies provided us with the possibility of physically traveling from Vilnius to London in a single day, and we can conduct a major part of our business in virtual space. The expansion of the communicative space and its borders is one of the outcomes of globalization; however, this does not deny the existence of structured space based on the communicative paradigm. The Canadian communications scholar Marshall McLuhan introduced a metaphor of the "global village" – the world becomes a global village because of technological advances and the communicative possibilities they offer, however the new does not deny or destroy the old. When applying a communicative paradigm for territorialisation nowadays, we can talk about different communicative levels that determine different territorial spaces: from the small spaces predetermined by "prehistoric" communication, such as walking by foot, to the "global village" on the internet.

A micro-region is a cultural-territorial unit which was formed naturally; it should not be mixed with religious administrative-territorial units or artificial units created by a state or church. Natural micro-regions were initially established as a cluster of small “cultivated” micro-spaces, where one micro-space (e.g., a village) was separated from another micro-space (e.g., another village) or vast space of wild nature (e.g., forest) (Figure 3). The early micro-region in its topographical appearance reminds us more of an archipelago of islands in the ocean than of a modern territorial-administrative unit. Later, when the number of inhabitants increased with the expansion of “cultivated” micro-spaces, the “wild” fields separating them were appropriated and the previously separate islands of archipelago started to unite, naturally forming topographically integral micro-regions. The minimal size of these unique natural territorial units was set by the capabilities of the community to live in the local ecological niche, using local resources, technological means, and farming systems. A micro-region could not be smaller than the space needed for the survival of communities. The maximum size of the naturally formed micro-region was set by communicative measures (e.g., the speed of travel). According to this criterion, we could distinguish natural micro-regions of a two kinds: smaller and bigger. The smaller micro-region is the space of community life, it could be walked round in one day. The bigger micro-region could constitute several smaller micro-regions. It was a space which had its centre and its periphery. The distance in between could be covered twice in a day; that is, it was possible to travel to the centre and back to the periphery twice, with some time left for necessary activities in the centre of the micro-region. By evaluating the communicative possibilities of these past communities, we can distinguish between important technological and natural matters, which did not change in Lithuania until the 19th century. The most important means of communication was the direct way, where information was sent to the addressee through a mediator either orally or in a written form. The important mechanisms that improved communication were road infrastructure and transport.

Natural conditions (e.g., seasons, the landscape, water reservoirs) could be perceived as “corridors” or “barriers” burdening communication. For example, travelling in wintertime was faster than travelling in summer, as sliding in a sleigh over ice is faster than riding a carriage, and travelling through frozen swamps and water reservoirs is faster if it meant that short cuts appeared. According to research on the speed of



FIGURE 3.

Argirdiškės village “island” near Dubingiai, from a map of the Baranava forest, 1807, Central Archive of Historical Records in Warszawa, ZK, teka 415, 27

travel or the distances given in judicial documents, we could assert that the theoretical diameter of the smaller micro-region could be around 6 to 10 kilometres, while the diameter of the bigger micro-region could have reached to around 20 to 24 kilometres.

Natural, smaller micro-regions (like micro-space clusters) started to intensively increase in number in eastern Lithuania in the Old Iron Age (1st to 4th centuries C.E.), but their territorial distribution was not stable because of settlement migration that was characteristic of that period. In the Middle Iron Age (5th to 9th centuries), the mobility of settlements decreased. The reason for that was the development of agriculture centred on a primitive plough (in Lithuanian – *arklas*) and two-field crop rotation. Thus, smaller micro-regions stabilized and a stable net of roads started to form.²² By that time, three natural smaller

22 Augustinavičius, Renaldas; Laužikas, Rimvydas; Kuncevičius, Albinas; Jankauskas, Rimantas. Territorial model of Eastern Lithuania during the 1st–15th centuries. // Migracje: Funeralia Lednickie 15. / red. Dzieduszycki, Wójciech; Wrzesiński, Jacek. Poznań: Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Archeologów Polskich, 2013. Pp. 59–74.

micro-regions (territorial clusters) formed around Dubingiai Lake; Asveja, Lakaja, and Baluošas (Figure 4). Because of better soil, the Asveja micro-region should have gained economic superiority over the others. The biggest push was the modernization of plough dragged by oxen and the development of the three-field crop rotation which spread in the 11th to 13th centuries; these innovations opened up the possibility of working in the hard but most fertile land surrounding Dubingiai Lake in the Asveja micro-region. In the 14th century, after several attacks by the Livonian Order, the smaller micro-regions must have been encouraged to consolidate around the economically strongest Asveja micro-region, thus forming the naturally biggest Dubingiai micro-region. The stability of settlements must have encouraged the strengthening of artificial (i.e., not naturally developed, but created by people) administrative structures, which acquired different forms, starting with the chiefdoms of the Middle Iron Age and ending with the state of Lithuania. Thus, a part of the smaller micro-regions naturally formed in the Middle Iron Age was later formalized and so remained until the new ages (16th to 18th centuries).

The logic of forming natural territorial structures was reused when formalizing them and creating artificial territorial structures – the administrative-territorial unit. Administrative-territorial units were the

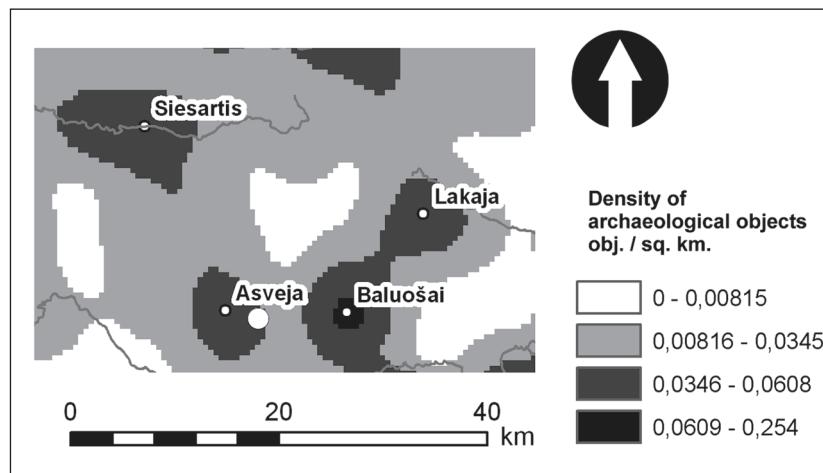


FIGURE 4.

Territorial clusters around Dubingiai Lake in the Middle Iron Age (the 5th to 9th centuries). Map created by Renaldas Augustinavičius

expression of economic, judicial, religious or (and) political authority. These were territories where people were economically, judicially, religiously or (and) politically dependent on another person, group of persons, or organization. During the establishment of artificial administrative-territorial units, the communicative paradigm was differently interpreted and applied, thus, this resulted in the appearance of two types of administrative units: economic (secular) and religious. Their differences were influenced by the necessary (from a functional perspective) aims of communication activities and their intensity.

Economic units were an expression of political power – territories where noblemen or rulers of a certain level were collecting taxes, implementing justice, or (and) exhibiting their political power. The formation of the Lithuanian state in the 12th to 13th centuries created the necessary conditions for such artificial administrative-territorial structures, which were simply “given from above”. The creation of economic administrative-territorial structures added one more criterion to the theoretical concept of the territory – the condition that in the minimal area of an administrative-territorial unit, the dwellers of the unit had to be self-sufficient enough to sustain the well-being of the unit’s administration and its additional structures by paying taxes, tolls, gifts tithes, etc. In this way, an even closer connection was established between territorial structures, dwellers, and economics. Communication taking place within the unit (on the level of the owner or the people he owned) was not intensive for a long time (until the 16th century when serfdom relationships were established); usually it was kept only to the collection of taxes and tolls a one or few times a year. This created the binary opposition between the “own” and the “strange” lands, mentioned earlier, within economic administrative-territorial units. In 14th to 16th century Lithuania, the administrative-territorial unit was understood as a judicial, militaristic and economic unit rather than as a topographically integral territory. It was a cluster of people and lands (later villages and manors) belonging to one owner, which did not create topographically integral polygons.²³ For example, in 1634 the inventory of the Dubingiai duchy was divided into two administrative-territorial units – rural districts – according to their land owners: the district of the manor and the district of the priest, while the villages of these districts topographi-

²³ The “topographically integral polygons” means the territorial structures which are a closed plane territory bounded by lines (continuous borders).

cally were mixed in with each other. The territorial consolidation of private and state (ducal) lands, as well as the creation of topographically integral (polygonal) territorial units only took place intensively from the 16th to the 18th centuries. The intensive serfdom of peasants, the implementation of Valakai reform (Wallach reform) in the 16th century, GDL, and the GDL territorial reform from 1564-1565 were all important reasons for declining intensity. During the formation of the stable system of serfdom where particular duties applied to peasant life (e.g., corvée in a manor), communication between the owner and the owned became more intensive and enhanced the creation of topographically integral administrative-territorial units. However, until the 20th century, we still could have found topographically scattered territorial elements which belonged to just one owner. Until the 17th to 19th centuries, many manors had so-called “exterritorial lands”, which did not connect to the main lands of the manor topographically and were surrounded by foreign lands. For example, in the Dubingiai duchy, such exterritorial lands included the Kaušiniai village, other villages to the north of the state manor of Intukė, and the Giedraitėliai and Šarkiškiai villages, which used to be near Urkis Lake, south of the Sužioniai state manor. In the Intukė state manor in 1853, the villages of Varlyna, Altraja, Doviatiškiai and Paliepiai were separated from the main set of villages.

In a wider context the most important factors influencing the creation of topographically integral secular administrative-territorial units were the Renaissance and the Reformation. Research in other European countries has revealed a close connection between the development of Reformation and cartography,²⁴ while the 16th century, dominated by the Reformation, is called the “cartographic revolution”²⁵ It is believed that the reformers’ actions against “Christian idolatry” caused the “revolution of the sign”, which introduced the illustrative function of visualising reality, which replaced the theophany prevailing in the medieval picture (cf., art is a gospel to the illiterate).²⁶ This influenced the rise of portrait painting and still life draw-

²⁴ Puhakka, Ismo. Theology and map publishing. // Physical and cultural space in pre-industrial Europe: methodological approaches to spatiality / edited by Lamberg, Marko; Hakanen, Marko. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011. Pp. 29-58.

²⁵ Buisseret, David. The mapmakers' quest: depicting new worlds in Renaissance Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

²⁶ Puhakka, I. Op. cit.

ings in art, while in the area of space perception, it brought “realistic” cartography that was similar to that of today. Maps started serving social functions such as town planning or delineating borders, and navigation, military, and administrative purposes. What is more, in Europe, marked by the Renaissance, a map became a measure for the creation and consolidation of states. It functioned as a sign of power,²⁷ with the topographically exact measurements, calculations, and delimitation realized not only as military, economic, or judicial measures, but also as managerial measures (e.g., an accounting of rulers’ lands) or, on the ideological level, as measures of statehood creation.

Unlike the secular administrative-territorial units, religious units of the Catholic Church (e.g., parishes) had to be topographically integral from the very beginning. The communication between a priest and his parishioners was different from the communication between a landlord and the peasants who belonged to him, a relationship which was permanent. Every believer had to go to Sunday mass, while the priest had to visit his parishioners, administer sacraments, etc. Thus, the naturally formed bigger micro-regions could have been used for parish creation with the older “power centres”, by attributing to them the additional function as a parish centre. In this way, the natural bigger Dubingiai micro-region could have become the Dubingiai parish (Figure 5). We can make an assumption that territories and their (parishes) borders in the 14th to 16th centuries followed the territories of the bigger micro-regions of the 13th to 14th centuries, while the early lists of living places in parishes can help in tracing the historic borders of GDL micro-regions in the 13th century. We may hypothesize that even the topographically integral early parishes were not limited by linear borders. The parish territory was, most probably, described by the principle of the so-called “set of villages”; the only difference between it and the simultaneous secular administrative-territorial units was that the villages belonging to one parish made a topographically integral territorial (polygonal) cluster.

²⁷ Katajala, Kimmo. Maps, borders and state-building. // Physical and cultural space in pre-industrial Europe: methodological approaches to spatiality / edited by Lamberg, Marko; Hakanen, Marko. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011. Pp. 58-95.

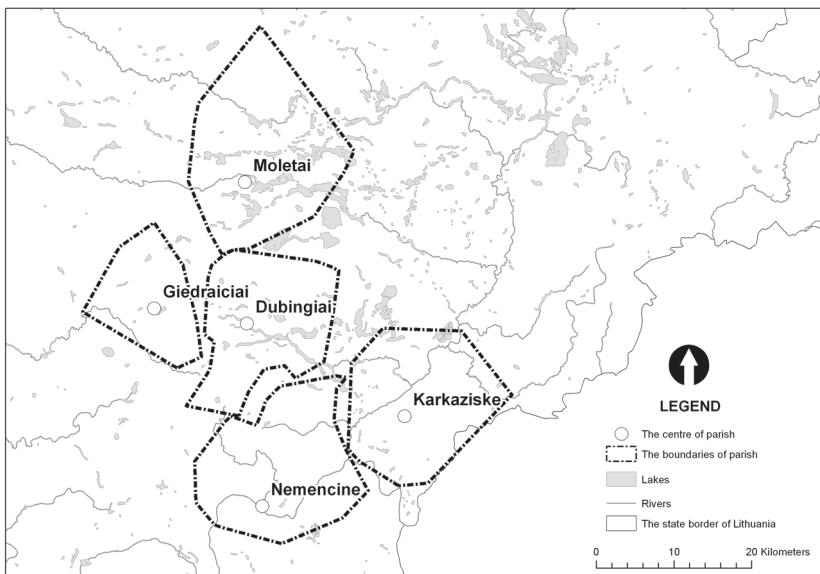


FIGURE 5.

Dubingiai and surrounding parishes in 1744, by Synodus Dioecesana Vilnensis ab [...] Michaelie Joanne Zienkowicz [...] episcopo Vilnensi [...] Anno [...] 1744. Map created by Renaldas Augustinavičius

Border

The concept of the border and its historical development is tightly linked to the concept of territory. In the early stage the border was perceived as a border between the “own”, that is cultivated, and the “strange” (wild), which could be unmarked (simply known to the local people), marked by natural barriers (rivers, mountains, lakes, forests, etc.), or marked by artificial markings (boundaries, fences, town or churchyard walls, etc.).²⁸ Due to the scarcity of dwellers and large areas of land, the distances between communities were large (as long as there was no shortage of soil to be worked, extensive farming prevailed) and the ecological niches needed for the community’s survival were far from one another, so there was no need to mark borders. This was the situation in the Dubingiai micro-region in the first centuries AD. The number of dwellers in the micro-region must have not been

28 Gurevich, A. Op. cit.

big. If we keep within the micro-region's borders and counting using the Vita-Finzi, Higgs and Carneiro formula,²⁹ around 60 to 100 people must have been living in its territory (around 175 square km) in the first centuries AD, in just a few communities. Very extensive farming was possible in such community spaces, since ecological niches did not compete, and therefore no pressure was felt. Due to rapid degradation of land and the small importance of agriculture in the overall farming structure, dwelling places could be moved from one place to another. It is known that in Denmark, in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, dwelling places were changed after one or two generations. The more stable dwelling places were those that were established ones (as they required more resources). When the number of dwellers was so small that the territories, exploited by communities migrating, had to form polygons of more or less equal size. The connections among communities had to be fragmented (marriages, trades, devotions).³⁰

In the Middle Iron Age (the 5th to 9th centuries), due to the increase in inhabitants and the development of agriculture and its importance in the farming system, as well as the decrease in mobility, the ecological niches of one community could have reached the niches of another community. This must have caused conflicts, possibilities for enhanced communication, and diffusion of innovation. These changes created the conditions for a different kind of understanding of the concept of a border. The areas of farming activities (the ecological niches needed for survival) could be limited by natural barriers, and overcoming these required additional ergonomic resources (energy or technical measures, etc.), so such barriers could not be favourable for the community. When analysing the natural and geographical features of the place, we can claim that in the Dubingiai micro-region, the extremely long Dubingiai Lake could have functioned, in terms of communication, as a river. The lake was a natural border (barrier), separating one territory from the other and would have encouraging people to settle on the shores along the lake, although for communication purposes they would have had to find a way to cross the barrier. Due to its slack water and origin as a glacial tunnel, the lake did not perform the role of a "corridor" as would a river. However, in the 17th century, in the inventory of the Dubingiai duchy, there are clues about rafting on the

29 Warrick, Gary. A population history of the Huron-Petun, A.D. 500-1650. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. P.56.

30 Hamerow, H. Op. cit.

lake. Still, it is obvious that navigation on the lake was different from navigation on the river (while the lake is big, the streams connecting to other lakes and rivers are not suitable for navigation).

The concept of a border as a natural border remained until the late Medieval Ages. When the state was forming, the idea of personal space was applied to border markings. As already mentioned, the medieval ruler or nobleman ruled people rather than a precise territory. Among the nobility, this personal subordination was defined by senior-vassal relationships, while simple people were dependent upon town privileges and the serfdom system.³¹ Thus, the territory of the state was not a general territory, but rather a “cultivated” territory, which was worked by people keeping the some kinds of personal connections to a designated ruler. The concept of a man as a resource is very strong in the descriptions of medieval wars, when during predatory forays, the efforts were concentrated on killing, or, if possible, taking the “people of the enemy” to their holdings.

In a similar way and for a similar reason, communities strived to regenerate by increasing the number of people in a territory through inward or outward migration and (or) colonisation (sometimes compulsory) measures, just as occurred in eastern Prussia after the 18th century plague.³² This concept of territory defined according to the size of populations and interpersonal connections used to be applied to the inner territories and state units,³³ while the state borders as they exist today were formed only in the Renaissance era.³⁴ Due to this understanding of resources and borders, the territories of states in conflict have naturally been emptied, as during the crusades, when vassals of different rulers were killed or moved to quiet inner territories of the state. Such “border moors” from the end of the 14th century until the beginning of the 15th century were in Lithuanian peripheries with the German Order [i.e., the Teutonic Knights] and its border with Livonia. These territo-

31 Katajala, K. Op. cit.

32 The relation between a person and the land was defined in an interesting way in the toponymic sources of the 16th-18th century. In the church inventories, villages belonging to the parish were registered according to those who established the manors. For this reason there was duplication of place names – the villages where peasants depended on a few landlords were usually repeated a few times in the place name list, as if they were separate objects in reality.

33 Gustafsson, Harald. The conglomerate state: a perspective on state formation in Early Modern Europe. // Scandinavian journal of history 23, 3-4(1998), 189-213.

34 Davies, Rees. The medieval state: the tyranny of a concept? // Journal of historical sociology 16, 2(2003), 280-300.

ries were only populated (colonized) in the 16th century, after around one hundred years passed since last conflicts with the German Order.

It is claimed that the linear borders as we have them now started forming in small territories in local communities as the borders of yards, villages, and parishes, while the borders of bigger territories were called “boundaries”, which connoted minor territories.³⁵ Despite the formation of linear state borders, the concept of the border in the 14th century until the beginning of the 15th century was different from the concept we have nowadays. Recent studies of Roman walls (*limes*) show³⁶ that they performed more functions than simply that of defence: they also controlled the movement of people, similarly to natural barriers (usually bodies of water) in earlier periods. The garrisons of the Roman frontier were not strong enough to fend off armies, so they were used to fight off robbers, collect taxes, and control the movement of people. In this way, manmade territory borders (similar to fortifications) were added to natural barriers in spots where the latter were not sufficient for controlling the movement of people.

Due to their geographical and geopolitical position and historic circumstances in eastern Lithuania, all the most important trade roads in the first millennium AD and in the early medieval ages (until the second half of the 16th century) were in the north-south direction, connecting northern neighbours – Scandinavia, Pskov, Novgorod and Riga, with the regional centres of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea (Rome, Constantinople, Kiev). The locations of the earliest trade roads have been identified by finds of Arabic, Byzantine, Kievan Rus' coins and coin treasures. Due to this geopolitical orientation, Dubingiai Lake was a barrier restricting travels through eastern Lithuania in the north-south direction. Treating Dubingiai Lake like this, we can claim that the roads overland must have run the length of the lake or led to the narrowest places where ferries or bridges could be installed. The fact is that two most important roads from Vilnius to the north go around Dubingiai Lake until this very day: to the west through Giedraičiai and to the east through Švenčionys. These two trade roads formed two adjacent micro-regions: Giedraičiai and Švenčionys. However, in the context of our research, the more interesting roads are those crossing Dubingiai Lake at the narrowest places. There are only three

35 Katajala, K. Op. cit.

36 Breeze, David. *The frontiers of imperial Rome*. Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2011.

places like this: the Dubingiai castle-place (the current width is 80 m), Alka village (the current width is 67 m), and Žingiai village (the current width is 5 m)). At the beginning of the second millennium AD (in the dawn of Lithuanian state), Dubingiai Lake could have been the border of Nalšia and Mindaugas Lithuania – developing territorial units of the commonwealth. The northern part of the lake belonged to Nalšia, and the southern part to Lithuania. The lake crossings were the so-called frontier-zones, where the movement of people had to be controlled in order to defend from attacks by neighbouring communities and to use for tax collection purposes. Similar border concepts and functions could be identified in medieval Lithuania, where the first GDL borders in a linear manner were marked in the contracts of dukes Algirdas and Kęstutis with the German Order. In the 1398 Salinwerder (Salynas) and 1422 Melnosee (Melnas) peace contracts, the linear borders were described in separate articles for the first time. When the Melnosee peace contract was signed, the state's border was marked and measured. In 1473 GDL and Livonia made the first delimitation contract where the border was marked with artificial signs and measured in miles.³⁷ During the rule of the Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania, the very first attempts to formalize the integral administrative-territorial structures topographically were made, while in 1413 the first large state administrative-territorial units of a higher hierarchical level were established by the privilege of Horodło in the current territory of Lithuania -the provinces (voivodeships) of Vilnius and Trakai.³⁸ However, we may think of this as a formal act which demonstrated the duke's sovereignty to the whole territory of the state, and was not at all intended as movement to establish linear borders of administrative units. The role of Vytautas as an innovator of the geographical concept is also highlighted in the recent GDL research.

When the borders of older territorial units (states, inner states' territories, or personal lands) were defined, the natural objects came in handy, their parts resembling the natural borders of the 13th and 14th century micro-regions. These natural borders were rivers, lakes, hills and swamps – the most stable landscape elements. If not these, then stones and roads served as markings. In cases where there were no sta-

³⁷ Čelkis, Tomas. Valdžia ir erdvė: Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės teritorializacijos procesas XIV–XVI a. PhD dissertation. Vilnius: Vilnius University, 2011. Pp. 27.

³⁸ Dubonis, Arūnas; Baronas, Darius; Petrauskas, Rimvydas. Lietuvos istorija III tomas. XIII a. - 1385 m.: valstybės iškilimas tarp Rytių ir Vakarų. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2011.

ble natural landmarks, or where the border made a turn, landmarks where created by people: mounds were made and crosses or metal signs were notched into trees. If this was not possible, then the border went from one landmark to another.³⁹ In order to trace the borders of older territorial units (of smaller and bigger micro-regions) which formed naturally, we could identify landmarks such as historic stones as well as natural monuments (if they were not moved from their initial places), mounds which were made of soil stones discovered in the forested places of Lithuania (the best-known is Rėkučiai terrace), or even barrows.⁴⁰ In order to re-establish the borders of old territories, it is worth paying attention to the correlations of place names having the word-branch “švent-“ (eng. “saint”) with the borders of territorial units;⁴¹ these borders relate to the medieval contraposition of spaces in the forest/city, where saint places were created in the wild environment in order to make them less dangerous.⁴²

In 1564-1565 the administrative territorial reform of GDL established for the first time in Lithuania (different from the provinces of the grand duke Vytautas) the topographically integral state administrative-territorial units and their defined linear borders. For example, the northern part of the Vilnius district near the Dubingiai micro-region started at the estuary of Ašmena river, followed the river Neris up to the estuary of Žeimena river, then reached the estuary of Dubinga, went back up the river to its origins, then straight to the origins of the Siesartis river, and followed it to the Siesartis estuary. From the estuary of Siesartis it went down the river to the Šventoji river estuary, than up the Neris river until it reached the estuary of the river Vokė. Such renaissance border establishment considered in the literature to be as one of many conceptual markings of state's territorial space showing the birth of the modern state;⁴³ in a similar way the establishment of a parish used to conceptualize the naturally formed bigger micro-regions.

³⁹ Čelkis, T. Op. cit., p. 204.

⁴⁰ Meurkens, Lucas. The late medieval/early modern reuse of prehistoric barrows as execution sites in the southern part of the Netherlands. // Journal of archaeology in the Low Countries (2010) [cited: 2013-09-25]. Available at: <http://dpc.uba.uva.nl/cgi/t/text/getpdf?c=jalc;idno=0202a01>

⁴¹ Vaitkevičius, Vykintas. Senosios Lietuvos šventvietės. Žemaitija. Vilnius: Diemedis, 1998. Pp. 9-18; Anttonen, Veiko. Mitä tutkimista pyhässä? [cited: 2013-09-25]. Available at: <http://www.tierteessatapahtuu.fi/796/anttonen.html>

⁴² Katajala, K. Op. cit.

⁴³ Ibid.

The symbolic-iconographic methodology for understanding historic maps

The tradition of contemporary cartography was formed by geography, as it is an exterior paradigm of the natural sciences. Even in cases where historic maps were being created, geographical knowledge was used for the basics. Such a cartographic attitude is an outcome of the map's evolution. In this evolution a number of ideas were mixed. The map is a reflection of reality, art history, war topography, renaissance humanism, educational epoch, positivism, iconicity and textuality. The result of this mixture is the modern, understandable map. However, due to this mixture of ideas, which was influenced by historic sequences, we have to understand the contemporary ideological agendae and aims of certain maps in order to interpret them. Modern maps are usually interpreted through invoking the methodology of natural topography, and questioning terms of how accurately they represent "objective" reality in the physical, political, economic or social geography "landscape". Meanwhile, the more promising methodology for the interpretation of maps of the past is the symbolic-cartographic methodology formed in the space of humanistic, interdisciplinary research. The question, "what did the creators of historic maps have in their minds?", must be asked in order to understand the contemporary mentality (in as much as it interceded between the contemporary person and the space) and the ideological landscape. In this case we touch upon the personalized space mentioned in the previous section; the comprehension of this space is important and promising for the research of past societies (answering the classical historic clues), and for the reconstruction of past landscapes (natural, political and social), which is a topic for the pure science of geography. On the other hand, while interpreting in this way, the map becomes the medium – an object that both withholds and saves information,⁴⁴ the text of which has to be "read" as a text constructed from signs organized according to their codes. The reader understands the code as rules of infusing the signs into the text, At the same time, the reader, understanding the text as any orderly sign system devoted for communication, can focus on clear differences between it and other systems (other texts).⁴⁵ Such texts indicate human thinking and ideas

⁴⁴ McLuhan, Marshall. Understanding media: the extensions of man. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994.

⁴⁵ Лотман, Юрий Михайлович. Структура художественного текста. // Об искусстве. Санкт Петербург: Искусство, 1998.

that flourished in the past in accordance with the cultures or the subcultures to which people belonged. They are parts of the system which members of a certain culture applied to interpersonal communication; the reading of these ideas is very important for recognizing and understanding past societies.

In this section, pursuing the theme of how meaning was communicated, we will discuss the fundamental cartographic idea of seeing the map as a reflection of reality, and try to reveal its development and its influence upon maps of different periods. Our research has proved that broader understanding of this idea gives solid basics for the interpretation of past symbolic-iconographic cartography. When discussing the importance of “real” ideas for reading of historic maps, their presentation in terms of chronological development was rejected on purpose. This is because understanding of the idea and its expression in the maps of different periods is much more important than the chronology. Accordingly, the three ideas of the map as a reflection of reality are distinguished as: the “divine” reality, the “programmed” reality, and the topographical reality. All of them are systemically discussed when analysing certain cartographic examples of GDL.

The medieval “divine” reality

It may seem to be a paradox, but medieval maps aimed to reflect exact reality just as do modern ones. Our scepticism in blaming medieval cartographers for inaccuracy and shallowness naturally results from our modern definition of reality. The dual attitudes of Christianity to the surrounding world created the medieval European outlook of the world: the visual, empirically constructed reality and the sinister, human reality. Both of them have always been overshadowed by aspirations of the divine and ideal reality. Thus, according to medieval outlooks, there were two dimensions in reality; we could call them the “human” and the “divine”. It should be noted that the “divine” reality was considered “more real” than the “human”. In the medieval world, these two realities were represented by two media – the textual/spoken medium (theology) and the visual medium (arts). Textual and spoken media were considered to be of a higher level, more suitable to intellectuals. The medieval media of the highest level was the Holy Scripture (Bible); after it came the writing of the fathers of the church; and finally the sermons of the parish priest. Meanwhile, visual media (arts) were considered as mere craft. Their purpose was to serve written media, just

as the gospel was to serve the illiterate in order to reveal the only real, divine reality that was locked in texts. Due to this division, the medieval map at first was a picture with a theophanic function.

Alcuin (8th-9th century), Abbot Suger from Saint-Denis (Suger, 11th-12th century), and Honorius Augustodunensis (11th-12th century) created, and the Arras council established in 1025, the idea of art as the way to represent the gospel to the illiterate. According to Honorius Augustodunensis, a picture had three purposes: "to adorn the house of God, to remember the lives of the saint, and to entertain illiterate people because pictures are the secular literature"⁴⁶ This tendency was very distinct in cartography, where the material view of the world *Mappa Mundi* ichnographically coincided with the view of the ideal reality – *Imago Mundi*. In cases where the "mundane" reality was needed, the media of the higher level was used – texts and stories while travelling when it was much easier to follow road descriptions (itineraries, vegetberichts) or to ask the way, reading the *Mappa Mundi*.

On the other hand, medieval comprehension of geographical space was based on a dualistic attitude of the world, divided by the fight between good and evil. As already mentioned, this attitude in geography was expressed as a contraposition of city and forest where the city is a safe, cultivated territory surrounded by walls and the forest is unsafe and dangerous territory.⁴⁷ When this attitude was applied in cartography, pagan ornaments were attributed to the "wild" space; for this reason they were not to be in maps, or if they were, they were to be drawn in a very abstract manner, as if peculiar exotics of borderlands. This explains why Lithuania, which became Christian late in comparison to other European states, beginning its conversion in the 13th century during the reign of the King Mindaugas and completing it in the 14th century under King Jogaila (Władysław II Jagiełło) and the Grand Duke Vytautas, was excluded from most of the medieval European *Mappa Mundi*. Lithuanians were mentioned for the first time as a nation (not as a state) by Petrus Visconti in his map in 1311 as being at the "world's end" and named "letoini pagani" [pagan Lithuanians]. Thirty years later, in 1339, Lithuania was marked for the first time as a state and as a territory (Lintefunia) in the Angelino

⁴⁶ Eco, Umberto. Menas ir grožis viduramžių estetikoje. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1997. The Lithuanian edition of Eco, Umberto. Art and beauty in the Middle Ages.

⁴⁷ Goff, Jacques de. La civilisation de l'Occident Médiéval. Paris: Flammarion, 1997.

Dulcertus map.⁴⁸ We can find the first clues about Vilnius in the Fra Mauro map in 1459. In that map, close to the name “Litvana”, there is a city marking for “P. Lituana”.⁴⁹ The Fra Mauro map may be interesting to the researchers of Lithuanian studies for another reason: in the map, between Prussia and Lithuania, near Aistmarės (Vistula lagoon) there is a city called “Litua”, which may be key in the discussion about the location of “Lituae”, mentioned in 1009 in the Annals of Quedlinburg. For the cartography of the 14th and 15th centuries, it was not important to depict Lithuania as exactly as possible, but it was important to focus on the appearance of the new Christian state in order to show the expansion of Catholic geographical space. The map markers coped with the task really well.

The medieval *Imago* tradition was continued in the 15th and 16th centuries when depicting the borders of territories. Two symbols of nature were used for this purpose: mountains and forests. In the cartographic pictures of the 16th century (e.g., Marcus Beneventanus, 1507), Lithuanian territory to the north of Vilnius was usually marked by the mountain range (Reef mountains), which in height and cartographic style appear no smaller than the Alps (Figure 6). In the 16th century this territory belonged to GDL and there were no administrative borders. Yet, the cultural margin between western (Roman) and eastern (Byzantine) Christianity was the crossing of the GDL. The mountains were considered not as a political border, but as a cultural margin between the “own” Catholic world and the “strange” Orthodox (schismatic) world. Sometimes in the Reef mountains we may find Hircine forests which had similar symbolic and iconographic meanings. In the 16th century the boundaries of mountains and forests were more rationally based, and become “political”. In this way the symbolic division between states and territorial state units started to appear.⁵⁰ In 1539, in

48 Lithuania might be mentioned in the 1300 Mappa Mundi drawn by Ebstorf as well as in the English Mappa Mundi by Hereford in 1290-1300. However, the territory near Riga, in the spot where Lithuania should be, was severely defective in the map by Ebstorf, and the Lithuanian markings could be specified only if the copy were to be analysed in detail (the original was destroyed) as well as the text in the map. The fact that Ebstorf was taking knowledge about north-western Europe from Adam of Bremen might be a reason why some Lithuanian place names were mentioned. Research is needed to answer the question of how the aurochs [large wild cattle] and the deer marked in the map are related to Lithuania. Detailed analysis of original and iconographic pictures is also needed for the Hereford map.

49 Bieliūnienė, Aldona; Kulnytė Birutė; Subatniekienė, Rūta. Lietuva žemėlapiuose. Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 2010.

50 Katajala, K. Op. cit.



FIGURE 6.

Reef mountains near Vilnius. Fragment of map Nicolaus Cusanus, "Tabula moderna. Sarmatia Eur" 1513

the "Carta Marina" created by Olaf Magnus, even though the name of Samogitia was marked in the territory to the east from Varniai, reaching the eastern border of Lithuania of today, the forest, going down from the north toward the south marks the border of the Samogitian diocese of that time. Similar depictions can be found in a 1548 atlas by Johan Stumpf. The last time when the Reef mountains were marked to the north from of Vilnius (and they were as big as the mountains in Scotland or Balkan Peninsula), was in 1691 on the "Map of Lithuania" by V. M. Coronelli.

Roads were excluded for a long time from all the elements depicting the "divine" reality. Until the 18th century, the tradition of trusting itineraries, people's advice, and road markings was much deeper than that of trusting maps. The first time that roads were marked in maps only occurred in the middle of the 18th century; but by the last decades of the century it was already a common practice. However, quite often, road depictions in maps were very vague and it was impossible to fol-

low them in an unfamiliar place, so people continued to use the “old” ways of finding the way. It is a paradox, but the “old” way of travelling was used even in Napoleon’s invasion of Russia in 1812. Accounts by soldiers in Napoleon’s army were important in this case. In the march from Kaunas to Vilnius, according to the memories of those who participated, Napoleon’s soldiers “had to go through terrible roads, sink in the sand and wade in mud reaching their knees”; “the elite guards of the Empire, due to the bad weather and flood tide meadows, lost not only their way (Vilnius – Kaunas public road), but also the tracks made by shepherds”; and “the Russian army destroyed all the road marks and it seemed than no one knew how far it was to Vilnius and which direction to follow in order to reach it”.⁵¹

Thus, even in the beginning of the 19th century, the geographic place of the road had to be related to the memory of the locals, not to maps or even to the actual road.

“Programmed” reality in the Renaissance

The Renaissance contributed two elements to the depiction of reality: the visualisation of reality “as it is” and the “programming” of reality. The first element is discussed above, so here we will discuss the second. The philosophy of humanism introduced the idea of the human being – the creator, who could be in some way compared to God. In the cartographic perspective this means the appearance of a new type of maps where the reality becomes “temporal” instead of “divine”. The temporal reality is not the one, which can be fixated by geodesic or topographic methods, but the reality, which appears in somebody’s head (usually that person is the ruler or nobleman). In this way a map becomes a reflection of human ideas, aims, and expectations, because maps depict things, which are needed for the client. The material view of the world – the *Mappa Mundi* in the Renaissance evolves towards the modern, topographically correct map, while the reflection of the ideal reality – *Imago Mondo* transforms into a peculiar “reflection of a human mind” – *Imago Cogitum*. It is important to note that the scientific view and interpretation of these two cartographic ideas were usually realised in one and the same map.

In the cartography of the second half of the 16th century, the influence of these ideas brings out a slightly different view of Lithuania.

51 Briedis, Laimonas. Vilnius: city of strangers. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2012.

This change was predestined by the appearance of local mapmakers who knew the cartography of Lithuania quite well. These mapmakers were Germans of Prussia or Livonia and citizens of the Republic of Two Nations (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). The maps, which stand out because of their detail, were those made in a German-oriented ideological environment by professors of the University of Bologna: the mathematician and cartographer Egnazio Danti, who made the “Map of Lithuania” (made in 1565 – 1580), and Stefano Bonsignori, who made the “Map of Germany” (made in 1575 – 1584). These maps were painted on the walls of the geography hall in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (Italy).

The origin of the German maps is evidenced by the Samogitian territory (the territory between Livonia and Prussia, very well described in German medieval written sources as “Die Litauischen Wegeberichte”), which was depicted in detail in comparison to the depiction of eastern Lithuania. However, close to this very exact depiction of reality we can find many reality “programming” units in these maps. For example, the territory of Lithuania in the “Map of Germany” was divided into three equal territorial units: Samogitia, Magnus Ducatus Lituanie and Iuburgij (Figure 7). The first two territories were real in the 16th century, but their status was not equal – Samogitia was a part of GDL, an administrative-territorial unit of GDL. Meanwhile Iuburgij did not appear in any other map of the 16th century because it did not exist. In the Jurbarkas locality, the castle of German Order (Georgen-

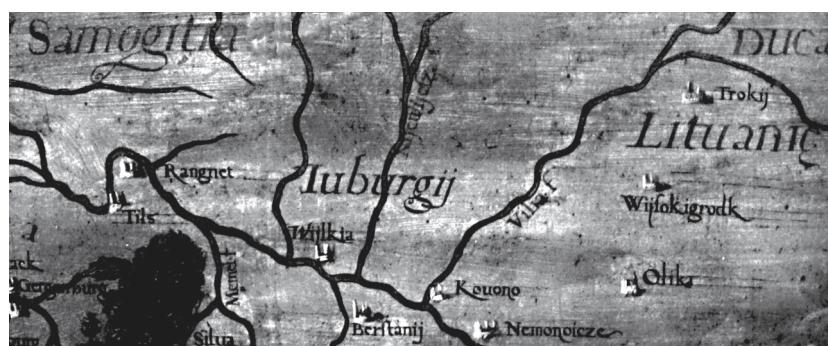


FIGURE 7.

Samogitia, Iuburgij and Lituania without Vilnius. Part of Stefano Bonsignori’s “Map of Germany” (1575 – 1584), Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

burg) was established in the 13th century. It was the main outpost near Nemunas in the fight against GDL in the 13th and 14th centuries and it might have been the centre of conquered territories. We can tell now that new territories near Nemunas were not conquered, so the idea was not realized in reality.

Samogitia in the 13th to 15th centuries was a space disputed between GDL and the German Order, which considered the area to be theirs, or at the least, certainly belonging to their interests. In this way, from the 16th century “Map of Germany” by Stefano Bonsignori, we can trace the political ambitions of the German Order in the 13th and 14th centuries. This is an example how ideas of certain historic periods (in this case the German area of interest in the 13th to 15th centuries) can “materialize” in maps after more than one hundred years. It is normal that it happens in the renaissance period, when cartography becomes a mechanism for disputing or establishing a state’s space.⁵² An interesting fact of the “political” programme is that the GDL capital Vilnius was not mentioned in the map, while very small localities in the potential Jurbarkas territory on the shores of Nemunas were mentioned. In the “Map of Germany”, we find Imago elements interpreted in a medieval way – in the northern part of Lithuania and in the current Sūduva, the mythological Hircine forest (*Silva Hircina*) appears. In the context of the political ideology of the map, the forests are interpreted as the border between GDL and the German Order.

In the maps of the 16th and 17th centuries we find more inaccuracies, which can be interpreted as cases of “programmed” reality. For example, in many maps of the period (e.g., “The improved map of Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, Germany, Russia and Lithuania”, Walclav Grodecki’s map of 1562 – 1570,) the two rivers of the capital Vilnius, the Vilnia and the Neris, are depicted as equal, although they are very different in size (Figure 8). The Neris is the second river in size in Lithuania. It has a length of 500 km and a width of up to 60 m while the Vilnia is just 80 km. in length and 10 m in width. However, the name of Vilnius the city is related to the small Vilnia, a streamlet that had an important role in the defensive system of Vilnius in the 13th and 14th centuries, and which was, in the 15th to 18th centuries, the most important “industrial” river, as its swift waters were used as to power mills, foundries and other industrial machines. In this cartography, the topo-

52 Katajala, K. Op. cit.



FIGURE 8.

Vilnia, Neris and the region to north from Vilnius. Part of G. Mercatorius "Map of Lithuania", 1570

graphical view of the rivers is ignored in the map, where their meaning to the city life is emphasized, in which respect both the Vilnia and the Neris would have been very similar in importance.

The idea of a "programmed" reality was important for finding places to mark in maps. Usually, this choice was left up to the customer. In the 1580 map, "The Western Part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Livonia and Russia" by M. Strubicz, we find to the north of Vilnius places such as Daugeliškis, Alanta, Anykščiai, Beržėnai and Švenčionys. All territory is delimited by the Šventoji and Žeimena rivers. This geographical visualization was contrary to the real situation in GDL at that time. The most important locations between the Neris, Šventoji, and Žeimena were Nemenčinė, Maišiagala, Giedraičiai, Kernavė, Ukmergė and Utena.⁵³ Švenčionys was most probably marked as a reference point

53 Wojtkowiak, Zbysław. Lithuania Transwilniensis saec. XIV-XVI: podziały Litwy północnej w późnym średniowieczu. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2005.

because of an important road from Vilnius to Brėslauja. Meanwhile, the purpose of Alanta could be related to works of cartography which were done in the manor of the king of Poland and the grand duke of Lithuania, Stefan Batory. M. Strubicz was a cartographer of this ruler and Alanta was a place which was given in 1581 under the initiative of Stefan Batory as a present to his favourite – the Hungarian army leader Kaspar Bekesh. Thus, the appearance of Alanta in the map is a pure initiative of the ruler.

We see a similar situation in 1613 when, under the initiative of Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila (Nicholas Christopher Radziwill), the GDL map was created. Cartographers wanted to not only provide the geographical data, but to also introduce the ideas of the Radvila family, which led to the first time Dubingiai appeared on the map as a very important location (it was owned by Radvila). In reality, Dubingiai was a small town in the 17th century with a parish church of evangelical reformers and the residential Radvila manor. It was a patrimonial property of Radvilos; the origins of the Radvila family came from this place and its name was included in the ducal title of one Radvila family branch (Radvila, the dukes of Dubingiai and Biržai). Due to the smallness of the location it was never previously mentioned in maps, but the importance of the location for the Radvila family guaranteed the presence of Dubingiai in future maps. On the other hand, cartographers “erased” from maps other places that did not belong to the Radvila family, but which used to be noted in previous maps. Such was the case with the aforementioned Alanta. In its place the Radvila map portrays a huge forest. It is possible that the forest showed that the place was dangerous or wild, or it may simply indicate that the Radvila family was not interested in the location.

Due to the tradition of map creation, the place names, if once mentioned on the map, usually remained there, while the “erased” places disappeared forever. The authors of later maps used to follow the previous works of their colleagues. The map by Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila, due to its high quality, became an object of copying which inspired GDL cartographers for almost two hundred years.

The idea of “programmed” reality did not lose its meaning in modern cartography as well. We still want to see maps as we have them in our heads. A good example is the international discussion on the usage of the term Macedonia in maps. A recent example is Japan’s recommendations for the usage of Google maps.

The topographical reality

The origins of topographical depiction come from the late Medieval Ages when the criteria of “temporal” reality was applied for the creation of portolano (Navigation charts, known from the end of the 13th century), and local maps (known from the middle of the 13th century).⁵⁴ In the Renaissance, topographical reality was one of the most important basics of map creation. It was related to European tendencies in the development of culture and science, which encouraged concentrating on human beings and the natural environment (cf., the painting of realistic portraits, landscapes, and still life works which became popular), and the quest for great geographical discoveries, reformation, and new methods of cartography. An example of this would be Albrecht Dürer’s work in “Underweysung der Messung mit Zirckel und Richtscheit in Linien, Ebnen und gantzen Corporen”, which in 1525 gave the basis for our modern topography or the triangulation method created by Gemma Frisius (Jemme Reinerszoon) in 1533.⁵⁵ One very important role goes to Bona Sforza, the duchess of Milan who married the Grand Duke of Lithuania Žygimantas (Sigismund) the Old in the 16th century. Bona was an important person in the establishment of European ideas in GDL. Thanks to her, great geodesic works took place in GDL: the Valakai reform (started in 1557) and the administrative-territorial reform of GDL (1564 – 1565). The geodesic measurements were made at the end of the 16th century and beginning of the 17th century when the Map of GDL by Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila was in the process of arrangement (published in Amsterdam in 1613). Due to the topographical approach, the functions of the map doubled. The map had to show the “own” territory (travelling routes, landscape, to circle the property and the borders) and to plan actions in enemy territory.

The topographical representation of reality reached its highest level when topographical maps appeared. The origins of topographical maps could be the manor map tradition, which started in England at the end of the 16th century (the first map like this is known from 1570).⁵⁶ The first cartographic works in the land of Lithuania started in

54 Alexandrowicz, Stanisław. *Kartografia Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do połowy XVIII wieku*. Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra, 2012; Harwood, Jeremy. *To the ends of the earth: 100 maps that changed world*. London: Marshall Editions, 2006; Katajala, K. Op. cit.

55 Buisseret, D. Op. cit.; Katajala, K. Op. cit.

56 Harwood, J. Op. cit.

the 17th century. We have two unique maps of the Biržai Duchy, which remained from the 17th and 18th centuries and appeared in the Radvila environment: a map by J. Narunowicz-Naronski in 1645 and a map by an unknown author from 1786.⁵⁷

At the end of the 18th century the Russian empire occupied Lithuania and started cartographic works. One of the earliest maps that could be considered topographical was “The Detailed Militaristic map of Borderline of Russia and Prussia”, made in 1799 (by K. I. Opperman). In 1816, intensive triangulation work started in Lithuanian territory. After two years, the Society of Topographers was established in Vilnius. A very important role was played by the colonel of the Russian army, K. Tener; under his control the very first system of triangulation towers was built in the territory of Lithuania. Later, the system became the well-known geodetic arc of Struvė, which now is included in the list of UNESCO world heritage sites.⁵⁸

Conclusion

1. When interpreting historic space and maps created in the past, the historic space, the people who lived back then, their attitudes and mentality can become separated from the space itself. The main condition for interpreting historic space correctly is to be able to recognize and scientifically interpret the meanings and influences of the mythical spaces, historic narratives, meta-scientific theories and fiction upon the historic space analysed. During this research, it was concluded that the basic concepts of space in the 13th to 16th century were the territory and the border, which together with the developing map formed the main concept of space in particular periods, and, what is more, showed the methodologies of map creation. The other concepts of historic space are derivative, preconditioned by a particular period.

2. The concept of territory was strongly influenced by the dualistic idea of world perception, which divided the world into the “own” and the “foreign”. The “own” territory was cultivated, as if taken from nature and made the “own” (by people belonging to the same culture, politics, religion, and economy). This concept of “humanized” or “personified”

57 Ragauskienė, Raimonda; Karvelis, Deimantas. 1645 m. Juzefo Narūnavičiaus-Naronskio Biržų kunigaikštystės žemėlapis. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 1997; Bieliūnienė, A. [et al.] Op. cit.

58 Viik, Tonu. Carl Friedrich Tennen: founder of Russian geodesy. // Geodeet 36, 60(2008), 50-59.

space allows us to talk about the application of the communicative paradigm to the definition of the territory concept. Following this attitude, we can claim that in the medieval ages, territory was perceived as a cluster of micro-spaces belonging to a certain community – the bigger space was where intensive communication took place among people living in “cultivated micro-spaces” (villages, manors, castles, towns, cities, etc.). With time, these territorial clusters evolved into integral topographical territories. The GDL administrative-territorial reform and the Valakai reform in the 16th century were both very important and were strongly influenced by renaissance ideas.

3. The development of the border as a concept was tightly related to the development of the territory as a concept. In the early period, the border was understood as the border between the “own” (cultivated) and the “foreign” (wild) worlds. This border could be marked by evolving linear markings: at first using natural barriers (rivers, mountains, lakes, and forests), and later, artificial borders (fences, walls, etc.). Understanding of the linear borders was established completely in the renaissance epoch and could be treated as one of many signs of space conceptualization, indicating the birth of a modern country.

4. During the research, three ideas of a map as a representation of reality were distinguished: the “divine” reality, the “programmed” reality, and the topographical reality, all of them dominating different historic periods, although sometimes few of them were realized in the same map. The comprehension of these ideas proves the interdisciplinary symbolic-iconographic methodology of the interpretation of the historic map. According to this methodology, a map is understood as media and text reflecting mental ideas developed in the past.

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**ČITANJE DOKUMENTA
PROSTOR SREDNJEVIJEKA I RENESANSE
STUDIJA SLUČAJA NA PRIMJERU MIKRO-REGIJE
DUBINGIAI U LITVI**

Sažetak

Razumijevanje prostora i vremena temeljna je sastavnica istraživanja prošlih društava, ali naše poznavanje suvremene geografije, geografski stereotipi, znanstvene meta-teorije i povjesni prikazi predstavljaju silne prepreke koje mogu stati na put pretraživanju, interpretaciji i ponovnom korištenju prostornih informacija u povjesnim dokumentima. U radu su predstavljeni osnovni koncepti mapiranja srednjovjekovnog i renesansnog područja, granica, mikro-regija i administrativnih regija, i teorijski pristup simboličko-ikonografskih tumačenja srednjovjekovnih i renesansnih zemljopisnih karata. Temelji se na razumijevanju geografskog područja Središnje i Sjeverne Europe u razdoblju srednjeg vijeka i renesanse. Izneseni su rezultati interdisciplinarnе studije slučaja istraživanja povjesne prostornosti u mikro-regiji Dubingiai (nedaleko Vilniusa, u Litvi) kao dijela projekta "Počeci litvanske državnosti sukladno istraživanjima mikro-regije Dubingiai (1.-15. st.)".

Ključne riječi: povjesna prostornost, kartografija, srednji vijek, renesansa, mikro-regija Dubingiai



XML: EXTENSIBLE MARKUP LANGUAGE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE USE OF THE XML METALANGUAGE WITH THE TEI AND CEI SCHEMAS

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an overview on the whys and hows of the metalanguage XML as well as an introduction to its possible uses and benefits in (digital) humanities. To provide the latter, the well-established Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) language and its offspring Charters Encoding Initiative (CEI) will serve as practical examples for real-life use-cases.

KEY WORDS

XML, Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), Charters Encoding Initiative (CEI),
Digital Humanities, text markup

Introduction

In its most basic aspect XML, the eXtensible Markup Language, is a way to add markup, that is, contextual information, directly to a digital text. An example for this is the use of quotation marks and a number with attached footnote to indicate a quotation inserted into a text but authored by a different person. In this way it is possible to add further data to a text and to enable a reader to distinguish between different kinds of information in it. While it is beneficial to add information such as the quotation marks to an actual quote to ease the identification of its different origin, the emergence of computers and digital media made markup not only convenient but a necessity. This is best shown with an example. Consider these two paragraphs:

Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur.

This sentence makes up the beginning of the first section of the book of “De bello Gallico” by Caius Iulius Caesar.¹ It tells of the division of Gallia, a precursor of the modern country France, in three parts and states the names of the people that lived there at the time of writing.

The first paragraph is a sentence in Latin and the second one is an explanation of its contents in English. While they do not look very similar, they have one thing in common: both paragraphs are made up of characters that are reproduced using a computer. While it is certainly possible to display these characters in various environments, for instance on a computer screen, or in a book produced with a digital printer, the digital system used to create the textual representation does not understand any of its meaning apart from a (possibly already quite sophisticated) spell-checker and the typographic information connected to the visual display and layout of the letters, sentences and paragraphs that make up the actual text. The system does not even understand, at least not in a semiotic sense, what a letter is, apart from how it has to look on screen or when printed. While this is fine for the production of a text only intended to be digested by human readers, for a computer to process this or other data in a meaningful way we have to provide additional information, or *metainformation*. As already stated above, electronic markup like XML is just this, a way to attach metainformation to the text-like data in order to enable a computer to process its contents. The example paragraph encoded in an arbitrary XML markup could look like this:

```
<sentence author="Caius Iulius Caesar" lang="Latin" book="1" para-
graph="1">
    <place modern="France">Gallia</place> est omnis divisa in
    partes tres, quarum unam incolunt <name>Belgae</name>,
    aliam <name>Aquitani</name>, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua
    <name>Celtae</name>, nostra <name>Galli</name> apel-
    lantur.
</sentence>
```

¹ Caesar, Gaius Iulius. De bello Gallico. Der Gallische Krieg: Lateinisch/Deutsch. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1991. P. 4.

Using so-called XML *elements*, denoted by markup tags contained within angle brackets that describe or encode aspects of the original text, the natural language explanation given at the beginning of this section can be embedded in a way that enriches the original text. This makes it easy for a human reader to understand as well as simple to process for any system that knows how to handle XML code.² The structured syntax enables a computer program to present the text in a typographic layout that takes the structure of the books and paragraphs of the original into consideration, and (as an example) to prepare an index for all places and names. Additionally, if further texts by Caesar and other authors were to be combined in a database, a user would be able to get a list of all texts by the same author or, for instance, get a list of all texts in the database that mention the ancient *Belgae* tribe.

Considering the usefulness of this approach, a number of different methods have historically been developed to reach the goal of a simple yet powerful way to encode the text in an electronic way. One of the first and most adaptable has been the development of SGML, the *Standard Generalized Markup Language* in 1986.³ Contrary to what the “L” in its abbreviation suggests (and XML’s for that matter), SGML is not a markup language by itself, but rather a way to create a markup language that is tailored to the individual needs of its creators yet based on standardised structural elements.⁴ With HTML, the *Hypertext Markup Language*,⁵ being one of the building blocks of the Internet and TEI bring the markup language of the *Text Encoding Initiative*,⁶ these two SGML-based languages are still widely used today. Unfortunately, although SGML is very powerful and was created by two influential partners, the *American National Standards Institute* (ANSI) and the *International Organization for Standardization* (ISO),⁷ for various reasons it failed to get widely accepted “outside of selected industries and large organizations”.⁸ XML was developed after it became clear that

² Actually, the computer still doesn’t *understand* (in a human sense) what the information means, but it can be told how to process it in a meaningful way.

³ Renear, Allen H. *Text Encoding*. // A Companion to Digital Humanities / edited by Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens and John Unsworth. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004. P. History of SGML and XML: Part I.

⁴ *Markup Systems and the Future of Scholarly Text Processing* / ed. by James H. Coombs, Allen H. Renear and Steven J. DeRose, 2005 [cited: 2013-09-27]. Available at: <http://xml.coverpages.org/coombs.html>, p. Document Portability.

⁵ Renear, A. H. Op. cit., History of SGML and XML: Part II.

⁶ Ibid., Origins.

⁷ Ibid., History of SGML and XML: Part I.

⁸ Ibid., History of SGML and XML: Part II.

SGML was too complex to be used in a broad range of contexts⁹ and that its offspring HTML lacked the structural elements necessary for “[w]eb publishing [...] to achieve its promise”¹⁰.

eXtensible Markup Language

The eXtensible Markup Language (XML) is a “subset of SGML [...]. Its goal is to enable generic SGML to be served, received, and processed on the Web in the way that is now possible with HTML. XML has been designed for ease of implementation and for interoperability with both SGML and HTML.”¹¹

Because XML is based on SGML it also is not a markup language, but rather it is a metalanguage that can be used to create different, possibly connected markup languages with a fixed set of simple rules. It consists primarily of two parts:

1. The basic entities from which any XML file is built. The most important ones are: elements, element attributes as well as character data, the actual text marked up with the elements and attributes. XML elements can be nested into each other to create documents with a hierarchical structure similar to books with chapters, sections, paragraphs, sentences and so on.
2. An underlying schema that can (but does not have to) exist in the form of one or more files that work both as a guide to create instances of this schema and as a means to control whether or not the instances conform to the schema. It can be compared to the construction plan of a car with its various parts that may look different in different brands of cars but that share the same functional features as all other cars.

These two elements are used to create the actual XML files, which are called *instances* of their abstract schema. The resulting files can be processed by a category of software called an XML parser, for example *Expat*, the parser used in the web browser *Mozilla Firefox*.¹²

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Extensible Markup Language (XML) 1.0 (Fifth Edition): W3C Recommendation 26 November 2008 / ed. by Tim Bray, Jean Paoli, C. M. Sperberg-McQueen, Eve Maler and François Yergeau, 2013 [cited: 2013-09-28]. Available at: <http://www.w3.org/TR/REC-xml>. P. Abstract.

¹² Mozilla Firefox. https://developer.mozilla.org/en-US/docs/XML_in_Mozilla / ed. by Mozilla Developer Network, 2013 [cited: 2013-09-30]. Available at: https://developer.mozilla.org/en-US/docs/XML_in_Mozilla. P. Supported Core XML W3C Recommendations.

The following snippet is another example of valid but arbitrary¹³ XML code.

```
<author>
    <name type="first">Daniel</name>
    <name type="last">Jeller</name>
</author>
```

It consists of a *root element* called `<author>` with two nested *child elements*. The individual elements start and end locations are marked by so called *tags* that are built from angular brackets, their literal name, and, in the case of the closing tag, a forward slash. The two child elements in the above example are both called “*name*” but differ from each other in the literal value of an attribute called “*type*” and specified by an equals sign, and the value in double quotation marks. Both “*name*” elements only have simple character data as contents although they would be allowed to contain any number of additional nested child elements.

This short example, which by no means uses all features of XML, shows one of the advantages of this kind of metalanguage: the markup is not encrypted in any way, so, if chosen sensibly, it enables a human reader to grasp some of the basic meanings of the marked up text. At the same time the structure of the markup is strictly fixed by the basic rules of XML so a computer is able to work with the text because it can, for instance, look for tags with a specific name or attribute for further processing. This enables a wide range of applications, some of which will be outlined later in this paper.

One of the main advantages from a user’s point of view is clearly visible in the above example: even if the text is encoded in a way that enables a computer to process the marked up data, the markup itself stays legible for everybody. There remains a problem, though. Without a schema that not only formulates the technical structure of the dialect but also explains what this structure is supposed to mean, the XML can remain technically valid but ambiguous or even wrong content-wise. Consider the following three elements.

```
<title>De bello Gallico</title>
<title>Doctor</title>
<title>Casablanca</title>
```

13 This means it does not have an attached schema file.

All three elements are called “title” but their content refers to possibly different kinds of entities. “*De bello Gallico*” is both the title of a book and the name of the war the book is about. The second element probably refers to the academic title “Doctor”, but could also mean the medical profession or, for instance, a character in a book or movie called the “Doctor”. “Casablanca” is the name of a city in Morocco and the title of a movie set in this city. In addition, it is also the name of a brand of cigarettes in Austria. Without further context it is not clear which kind of information an element is supposed to contain or whether content fits another element of the same type (Casablanca, the city, would better fit into a “name” element than a “title”). The declaration of the use of an XML schema can provide this kind of semantic interconnection while at the same time specifying the hierarchical structure that fits the individual nature of the marked up text. It would be possible, for instance, to create a schema that is specifically tailored to storing information about movies. This hypothetical schema could contain a range of possible elements, title being one of them, probably accompanied by other elements for the director, year of production, film studio, producer, actors and so on. Additionally, the schema would fix the order and number of individual elements. A movie has only one title after all¹⁴ but multiple actors. In Figure 1 you can find a schematic display of a simple movies schema.

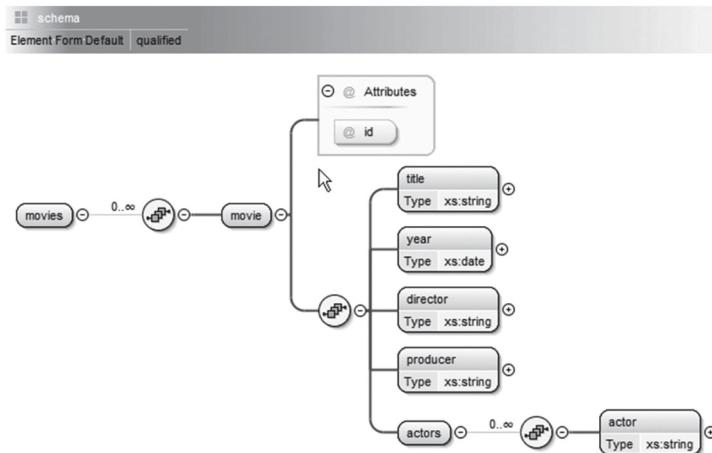


FIGURE 1.
Graphical representation of an XML schema for movies

¹⁴ At least if we are not considering for example translations of the title for different countries/languages.

The following sections of this paper will focus on the use of these features applied to the creation of specialised XML vocabularies (as schemas are also called) for different fields of the digital humanities.

Text Encoding Initiative (TEI)

“The practice of creating machine-readable texts to support humanities research began early and grew rapidly.”¹⁵ It started soon after the development of the first machines that were able to process text and at the time the SGML was created there already was a significant amount of “needlessly diverse and often poorly designed encoding systems [that] threatened to block the development of the full potential of computers to support humanities research”.¹⁶ In an effort to improve this situation, sponsored by three American scientific institutions, 1987 saw several expert committees starting to work on what would be published in 1993, after a period of drafts and revisions, as the first official version of the TEI Guidelines.¹⁷ As of 2013, P5, the latest version, released in 2007,¹⁸ is “widely used by libraries, museums, publishers, and individual scholars to present texts for online research, teaching, and preservation”.¹⁹

With its schema, the TEI consortium thus created a tool to take in a broad range of texts and encode them using a solid set of elements describing most general aspects of their internal and external structure. Our example from Caesar’s “De bello Gallico”, encoded in TEI could look like this:

```
<TEI xmlns="http://www.tei-c.org/ns/1.0">
<teiHeader type="text">
<fileDesc>
<titleStmt>
<title type="work" n="Gal." ref="http://dbpedia.org/page/
Commentarii_de_Bello_Gallico"
      xml:lang="lat">De bello Gallico</title>
</titleStmt>
<publicationStmt>
```

¹⁵ Renear, A. H. Op. cit., Background.

¹⁶ Ibid., Origins.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ TEI: P5 Guidelines / ed. by Lou Burnard and Syd Bauman, 2013 [cited: 2013-10-01]. Available at: <http://www.tei-c.org/Guidelines/P5/>

¹⁹ TEI: Text Encoding Initiative / ed. by Text Encoding Initiative Consortium, 2013 [cited: 2013-10-01]. Available at: <http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml>

```

<date>Around 50 C.E.</date>
</publicationStmt>
<sourceDesc>
  <bibl>
    <author xml:lang="lat" ref="http://dbpedia.org/page/Ju-
lius_Caesar">C. Julius
      Caesar</author>
    <title xml:lang="lat">C. Iuli Commentarii Rerum in Gal-
lia Gestarum Gestarum VII A.
      Hirti Commentarius VII</title>
    <lang>Latin</lang>
  </bibl>
</sourceDesc>
</fileDesc>
</teiHeader>
<text xml:lang="lat">
  <body>
    <div1 type="Book" n="1" org="uniform" sample="complete">
      <head>COMMENTARIUS PRIMUS</head>
      <p>
        < milestone n="1" unit="chapter" />< milestone n="1" 
unit="section" /><region
          ref="http://dbpedia.org/page/Gaul">Gallia</region> est
        omnis divisa in partes
          tres, quarum unam incolunt <orgName ref="http://
          dbpedia.org/page/Belgae">
            Belgae</orgName>, aliam <orgName ref="http://
          dbpedia.org/page/Aquitani">
            Aquitani</orgName>, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua
        <orgName
          ref="http://dbpedia.org/page/Celts"
        xml:lang="cel">Celtae</orgName>, nostra
          <orgName ref="http://dbpedia.org/page/Celts">Galli</
        orgName> appellantur. [...]
        </p>
      </div1>
    </body>
  </text>
</TEI>
```

- As you can see, the encoded text is made up of two distinct parts:
- A first section called “teiHeader” with information about the encoded text.
 - A second part called “text”: It contains the actual words written by Caesar as well as some structural information about books, chapters and sections, distinguishing between headline and a paragraph. The names of people and regions are encoded using the appropriate TEI elements and additionally enriched with references to the linked open data version of the Wikipedia, DBpedia.²⁰ It is especially noteworthy that both “Celtae” and “Galli” refer to the same entry about the ancient Celts while only “Celtae” is marked as in the language “cel” which denotes the Celtic language group. This data enables storage and processing by computer software. The document could, for instance, be presented in an online database where users could search for specific terms, follow the links to the encoded documents that are prepared for online presentation using a so-called style-sheet that enables the transformation from one XML format into another. For example, using a simple transformation from the TEI schema into a HTML document to be presented online, the first paragraph by Caesar looks like the following screenshot in Figure 2:

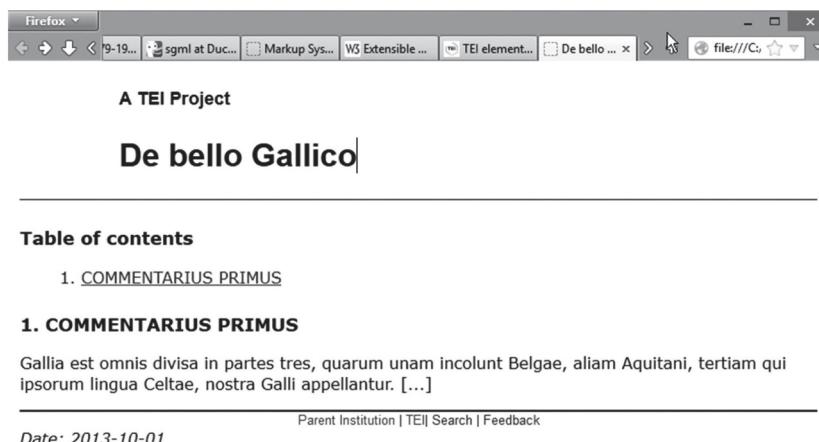


FIGURE 2.
Screenshot of an XHMTL Representation of a TEI document

²⁰ wiki.dbpedia.org: About / ed. by Christopher Sahnwaldt, 2013 [cited: 2014-03-28]. Available at: <http://dbpedia.org/About>

In addition, the text could be transformed into a PDF document to be downloaded and printed out by users, or it could be transformed into another XML schema and combined with a different document to create a completely new output in a new environment. Also, using the embedded links, the document can be put into context with other documents containing information about the same entities (like the DBpedia Link for Caesar above).

Similar results can easily be achieved for plays, poems, history texts, novels, law texts and so on under the condition that the editors find a way to fit their text into the possibilities of the TEI schema. If the original data fits poorly, however, for instance if very specific information needs to be encoded that has no equivalent in the TEI, the encoder is free to draw upon XML to extend the schema to account for the specific necessities of the source material at hand. An example for this is the CEI.

Charters Encoding Initiative (CEI)

Medieval charters,²¹ historical documents that were used to record legal acts, are among the oldest and most complex items in European historical archives. As the central object of the historical science of diplomatics, scholarly interest in them reaches as far back as to the seventeenth century.²² Because of the highly evolved scientific method in their field, diplomatics scholars were tempted right from the start of the information age to use the new technologies at hand to further improve their toolset to work with and on their source material.²³ Nonetheless it took until after the turn of the millennium for the first XML-based charter projects to appear. Georg Vogeler, one of the contributors to the CEI: The Charters Encoding Initiative, describes three possible methods²⁴ to encode charters:

21 For an image of one, see Figure 3 below.

22 Hartmann, Josef. Urkunden. // Die archivalischen Quellen: Mit einer Einführung in die Historischen Hilfswissenschaften / edited by Friedrich Beck and Eckart Henning. 5th ed. Köln, Wien [u.a.]: Böhlau, 2012. Pp. 25-54, p. 35.

23 For example Borsa, Iván. A Magyar Országos Levéltár Diplomatikai Levéltára egyes adatainak gépi segítséggel történő feldolgozása // Levéltári Közlemények 42 (1971), 3-32.

24 Vogeler, Georg. Charters Encoding Initiative (CEI): Zu Möglichkeiten der Integration mit Hilfe eines Standards für Urkundendigitalisierung. // Alte Archive - Neue Technologien / Old Archives - New Technologies / edited by Thomas Aigner and Karin Winter. St. Pölten: DASP - Bischöfliches Ordinariat St. Pölten Diözesanarchiv, 2006. Pp. 182-198.

- Use of the EAD (Encoded Archival Description)²⁵ schema that is focussed on the administrative facets of charters and whose eadHeader was modeled on the teiHeader element. However, its feature-set is too narrow to be of general use for the work with charters.²⁶
- Application of TEI. According to the features of this standard, TEI is best suited for the treatment of a charter as a text. Unfortunately, difficulties in describing external features of the charters seems to limit its use for this type of historical source material.²⁷
- A schema specifically created for a project. This approach adds to the already described fragmentation of the field and its resources.²⁸

The CEI, launched in 2004²⁹, focussed on the same approach as the TEI before it, and aimed at creating a unified way to encode medieval charters. It was felt that this new standard should combine some of the features developed by independent projects while at the same time retain the tried and tested structures of the TEI to describe textual content, so that a system already familiar to many encoders could be used.

The following code snippet³⁰ is an extract from a charter encoded in CEI:

```
<witnessOrig>
  <traditioForm>orig.</traditioForm>
  <archIdentifier>
    <arch>Archive of the Monastery of Schlägl (www.stift-schlaegl.
at)</arch>
  </archIdentifier>
  <physicalDesc>
    <material>Parchment</material>
    <dimensions>90/95 x 200 mm, no plica.</dimensions>
  </physicalDesc>
  <auth>
```

²⁵ EAD: Encoding Archival Description, <http://www.loc.gov/ead/>

²⁶ Vogeler, Georg. Charters Encoding Initiative (CEI): Zu Möglichkeiten der Integration mit Hilfe eines Standards für Urkundendigitalisierung. // Alte Archive - Neue Technologien / Old Archives - New Technologies / edited by Thomas Aigner and Karin Winter. St. Pölten: DASP - Bischöfliches Ordinariat St. Pölten Diözesanarchiv, 2006. Pp. 182-198, p. 185.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 187-188.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 189-190.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 182.

³⁰ The text is originally in German.

```

<sealDesc>
  Seal hanging on parchment leaflet: Rüdiger of Haichenbach.
  Brown, circular seal 33/35 mm diam; Coat of arms with tricorn.
  Corners crumbled. Circumscription: "... DEGERI ...
  HAICHENPACH" (barely readable)
</sealDesc>
</auth>
<nota>
  Back: 1274 / Super mülholtz cum / suis attinentiis / N.I. / A: Clas.
  III Jura Rub. c / Sig: 2.
</nota>
</witnessOrig>

```

This example represents the description of the object itself. This is probably the area with the biggest differences from the TEI, which is, as already stated, mainly concerned with the textual content of a document. As is shown by this example, the complexity of the marked up

nutzen; dafür stellt ihm das Kloster für die Zeit der Erbauung der Burg Haichenbach das Klösterspital zur Verfügung und zahlt ihm zehn Pfund Passauer Münze.

Source Regest: Pichler, Isfried H., Urkundenbuch des Stiftes Schlägl, Aigen i. M., 2003, Nr. 25 (S 16), S. 44

Text witnesses

1
orig.

Current repository:
o Archive: Stiftarchiv Schlägl (www.stift-schlaegl.at)

Seal: Siegel an Pergamentbändchen hängend: Rüdiger von Haichenbach. Braunes, rundes Siegel, 33/35 mm Dm; Wappen mit Dreisitz. Ecken abgebrockelt. Umschrift: "... DEGERI ... HAICHENPACH" (kaum lesbar)

Material: Pergament
Dimensions: 90/95 x 200 mm, keine Plica.
Nota: Rückseite: 1274 / Super mülholtz cum / suis attinentiis / N.I. / A: Clas. III Jura Rub. c / Sig: 2.

Graphics:
[\(1\)](#) [\(2\)](#)

Full text

Diplomatic Analysis

Quote: *an vñser vrawen tag, als sy gepon ward*

Editions:

- Corpus d. altdt. Originalurk. bis zum Jahr 1300, Band 5 (1261-1297): N 133 B, S. 89f. (rechts)

Secondary Literature:

- Siehe "Anmerkungen" / siehe [Datenverbinden](#)

FIGURE 3.
Screenshot of an XHTML Version of a CEI document (from the Monasterium Database)

content can become very high, and the resulting XML document might look complicated, but it enables a broad range of technical and scholarly applications. Applying an appropriate style-sheet, an online representation can get much easier to digest. The following screenshot from the Monasterium.net,³¹ one of the first projects to use CEI, illustrates this. It is created from the above code snippets with an added image of the charter (Figure 3).

By using XML as a basis for the data stored in the Monasterium database and by combining it with modern web technologies, a highly usable online representation for the complex matter of medieval charters can be achieved.

Conclusion

While developed out of dissatisfaction with the existing technologies in the field for marking up texts electronically, XML fared better than its predecessors and is widely used today. It is not only applied in its most basic form--as arbitrarily developed code--but via shared vocabularies that enable researchers to exchange data and work collaboratively in an effective way. This makes XML, be it in the form of TEI, CEI or any other schema, as long as it fits the source material, a very flexible and powerful tool in any field of the digital humanities.

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³¹ Monasterium.net [cited: 2014-03-28]. Available at: <http://icar-us.eu/cooperation/online-portals/monasterium-net/>

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**XML: EXTEensible MARKUP LANGUAGE
UVOD U UPORABU METAJEZIKA XML SA SHEMAMA
TEI (TEXT ENCODING INITIATIVE) I CEI (CHARTERS
ENCODING INITIATIVE)**

Sažetak

Rad predstavlja prikaz razloga i načina uporabe metajezika XML, ali i uvod u moguću uporabu i korist koju (digitalna) humanistika može imati od tog metajezika. Na primjeru stvarnih situacija korištenja shema TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) i CEI (Charters Encoding Initiative) prikazuje se uporaba metajezika XML.

Ključne riječi: XML, Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), Charters Encoding Initiative (CEI), digitalna humanistika, označivanje teksta

THE WEB OF DATA FOR ARCHIVAL MATERIALS

SEMANTIC WEB AND LINKED OPEN DATA

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the basic concepts of Resource Description Framework (RDF), the substrate of the Semantic Web, and discusses how it can be used to represent archival models and data as linked data triples to make them interoperable with metadata from library and other communities. The entities of interest to the archival community, such as persons, families, and corporate bodies, are of interest to the wider global community and provide points of linkage between local and global metadata. Fundamental archival concepts of collections, context, and provenance apply to the Semantic Web as a whole, but they remain underdeveloped, so there is mutual benefit to be gained from the engagement of archives with this environment.

KEY WORDS

linked data, RDF, archival description

Introduction

Linked open data (LOD) and the Semantic Web offer new opportunities for managing and utilizing descriptions of archival materials. They are built on the architecture of the Internet and World-Wide Web that now reaches across the entire planet and continues to expand at an unforeseen rate.

The World-Wide Web is a very large collection of machine-processable documents linked together by a simple mechanism, the Uniform Resource Locator (URL). A URL is the digital address of such a document; the term “document” covers any file which can be stored, located, and transmitted over the Internet, and includes data, text, image, and sound resources. Hyper Text Markup Language (HTML) allows a URL to be embedded anywhere in any data or text resource, thus

linking that local resource to the remote resource located at the URL address. HTML is also used to specify the display of a resource in a Web browser, for example by marking text to be shown in a specific font, colour, or layout. When a URL is included in the resource, it is displayed by the browser as an interactive link. When a user invokes the link, usually clicking with a mouse or tapping with a finger, the browser software invokes underlying Internet protocols to request a copy of the remote resource and display it to the user. The World-Wide Web is often called the Web of documents: multiple documents can embed multiple URLs to create a web of links between them.

The World-Wide Web builds on the infrastructure of the Internet, which links computers so that they can exchange and process data; the Internet is sometimes called the web of machines. A URL is really a human-friendly label for the digital address of the computer augmented with a hierarchical pathway of folders and sub-folders leading to the document; the digital address is based on Hyper Text Transport Protocol (HTTP), and cannot easily be read by humans.

The Semantic Web builds on the infrastructure of the World-Wide Web. It is intended to be the Web of data, that is, a web of links between the pieces of information contained in or represented by the documents. The links are based on relationships between the things of focus in the data, and between those things and the data about them. The relationships and the types of thing they link contain the meaning or semantics of the data. For example, a relationship between an individual person (a thing) and a specific place (another thing) may be specified and distinguished as place of birth, place of residence, and so on. The value of the Semantic Web lies in its ability to bring distributed information about similar things together, irrespective of the original context of the data. The Semantic Web functions as metadata; it contains linked data about data.

The mechanism for achieving this is Resource Description Framework (RDF).¹ RDF stores (meta)data in a simple format composed of three parts, known as a triple. The first part identifies the thing that the triple is about, and is called the Subject. The last part either identifies another thing that the subject is related to, or the value of an attribute of the subject; it is called the Object of the triple. The middle part identifies the relationship or attribute of the subject, and is called the Predi-

¹ RDF Primer: W3C Recommendation 10 February 2004 [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: www.w3.org/TR/rdf-primer/

cate or property. A triple is thus a subject-predicate-object structure, very similar to a basic structure of linguistic expression. For example, a triple might state “This archive has title Beverley Skinner Collection”, which can be parsed into “This archive” as subject, “has title” as predicate, and “Beverley Skinner Collection” as object. Other examples of triple statements are “This archive has origination Beverley Skinner” and “This archive has level fonds”. A useful description of this archive can be stored in a set of triples, each of which focusses on a single aspect of the archive. More importantly, a useful description can be assembled by choosing triples irrespective of their source. Table 1 shows an example set of triple statements about the same archive.

Subject	Predicate	Object
This archive	has title	Beverley Skinner Collection
This archive	has origination	Beverley Skinner
This archive	has level	fonds

TABLE 1.

Cluster of triple statements with the same subject

The infrastructure of the Internet can be used to advantage if triples can be processed by computers running software for RDF applications. The web of machines of the Internet runs continuously without fatigue, and has global reach. The web of data requires machine-readable metadata. RDF therefore specifies that the subject and predicate parts of a triple must be uniquely identified to allow the data to be processed accurately. No programme can determine if “This archive” refers to the same thing in each of the triples, or if “has level” is intended in the context of archives rather than the categorization of educational curricula. Similarly, “Beverley Skinner” may refer to more than one person, or may not be a person at all, so if the object part of a triple is a thing it must also be uniquely identified. However, the object part may also be a literal value such as “Beverley Skinner Collection”, a string which contains human-readable information about the subject. It is a feature of human language that the same thing can have different names and multiple things can have the same name within a particular language. The multilingual, multicultural scope of the Semantic Web ensures that each and every thing will have different names or labels, and each and every name may refer to different things.

RDF uses the infrastructure of the web of documents to specify the format of identifiers for things and predicates. A Uniform Resource Identifier (URI) is based on the idea of a URL; in fact, all URLs are URIs, but not all URIs are URLs. A URI identifies an RDF resource: a document or a thing or concept that is not a document. A URI is a unique combination of letters, numbers, and other characters, and can look like a URL, but does not necessarily locate or lead to a Web document.

An example of a URI is <http://iflastandards.info/ns/isbd/elements/P1004>. It has the HTTP structure of a URL, which allows it to be interpreted as a URL in web browsers. Usually, this would result in an error message saying the website or document could not be found, but a technical trick can be used to display human-readable information or serve machine-readable RDF data about the thing identified by the URI. This is called “dereferencing”, and the example URI can be dereferenced. The example URI itself embeds some human-readable strings, such as “standards” and “elements”, and some strings recognizable to librarians, such as “ifla” (International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions) and “isbd” (International Standard Bibliographic Description), but it can be dangerous to assign any meaning to the URI: IFLA is also the acronym for Institute of Family Law Arbitrators, and “element” is ambiguous even in the context of linked data. The Semantic Web depends on triples re-used in different contexts, and URIs are assumed to be permanent even if, for example, ownership of the HTTP domain “iflastandards.info” passes from the library organization to the legal body. At the same time, RDF allows multiple URIs to be assigned to the same thing: it is easy to indicate this in linked data programs, and things identified locally can be linked into global Semantic Web applications.

Identifying archival metadata

Data about archival resources can be represented in RDF by assigning URIs to the predicates used in archival description; that is, the attributes and relationships found in archival record schema. Predicates are called “properties” in the context of RDF: each property must have its own URI. For example, the URI <http://data.archiveshub.ac.uk/def/origination> identifies an RDF property with the human-readable label “origination” and definition “An agent responsible for the creation or accumulation of the archival resource”. This property

is used in one of the triples in Table 1: This archive [has] *origination* Beverley Skinner.

It is also necessary to identify the machine-readable semantics associated with the property. In this example, the property expects the subject of the triple to be a type of archival resource and the object to be a type of agent such as a person, family, or corporate body. So “this archive” can be assumed to be an archival resource and “Beverley Skinner” to be an agent. URIs must be assigned to the types of thing encountered in archival finding aids: Fonds, collections, items, digital surrogates, people, families, subjects, and so on. For example, the URI <http://data.archiveshub.ac.uk/def/ArchivalResource> is assigned to the type or class labelled “Archival Resource” with definition “Recorded information in any form or medium, created or received and maintained, by an organization or person(s) in the transaction of business or the conduct of affairs, and maintained for its long-term research value. An archival resource may be an individual item, such as a letter or photograph, or (more commonly) some aggregation of such items managed and described as a unit”. Both of these examples are URIs used for the RDF vocabulary (or element set, schema, or ontology – the terms are equivalent) developed for the UK’s LOCAH Linked Archives Hub project.²

Finally, URIs must be given to the instances of things found in the archival metadata, such as a specific collection or agent, for example the person named “Beverley Skinner”. There are many more instances of things to be identified than the types or classes of which they are members and the properties that link them; there are many people in the class Person.

A general procedure for finding, creating, and assigning URIs to metadata triples has been described.³ Table 2 shows a simplified example of a record taken from an archival finding-aid in the Archives Hub.⁴

2 LOCAH [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: <http://data.archiveshub.ac.uk/>

3 Dunsire, Gordon. Linked data for manuscripts in the Semantic Web. // Summer School in the Study of Historical Manuscripts: proceedings / edited by Mirna Willer and Marijana Tomić. Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2013. Pp. 199-218.

4 Beverley Skinner Collection [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: <http://archiveshub.ac.uk/search/summary.html?recid=gb1086-skinner>

Field/attribute	Value
Record ID	gb1086skinner
Title	Beverley Skinner Collection
Creator	Beverley Skinner (1938-1999)
Extent	1 box and 15 slides
Scope	The collection consists of: newscuttings ...
Level	Fonds

TABLE 2.

Simple archival finding-aid record

The record ID is based on the archive reference number and is unique within the Archives Hub, so it can be used as the basis of a URI for the collection. The procedure is applied in successive stages to the data in the record:

1. Take the record.
2. Disaggregate the data to single statements.
3. Create a URI for the resource being described, based on the record ID.
4. Replace the record ID with the URI in each statement.
5. Find property URIs for the attributes or predicates in the statements.
6. Replace the attributes with the corresponding URIs.
7. Find URIs for the values in the record, represented as the objects of the statements, which are not data strings.
8. Replace the values with the corresponding URIs, or enclose strings with quotation marks.
9. Publish the statements as linked data triples.

One possible result, depending on choices of URIs for similar properties and instances, is given in Table 3.

Subject URI	Predicate URI	Object URI/literal
ma:gb1086skinner	dct:title	“Beverley Skinner Collection”
ma:gb1086skinner	ah:origination	ahagent:gb1086/beverleyskinner1938-1999
ma:gb1086skinner	ah:extent	“1 box and 15 slides”
ma:gb1086skinner	ah:scopecontent	“The collection consists of: newscuttings ...”
ma:gb1086skinner	ah:level	ahlevel:fonds

TABLE 3.

Set of triples containing data from a simple archival finding-aid record

Table 3 uses an abbreviated form for the URIs which is automatically expanded to the full form during data processing. The abbreviation “ma:” for the Subject URI is replaced with the HTTP domain of the namespace for “my archive”, a dataset of triples about specific resources in a local archives collection. This namespace and dataset are not specified. LOCAH has published some data in the namespace <http://data.archiveshub.ac.uk/id/archivalresource/> although the local resource identifier that is used may be slightly different. In a similar way, <http://purl.org/dc/terms/title> is the full URI for the “title” property used in the first triple. The abbreviation “dct” is based on “Dublin Core terms”, the namespace for the published element set of core attributes shared by cultural heritage resources;⁵ although this is a widely-used abbreviation, in principle any abbreviation unique to the application is allowed. The abbreviation “ah” for the properties used by the other triples stands for <http://data.archiveshub.ac.uk/def/>, the namespace for the RDF element set for archival resources developed by LOCAH. Lastly, the abbreviations for the object URIs are for namespaces for RDF value vocabularies or sets of controlled terms with assigned URIs. These have not been published.

The RDF properties used in the example triples come from more than one namespace: LOCAH and Dublin Core Terms. This demonstrates the “mix and match” choice in the general procedure, where suitable properties from existing namespaces are re-used. The LOCAH properties are examples of the “create your own” alternative, where properties are created locally to match the semantics of the local schema. Although the option of re-using another namespace is easier to implement, care must be taken to minimize the “dumb-down” effect which loses finer semantic granularity in the source data. For example, by using the Dublin Core Term the finer distinction of “collection title” is lost. An application program cannot recover this information directly; at best, it can infer that the title belongs to an archival resource rather than a person.

The triples in Table 3 form a cluster focussed on the Subject with the abbreviated URI [ma:gb1086skinner](http://data.archiveshub.ac.uk/id/ma:gb1086skinner). This is one of the basic building blocks of linked data applications: the human-readable literal strings in the objects of a triple cluster form the “record” for the subject individual.

⁵ DCMI Metadata Terms [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: <http://dublincore.org/documents/dcmi-terms/>

The other basic building block is the triple chain, where the URI of the Object, if it is not a literal string, is matched to the Subject URI of another triple. A simple example is shown in Table 4.

Subject URI	Predicate URI	Object URI/literal
ma:gb1086skinner	ah:level	ahlevel:fonds
ahlevel:fonds	skos:prefLabel	“드퐁”@ko

TABLE 4.

Example of a simple triple chain

In Table 4, the Object URI of the first triple is the same as the Subject URI of the second, so they can form a two-link triple chain. The chain ends with a literal Object, in this case the preferred label for the archival level “fonds” in Korean. Of course, another chain may end with the preferred label in English, or an alternative label in Spanish. The predicate URI for the preferred label property is taken from the namespace of Simple Knowledge Organization System (SKOS), a widely-used element set with broad granularity for constructing simple controlled terminologies.⁶ It should be noted that a triple chain cannot extend beyond a literal Object because the literal value cannot match to the Subject of any other triple, which must be a URI according to RDF.

This process of connecting the object of one triple to the subject of another can result in long chains of linked data, but the ultimate end of the chain as a structure, and as a function, is an object with a human-readable string. This is shown in Figure 1 which depicts a graph of the linked data for the example archival resource in Table 3.

Figure 1 is a mathematical graph consisting of nodes or vertices connected by lines or edges. This is a useful visual display of linked data in RDF because a triple is two nodes, the Subject and Object, connected by a single line, the predicate. In an RDF graph, the arrow of the predicate line points from the Subject to the Object. A literal Object is shown as a rectangular node, while a Subject or Object URI is shown as a rounded node. The actual URIs for subjects, predicates, and objects have been replaced with human-readable labels for clarity. Each line in Figure 1 represents a single triple, so there are 8 linked triples. There are also 3 clusters, and the graph is a mix of triple clusters and chains. The chains

⁶ SKOS: Simple Knowledge Organization System - Home Page [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: <http://www.w3.org/2004/02/skos/>

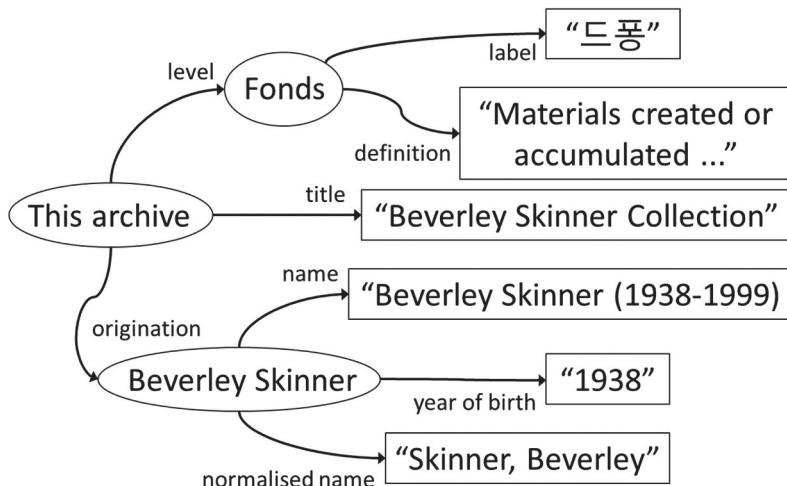


FIGURE 1.
Graph of a simple archival resource

are used to link to more human-readable strings clustered around related things. The graph also demonstrates how RDF can accommodate multiple languages and scripts. They are all human-readable data, and are therefore confined to be the literal objects of triples. The same URI can have labels in many languages, and it is easy for linked data applications to filter specific languages for display purposes.

The example in Figure 1 is very simple and offers little utility over conventional finding-aids. In reality, the number of triples in a cluster for an archival resource described in multiple finding-aids may total thousands and the power of a linked data application becomes more apparent. All the data in the graph except for the literal strings can be processed by machines at very high speeds. The process of determining which literal strings to display to the human consumers of an application can be treated separately, depending on the language and tasks of the user and the language and provenance of the data. It is difficult to estimate how many triples would be required to represent the high quality metadata held in cultural heritage records. There are certainly hundreds of millions of records, perhaps hundreds of billions, and each record may generate tens to hundreds of triples. The quality of the data is high because it is structured and has usually been created by professionals according to community guidelines and rules.

Impact of linked data

The impact of linked data and the Semantic Web on library metadata is discussed by Willer and Dunsire.⁷ They argue that RDF allows a change in the basic assumptions of the theory and practice of bibliographic information management, forced by the development of the Internet and digital information technologies and the application of analytical techniques adopted from mathematics and logic. This paradigm shift is characterized in several ways in relation to library metadata.

The focus of operations changes from the catalogue record to the statement, in the form of a triple. A “record” is a constructed set of statements about a specific thing of bibliographic interest. There is no perfect set of statements, because each end-user or intermediary has a different view of what data are sufficient to describe the resource. Data triples are taken from multiple sources and their provenance cannot be assumed if the sources re-use triples from secondary sources, and so on. If the provenance of any single statement is required it must be given explicitly. Sets of statements used in library applications will include data generated by end-users, for example folksonomies and opinions, and by machines, for example the results of processing the semantic information contained in element sets.

The library community has published some significant datasets in RDF, including the catalogues of some national libraries and metadata from large-scale digitization projects, as well as value vocabularies such as the Virtual International Authority File (VIAF)⁸ and Library of Congress Subject Headings (LCSH).⁹ VIAF contains preferred forms of names from multiple national libraries, including those recommended by ISAAR(CPF),¹⁰ while LCSH provides topical headings for the Archives Hub. In addition, many of the international standard schema and models for library metadata have been published as RDF element sets.¹¹

7 Willer, Mirna; Gordon Dunsire. Bibliographic information organization in the semantic web. Oxford : Chandos, 2013.

8 VIAF: Virtual International Authority File [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: <http://viaf.org/>

9 Library of Congress Subject Headings [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: <http://id.loc.gov/authories/subjects.html>

10 ISAAR(CPF): International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families. 2nd ed. Paris: International Council on Archives, 2004 [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at:

<http://www.ica.org/10203/standards/isaar-cpf-international-standard-archival-authority-record-for-corporate-bodies-persons-and-families-2nd-edition.html>; [http://www.icacds.org.uk/eng/ISAAR\(CPF\)2ed.pdf](http://www.icacds.org.uk/eng/ISAAR(CPF)2ed.pdf)

11 Dunsire, Gordon; Mirna Willer. Standard library metadata models and structures for the Semantic Web. // Library hi tech news 28, 3(2011), 1-12.

There has been much less of an impact on the other cultural heritage communities, apart from digitization projects where the widespread use of Dublin Core element sets ensures a level of granularity broad enough to accommodate archive, library, and museum descriptions. The museum community has developed an RDF version of its Conceptual Reference Model (CRM)¹² which has recently been extended to the library community's *Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records* (FRBR) model.¹³ The archive community has been slow to respond to suggestions that the CRM could also be extended to archival description. There has been no further significant development of the LOCAH datasets after the project ended, and the status of the classes and properties in the element set has the value "unstable". There are no official published RDF element sets for any of the common archival standards, so the LOCAH data was created by transforming the original Encoded Archival Description (EAD)¹⁴ records using XML rather than RDF technologies.¹⁵

Issues for archival description

There are several specific issues to be resolved when representing archival description in RDF linked data, including collection hierarchies, context, and provenance.

Heaney's *Analytical Model of Collections and their Catalogues* notes that its Hierarchic Finding-Aid entity is "most often associated with archival collections where contextual information is necessary to the understanding of the Items".¹⁶ A hierarchic finding aid is "a Collection-Description which consists of information about the Collection as a whole, together with information about the individual Items within it and their Content, including contextual information about the relation of the Items and their Content to the Collection as a whole". This is

12 CIDOC Conceptual Reference Model [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: <http://cidoc-crm.org/>

13 FRBRoo introduction [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: http://cidoc-crm.org/frbr_intro.htm

14 EAD: Encoded Archival Description. Version 2002 [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: <http://www.loc.gov/ead/>

15 Johnston, Pete. From EAD to linked data: (still) a work in progress. // Archives & Linked Data meeting, JISC London, 7 Feb 2012 [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: <http://www.slideshare.net/PeteJ/from-ead-to-linked-data-still-a-work-in-progress>

16 Heaney, Michael. An analytical model of collections and their catalogues, third issue, revised. Oxford, 14 January 2000. Available at: <http://www.ukoln.ac.uk/metadata/rslp/model/amcc-v31.pdf>

in contrast with the analytic finding aid exemplified by a library catalogue, “a Collection-Description which consists of information about the individual Items within it and their Content”. The difference is context: library catalogues must describe Items which are bibliographic resources with a hierarchical structure, for example multi-part monographs and serials, but will duplicate data from multiple levels to ensure that each description is a full “record” that can stand on its own.

Hierarchical structures can be represented in RDF in a straightforward way using properties for whole/part relationships. The need is so common that many basic namespaces contain similar properties, for example FRBR’s <http://iflastandards.info/ns/fr/frbr/frbrer/P2057> with label “has part (work)”.¹⁷ The multiple levels of description found in a single archive between collections, fonds, sub-fonds, and items probably do not require special linking properties because the determination of fonds and sub-fonds will usually be the result of local archival practice. Figure 2 shows an RDF graph for a simple archival hierarchy, using the same reciprocal pair of properties to link each level. The properties are given several variant labels, but the semantics are the same.

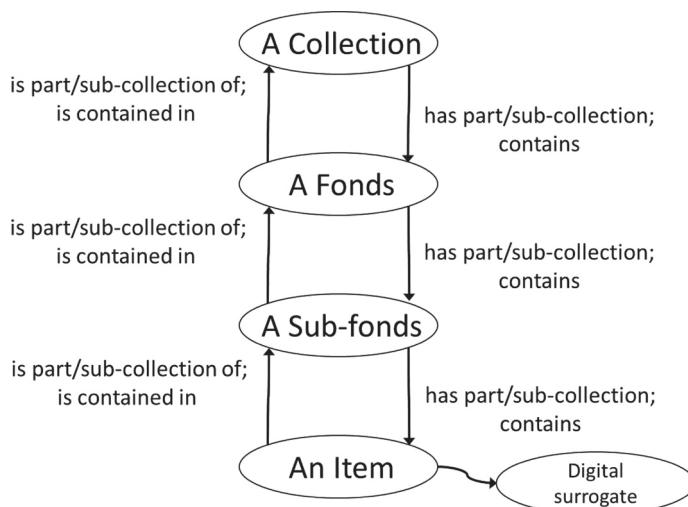


FIGURE 2.
Graph of a simple archival hierarchy

17 Element Sets: FRBRer model. Elements: has part (work) [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: <http://metadataregistry.org/schemaprop/show/id/1629.html>

To maintain the context of a description of an Item, its “parent” levels must remain linked so that their data is available to augment the data directly attributed (pun intended) to the Item. This requires special attention in a linked data environment, where no specific chain is assumed to be favoured over another. Figure 2 also illustrates the potential impact of digitization. When an archival item is digitized, the digital copy is likely to be treated out of the context of the original item. It will have attributes that are not assigned to the original, such as digital file characteristics, and it will have primary relationships outside of the hierarchy, for example in digital manuscript collections. The linked data representation of digitized manuscripts is discussed by Dunsire in the context of FRBR.¹⁸

The need for explicit statement of provenance in RDF has already been mentioned. The basic method of representing provenance is exemplified by the triple statement “That statement was created by that person”. The Subject of the triple is another triple, “that statement”, which requires its own URI; this is known as “reification”. Any triple can be assigned a URI so that it can be the Subject or Object of another triple. This can be generalized to sets of triples, so that the Subject of the “provenance” triple is another RDF graph of many triples in clusters and chains that is assigned a URI or “named”. As with the assignment of URIs to specific archival things described in triple datasets, the proliferation of URIs for named graphs requires careful management. The provenance of a single statement becomes embedded in the provenance of multiple sets of triples – but this is dangerously close to a feedback loop that spirals out of control. The problem is exacerbated for archives by changes in provenance caused by historical changes in context.

The archival record provides information about the activities of persons, families, or corporate bodies in relation to events located in space and time. In many cases the record is an important part of the provenance of specific persons, families, and corporate bodies, as well as providing documentary evidence about events and places. The archive provides the provenance of the archival record. If the answer to the question “who said that?” is an archival record, then the answer to the question repeated is “the archivist”. And the answer to “why did the archivist say that?” may well be another archival record. This mix of provenance and context makes it important to know what archival model or paradigm for provenance and context was being applied at each stage of the evolution of the archival record.

The situation mirrors that of serial publications in library collections. The content and context of a serial changes over time, by accumulation of additional content, for example in new issues of a journal, or replacement of content, for example in an updating service. Websites are often changed in both ways, and libraries that maintain “web archives” usually do so by taking a snapshot of a website at regular intervals and treat the results as discrete issues of a serial. The challenges of improving the FRBR model for serials have recently stimulated interest in event-based models for resource description such as CRM, and an extension for serials based on the FRBRoo model is being considered.¹⁹ PRESSoo models the intention of some attributes of a serial publication, for example frequency, with changes in the value of the attribute represented as events. Similar techniques may help to resolve issues in the dynamic archival record, with each iteration of the record being reified as a separate named graph.

Conclusion

All of these issues are the focus of research and discussion in the linked data community, and in most cases little agreement has been reached across the community as a whole. The perspectives of the archive community, as with other cultural heritage and information sectors, constitute valuable input into the ongoing debate. This seems particularly true for the representation of provenance, with context being a necessary adjunct.

The data held in archival descriptions is valuable to linked data communities because it provides provenance to the persons, families, and corporate bodies that are the subjects and objects of triples, as well as contributing to what one of the creators of the Semantic Web refers to as “one giant global graph”; that is, a single RDF graph of nodes representing every thing of interest to every one, connected by multiple predicates and multiple pathways. The local graph in Figure 1 can link to the global graph by explicitly mapping the URI for “This archive”, the URI for the person named “Beverley Skinner”, or the URI for the archival concept “fonds” to URIs for the same things in other triples, for example the dbpedia dataset for the Wikipedia entry titled “Fonds”. If global URIs, for example from VIAF, are assigned as the

¹⁹ PRESSoo [cited: 2014-10-31]. Available at: <http://www.issn.org/the-centre-and-the-network/our-partners-and-projects/pressoo/>

URIs in the local linked data, then the local graph is already linked to the global graph. This is basic linked data; for semantic linked data, the URIs from the predicates in the local graph must be mapped to those from global element sets. In this case, the “mix and match” method for re-using global properties risks losing valuable information through dumb-down.²⁰ The archive community should engage with the global communities to ensure that semantic mappings are correct: both sides of the mapping must agree if the local data is to retain good quality and trusted provenance.

The high quality data locked in archival descriptions is of value to the linked open data communities and the Semantic Web; the interconnections of the global graph are of value to the archive community, especially in adding to the archival record. The greatest benefits will accrue if the archive community can develop ways of publishing its models, schema, and other standards, and the data that uses them, as part of the global graph of the Semantic Web.

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²⁰ Dunsire, Gordon; Diane Hillmann; Jon Phipps; Karen Coyle. A reconsideration of mapping in a semantic world. // Proc. Int'l Conf. on Dublin Core and Metadata Applications, 2011 [cited 2014-10-31]. Available at: <http://dcevents.dublincore.org/index.php/IntConf/dc-2011/paper/view/52/6>

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WEB PODATAKA ZA ARHIVSKU GRAĐU SEMANTIČKI WEB I KONCEPT POVEZANIH OTVORENIH PODATAKA

Sažetak

U radu se prvo opisuju osnovni koncepti RDF-a (Resource Description Framework) kao podloge za povezane podatke u semantičkom webu, a potom prikazuje način njihova korištenja za predstavljanje arhivskih modela i podataka kao tripteta povezanih podataka u svrhu omogućivanja interoperabilnosti metapodataka knjižnične i drugih zajednica. Entiteti koji su predmet zanimanja arhivističke zajednice, kao što su osobe, obitelji i korporativna tijela, predmet su zanimanja i šire globalne zajednice i omogućuju povezivanje lokalnih i globalnih metapodataka. Temeljni arhivistički koncepti zbirke, konteksta i provenijencije u cijelosti su primjenjivi na semantički web, ali nisu dovoljno razvijeni, pa će uključivanje arhiva u to okruženje biti na obostranu korist.

Ključne riječi: povezani podaci, RDF (Resource Description Framework), arhivski opis

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVAL NAME AUTHORITY DATA

THE POSSIBILITIES FOR FUNCTIONAL INTEROPERABILITY

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the bi-directional relationship that existed between the library conceptual data model and the international archival standard for name authority data in the course of their development between 1996 and 2009, and the possible impact of that relationship on their functional interoperability. The method used is analytical analysis of the working documents of the two relevant working groups within the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA). The results of this analysis are then compared to standards documents published by both the library and the archival communities.

The IFLA working groups in question are the Working Group on Minimal Level Authority Records and ISADN (WG on MLAR and ISADN) and the Study Group on the Functional Requirements and Numbering of Authority Records (FRANAR WG). The corpus used for the research comprises IFLA's *Mandatory Data Elements for Internationally Shared Resource Authority Records* (MLAR) and the conceptual model *FRAD: Functional Requirements for Authority Data*, and ICA/CDS's name authority standard *ISAAR(CPF): International Standard Archive Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families*, first and second edition.

In the conclusion the author argues that the communication between the library and archival communities was less fruitful at the level of recognizing the same data element set or adopting some elements from each other's documents, than it was at the level of recognizing the differences that should be borne in mind while building services based on the potential functional interoperability of library and archival authority data.

KEY WORDS

ICA/CDS: International Council on Archives Committee on Descriptive Standards, IFLA Working Group on Minimal Level Authority Records and ISADN (WG on MLAR and ISADN), IFLA Study Group on the Functional Requirements and Numbering of Authority Records (FRANAR WG), *Mandatory Data Elements for Internationally Shared Resource Authority Records (MLAR)*, *ISAAR(CPF): International Standard Archive Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families, Functional Requirements for Authority Data: a Conceptual model* (FRAD), functional interoperability

Introduction

By publishing its conceptual model for bibliographic data in 1998, the International Federation on Library Associations (IFLA) fulfilled one of its central roles in providing the international library community with the theoretical background for the future development of standardization activities and the promotion of bibliographic practices in changing technological, economic and social environments. The *Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records: Final Study* (FRBR),¹ which was derived using the technique of entity analysis, identifies entities of interest to users of bibliographic records, the attributes of each entity, and the types of relationships that operate between entities.² The study defines three groups of entities which represent the key objects of interest to users:

The first group comprises the products of intellectual or artistic endeavour that are named or described in bibliographic records: *work*, *expression*, *manifestation*, and *item*. The second group comprises those entities responsible for the intellectual or artistic content, the physical production and dissemination, or the custodianship of such products: *person* and *corporate body*. The third group comprises an additional set of entities that serve as the subjects of intellectual or artistic endeavour: *concept*, *object*, *event*, and *place*.³

1 Functional requirements for bibliographic records: Final report / IFLA Study Group on the Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records. München: K. G. Saur, 1998. Current text including amendments and corrections to date, available from: <http://www.ifla.org/en/publications/functional-requirements-for-bibliographic-records>. [Cited: 2014-09-15]

2 Ibid., p. 3.

3 Ibid., p. 13.

However, the introduction to the study acknowledges that the model does not cover authority data and its syndetic, i.e., linking function, in the catalogue (See and See also references between authorized and variant, and related access points). The following quote from the introduction clearly explains the context and functionality of authority data in bibliographic systems:

It is important to note that the model developed for the study does not cover the extended range of attributes and relationships that are normally reflected in authority records. The model defines the entities that are the focus of authority records--persons, corporate bodies, concepts, etc.--and depicts the relationships between those entities and the entities described in the bibliographic record *per se*. The model also defines attributes of those entities to the extent that such attributes are typically reflected in the bibliographic record. But it does not analyse the additional data that are normally recorded in an authority record, nor does it analyse the relationships between and among those entities that are generally reflected in the syndetic apparatus of the catalogue. While it is recognized that an extended level of analysis would be necessary for a fully developed conceptual model, the terms of reference for the current study, with its focus on bibliographic data, as distinct from authority data, and the constraints of time available for the study, ruled out such an extended level of analysis. Nevertheless, the study group recognizes the need to extend the model at some future date to cover authority data.⁴

Parallel to the work on FRBR, IFLA's Office for Universal Bibliographic Control (UBC) and International MARC (Machine-Readable Cataloguing) (UBCIM) started to analyse why authority data, i.e., authority records, were not a matter of current exchange between libraries, as was the case with bibliographic records. Authority data is defined as data that "represents the controlled access points and other information that institutions use to collocate works by a specific person, family, or corporate body, or the various editions of a title. Controlled access points include authorized forms and variant forms of name assembled by cataloguers to identify an entity."⁵ Two studies on the content and structure of national authority files and

⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

⁵ Functional requirements for authority data: a conceptual model. München: K.G. Saur, 2009. P. 1.

international cooperation in the field that were conducted by Marcelle Beaudiquez and Françoise Bourdon of France and published in 1991 and 1993 respectively showed that the failure of international cooperation in the field of authority data was due to the fact that the division of labour defined by the UBC⁶ had been tacitly ignored, and that there were gaps in regard to the definition of the typical content of authority records that were intended to be re-useable outside the context in which they were created.⁷ In order to study these issues further, the Working Group on Minimal Level Authority Records and ISADN (International Standard Authority Data Number) (WG on MLAR and ISADN) was created in 1996 under the auspices of IFLA UBCIM with the aims of analysing nine national authority formats as well as the IFLA UNIMARC authorities format, and preparing a list of *Mandatory Data Elements for Internationally Shared Resource Authority Records*.

It was during the work on this document that the WG on MLAR and ISADN invited the parallel body within the archival community, the International Council on Archives' Committee on Descriptive Standards (ICA/CDS), to cooperate. This invitation was in accordance with decisions reached at the IFLA/ICA joint meeting on authority control held in Beijing, 1 September 1996 when ICA approved the final version of its own authority standard, the *International Standard Archive Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families* (ISAAR(CPF)). Both professional bodies recognized the need for "future communication and cooperation in the field of authority control."⁸ In the *Draft Beijing Agenda*, published subsequently in the *IFLA Journal*, the IFLA and ICA officers who met on the same day in Beijing recognized that over the years they had "developed a strong tradition of cooperation and exchange of information" and declared that they "share[d] a belief in a common set of ethical values". The seven areas of cooperation they defined to be of interest to this research included the following:

- 6 Anderson, Dorothy. Universal Bibliographic Control: A long term policy – A plan for action. Pullach/München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1974.
- 7 Beaudiquez, Marcelle; Françoise Bourdon. Management and use of name authority files (personal names, corporate bodies and uniform titles): evaluation and prospects. München: K.G. Saur, 1991; Bourdon, Françoise. International cooperation in the field of authority data: an analytical study with recommendations. München: K.G. Saur, 1993.
- 8 New IFLA Working Group on International Authority Control. / IFLA Journal 22, 4(1996), p. 318.

- “The impact of the convergence of technologies for the storage, retrieval and transmission of text, images and oral information
- Improved resource sharing mechanisms in order to bridge the widening gap between developed and developing library and archival communities. This also includes resource sharing in a national or regional context
- Cooperative efforts by IFLA and ICA to stimulate the development and implementation of international standards for electronic records, that will facilitate use of the Internet and improve access to holdings of archives and libraries [...]
- Exchange of views on user-oriented services in archives and libraries”⁹.

The aim of cooperation between the two standardizing bodies, the WG on MLAR and ISADN and ICA/CDS, was defined by ICA/CDS in the context of “ascertaining the compatibility and potential interoperability”¹⁰ of authority record structures, that is, analysing the potential for the functional interoperability of data from both sources which in turn meets the functional requirements of each standard. This analysis was done at the level of mapping data elements and their definitions that were perceived to align (i.e., the presence or absence of matching elements or element functions across the standards) or making a recommendation about the particular treatment of a data element (e.g., mandatory as opposed to optional). The functional interoperability of authority data from both sources was seen to be justified by both communities’ needs to share, re-use and/or link authentic and reliable name authority data that was professionally and intensively generated, in current descriptive systems, and to enhance resource discovery to meet the ever-growing expectations of users of such systems in the new internet environment.

The main goal of this article, therefore, is to reconstruct the influences that the library element set and data model and the archival

⁹ Joint IFLA/ICA Meeting, Beijing, China, 1 September 1996. / IFLA Journal 22, 4(1996), pp. 319-320.

¹⁰ The Internal Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families (ICA) and the Essential Data Elements for Internationally Shared Resource Authority Records (IFLA): A Comparison and Report / Prepared by Dagmar Parer (with Adrian Cunningham) and Michael Fox of the International Council on Archives Committee on Descriptive Standards (ICA/CDS); Released and distributed electronically to the members of the ICA/CDS and the IFLA Working Group on Minimal Level Authority Records and the ISADN, 30 July 1998. Conclusions [filename: ICA-IFLA_CommentsonMLAR1998].

standard in the field of name authority data had upon each other in the course of their development, and to contemplate the possible impact of such influence on the functional interoperability of authority data in the two communities. The analysis covers the period from 1996, the year in which the IFLA WG on MLAR and ISADN was established, ISAAR(CPF) was published, and the IFLA/ICA meeting was held, and encompasses 2004 and 2009, the years of publication of the second edition of ISAAR(CPF) and the conceptual model for authority data, FRAD, respectively. The article first focuses on three documents exchanged between the two groups: the ICA/CDS comparison and report on the MLAR (1998), and the IFLA FRANAR WG's comments on the ISAAR(CPF) 1st (2001) and 2nd (2003) editions. The penultimate section, *Continuing the Dialogue*, reconstructs some of the issues related to the archival context analysed in the comment logs of the 1st and 2nd worldwide reviews of the FRAR (2005) and FRAD (2007) conceptual models. The documents referred to are those that were archived by the IFLA working groups, the Working Group on MLAR and ISADN and the Working Group on FRANAR.¹¹

The chronology table provided in the appendix traces the time-frame of particular working group activities, the documentation exchanged between the IFLA and ICA/CDS bodies during those activities, and, finally, the published documents that possibly were the result of mutual influence. To facilitate his/her orientation and understanding of the text that follows, the reader is advised to consult the table in the Appendix.

ICA/CDS's ISAAR(CPF) and IFLA's Essential Data Elements: a comparison of structure and content (July 1998)

In December 1997, IFLA WG on MLAR and ISADN issued a call for comments on its draft report *Essential Data Elements for Internationally Shared Resource Authority Records* and the ICA/CDS readily responded. The ICA/CDS invited two of its members, Michael Fox of the United States and Dagmar Parer of Australia to "prepare an analysis of the IFLA report with respect to the structure and content of the ICA's International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bod-

¹¹ As a member of both working groups I am in possession of the digital archive, while my paper archive is stored at the National and University Library in Zagreb, Croatia. I would like to thank Glenn E. Patton of OCLC and the Chair of the FRANAR Working Group for his help in recovering some documents and elucidating some issues.

ies, Persons and Families, known as ISAAR(CPF).” The report was released and distributed electronically to the members of the ICA/CDS and the IFLA WG on MLAR and ISADN on 30 July 1998.¹²

The ICA/CDS report positions ISAAR(CPF)¹³ in relation to the complementary (and parent) General International Standard Archival Description (ISAD(G)), and states that the “documentation about the creator of archival materials that is captured in records based on ISAAR(CPF) is comparable in some respects to library authority records”. The comparable difference refers to their function and extent: “Such ‘archival authority records’ differ from their bibliographic counterparts in the functional roles they play in the descriptive process and in the nature and the extent of the data they contain.” Using the FRBR-defined user tasks that bibliographic records need to support, the ICA/CDS report clarifies first the difference in the function of the authority records in the respective catalogue/finding aid. While in “traditional library systems, authority records exist to facilitate the creation of consistent and unique headings which, in turn, support the “find” and “identify” functions of the catalog”, they limit “the contents of their records to a listing of preferred and variant forms of the heading and the documentation necessary to establish the warrant for those choices”, and contribute “to the descriptive process only in an indirect manner- by providing an authoritative source for the headings carried in bibliographic records.” Additionally, “most catalogs do not present authority records directly to the user.”

This practice is in contrast with the archival authority records, which are an “integral part of descriptive systems, intended to be presented directly to the user in conjunction with data about the records themselves. The centrality of provenance as a defining characteristic of archival materials means that archival authority files must include substantive information about the creators of the records to support the ‘select’ as well as the ‘find’ and ‘identify’ functions of the catalog.” As to the content of the archival authority record, “in addition to establishing authoritative forms of headings, archival authority records

12 The International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families (ICA) and the Essential Data Elements for Internationally Shared Resource Authority Records (IFLA): A Comparison and Report. Op.cit.

13 ISAAR(CPF): International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families: Final ICA approved version / prepared by the Ad Hoc Commission on Descriptive Standards, Paris, France, 15-20 November 1995. Ottawa: The Secretariat of the ICA AD Hoc Commission on Descriptive Standards, 1996.

typically include extended biographical data about the individuals or the administrative history, legal status, functions and mandates, and administrative structure of the corporate bodies responsible for the associated documents.”¹⁴

The results of the comparative analysis of ISAAR(CPF) and the IFLA list of mandatory data elements were divided into four categories with numbered data elements from the table:

(1) An EXACT or CLOSE match

- 1.1 Identity Code/Record Identifier (No 4)
- 3.3 Date entered on file (No 5)
- 3.3 Date entered on file/Version Identifier (No 6)
(ISAAR(CPF), 2nd ed, 5.4.6)
- 3.2 Rules or Conventions/Descriptive Rules (No 10)
- 1.2 Type of Archival Authority Record/Entity Category (No 14)
- 1.3 Authority Entry/Authorised Heading (No 15)
- 2.2.5 Nationality/Nationality of entity (No 16) *but possible interoperability problem
- 2.1.3, 2.2.3, 2.3.3 Dates and Places of Existence/Time Period Associated with the Entity (No 17) * but possible interoperability problem
- 1.5 Non-preferred Terms/Variant Forms of the Authorised Heading (No 18)
- 1.6 Related Authority Entry/Related Authorised Heading (No 19)
- 3.1 Archivist’s Note/Source Citation (No 20)

(2) Some elements specified by IFLA that are not found in ISAAR(CPF) and inclusion of which into ISAAR(CPF) would increase compatibility

- Record Status (No 1) *(ISAAR(CPF), 2nd ed, 5.4.4)*
- Type of Record (No 2)
- Encoding Level (No 3) *(ISAAR(CPF), 2nd ed, 5.4.5)*
- (1.4) Language (No 7) *(ISAAR(CPF), 2nd ed, 5.4.7)*

¹⁴ The International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families (ICA) and the Essential Data Elements for Internationally Shared Resource Authority Records (IFLA): A Comparison and Report, op. cit. Archival Authority Records (chapter).

- Character Sets Present (No 8)
 - 1.1 Source Library/Agency for Record (No 12)
 - Differentiated or undifferentiated personal name (No 13)
- (3) Some elements specified by ISAAR(CPF) that are not found in IFLA and inclusion of which into IFLA would increase compatibility
- 1.1 Agency Making the Record Available (No 11) *currently only an optional element
- (4) Elements that are present in IFLA but are of negotiable value to ISAAR(CPF)
- Script of Cataloguing (No 9) (*ISAAR(CPF), 2nd ed, 5.4.7*)

Elements identified with “(*ISAAR(CPF), 2nd ed, x.x.x*)” have been added to the original analysis result in order to show the direct impact of this comparison on the future design of the second edition of ISAAR(CPF). The information elements have been numbered, for example 1.1, to help the reader to follow the text of the standard as well as the references to elements in the rest of this article.

The ICA/CDS's report concludes with the following:

1. There are eleven areas that are a straight or close match between the two standards. For full interoperability, some elements will need to be matched more closely. For example, the IFLA Nationality of Entity is a separate element but its functional equivalent in ISAAR(CPF) is sub-element 2.2.5 in the Information Area.
2. The ISAAR(CPF) standard could be more precise in its differentiation of contextual and provenance information. In forthcoming ISAAR(CPF) reviews, it may be worth investigating the current placement of provenance information in the Information Area with the view of giving it greater prominence.
3. The IFLA proposal recommends that agencies responsible for authority records make their data available at this time for searching only and not for full computer to computer interchange. Archival information systems should be able to contribute to this process and creating agencies should consider participation by making their files accessible via the Internet.

4. The IFLA model does not adequately capture the provenance principles of the archival profession. To ensure full compatibility in the future between the two international authority record standards, the two groups may need to address and reconcile the archivist's need for extended information about provenance in the authority record and the librarian's emphasis on an economical method of headings control.

In answering the vital question “can archivists adopt the IFLA model on authority records as theirs,” the answer is YES, but with certain conditions.¹⁵

The final version of the IFLA document, *Mandatory Data Elements for Internationally Shared Resource Authority Records* (MLAR), was published in 1998.¹⁶ The analysis of the comparison of the final version of MLAR with the ISAAR(CPF) and ICA/CDS's recommendations to IFLA shows the following:

1. Referring to the recommendations in the ICA/CDS Comparison table:
 - 1.1. Agency Making the Record Available (No 11): defined as a mandatory element in MLAR
 - 1.2. Type of Archival Authority Record/Entity Category (No 14): in the Comparison table the recommendation is to make the element mandatory; it was defined as mandatory in MLAR with a note that it should be recommended as an addition to UNIMARC, as part of the Record Label [done]¹⁷
 - 1.3. Nationality/Nationality of entity (No 16) *but possible interoperability problem: MLAR added a note to recommend addition of a field for recording nationality of an entity to the UNIMARC Authorities format [done].
2. Referring to the comments from the ICA/CDS Conclusion:
 - 1.1. (3.) The IFLA proposal recommends that agencies responsible for authority records should make their data available at this time for searching only: this provision was partly re-defined

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Mandatory Data Elements for Internationally Shared Resource Authority Records: Report of the IFLA UBCIM Working Group on Minimal Level Authority Records and ISADN. [Frankfurt/Main]: IFLA Universal Bibliographic Control and International MARC Programme, 1998. Available at: <http://archive.ifla.org/VII/3/p1996-2/mlar.htm> [cited: 2014-09-15]

¹⁷ UNIMARC Manual: Authorities Format. 2nd revised and enlarged ed. München: K. G. Saur, 2001.

in MLAR with the proposal “that each National Bibliographic Agency (NBA) make its authority files available over the Internet within two or three years”; however, the restriction to “read-only” access to such files remained unchanged

- 1.2. (4.) The IFLA model does not adequately capture the provenance principles of the archival profession... groups may need to address and reconcile the archivist’s need for extended information about provenance: the list of mandatory elements was extended in MLAR to include a list of “highly recommended” data elements; these are:
 - 1.1.1. Biographical, Historical, or Other Information about the Entity: with a note to recommend addition of a field for recording biographical, etc., information to the UNIMARC Authorities format[done]
 - 1.1.2. General notes
 - 1.1.3. Source Data not Found: this element was not included in the draft which was analysed by ICA/CDS, so no comment from ICA/CDS could have been expected.¹⁸
3. Other issues discussed in MLAR that are relevant to the topic and further development of authority data standards:
 - 1.1. Nationality: MLAR lists this element as mandatory, or at least “highly recommended”, but is aware, as was ICA/CDS, of the possibility of an interoperability problem, and that future work is needed “to explore the provision of a code for nationality”
 - 1.2. MLAR considers the issue of whether the data element is mandatory or optional in relation to or depending on whether it is used for “exchange” of authority records or for “sharing”, that is, enabling records “only to be viewed online or in a ‘snapshot’ (a view frozen in time)”; the elements which are not considered mandatory for records viewed online are ‘Record status’, ‘Date entered on file’ and ‘Version identifier’
 - 1.3. ISADN: International Standard Authority Data Number is to be made a mandatory element in the future when it is developed

¹⁸ However, UNIMARC Authorities Format defined the field 815 Source data not found already in its first edition, 1991.

- 1.4. IFLA goal of Universal Bibliographic Control (UBC): MLAR states that “requiring everyone to use the same form for headings globally is not practical” primarily in view of user requirements; therefore it “recognizes the importance of allowing the preservation of national or rule-based differences in authorized forms for headings... that best meet the language and cultural needs of particular institution’s users”.

The second comment (3.1.2) was tied to the development of technology as perceived at the time but was not irrelevant for future considerations, and the third (3.1.3) was redefined in the course of time.¹⁹ Stating these four comments (under 3.) the WG on MLAR and ISADN in effect laid foundations for the paradigm shift in the field of authority data in the library community.²⁰ Here, I would only add the subsequent introduction of the term “authorized heading/access point” that succeeded the term “uniform heading” as the central concept of the UBC (based on considerations in 3.4), and the relevance that was given to the ‘Descriptive Rules’ and the ‘Source Library/ Agency for the Record’ mandatory elements. These elements, relating to the national/local/specific community practices and requirements to meet specific user needs, govern and give authentication to the form of authorized or preferred data elements in the authority record representing a particular entity, as well as to other data elements contained within it. This aspect of conceptualizing authority data was subsequently fully developed in the FRAD conceptual model, but is worth mentioning here because it extends the mentioned function of interoperability for the purpose of exchange and sharing authority data between the two communities to the concept of linking authority records or data describing the same entity from different sources and different community requirements, whether they be of library, archival or some other provenance.

19 IFLA abandoned the concept of ISADN, but promoted the use of ISO ISNI: ISO 27729: 2012: Information and documentation - International standard name identifier (ISNI). Geneva: ISO, 2012; see also: MacEwan, Andrew; Anila Angjeli; Janifer Gatenby. The International Standard Name Identifier (ISNI): The Evolving Future of Name Authority Control. // Cataloging and Classification Quarterly 51, 1/3 (2013), 55-71.

20 See for example: Willer, Mirna. Name Authority Control Paradigm Shift in the Network Environment. // Frameworks for ICT Policy: Government, Social and Legal Issues / edited by Esharenana E. Adomi. Hershey, PA: IGI Global, 2010. Str. 182-205. DOI: 10.4018/978-1-61692-012-8.ch012; Structures of Corporate Name Headings by Working Group on the Revision of FSCH and Compiled and introduced by Ton Heijligers. Final Report - November 2000. Available at: <http://www.ifla.org/publications/structures-of-corporate-name-headings> [cited: 2014-09-15]

IFLA FRANAR WG on ICA/CDS's ISAAR(CPF), 1st edition (July 2001)

The IFLA Working Group on Functional Requirements and Numbering of Authority Records (FRANAR WG) was established in April 1999, immediately after the publication of the MLAR document, but more importantly, after the publication of the FRBR final study report, that is, the bibliographic conceptual model. As already mentioned, the FRBR model did not cover authority data and its syndetic function in the catalogue, so the three terms of reference for the FRANAR WG were defined as follows:

- 1) To define functional requirements of authority records, continuing the work that the “Functional requirements of bibliographic records” for bibliographic systems initiated;
- 2) To study the feasibility of an International Standard Authority Data Number (ISADN) [...];
- 3) To serve as the official IFLA liaison to and work with other interested groups concerning authority files: <indecs> (Interoperability of Data in E-Commerce Systems), ICA/CDS (International Council on Archives Committee on Descriptive Standards; later, International Council on Archives Committee on Best Practices and Professional Standards), ISO/TC46 for international numbering and descriptive standards, CERL (Consortium of European Research Libraries), etc.²¹

Work on design of the conceptual model continued until December 2008 when the final report, *Functional Requirements for Authority Data: A Conceptual Model (FRAD)*, was prepared for publication in 2009.

²¹ Functional requirements for authority data: a conceptual model / edited by Glenn E. Patton; IFLA Working Group on Functional Requirements and Numbering of Authority Records (FRANAR); Final Report, December 2008, Approved by the Standing Committees of the IFLA Cataloguing Section and IFLA Classification and Indexing Section, March 2009. München: K.G. Saur, 2009. P. 7. Available at: <http://www.ifla.org/publications/functional-requirements-for-authority-data>; See also: FRAD Errata (2011) <http://www.ifla.org/files/assets/cataloguing/frad/FRADerrata2011.pdf> [cited: 2014-09-15]

In the meantime, in 2000 the ICA/CDS started the revision of ISAAR(CPF). Its work was completed in October 2003 and the second edition published in 2004.²² On 26 December 2000 the ICA/CDS made the draft revised ISAAR(CPF) available for review by the international archival community and other cognate international organizations, inviting them to submit comments by a deadline of 31 July 2001.²³

The FRANAR WG received the announcement and responded to the call. The document *ISAAR(CPF): International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families (1996 edition): Comments for the Revision of ISAAR(CPF)* was prepared by Finnish Eeva Murtomaa, assisted by American Barbara B. Tillett, and dated July 2001.²⁴ It includes an introductory section in the form of Overall Comments. General and Specific comments sections are followed by two appendices: *A Comparison of Terminology* with glossary and definitions, and a *List Of Mandatory Data Elements For Internationally Shared Authority Data Of IFLA MLAR Report (1998) Compared With ISAAR(CPF) (1996) Elements*. Although the latter document introduces some considerations influenced by current developments of concepts in the field, it should be viewed as a response to the ICA/CDS's ISAAR(CPF)/IFLA Comparison and Report document, since in this case ISAAR(CPF) is being analysed from the MLAR perspective. It should be noted that such a methodology is recommended in metadata model or schema mapping or alignment exercises as it can pinpoint the issues from each point of view, thus enriching the understanding of each standard or document in question and enabling eventual revision of alignments.

In the Overall Comments section one can read that the goal of "our comments and suggestions is to support the international

22 ISAAR(CPF): International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families / prepared by the ICA Committee on Descriptive Standards – Adopted Canberra, Australia, 27-30 October 2003. 2nd ed. Paris: International Council on Archives, 2004. Available at:
<http://www.ica.org/10203/standards/isaar-cpf-international-standard-archival-authority-record-for-corporate-bodies-persons-and-families-2nd-edition.html> ; [http://www.icacds.org.uk/eng/ISAAR\(CPF\)2ed.pdf](http://www.icacds.org.uk/eng/ISAAR(CPF)2ed.pdf) [Cited: 2014-09-15]

23 Ibid., p. 5.

24 ISAAR(CPF): International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families (1996 edition). Comments for the Revision of ISAAR(CPF) / prepared by Eeva Murtomaa, assisted by Barbara B. Tillett on behalf of the IFLA UBCIM Working Group on Functional Requirements and Numbering of Authority Records, FRANAR, Helsinki July, 2001 [filenames: 1_ISAAR(CPF), 1_APPENDIX A2, 1_Appendix B]

exchange and sharing of authority information between libraries and archives. In that light, common definitions for “core level” name authority elements for archives, libraries, and even for museums would be hig[h]ly desirable”. To this end, a call or a proposal is added for a joint meeting of specialists of the three communities to “work towards a high level of interoperability”. This objective of the document is further elaborated in the General Comments section. It discusses, in the manner of recommendations, issues that have already been recognized in the ICA/CDS Report and MLAR document, but adding to it the views from the newly published second edition of IFLA’s *Guidelines for Authority Records and References*²⁵ (GARR). This edition (published earlier in 2001) of the guidelines that had first been published in 1984, was enlarged and updated with the latest concepts promoted by the MLAR such as “authorized access point” instead of the “uniform heading”, the principle that intends to preserve differences in authorized forms to meet user requirements. Definitions coming from MLAR and FRBR are added too. The recommendations from the General Comments section are the following:

- to facilitate international sharing and exchange of authority information;
- to allow the preservation of national or rule-based differences in authorized forms for headings to be used in catalogues that best meet the language and cultural needs of the users;
- to define essential elements (a core set) for national and international sharing; and
- to assure compatibility between data in MARC records and non-MARC metadata.

The last recommendation was not the focus of ICA/CDS interest and hence was not considered in the document. In other words, ISAAR(CPF) is concerned with the content, not the carrier or container, that is, the record format or scheme for the transmission of data. It must be mentioned here that the concept of the authority record persisted quite a long way into the development of the FRANAR model, thus showing librarians’ focus on or preoccupation with

25 Guidelines for Authority Records and References / revised by the IFLA Working Group on GARE revision. 2nd ed. München: K.G. Saur, 2001.

the technological solutions of the time. The concept was eventually dropped in favour of the concept of modelling data.²⁶

The General Comments section contains two additional sets of recommendations. The first one deals with *Entities Being Authorised*, in which ICA/CDS is called to consider for possible inclusion in ISAAR(CPF) other types of entities such as “conferences, concepts, events, bibliographic entities, objects” that were not adopted in the standard’s 2nd edition. The second set of recommendations discusses *Functions and Linking Structures*. In these, the FRANAR WG suggests “clarifying the functions of authority records and relationships between not only the authority entities and the archival documents (or library materials) described, but also among the forms of names presented in the authority record”. Much of the ICA/CDS Comparison and Report document is cited here, especially the conclusions regarding the issues which the new revised standard should consider. It should be mentioned here that the FRANAR model (as it was named then) was still very much in the development phase at the time, and particularly still very much in discussions about the relationship between “the authority entities and the archival documents (or library materials) described”, as well as about terminology. FRANAR WG’s invitation to ICA/CDS to consider, for example, “the relationships among the controlled names, variant names, related names, and the controlled entities” therefore reveals the state of the shifting ground within the FRANAR WG from which the comment was made, as it looked towards modelling data rather than the records that populate the “authorities” universe.²⁷

26 Although this issue was discussed in the context of the ISADN, it is worth citing the following as evidence of the change of the focus: the Group “places more importance on the potential sharing of the intellectual aspects on authority data rather than the exchange of physical authority records”. See: Patton, Glenn. FRANAR: A conceptual model for authority data. // Authority control in organizing and accessing information: Definition and international experience / edited by Arlene G. Taylor and Barbara B. Tillett. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Information Press, 2004. Pp. 91-104, 95. DOI 10.1300/J104v38n03_09; pre-publication version available at: http://www.sba.unifi.it/ac/relazioni/patton_eng.pdf [cited: 2014-09-15], p. 4.

27 In terms of library systems and their design, which much influenced thinking of the time, the reference is made here to bibliographic and authority files or databases, whether integrated or separate. The first version of the FRANAR model – *NAME AND TITLE AUTHORITIES: A Strawman Model. Prepared by Tom Delsey For the IFLA UBCIM WG on FRANAR, Draft 2002-01-18*, however, treated authority information as separate entities [filename: FRANAR-Draft_2002-01-18]

Appendix A: *Comparison of Terminology* is a particularly valuable document evidencing the state of the art of the time. It comprises of 24 pages and provides 82 terms with their definitions as well as sporadic illustrative comments taken from five sources: GARR, ICA/CDS Working Group (Comparison and Report document), ISAAR(CPF), ISAD(G) and MLAR. The term *Related heading* has been chosen as an example to show the comparison of definitions and point to the issues they raise (Table 1).

Related heading

GARR: **Related heading.** One of two or more authorised headings for different entities that are bibliographically related.

ICA Working Group (1998): key 19: [ISAAR(CPF)]1.6. Related authority entry/entries-to link this authority record to other authority records, *as see also reference*. [IFLA] Related authorised heading-text of other authorised names related to the entity described (excludes parallel headings in other language, scripts). [ICA/CDS comment] “**There is a match.**”

ISAAR(CPF): 1.6 **Related authority entry/entries** to link authority record to other authority records by, for example, a see also reference. Record the authority entry record according to the national or international conventions or rules used by the agency that created the record. Specify in 3.2 which rules have been used.
 2.1.8 Relationships: corporate bodies may have a variety of relationships with other corporate bodies, families and/or individuals. Two important aspects of information to record are the kinds of relationship and the relevant date(s).

MLAR: **Related heading.** One or two or more uniform headings, each of which is bibliographically related to the other(s).

TABLE 1.

Excerpt from *Appendix A: Comparison of Terminology* of the FRANAR WG comments for the revision of ISAAR(CPF), July 2001 [additions in square brackets by M.W.]

A closer analysis of this comparison – specifically of the ICA/CDS comment “**There is a match**” which, one might assume from the bold type in which it was printed, was endorsed by the FRANAR WG commentators as welcome news, shows significant differences in the concept of what it is that is being linked: headings, entities or records. While GARR considers Related heading as a mechanism for linking “representations” – authorized headings of bibliographically related yet different entities, MLAR falls short of this position, with putting into relationship (only) different “representations” – uniform headings. ICA/CDS’s comment on the matching between ISAAR(CPF) and MLAR’s definitions draws attention to the fact that MLAR’s definition “excludes parallel headings in other language, scripts” as related headings. ISAAR(CPF), however, defines the related authority entry/entries in the context of the link between authority records, specifying, very importantly indeed, that the authority entry record should be created “according to the national or international conventions or rules used by the agency that created the record”. Although this cannot be considered as part of the definition, because it is a rule for a procedure, it clearly points to the expressed need of the archival standards body to link authority data to the rules and the agency using those rules in creating a record. The same requirement was already present in the first drafts of the FRANAR model in the form of defining *rules* and *agency* as entities and their relationships to the entity *controlled access point*. These relationships, defined in the FRANAR (second) *Draft of 2002-07-30* remained unrevised until the final version of FRAD, i.e., *controlled access point* is governed by *rules*, *rules* are applied by *agency*, and *controlled access point* is created/modified/issued by *agency*. The only difference from the final version is the deletion of the “is issued by” part of the relationship name, although this is mentioned in the examples of instances of the attribute Name of agency.

Let us return for a moment to the ICA/CDS comment that parallel headings are excluded from MLAR’s related heading relationship. Both communities distinguish between related and parallel relationships, but treat them somewhat differently. A parallel heading is treated in MLAR and GARR as an authorized heading, but GARR adds to it the provision of multiple official languages: “An alternative, authorised form of the authorised heading for the same entity, formulated according to different rules or alternative languages (when there are two or more official languages).” ICAAR(CPF), however, treats parallel

headings, or entries only in the case of these being “in other language or script form(s)” (1.4 Parallel Entry/Entries), with the provision that “where this is not the case, a name in another language or script may be treated as a non-preferred term.”

The treatment of a parallel heading as a non-preferred term was and has been general practice in countries “when there are *no* two or more official languages”, and as such was described in the FRANAR/FRAD model as an alternative practice. However, the treatment of the authorized heading for the same entity as a parallel one in the case that it is “formulated according to different rules” introduced by GARR has been specified in FRAD as a separate relationship type to the Parallel language and Alternate script relationships. That is, it is specified as a Different rules relationship between *controlled access point* entities. Similarly, the second edition of ISAAR(CPF) does not change the definition of Parallel forms of name, but adds a new type of form of name: 5.1.4 Standardized forms of name according to other rules. The definition of the element is followed by a provision: “This can facilitate the sharing of authority records between different professional communities.”

APPENDIX B: List Of Mandatory Data Elements For Internationally Shared Authority Data Of IFLA MLAR Report (1998) Compared With ISAAR(CPF) (1996) Elements is a mapping whose direction starts with the bibliographic point of view, that is from UNIMARC authorities format to ISAAR(CPF) elements. Since the comparison is based on UNIMARC data elements it includes elements of the Record Label of the format, as in the MLAR document, with the addition of coding repeatable and not repeatable elements. The latter, however does not seem to have any relevance to the mapping. One would expect that the mapping would shed some new light on the comparison of elements done by ICA/CDS, but it does not.

As was already mentioned, ISAAR(CPF) is not concerned with the carrier of the data, i.e., the format, (in this case UNIMARC), however, this document lists several coded data elements of the Record Identification (Record Label), one of which is recognized as matching the ISAAR(CPF) element. The match is, alas, wrongly attributed. Namely, UNIMARC Type of record is mapped to ISAAR: Authority control area, 1.2 Type of Archival Authority Record (No 14), instead to the Entity Category element, the mapping that was correctly achieved in the ICA/CDS document. Similarly, the Source citation element in the ICA/

CDS document is mapped to the 3.1 Archivist's Note (20), identified correctly as UNIMARC field 810 in the MLAR document, whereas in this list it is incorrectly mapped to UNIMARC 3xx Notes Block.

In conclusion, the FRANAR WG response to the ICA/CDS call for comments on the ISAAR(CPF) first edition can be said to accord with the issues recognized in the ICA/CDS document as specific to each community and that might have an impact upon the level of interoperability. Moreover, the response brought attention to the terminology and definition of concepts in the field of authority data in both communities. However, as the FRANAR WG based its comments on the GARR and MLAR documents, since they were using these to develop the FRAD conceptual model, the comments should be considered as work in progress.

**IFLA FRANAR WG on ISAAR(CPF), draft, 2nd edition
November 2002 (July 2003)**

The FRANAR WG closely followed the revision process of the ISAAR(CPF) 2nd edition either formally through representatives of their member organisations in ICA/CDS or informally via professional networking. This can be discerned from the minutes of the group's regular meetings. At the meeting that took place in London, 9-10 May 2002,²⁸ the liaison to the ICA/CDS Eeva Murtomaa reported on the items on the agenda of the next meeting of the ICA/CDS that would be held in Madrid from 12-16 June 2002. One item on the agenda was the new edition of ISAAR(CPF). The representative of FRANAR was invited to attend that meeting. Murtomaa further reported that the original call for comments on the 1st edition suggested that only minor revisions would be made, and that the committee received some 18 responses from around the world. The proposals to revise the ISAAR structure based on EAC (Encoded Archival Context) were recognized as relating to the identity-, description-, relationship-, related archival materials and other resources-, and control areas. A draft of the revised edition was planned to be completed by the end of 2002 and would be mounted on the ICA/CDS web site for an open review period of 6 months closing in May 2003.

28 FINAL DRAFT, 2002 June 10, Minutes of the meeting of the FRANAR Working Group, May 9-10, 2002, British Library, Saint Pancras, Meeting called by: Glenn Patton, Chair [filename: London Minutes revised]

The announcement of the worldwide review of the ISAAR(CPF) draft 2nd edition of November 2002 was made at the FRANAR WG's meeting in Zagreb, May 2003.²⁹ Murtomaa reported again that the new draft revision of ISAAR(CPF) was available on the ICA web site with July 15th as the deadline for comments, and that the final approval of the standard was expected in 2004.³⁰ Françoise Bourdon reported that the French AFNOR Working Group on Metadata for Authorities was reviewing the standard, and that they could provide the FRANAR WG with a draft for the members to add their comments. The final version of the FRANAR WG comments of 15 July 2003 builds on the AFNOR text as well as comments on the first version of the FRANAR WG's text made by Canadian Tom Delsey, consultant to the FRANAR WG.³¹ The review of the text that follows includes reference to Delsey's comments as they explicitly refer to the specific requirements of the archival community.

A comment is selected from the 8-page document with the purpose of describing the issues of potential interoperability of data between the two communities, but also of drawing attention to the potential impact that the FRANAR WG comments could have had on the revision of ISAAR(CPF). The comment in question is the reference to the introductory section *1. Scope and purpose*, specifically the reference to 1.7 and 1.8 in which the similarity between archival and library authority records is being described. The FRANAR WG's final proposed change to the wording in the draft text includes Delsey's intervention, emphasizing that only their "primary function" can point to the similarity. The comment runs as follows:

1.7. The ISSAR[*sic*](CPF) draft states that "*Archival authority records are similar to library authority records in as much as both forms of authority record need to support the creation of standardized access points in descriptions.*" Several FRANAR working group members think that could be more precisely expressed as follows:

29 FRANAR Working Group, National & University Library, Zagreb, May 22 - 24, 2003[filename: Zagreb minutes]

30 The only available live link to the call for comments is archived in the Internet Archive by the Wayback Machine: <http://web.archive.org/web/20030504114003/http://www.hmc.gov.uk/icacds/eng/standardsISAAR2.htm>; the same is the case with the text at: [http://web.archive.org/web/20040620173520/http://www.hmc.gov.uk/icacds/eng/ISAAR\(CPF\)2.pdf](http://web.archive.org/web/20040620173520/http://www.hmc.gov.uk/icacds/eng/ISAAR(CPF)2.pdf)

31 Comments from Tom Delsey; re: IFLA Working Group on FRANAR Comments on the ICA-ISAAR(CPF) Draft second edition, [8 July 2003] [filename: ISAAR(CPF)-Delsey comments]

“Archival authority records are similar to library authority records in that a primary function of both is to ensure consistency in the form of access points used in descriptions.”

The argument following this proposal again takes into account Delsey’s view that there are many differences between the two authority records, but not to the full extent. The archival authority records, according to FRANAR WG’s comment,

“go much further than library authority records in “describing” the entities they refer to than do library authority records, in large part because another of their primary purposes is to enable users “to understand the context underlying the creation and use of archives and records so that they can better interpret their meaning and significance” (section 1.9).

Furthermore, “a more practical goal would be to increase the potential for the two communities to derive information (including authorized and variant forms of headings, where feasible) from one another’s authority files”. To this end, what is needed is “a clearer understanding of the purpose and content of the authority records created by the two communities, and well articulated structures for the recording and communication of authority data”. Although the FRANAR WG finds that the purpose and content are clearly stated in the draft, it does not consider that the same is the case with the structure:

“we are not so convinced that the current draft provides a well articulated structure for the recording and communication of archival authority data that would support the derivation of useful data from archival files by the library community.”

This view is based on Delsey’s comment that the authority records substantially differ from each other in structure and content because “the archival community has no internationally agreed principles for the establishment of authorized headings,” which is provided for in the library community by GARR, UNIMARC/Authorities, and the FRANAR model. That is why Delsey proposes to the FRANAR WG that “if [it] wishes to convey a message to the archival community about compatibility and potential for cross-sector sharing of authority data, I think it should be framed in those terms rather than in terms of common authority files.”

Still another Delsey's comment, but one that was not taken into account in finalizing the response to ICA/CDS, was on the nature of the entity that the authority records describe. Delsey says:

“the entities associated with library authority records differ from those associated with archival authority records in that the former are bibliographic constructs and reflect specific library practice, whereas the latter will tend to be “real” individuals and legal entities.”

At the time of writing these comments, Delsey was preparing a new version of the model – *Functional Requirements and Numbering of Authority Records: A Conceptual Model*, Draft 2003-07-15 for the FRANAR WG. As its title suggests, this version of FRANAR was still considered to be modelling “authority records”, and, at the same time, considerable parts of the text were devoted to describing the “Authority Files in a Library Context” as in chapter 3, and “Authority Data Transfer” as in chapter 8 in which the archival field is discussed. This version was subsequently revised and, as Draft 2003-12-18, was sent for initial review by relevant IFLA committees.³² The subsequent revision of the text took place in the second half of the 2004 and a new version was produced as Draft 2004-11-15. By then the second version of ISAAR(CPF) had already been published. Both of the chapters remained unchanged and as such were part of the Draft 2005-06-15, distributed for the first worldwide review.

The discussion about different treatment of entities in authority records produced by libraries and archives is considered in a wider context that includes publishers (represented by the <indecs> model), museums and rights management organizations. Here Delsey, who as the consultant also prepared this text, further explicates the difference in conceptualizing entities in the two fields:

The foremost of those complicating factors [potential for cross-sector sharing of authority data] is the nature of the entities that are associated with the names and identifiers around which library authority files are centred. As already noted, those entities (*person, family, corporate body, work, etc.*) are bibliographic in nature (i.e., they reflect concepts and constructs that are integral to library cat-

³² On 2 January 2004 Glenn Patton, Chair of the FRANAR WG informed the relevant IFLA committees that the *Functional Requirements for Authority Records* was ready for their comments before worldwide review planned for „later this year“; the deadline for comments was 2 April 2004 [filename: franar initial review].

ataloguing practice). Although the authority files created by archives, for example, centre on entities referred to as persons, families, and corporate bodies, it is unlikely that those entity types as defined in an archival context would parallel directly the similarly named entities in the library model. Concepts reflecting the cataloguing practices of libraries, such as “bibliographic identity”, are unlikely to have a direct parallel in archival practices. Hence, in an archival context, it is unlikely that one individual would be recognized as two or more persons, as may be the case in a library context.³³

This example suggests that mapping the bibliographic entities to authority data created by other fields, such as to models and practices developed by publishers, archives, museums and rights management organizations points to complexities that should not be overlooked and/or underestimated. Indeed, Delsey goes on to argue that:

“the potential for asymmetric relationships between the entities on which library authority records are centred and those on which records created in other sectors are centred. Where those asymmetric relationships exist, there is, in turn, the potential for assuming that a specific instance of an entity recognized in one sector is the same as a specific instance of a similar entity recognized in another sector when in fact it is not.”³⁴

He provides the following example for such an asymmetric relationship is the treatment of names of corporate bodies in the archive field:

For example, an authority record created in the archival sector for a corporate body (using the legal name of the body as an authorized form) may be identified as a “match” by a library creating an authority record for that body. However, the archival authority record is likely to have been created for use with all documents associated with that body throughout the course of its existence as a legal entity. The library, on the other hand, may require two or more records, each representing the body during the specific period at which it used a particular form of name (not necessarily its legal name) to identify itself in its publications. In that case, while the archival authority record may contain information that may

³³ Functional Requirements for Authority Records: A Conceptual Model. IFLA UBCIM Working Group on Functional Requirements and Numbering of Authority Records (FRANAR). Draft 2005-06-15, p. 54 [filename: FRANAR-Conceptual Model (12) (2)].

³⁴ Ibid., p. 56.

be useful to the library in creating its own authority records, the archival authority record per se will not be directly transferable to the library's authority file. Because the entity on which the archival authority record is centred is not in fact the same as any one of the two or more entities on which the library's authority records would be centred, no assumptions can be made about the applicability of information contained in the archival authority record to the entities represented in the library's authority file. The authorized form established for the archival authority record may or may not be directly transferable to one of the library authority records, depending on whether or not the form and structure of the authorized form is consistent with the rules governing authorized forms created for the library authority file. The content and form of an information note in the archival authority record outlining the history of the corporate body may be in a form suitable for use in one or more of the corresponding library authority records, but the note may well have to be reworked. Some or all of the variant forms for the body as given in the archival authority record may be relevant to one or more of the corresponding library authority records. However, they would have to be sorted through to determine which would form the basis of authorized forms (linked by see also references) for the various records required for the library's authority file and which would be appropriate as variant forms in each of those records.³⁵

Neither chapter 3 nor chapter 8 survived to witness the final version of the FRAD conceptual model published in 2009. Nor did ISAAR(CPF) change the proposed wording in its 1.7, which was in the 2nd edition numbered 1.8., nor did it accept the change of the wording in 1.9 from "a much wider set" to "a different set of requirements" as proposed: "Archival authority records, however, need to support a much wider set of requirements than is the case with library authority records." The remaining part of 1.9 refers to the fact that "archival authority records go much further and usually will contain much more information than library authority records" due to their function of "documenting information about records creators and the context of records creation", but do not mention the entity mapping or even the potential for asymmetric relationships that exist in the concept of entities.

35 Ibid.

The discussion about this focal point and how it should guide further conversation between the two communities was officially moved to the archival community in October 2003 for consideration, and was, therefore, lost to the reader of FRAD.³⁶

Continuing the Dialogue

Continuing the Dialogue is the subject of the document that Glenn Patton, Chair of the FRANAR WG, sent to Australian Adrian Cunningham, Secretary of the ICA Committee on Descriptive Standards, on 23 October 2003.³⁷ This letter was sent in the wake of the adoption of the second edition of ISAAR(CPF) by the Committee on Descriptive Standards in Canberra, Australia, 27-30 October 2003. In it, Patton refers to ICA/CDS's response to the FRANAR WG's comments on the exposure draft of the ISAAR(CPF), 2nd ed., in which they "expressed an interest in our suggestion that it might be possible to develop some sort of a common statement for archives and libraries on authority records". To this end, the letter consists of the already mentioned section prepared by Delsey for the FRANAR WG on the "Cross-Sector Sharing of Authority Data", and this is followed by a suggestion as to how the two communities might explore some of the issues they had already recognized. It proposes working on the update of the mapping of the two sets of elements of MLAR with ISAAR(CPF), 1st edition prepared by ICA/CDS by the FRANAR draft that was to be "shortly issued" for wider review, and ISAAR(CPF), 2nd edition. Patton ends the letter by saying that the FRANAR WG "will be happy to share [FRANAR draft] with you so that you can see how we have mapped various entities and their attributes to the user tasks that we have identified. That could then be the basis of further discussion about how we might map the two sets of elements to each other to attain a common set of elements usable (and useful) to both communities."

The dialogue, however, did not continue: ISAAR(CPF) was published the next year, while the FRANAR WG was preparing the first

36 The argument for not including the two chapters in the final version of the FRAD conceptual model was, as already mentioned, primarily to get rid of the explicit library context, and subsequently its reference to other communities. Also, the text was considered to be more explicative of the situation--didactic in a way--and as such there was no place for it in the type of the document which laid out the design of a conceptual model.

37 2003 October 23; TO: Adrian Cunningham, Secretary, ICA Committee on Descriptive Standards, FROM: Glenn Patton, Chair, IFLA Working Group on Functional Requirements and Numbering of Authority Records, SUBJECT: Continuing the Dialogue [filename: FRANAR ISAAR-CPF].

and then the second call for worldwide review of its model in 2005 and 2007 respectively.

It should be mentioned, though, that the liaison with the archival community did continue³⁸ and its presence was shown to be very much alive both in the FRAR document, and in the comments received during its reviews. The impact of the several years of direct cooperation is evidenced by the fact that the 2005 draft lists attributes for entities and their definitions which are derived “from an examination of data identified and/or defined in FRBR, GARR, UNIMARC/Authorities, *Mandatory Data Elements for Internationally Shared Resource Authority Records* (MLAR), as well as in the *International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families* (ISAAR(CPF)). Other models, such as *Encoded Archival Context*, have emerged more recently and have not been fully evaluated.”³⁹ The same reference to the archival standard and model was retained in the 2007 draft of FRAR released with the 2nd call for worldwide review except for the rewording of the reference to the EAC: “This may be a topic for future investigation.”

The excerpts that follow are taken from the comment log of the first worldwide review.⁴⁰ CC:DA,⁴¹ for example, criticized the “library” bias of the section 3 Authority files in a Library Context: “What is described are also the actions of publishers of periodical indexes, museum curators describing their collections, archivists and others describing cultural materials”; this issue was resolved by moving section 3 to the end of the document and combining it with the “library-specific” appendices. In addition, CC:DA drew attention to the definition of the entity Family stating that it “continues to be a somewhat contentious issue within the United States cataloging community, which seems to be divided into two camps: those who want to identify particular groups of related persons and those who want to identify all persons sharing a family name. [...]The guidelines for family name subject headings in *Library of Congress Subject Headings* take the second approach, over the

³⁸ Adrian Cunningham’s email to Glenn E. Patton on August 3, 2005: A. Cunningham, upon receiving information about the first worldwide review of *Functional Requirements for Authority Records (FRAR)*, posted the announcement on the ICA listserv. No comments were received from ICA/CDS or archival community.

³⁹ FRANAR-Conceptual Model (12) (2), p. 17.

⁴⁰ FRANAR Comment Log, World-wide Review, Comment Period Ending 2005-10-28, Comments on Specific Pages [filename: Comment log worldwide review specific-decisions].

⁴¹ CC:DA: American Library Association ALCTS CCS Committee on Cataloging: Description and Access

protests of archivists and genealogists who find such generalization totally inadequate. By defining Family as a group of related persons, FRAR places itself firmly in the first camp, and the Names (not to mention the family-to-family relationships) that this approach suggests promise to be incredibly complex.” The action taken by the FRANAR WG was that: “The WG recognizes the truth of these comments but will retain the entity because of its need by other communities”. The University of Washington specifically commented on the text in 8. Authority Data Transfer. They held the opinion that:

There is an implicit bias against sharing authority data outside of the library sector in this part of the report. We found it somewhat misleading to use <indecs> as a test case and to imply that everything else must be more difficult. The structure and practices of archival authority data are closer to library structures and practices than <indecs>. We agree that all of the problems with archival data described on page 56 are true. However, they are in principle no more difficult to overcome than the problems libraries face with intra-sector sharing of data between countries with differing rules.

The action of the FRANAR WG was “Do nothing” – and thus, section 8 remained in the new draft of the model titled *Functional Requirements for Authority Data: A Conceptual Model*, Draft, 2007-04-01.⁴² However, the comment from the Library of Congress that the text “Singles out the <indecs> model, but should also indicate knowledge of other models such as CIDOC (museum community), EAC (archival community), CCO (museum and other cultural object collections communities)” was agreed by the FRANAR WG to add clarity to the text.

The 2007 draft was sent for its second worldwide review with comments due by July 15, 2007.⁴³ The log file of this review⁴⁴ shows again the CC:DA recommendation for broadening the scope of the model beyond the library sector, with the following arguments being made:

⁴² Functional Requirements for Authority Data: A Conceptual Model. IFLA Working Group on Functional Requirements and Numbering of Authority Records (FRANAR). Draft 2007-04-01 [filename: FRANAR-Conceptual Model (20)].

⁴³ Invitation to: 2nd World-Wide Review of Functional Requirements for Authority Data Comments due by July 15, 2007 [filename: cover for 2nd worldwide review]

⁴⁴ FRANAR Comment Log, 2nd World-wide Review, Comment Period Ending 2007-07-15 [filename: Comment log 2nd worldwide review].

The insistence on restricting the scope of this report to the library community seems to deny the reality of today's globally connected and networked world. The 2005 CC:DA FRAR task force pointed out that IFLA's own name would appear to condone a broader scope (i.e., International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions). This, coupled with the fact that numerous other cultural institutions such as museums and archives have the same need for authority data and authority control as libraries, provides a strong argument for making this document as accessible as possible to multiple communities. To say nothing of the need for authority control and consistency within the massive electronic databases represented by the Internet.

The same was voiced by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, while the National Library of Australia made a reference to the EAC:

[we] greatly encourage the group to look more closely at the *Encoded Archival Context* (EAC) before finalising the FRAD conceptual model. We note that that standard includes many data elements that might need to be considered in this model. We also note that EAC's future development would benefit from having a conceptual model as its basis. Some collaborative work is likely to have benefits for both groups. For information: the National Library of Australia is intending to use EAC as the data model for our People Australia service.

The final version of the FRAD model does not mention EAC even in the Attributes section as is the case with the previous drafts, nor does it include the proposed standards derived from ISAAR(CPF) which were under development at the time: *ISAF (International Standard on Activities / Functions of corporate bodies)* and *ISIAH (International Standard for Institutions with archival holdings)*.

In this log file one can read various other comments that recommend extending the model to meet the needs of the archival community, such as addition of the attributes "Genealogy" (different from History of family, source: ISAAR(CPF)); "internal organisation" (source (ISAAR(CPF)) (both comments from France⁴⁵); "Custodian" (attribute (or will custodian be a "role" for the relationships between a Group 2 entity and the item?)); and the attributes related to "Provenance": Custodial history and Immediate source of acquisition (both

⁴⁵ French Working Group of Experts on Authority Data.

comments from LC). These proposals were not accepted in the final version of FRAD.

Still another comment worth mentioning relates to the Corporate Body to Corporate Body hierarchical relationship. The 2007 draft defines an additional sequential relationship between instances of corporate bodies. The comment in question came from the French Working Group of Experts on Authority Data:

The archivists think that it is advisable to envisage a generic “associated with” type of relationship (besides hierarchical ones) in cases when it is difficult to precisely define the nature of the relationship. This is particularly useful in the relationships between corporate bodies.

The final version does not take this into account, and defines the relationship types as: predecessor/successor relationship, separation relationship, amalgamation relationship, subordinate relationship, sequential relationship, and other types of relationship.

Conclusion

In conclusion, one could argue that the communication between the library and archival communities was less fruitful at the level of recognizing the same data element set or adopting some elements from each other's documents, than it was at the level of recognizing the differences to bear in mind while building services based on the potential functional interoperability of library and archival authority data. The reconstruction discussed in this paper of the influences that the archival and library working groups had on each other's work while developing their respective standards – the ISAAR(CPF) and the conceptual model FRAD – between 1996 and 2009, is based on the analytical analyses of their documentation. This documentation points to the following areas that might be the subject of further consideration:

(1) Data elements

- a. ICA/CDS: to ensure full future compatibility between the two international authority record standards, both groups may need to address and reconcile the archivist's need for extended information about provenance in the authority record and the librarian's emphasis on an economical method of access point control.

- b. IFLA/FRANAR WG: to allow the preservation of national or rule-based differences in authorized forms for access points to be used in catalogues that best meet the language and cultural needs of the users; and to define essential elements (a core set) for national and international sharing.
 - c. FRAR/FRAD (2005/2007): working drafts list attributes for entities and their definitions which are derived also from the (ISAAR(CPF) but were not included in the 2009 published edition of FRAD; similarly the drafts mention taking *Encoded Archival Context* (EAC) into consideration, but this was deleted from the published edition.
- (2) Entities and their relationships
- a. FRANAR WG: “the entities associated with library authority records differ from those associated with archival authority records in that the former are bibliographic constructs and reflect specific library practice, whereas the latter will tend to be “real” individuals and legal entities”; [there is] “the potential for asymmetric relationships between the entities on which library authority records are centred and those on which records created in other sectors [archives] are centred. Where those asymmetric relationships exist, there is, in turn, the potential for assuming that a specific instance of an entity recognized in one sector is the same as a specific instance of a similar entity recognized in another sector when in fact it is not.”
 - b. Log files of the 1st and 2nd worldview review of FRAR/FRAD: criticized the “library” bias of the section 3 Authority files in a Library Context, and noted “an implicit bias against sharing authority data outside of the library sector in this part of the report”, referring to section 8. Authority Data Transfer; proposals to add attributes and/or relationship of the archival context were not addressed.
- (3) Terminology and definition of concepts – the FRANAR WG based its comments on the GARR and MLAR documents, which it was using in developing the FRAD conceptual model. However, the FRAD was still work in progress at the time and subsequently evolved.

(4) Sharing/deriving authority data

- a. ISAAR(CPF), 2nd ed.: a new type of form of name was added--5.1.4 Standardized forms of name according to other rules—with a provision: “This can facilitate the sharing of authority records between different professional communities.”
- b. FRANAR WG: “a more practical goal would be to increase the potential for the two communities to derive information (including authorized and variant forms of headings, where feasible) from one another’s authority files; [what is needed is] a clearer understanding of the purpose and content of the authority records created by the two communities, and well articulated structures for the recording and communication of authority data”.

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AUTORIZIRANI PODACI ZA IMENA KNJIŽNIČNE I ARHIVISTIČKE ZAJEDNICE MOGUĆNOST FUNKCIONALNE INTEROPERABILNOSTI

Sažetak

Rad istražuje konceptualni model podataka knjižnične zajednice i arhivistički standard u području autoriziranih podataka za imena s ciljem da se rekonstruira međusobni utjecaj tokom njihova razvoja u razdoblju od 1996. do 2009., a koji bi mogao imati posljedice na funkcionalnu interoperabilnost podataka dviju zajednica. U radu se koristi analitička analiza radnih dokumenata dviju IFLA-inih radnih grupa, čiji se rezultati uspoređuju s objavljenim dokumentima knjižnične i arhivističke zajednice.

IFLA-ine radne grupe su Radna grupa za minimalnu razinu autoriziranih zapisa i ISADN i Studijska grupa za uvjete za funkcionalnost autoriziranih zapisa i obrojčivanje, dok proučavani korpus čine IFLA-ini dokumenti *Obvezni elementi podataka za međunarodnu razmjenu autoriziranih zapisa* i konceptualni model *Uvjeti za funkcionalnost autoriziranih podataka (FRAD)*, te 1. i 2. izdanie standarda Međunarodnog arhivskog vijeća *Međunarodna norma arhivističkog normiranog zapisa za pravne i fizičke osobe te obitelji (ISAAR(CPF))*.

U zaključku se iznosi mišljenje da je komunikacija između knjižnične i arhivističke zajednice bila plodnija, na razini prepoznavanja razlika o kojima se mora voditi računa pri izgradnji usluga temeljenih na funkcionalnoj interoperabilnosti knjižničnih i arhivističkih autoriziranih podataka nego li na razini prepoznavanja istih elemenata podataka ili prihvaćanja pojedinih elemenata od druge zajednice.

Ključne riječi: Međunarodno arhivsko vijeće, Odbor za opisne norme, IFLA-in Radna grupa za minimalnu razinu autoriziranih zapisa i ISADN, IFLA-in Studijska grupa za uvjete za funkcionalnost autoriziranih zapisa i obrojčivanje, *Obvezni elementi podataka za međunarodnu razmjenu autoriziranih zapisa*, *Uvjeti za funkcionalnost autoriziranih podataka (FRAD)*, *Međunarodna norma arhivističkog normiranog zapisa za pravne i fizičke osobe te obitelji (ISAAR(CPF))*, funkcionalna interoperabilnost

COLLABORATIVE AND CROWDSOURCING ARCHIVES

PARALLEL ARCHIVE (PA) AS A CASE STUDY AT THE OPEN SOCIETY ARCHIVES

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ABSTRACT

The central problem for archives, libraries and museums is how to bring users together with the materials they need and want to research. The purpose of this paper is to address the issue of collaboration and user participation in the archival environment. It focuses on participatory archives that may also be referred to as collaborative or crowdsourced archives. In this paper we consider crowdsourcing as an archival technique or method on the one side, but also as broader social engagement on the other. The first part of the paper elaborates on the conceptual framework being applied and provides explanations of terms and their definitions. It continues with the description of some of the most important crowdsourcing projects today. The second part reflects on the collaborative and crowdsourcing praxis applied in the scholarly and collaborative project, Parallel Archive (PA), initiated by the Open Society Archives (OSA). In concluding, the author reflects on the users of PA and how to address problems of collaboration, and offers some thoughts on current trends in OSA.

KEY WORDS

collaborative archive, crowdsourcing, Parallel Archive, participatory archives, Open Society Archives (OSA), user studies

The purpose

The purpose of this paper is to address the issue of collaboration with and participation by users in the archival environment. It focuses on participatory archives that may also be referred to by terms such as collaborative or crowdsourced archives. In this paper we consider crowdsourcing primarily as an archival technique or method on the one side, but also as broader social engagement on the other.

The first part of the paper elaborates on the conceptual framework being applied and provides explanations of terms and their definitions. It continues with the description of some of the most important crowdsourcing projects today. The second part reflects on the collaborative and crowdsourcing praxis applied in one particular scholarly and collaborative project, a case study initiated by the Open Society Archives (OSA) called Parallel Archive (PA). The article concludes with reflections on the Parallel Archive's users by addressing problems of collaboration and offering some thoughts on current trends in OSA.

Introduction

The explosion of information technology and computers in the last decades of the 20th century, together with the increased expectations of researchers for efficient and immediate information/document retrieval, became a big challenge and at the same time a great opportunity for archives, archivists and their users. Before visiting archives and their physical research rooms to research primary sources, users nowadays strive to be familiar with the structure and taxonomy of a repository's archival fonds and collections together with the new granularities that are surfaced by digital catalogues or curated digital collections by visiting archives portals, consulting their online catalogues, researching finding aids, or using advanced search engines. Archives have become more inventive and innovative in publicizing their archival collections not only to preserve archival records for the future, but also to support open access by their users. Maximising the physical and intellectual accessibility of the archival materials and the information they contain is one of the most important principles and tasks of modern archives. While the traditional notion of archives has been changing, the end user entering an archive has also changed. However the concept of "user" has also evolved from being a specialist from in one single field (mostly historians and academics) to a wider public, (lawyers, journalists, economists, artists, students, the retired, enthusiasts, etc.) because everybody can be an end user.

Concurrent to the physical archives there is a parallel digital archive that is designed and constructed for the researchers in the virtual environment of web 2.0. Today, the internet offers a powerful tool to reach users in a way and mode that was hardly imaginable just a decade ago. Information technology has strongly contributed to the

opening and “democratization” of cultural heritage institutions, particularly archives, and resulted in more transparent and liberal procedures for their users. In the “Age of access” when the market economy has been competing with the “economy of networks” and where commodities and goods have been made available through online services, archival institutions have also been shifting their primary goal of preserving and granting access from analog (physical) data to providing access to digital records and collective memory.¹

Development and implementation of online finding aids and associated search engines are not enough by themselves to help stimulate archival research because of important technical, content and contextual obstacles. Recently, more and more archives are going beyond developing online catalogues or search engines and are involving themselves in digitizing entire archival fonds and collections. That process neither reflects nor supports the individual researcher’s particular interest and need for specific collections, or expectations of a digital system: instead it reflects the physical state or condition of those collections. It is neither a duty nor the goal of an archive to organize the taxonomy of its fonds, sub-fonds and collections to suit each and every user. However, archives have been inventing and implementing new ways of delivering and sharing knowledge about their collections. Other cultural heritage organizations (museums, libraries, etc.) face a similar situation in developing digital tools to manage and provide access to their paper and digital collections. This creates a hybrid environment for examining not only organizational practice but also to develop new models for providing broad access to digital objects/data through collaboration.² The fragmentation and individualization of organizational memory in most records-creating institutions has also caused blurring of borders between records and non-record materials and personal and institutional memory.³

1 Rifkin, Jeremy. *The age of access: the new culture of hypercapitalism, where all of life is a paid-for experience*. New York: Tarcher/Putnam, 2000.

2 Cruikshank, Kate; Caroline Daniels, Denis Meissner, Naomi, L. Nelson, Mark Shelstad. How do we show you what we got?: access to archival collections in Digital Age. // Journal of the Association for History and Computing 8, 2(September 2005), 1 [cited: 2013-04-11]. Available at: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/j/jahc/3310410.0008.203?rgn=main;view=fulltext>

3 Ketelaar, Eric. The Archives as a Time Machine, the ICT-industry and public sector partnership: to promote the preservation and accessibility of the European archival heritage. Closing speech of the DLM-Forum 2002, Barcelona May 8, 2002 [cited: 2013-04-13]. Available at: <http://www.mybestdocs.com/ketelaar-e-dlm2002.htm>

The central problem for an archive as for a library is how to bring users together with the materials they need and want to research. Archives, museums and libraries are under pressure to make their materials understandable and accessible to many users who they might never see nor expect, because user habits and praxis have changed dramatically. A few years ago archives were counting physical visits to the research room, nowadays we count hits on the institution's web site as equally important information.⁴

Cultural and anthropological research and the concepts thereby introduced have also helped minimize the role of the archive as a "temple" where archival sources were guarded and preserved only for the privileged by the help of archival rules, restrictions, procedures and protocols.⁵ Such professionally constructed obstacles that prevented researchers from physically accessing the materials are losing their cultural and practical importance and thus also archives are losing their aura as institutions where knowledge power was practiced.

There is a trend to make archival collections more easily and widely accessible for research by using users' feedback on the usability and functionality of web sites, online finding aids, search engines, or the site's interface, and even actively involving users in participating in interface design or the processing (tagging, correcting, describing, etc.) of archival collections.⁶ We have definitively entered into the age of mass participation in archives, because not only sophisticated researchers but also enthusiastic volunteers with cognitive surplus and extra time can be devoted collaborators on various archival projects.

On terms and definitions

Participatory archives

"Friends, followers, taggers, fans, writers, editors, commenters, volunteers, collectors, scanners, sharers, transcribers, researchers, historians, students, users, collaborators, partners, re-users, re-mixers, masher-up-

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ketelaar, Eric. Archival temples, archival prisons: modes of power and protection. // *Archival science* 2(2002), 221-238 [cited: 2013-04-06]. Available at: <http://home.hccnet.nl/e.ketelaar/ArchivalTemples.pdf>

⁶ Altman, Burt; John B. Nemmers. The usability of on-line archival resources: the Polaris Project Finding Aid. // *Special collections and archives* 11 (2001) [cited: 2013-03-28]. Available at: <http://diginole.lib.fsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1010&context=sca>

pers, citizen archivists, enthusiasts, passionate amateurs, crowdsourcers, nerdsourcers—all are welcome in the participatory archives.”⁷

These opening sentences from the article of Kate Theimer from her 2010 article published in ArchivesNext, illustrate the variety of engagements and activities that can be invoked by the term “participatory archive.” The question is how to define a term which can be associated with so many activities and techniques, and which presupposes the massive involvement of end users or well-motivated nerdsourcers.

Despite the fact that it is difficult to settle on only one satisfactory definition of participatory archives, Isto Huvila suggests a new concept in which the archives could be radically integrated with its actual and future users. “In the post-modern sense, the notion of participation is built into any human interaction with information, which makes it and its implications also essential in the archival and records management contexts.”⁸ The basic characteristic of his approach centres around three themes: decentralized curation, radical user orientation and the contextualization of records and the entire archival process. The concept of decentralized curation, according to Huvila, refers to knowledgeable users of archival collections actively contributing to new and improved descriptions, translations and summaries of records. Following the principle of post-modern archival science, such radical user orientation refers to the functionality of an archival system to make the contents of an archive available for users. The third notion of contextualization refers to the attempt to capture much wider context than has been the case in traditional archival description.⁹

Critics of this approach complain that it is too radical for contemporary archival institutions.¹⁰ Kate Theimer suggested a new definition which has been seen as more neutral than Huvila’s and more applicable and acceptable for contemporary archives. She proposed that a participatory archive is “an organization, site or collection in which people other than archives professionals contribute knowledge or resources, resulting in increased understanding about archival ma-

⁷ Theimer, Kate. Building participatory archives. // ArchivesNext (August 22, 2010) [cited: 2013-03-22]. Available at: <http://www.archivesnext.com/?p=1536>

⁸ Huvila, Isto. Participatory archive: towards decentralized curation, radical user orientation and broader contextualization of records management. // International journal on recorded information 8, 1(2008), 15-36 [cited: 2013-04-09]. Available at: <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10502-008-9071-0#page-1>

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Huvila, Isto. What is a participatory archive?: for real (?). // Isto Huvila’s blog (08/31/2011) [cited: 2013-04-08]. Available at: <http://istohuvila.eu/what-participatory-archive-real>

terials, usually in an online environment".¹¹ For this reason the introductory sentences quoting Theimer at the beginning of this section demonstrate a variety of activities and professions that might engage with participatory archives.

Today however, the participatory archive evokes different interpretations and meanings because the term is closely associated with broader concepts such as "citizen archives" and "citizen science" as well as efforts to include more voices and experiences through community archiving, and activism regarding social justice and human rights agendas.¹² In fact, authors today use these concepts in their works in a range of ways.¹³ What the different understandings have in common is that they exploit the fact that the internet has become very dynamic, that participation and collaboration has grown considerably, and that many major websites have been involving the broader public in the creation of their content. This is similarly applicable in archives and in other cultural heritage institutions. Even though a participatory archive is about broader collaboration and crowdsourcing, as Huvila states, it also "... focuses on deeper involvement and more complex semantics rather than on larger crowds and simple annotations."¹⁴

Crowdsourcing

Crowdsourcing is a relatively new concept that emerged in the business world, rapidly spread into academia and the nonprofit sector, and is still undergoing constant evolution. The name derives from the word "crowd" relating to the people who participate in the project and "sourcing" relating to number of practices aimed at finding, evaluating and engaging suppliers of goods and services.¹⁵ Although we are not dealing with the economic aspects of crowdsourcing in this work, it is not always easy to draw a clear line between crowdsourcing

11 Theimer, Kate. Exploring the participatory archives. // ArchivesNext (August 30, 2011) [cited: 2013-04-09]. Available at: <http://www.archivesnext.com/?p=2319>

12 Gilliland, Anne and Sue McKemmish. The role of participatory archives in furthering human rights, reconciliation and recovery. // *Atlanti: review for modern archival theory and practice* 24(2014), 79-88.

13 Theimer, K. Building participatory archives. Op. cit.

14 Huvila, I. Participatory archive. Op. cit., p. 27.

15 Estellés-Arolas, Enrique; Fernando González-Ladrón-de-Guevara. Towards an integrated crowdsourcing definition. // *Journal of information science* 38, 2(2012), 189-200 [cited: 2013-02-14]. Available at: <http://jis.sagepub.com/content/38/2/189>

as successful alternative business model from crowdsourcing as social engagement as implemented in cultural heritage institutions.¹⁶

A review of recent works on crowdsourcing suggests a variety of definitions that derive from analysis of various examples (and their experiences), some of which are even contradicting each other. In some cases crowdsourcing is considered to be the ultimate open innovation while in others this role is contested and even questioned. In one case crowdsourcing is considered to be a distributed problem-solving model and not an open source practice at all, because the problems solved and products that are designed by the crowd become the property of profit-making firms and companies.¹⁷

The term goes back to 2006 when it was coined by Jeff Howe in his article entitled “The rise of Crowdsourcing” published in *Wired Magazine*. Howe defined crowdsourcing as “the act of a company or institution taking a function once performed by employees and outsourcing it to an undefined (and generally large) network of people in a form of an open call”.¹⁸ In his “white paper definition”, he defines the term as “the act of taking a job traditionally performed by a designated agent (usually an employee) and outsourcing it to an undefined, generally large group of people in the form of the open call”. For Howe crowdsourcing and user innovations are simple tools through which open innovation can happen. Thus, crowdsourcing can result in innovation both in the development of new products as well as new practice, although some types of crowdsourcing are simply confusing because not all crowdsourcing leads to the creation of a product or innovation per se.

While trying to explain the confusion that occurs around the definition, Howe emphasized that crowdsourcing is not a single strategy, but rather an umbrella term for a very different group of approaches that share one obvious attribute – they all depend on some contribution from the crowd. We see that the adaptability of crowdsourcing

16 Vukovic, Maja; Claudio Bartolini. Towards a research agenda for enterprise crowdsourcing. // Leveraging applications of formal methods, verification, and validation / 4th International Symposium on Leveraging Applications, ISoLA 2010, Heraklion, Crete, Greece, October 18-21, 2010, Proceedings, Part I; editors T. Margaria, B. Steffen. Pp. 425-434 [cited: 2013-03-14]. Available at: http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007%2F978-3-642-16558-0_36#page-1

17 Brabham, Daren C. Crowdsourcing as a model for problem solving: an introduction and cases. // Convergence: the international journal of research into new media technologies 14, 1(2008), 75-90, 76 [cited: 2013-03-17]. Available at: http://www.clickadvisor.com/downloads/Brabham_Crowdsourcing_Problem_Solving.pdf

18 Howe, Jeff. The rise of crowdsourcing. // *Wired magazine* 14.06(June 2006) [cited: 2013-02-14]. Available at: <http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/14.06/crowds.html>

makes it an accurate and successful practice but at the same time that adaptability makes it difficult to define or to create a feasible taxonomy because it is based on analysis of too many different examples. Today, there are varieties of definitions because different authors are looking at crowdsourcing from different angles where the kinds of problem resolution or innovation applied in the business sphere do not always correspond with the demands and requirements in cultural heritage institutions. The existence of such a range of definitions only illustrates that crowdsourcing cannot be coherently classified despite the characterization of crowdsourcing practices.¹⁹

In order to consolidate and harmonize various definitions on crowdsourcing, recent attempts have been made to analyze all existing definitions and suggest a synthetic or integrated definition which encompasses many various approaches and practices. The recent integrated definition suggested by Estellés-Arolas and González-Ladrón-de-Guevara consists of 8 elements or parameters, (1) clearly defined crowd, (2) task with clear goal, (3) reward received by the crowd is clear, (4) clearly identified crowdsourcer, (5) compensation received by the crowdsourcer is also clear, (6) it is an online task of participative type, (7) it uses an open call, and (8) it uses the internet.²⁰ Thus, the suggested integrated definition of crowdsourcing presupposes that: "Crowdsourcing is a type of participative online activity in which an individual, an institution, a non-profit organization, or company proposes to a group of individuals of varying knowledge, heterogeneity, and number, via a flexible open call, the voluntary undertaking of a task. The undertaking of the task, of variable complexity and modularity, and in which the crowd should participate bringing their work, money, knowledge and/or experience, always entails mutual benefit. The user will receive the satisfaction of a given type of need, be it economic, social recognition, self-esteem, or the development of individual skills, while the crowdsourcer will obtain and utilize to their advantage that what the user has brought to the venture, whose form will depend on the type of activity undertaken."²¹

Table 1 illustrates how some prominent crowdsourcing projects were assessed by the author by applying this integrated definition and

¹⁹ Schenk, Eric; Claude Guittard. Towards a characterization of crowdsourcing practices. // Journal of innovation economics 1, 7(2011), 93-107 [cited: 2013-03-14]. Available at: <http://www.cairn.info/revue-journal-of-innovation-economics-2011-1-page-93.htm>

²⁰ Estellés-Arolas, E. [et al.] Op. cit., p. 197.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 196-197.

its parameters. As can be seen, only 2 out of 7 parameters have been represented in all 7 crowdsourcing projects – a clearly defined target group and use of the internet.

Crowdsourcing projects	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Wikipedia	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
You Tube	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Flicker	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
Star War Uncut (2011)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Australian Newspapers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
What's on the Menu	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
OSA Parallel Archives	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+

TABLE 1.

Crowdsourcing projects and integrated definition

Explanation: 1. clearly defined crowd, 2. task with clear goal, 3. award received by the crowd is clear, 4. clearly identified crowdsourcer, 5. compensation received by the crowdsourcer is also clear, 6. it is online task of participative type, 7. it uses an open call, and 8. it uses the internet.²²

Some of the crowdsourcing projects fail to meet a few of the parameters from the integrated definition. This does not necessarily mean that they fall outside the general notion of crowdsourcing because the suggested definition of crowdsourcing is based on a range of practices and results. Crowdsourcing projects that have been designed to produce certain value (where crowdsourcers obtained a compensation for their tasks) can be amply distinguished from those where the final result is knowledge. Because of this, crowdsourcing could be explained through the theory of “crowd wisdom”, an example of a collective intelligence model that is capable of aggregating scattered knowledge while reducing the time and money needed to solve the problem.²³

The emergence of the web did not invent crowdsourcing, but simply made it easier. Crowd participation was recorded earlier as a tool but not known in the form of this popular neologism. The first two examples of crowdsourcing listed below illustrate that they were perceived as primarily problem-solving initiatives motivated by financial gain, and only later did they become social engagement and considered in terms of the “wisdom of crowd”.

22 Ibid., p. 197.

23 Brabham, C. D. Op. cit., p. 79.

Canned Food – In the early 19th century, Napoleon's army needed a large quantity of food especially in the winter period. The French government offered 12, 000 franc prize to anyone who could suggest a cheap and effective method of preserving large amounts of food. Peter Durand invented a technique which transferred the technology discovered for preserving food in glass jars into iron canisters.²⁴

Margarine – In 1869 Emperor Napoleon III had a slightly different problem from his famous predecessor with food because France could not meet the demands for butter which became very expensive and not affordable for the French army and the lower strata of society. The emperor offered a prize to anyone who could make a satisfactory substitute for butter, suitable for the army but also the poor. A French chemist Hippolyte Mege-Mouries produced a substance called oleomargarine from which the shortened name was “margarine”²⁵

Oxford English Dictionary (OED) - Most of the English dictionaries prior to the OED were inconsistent and without historical context. OED was able to change that because it used hundreds of volunteers who were assigned to particular books, copying passages describing word usage onto citation slips. Despite errors, the project proved that engagement of the general public could be used to make tasks faster and cheaper.²⁶

The Sydney Opera House – The initiative for the opera house began in the 1940s but it was only in 1955 that the design competition was launched. The open call for a design solution was made public only after certain parameters concerning space, number of seats, etc., were announced. The competition committee received altogether 233 proposals from 23 countries. Two years later, it was announced that the Danish architect Jorn Utzon had won the first prize and thus, his building today defines the image of Sydney.²⁷

Many other similar projects over the past 200 years that used crowdsourcing as a problem-solving technique could be mentioned. Wikipedia is another example of the collaborative and knowledge sharing environment where the specific knowledge and thus, specific individual “crowd” is needed and favored. Let us mention a several

24 Canning [cited: 2013-02-02]. Available at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canning>

25 Margarine [cited: 2013-02-02]. Available at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Margarine>

26 Thomas, Stuart. 9 examples of crowdsourcing, before ‘crowdsourcing’ existed. // Social networking (09.15.11) [cited: 2012-11-21]. Available at: <http://memeburn.com/2011/09/9-examples-of-crowdsourcing-before-%E2%80%98crowdsourcing%E2%80%99-existed/>

27 Ibid.

projects based on crowdsourcing that today offer important ideas and thoughts for cultural heritage institutions and archives in particular. Some of them are very innovative and unique initiatives while others solicit assistance in describing or otherwise exposing ephemeral collections when there are not enough human resources and money (Table 2).²⁸

Crowdsourcing	Description	Ideas for Archives
Star War Uncut, 2011	Star Wars Uncut is a crazy fan mashup remake of the original Star Wars movies. It is the brain-child of Casey Paugh a developer dedicated to creating interactive experiences on the web. In 2009, he was inspired to use the Internet and an ever-ready pool of passionate Star Wars fans to crowdsource the classic film <i>Star Wars IV: A New Hope</i> . This project turned into a labor of love and creativity on a large scale. Nearly a thousand fans came together to participate and the resulting movie is equal parts fun, and dearly nostalgic. ²⁹	Radio, TV, fans and consumers are subject experts. They possess in depth knowledge which is valuable for archives when we launch a discovery of audio or film items. Problem: what to do when dealing with the historical collections that do not have fan base motivation or, film items are not iconic.
What's on the Menu (NYPL), 2011	Since 1840 until the present The New York Public Library has collected more than 40 000 menus in their Restaurant Menu Collection. The menus were not searchable for specific information about particular dishes or their prices. NYPL invited the public to transcribe 9000 menus photographed for several years before for inclusion in Library's digital gallery. As of February 2012 there have been 758748 dishes from 12167 menus transcribed. ³⁰	When digitized, ephemera is digitized or scanned as an image file and the text is not indexed. Crowdsourcing is useful for transcribing, describing, annotating archival ephemeras such as tickets, pamphlets, posters, invitations, theatre programs or greeting cards. Tasks for which archivist do not have time but interested public certainly have.

28 Holley, Rose. Crowdsourcing: more cool sites to give libraries, archives and museums inspiration. // Rose Holley's Blog – views and news on digital libraries and archives (11 February 2012) [cited 2012-11-21]. Available at: <http://rose-holley.blogspot.hu/2012/02/crowdsourcing-more-cool-sites-to-give.html>

29 Star Wars Uncut [cited: 2013-04-30]. Available at: <http://www.starwarsuncut.com/about>
 30 What's on the menu? [cited: 2013-04-30]. Available at: <http://menus.nypl.org>

Ancient Lives: Decoding Pa- pyri, 2011	In 1897 two researchers from Oxford University started their archeological campaign in the Egyptian village Oxyrhynchus at the site which later turned out to be ancient garbage. Papyri were discovered containing fragments from Gospel of Thomas and St. Matthew, followed by 500 000 fragments of Greek lyric poetry, private letters, accounts, wills, marriage certificates etc., deposited in 700 boxes and brought into England. By the help of volunteers, in a project that started in 2011, the papyri have been relatively easily decoded. Before the emergence of the internet era, the task of decoding was reserved for scholars familiar with the code and for this reason, so little papyri have been decoded up until the recent call for the public to join the project. ³¹	A very difficult task has been simplified while retaining the challenge that is found in crosswords or code-breaking. The role of forums was positive since it fostered the volunteer community and made them aware how their work helps new discoveries and knowledge grow and develop.
Historypin 2011	Historypin, established in 2011, allows people to upload historic and contemporary photos, audio-visual recordings to a geolocation of their origin on a Google map which is the main technology partner. It is a collaborative form of crowdsourcing where individuals and organizations upload their digital content. However, it is also valuable educational site and provides services which libraries and archives can join to show their historical collections to new audiences. ³²	The crowd that Historypin wanted to attract is shifting toward library and archival communities which have massive quantities of digitized content in image, sound and video form. Their descriptions are more detailed, more exposed and more widely used. Beneficial for archives and libraries in that they do not need to support the services themselves while there are also no geographical boundaries. Thus, there is no reason why archives should not participate in this or similar collaborative projects that deliver social benefits and contribute to digital inclusion.

TABLE 2.

Crowdsourcing: recent trends and suggestions for cultural heritage institutions

31 Ancient lives: decoding Papyri [cited: 2013-04-30]. Available at: <http://ancientlives.org>

32 Historypin [cited: 2013-04-30]. Available at: <http://ancientlives.org/story>

If we try to find the answer as to why crowdsourcing is good for archives, one must definitively mention its two substantial roles, one social and cultural, and the other practical and functional. On the social and cultural level, it stimulates open access to archival fonds but also promotes outreach. It also helps stimulate a positive sense of public ownership and responsibility toward common cultural heritage in their local and national surroundings. Crowdsourcing appears to be an important factor in helping to build trust and loyalty toward the domestic, i.e., the local and wider (national) community. Crowdsourcing also stimulates active interaction within the community in a way to support and boost users' spirit and enthusiasm especially *via* blogs and forums. Finally, crowdsourcing demonstrates the important social and cultural relevance of heritage for the community and, because of this, it defines crowdsourcing also as an important form of social engagement in which the value and importance of archives and their content is constantly increasing.³³

On the practical and functional level, crowdsourcing performs tasks for which archives have neither human resources nor money and time. Crowdsourcing utilizes expertise, skills and practices adopted from the wider community. In terms of data harvesting, crowdsourcing improves the quality of data and resources but also makes them more researchable and discoverable. It also adds new value to the archival items and collections either by adding new information or metadata or by their digital inclusion. Let us see what the crowdsourcers in archives can do. They can rate the reliability of the information or record, they can add new information about the record, or add user-created content. However, crowdsourcers can also make full text corrections, transcribe handwritten records, verify names in authority records, or describe not yet catalogued items.

At the same time as crowdsourcing is offering great opportunities to enhance the value of our collections, it can also present important problems which deserve to be mentioned. One is that of quality control. If not clearly defined from the beginning of the project, damage can be done to the success of the project if there is no quality control of the crowdsourced task and/or its product. Also, throughout the crowdsourcing process there are not many possibilities to control or influence

33 Holley, Rose. Crowdsourcing strategies for archives. Power Point Presentation, 8-12 November, 2010 [cited: 2012-12-02]. Available at: <http://www.slideshare.net/RHmarvelous/naa-archives-20-week-roseholleycrowdsourcingnov-2010>

the course of its development. Appropriate governance in the form of policies, procedures and oversight must thus be planned well ahead of its beginning. It is very important to have a clear goal for what the archives wants to achieve with the project because blurred goals and imprecisely defined results can bring project failure. Concurrent with this, it is also important to have clear decisions on which phases of the project are more important and thus have priority. One should not forget incentive, a very important motivating factor to encourage crowdsourcers to start, continue and finish with the project's tasks. Finally, let us mention a burning issue nowadays which cannot be neglected either, which is the problem of intellectual property. Just as in the physical world, in the digital world contestations over intellectual property continue with great intensity.³⁴ All these should be resolved at the outset so that the final result of crowdsourcing can be a success.

In summary, crowdsourcing offers great opportunities for archives and other cultural heritage institutions but it can also provide us archives with substantial new challenges. In closing this section let us briefly review what the major tasks are that will lead us toward good results: (1) clear and reachable goal – communicated from the institution to the crowdsources via web 2.0, (2) quality check – regular reports on achieved tasks, (3) sustainability – project must be reliable and fun, (4) results that are clearly visible, (5) incentive – remarks and acknowledgements are communicated, (6) interesting task – exciting content for crowdsourcing, (7) volunteers to be visible – access on blogs and forums, (8) options for selection – to choose among multiple tasks, and (9) listen to your top volunteers or crowdsourcers – because they can provide valuable feedback.³⁵

Parallel Archive as a case study

Before elaborating on Parallel Archive (PA) in the context of user participation and crowdsourcing we should explain that the Open Society Archives (OSA) is not a national archive and so does not have strong institutional bonds with a country of origin. Rather it is an independ-

³⁴ Trompette, Pascale; Valerie Chanal, Cedric Pellissier. Crowdsourcing as a way to access external knowledge for innovation: control, incentive and coordination in hybrid forms of innovation. // 24th EGOS Colloquium, Jul 2008, Amsterdam, France [cited: 2015-02-25]. Available at: <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00367373/document>

³⁵ Compare to: Holley, Rose. Crowdsourcing: how and why should libraries do it? // D-Lib magazine 16, 3/4(March/April 2010) [cited: 2013-03-22]. Available at: <http://www.dlib.org/dlib/march10/holley/03holley.html>

ent academic institution with an international background. The nature of the collections it acquired strongly contributed to the notion of it as a non-Hungarian but rather an international institution in a form that is not characteristic for Eastern or Central Europe. Since its founding in 1995, OSA has emerged as an important international archives with users from all around the world. Early on in its development, OSA implemented liberal access procedures to its collections and embraced modern technologies in order to better serve the need of the academic community. The PA project or online repository was the logical outcome of the “archival laboratory,” a concept by which OSA gave precedence to the context of its documents rather than to the document *per se*. It might seem as if OSA has not been interested in the physical condition of its holdings, but once they are digitized and preserved more emphasis is placed on the acquired information and the knowledge deriving from it. Despite the fact that OSA improved the physical access to and intellectual accessibility of the fonds, through our experiences with the Research Room and its daily activity we realized that numerous problems, similar to those also faced in other archives, still persisted. As a consequence of our investigation, we have detected problems and obstacles that researchers still face.

In 2008, OSA initiated a project that sought to use academic crowdsourcing as a problem-solving tool for improving scholars’ and other users’ working environment. Initially it was intended that crowdsourcing would be used as a tool for digitizing archival fonds but soon OSA decided to implement solutions that would tackle much more substantial problems and issues.

One of the important obstacles has been locating archival collections of particular interest for scholars. PA provides information on the location and the nature of the physical source, thus helping researchers to locate relevant archival fonds and collections and go back to the physical source. The second important obstacle has been closely connected with the given taxonomy and rigid organization of archival fonds and collections. The hierarchical organization of traditional archives has been still difficult to use especially for those not accustomed for scholarly research, i.e. new users. With its library-type search, PA gives access to archival documents on the item level. Absence of online archival documents is the third important obstacle because archives have been pretty slow to digitize their fonds. PA proposes to capture the individual efforts of scholars to provide general access to archival

materials in digitized format. Finally, the lack of tools to study online documents directly also proved to be an important obstacle. While doing their own digitization of the documents they are consulting, scholars often end up with disorganized copies on their computers. In order to prevent this, PA creates PDF images, and offers tools to organize, describe and view them. It also provides optical character recognition (OCR) of images so that they can easily be converted into text documents which are easy to work with. The tools also facilitate making digital annotations on the page.³⁶

PA was thus designed to help find various types of archival sources such as documents of historical value, testimonies of the past, and other original documents that are somehow unique and generally non-published. PA helps users to search for individual documents by type, subject, name, language, country, date, source, etc.. It also helps locate fonds and collections of interest relevant to research through information on original sources, and allows a user to collect and store documents of interest in a personalized PA online digital repository.

The use of PA starts with a user's registration within the system. As a guest user, one will be able to browse, search and read all public documents in the repository. To gain access to personalized services and other features one needs to register with PA. Before assembling uploaded documents one can upload and store digital files in the PA shoebox. One can decide to make documents public or to keep them private for up to two years. By assembling files one can create documents and OSA guarantees that the original files constituting the document remain unaltered.³⁷ Their integrity will not differ over time. However it is highly encouraged to disclose one's documents to the public because that has been the major reason behind building an environment to support collaboration and sharing of digital files.

Contrary to hierarchical systems, tagging by attaching descriptive keywords to them is an easy way to categorize documents. These keywords are extremely useful if the same word does not appear elsewhere on or in the document. More specific instructions on how to register to PA, upload, assemble and described document, or how to cite documents and use tags, are described on PA web site.

Once researchers upload their digitized archival materials, PA becomes a useful tool to organize documents in thematic folders and

³⁶ Parallel Archive [cited: 2013-04-20]. Available at: <http://www.parallelarchive.org>
³⁷ Ibid.

sub-folders. Newly created documents can also be read optically and then annotated, edited and searched. As previously mentioned, the OCR program is a way of converting image files into a text form suitable for editing and full text searching. In theory the program can read 200 languages, and it automatically prepares image files for text conversion, and corrects contrasts, image quality orientation and positioning. At present the number of languages recognized by the OCR program includes all major European, Eastern and Central European languages.

Text versions of digital images files can only be edited by the owner of the document in the full description page. Any improvements made to the text version considerably improves the searchability of the document across the PA system, and the text version as PDF files can be downloaded by any registered user. The capability to download any document to any personal computer or to send it via email is another important characteristic of PA.

Scholars and researchers can benefit from using PA because it has a permanent Uniform Resource Identifier (URI) for access and citation. The URI creates direct and permanent access to stored documents. Thus, scholars can upload, store, study and manage their digital materials online. In the same manner URIs provide direct links to primary sources in publications and papers. Finally, PA exercises curatorial control over content to maintain a scholarly standard.

Having these characteristics, PA becomes a network for scholars to exchange their ideas. In practice it means that users can find scholars with similar research interest and collaborate. However, they can also form special research groups around specific documents or broader topics (an event, person or period). In many cases they can also share rare documents and offer different interpretations or comments. By uploading their documents to PA users enrich PA networking in many senses. They tag documents of interest to enhance access but also comment on others' documents to share advice or expertise.

To sum up, PA could be defined by its three important roles: (1) it is a digital archive, a repository made by users where they can upload and search for documents, (2) it is a personal workspace where users can store their documents, but also work with them directly online and access them anywhere through the internet, and (3) it serves as a collaborative network environment for scholars and specialists where they can discuss documents and other important research issues.

Still, PA has been facing considerable setbacks. This was visible from our first user testing report conducted at the beginning of the project in 2008. The diversity of users allowed OSA to test the system from the perspective of both the student and the scholar.³⁸ Although the *Report on PA User Testing* was generally positive it also brought constructive criticism.³⁹ Users reported not only on obstacles but also on more serious problems during the user testing. These problems were not only technical ones, and often concerned broader issues, linked to the role of PA as such, and the future direction in which it should develop. The results in the *Report* were presented in four sections and the Report ends with the analyses of some of the issues which came out of the user testing. In the first module there were minor obstacles that were easily fixed throughout the system. The second module contained more serious problems which were open for debate resulting in rethinking some of the final PA's modules. In the third module the users came up with proposals for further development of the system.⁴⁰ Users had a lot of new ideas and tools for future development relating to the interactive side of PA and forums. Finally, even though we insisted more on the issues that users had and less on their positive attitude towards the system, there was also mention of when users particularly liked something in a module.

Parallel Archive emerged thus as collaborative and crowdsourcing project, to contribute to better collaboration and cooperation between scholars by uploading their digital files online and in this way it is enhancing the scholarly debate. Although considerable improvements were made as a result of this user testing, however, PA today is confronting some issues that are still difficult to resolve, from copyright issues to collaboration.

Conclusion

Nowadays, Parallel Archive at the Open Society Archives is slowly developing but not to such extent as it was envisaged a couple of years ago. The recent feedbacks on usability and friendliness of the Parallel Ar-

³⁸ OSA had 13 users, 10 MA students and 3 internal members of OSA. Although the students were well over represented it would have been better to test the system with more scholars and specialists.

³⁹ Herman, Lise. *Report on PA user testing*. Budapest: Open Society Archives, November 2008. P. 2.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

chive have shown that some problems still remain unsolved.⁴¹ The great majority of users like it as a tool for storing digital files and other functions (assembling and editing documents, OCR, tagging, etc.). However, they were not very enthusiastic about document description and, even more importantly, about making the documents on which they were working public. There are several reasons for such an approach on the part of users. Some mentioned lack of time for uploading and especially for describing documents, while others remained hesitant to make their digital records public and as such accessible for other users. Although we are aware of the intellectual effort involved in source analysis and interpretation, some researchers still do not wish to share their work and believe that they should have privileged access to the sources. In this way they are challenging the whole principle of making archival documents accessible for the many others who are not able to physically visit the Open Society Archives. Thus, from the total number of uploaded documents almost 50 percent are not available for public, and we may conclude that the research strategies of end users have not changed in accordance with or as a result of the changes that affected archives and the role of archivists today. New user studies are needed in order to establish the relationship between modern archives that emphasize access to historical records, and end users who should be aware that possession of the historical source does not necessarily imply an intellectual monopoly of its context, because a historical record can be variously interpreted from many perspectives and disciplines. Until this perception is changed, it is difficult to expect collaboration and the emergence of forums in which scholars and others would discuss particular sources or debate on specific historical topic. In any case the Open Society Archives, with its Parallel Archive, set up a new approach toward historical documents in the digital world and offered its traditional users a new strategy *via* crowdsourcing for better and more diverse research but also for mutual collaboration. To sum up, the Parallel Archive still waits for the new type of researchers to fully use all of its potential and benefit from it.

41 In spring 2013 the author of this paper had several discussions with end users (mostly university professors) to critically reflect on benefits and problems concerning PA.

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SURADNIČKI I CROWDSOURCING ARHIVI PARALELNI ARHIV KAO STUDIJA SLUČAJA U ARHIVU OTVORENOG DRUŠTVA

Sažetak

Središnji je problem arhiva, knjižnica i muzeja kako korisnicima pružiti građu koju trebaju i žele istražiti. Svrha je ovog rada obraditi problem suradnje i sudjelovanja korisnika u arhivskom okruženju. Ponajprije se bavi participativnim arhivima o kojima se može govoriti kao o suradničkim arhivima ili o arhivima utemeljenim na tzv. *crowdsourcing*-u. U ovom radu *crowdsourcing* se smatra arhivskom tehnikom ili metodom, ali i širim društvenim angažmanom. U prvom dijelu rada pomno je razjašnjen korišteni konceptualni okvir te temeljni pojmovi i njihove definicije. Slijedi opis nekih od najznačajnijih suvremenih projekata koji koriste *crowdsourcing*. U drugom dijelu rada promišlja se o suradničkim praksama i onima koje koriste *crowdsourcing*, a koje se primjenjuju u znanstvenom i suradničkom projektu, uz studiju slučaja, Paralelni arhiv (PA) koji je pokrenuo Arhiv Otvorenog društva (OSA). Zaključno, autor promišlja o korisnicima Paralelnog arhiva i načinu prevladavanja problema suradnje te ukazuje na pojedine suvremene trendove u Arhivu Otvorenog društva.

Ključne riječi: suradnički arhiv, *crowdsourcing*, Paralelni arhiv, participacijski arhiv, OSA: Open Society Archives, istraživanje korisnika

Biographical notes

Michael Buckland was born and educated in England. He studied history at Oxford, librarianship at Sheffield, and worked in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, and the University of Lancaster Library. His doctoral dissertation was published as *Book Availability and the Library User* (1975). In 1972 he moved to the United States to work at Purdue University Libraries, then became Director of the University of California, Berkeley, School of Library and Information Studies at Berkeley and later coordinator for library plans and policies for the nine campuses of the University of California. He has been a visiting scholar in Austria, Australia, Norway and Sweden. He is served Co-Director of the Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative, was President of the American Society for Information Science in 1998, and developed the Document Academy with N. W. Lund. His writings include *Library Services in Theory and Context* (1983; 1988), *Information and Information Systems* (1991), *Redesigning Library Services* (1992; published in Croatian as *Preoblikovanje knjižničnih službi i usluga: program*, 2000), and *Emanuel Goldberg and his Knowledge Machine* (2006). Professor Buckland's interests include library services, cultural heritage, search support, and the history and theory of documentation. He is helping editors preparing editions of historically important texts to share their notes on the Web. More at: <http://people.ischool.berkeley.edu/~buckland/>.

Gordon Dunsire has been an independent consultant since 2010. Before that he was Head of the Centre for Digital Library Research, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, Scotland. His current research activity includes bibliographic and cultural heritage metadata standards, linked data and the Semantic Web. He has received several professional awards, and has a number of professional affiliations including Chair of the Joint Steering Committee for Development of RDA, Chair of the IFLA Namespaces Technical Group, member of the IFLA FRBR Review Group, member of the IFLA ISBD Review Group, and member of the DCMI Advisory Board. He is co-author of the book *Bibliographic information organization in the Semantic Web*, and publishes widely in professional journals (see <http://www.gordondunsire.com/publications.htm>).

Anne J. Gilliland is Professor and Director of the Archival Studies specialization in the Department of Information Studies, as well as Director of the Center for Information as Evidence, Graduate School of Education & Information Studies at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA). She is a faculty affiliate of UCLA's Center for Digital Humanities. She is also the Director of the IMLS-funded Archival Education and Research Initiative (AERI), a consortium led by eight U.S. universities dedicated to the advancement of education and research in archival studies, broadly defined, and the development of a global scholarly community in archival studies. She has also been a visiting faculty member at the University of Zadar and Renmin University of China as well as a NORSLIS Professor with the University of Tampere, University of Lund, and the Royal School of Library and Information Science in Copenhagen. Her interests relate broadly to the history, nature, human impact, and technologies associated with archives, recordkeeping and memory, particularly in translocal and international contexts. Her recent work has been addressing recordkeeping and archival systems and practices in support of human rights and daily life in post-conflict settings; the role of community memory in promoting reconciliation in the wake of ethnic and religious conflict; bureaucratic violence and the politics of metadata; digital recordkeeping and archival informatics; and research methods and design in archival studies.

Maria Guercio is full professor in archival science and electronic records management at the University of Rome Sapienza (coordinator for research projects at Digilab Centre). Professor Guercio has cooperated with the State authority for ICT to define Italian legislation for electronic records management systems (ERMS) and manages ERM training programs for the government school for public administration. She is a partner in many international projects for digital preservation (ERPANET, DELOS, CASPAR), has served as director of InterPARES Team Italy (1999-2012), and is co-leading the investigation on digital authenticity for the European project APARSEN (2011-2014). She is part of the steering committee of Section for Archival Education and a member of the Programme Committee of International Council on Archives. Professor Guercio is the author of many articles and manuals in the field, and was the 2009 recipient of the Emmet Leahy Award for information and records management.

Daniel Jeller is Austrian historian and information technology expert and the head of digitisation and information technology at ICARUS, the International Centre for Archival Research in Vienna. His work, apart from managing the digitisation and technical equipment at ICARUS, is currently focussed on digitisation technologies and the effects of the so-called Digital Age, the increased use of computer technologies in every aspect of life, and on the study of history and auxiliary sciences of history. He started pursuing this topic while working as digitisation technician for ICARUS, where he was employed during his studies at the University of Vienna. His experiences during the various digitisation projects resulted in his master thesis *Archival material in the age of its digital reproduction*. Additionally, he is currently building an online database for TEI-encoded archival material for the University of Innsbruck.

Eric Ketelaar is Professor Emeritus at the University of Amsterdam, where from 1997 to 2009 he was Professor of Archivistics in the Department of Media Studies. As a honorary fellow of his former department he continues his research which is concerned mainly with the social and cultural contexts of records creation and use. From 1989-1997 he was General State Archivist (National Archivist) of The Netherlands. He held the chair of archivistics in the Department of History of the University of Leiden 1992-2002. Eric Ketelaar was visiting professor at the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor), Gakushuin University (Tokyo), the University of Toronto and Monash University (Melbourne), where he continues to be involved as an Adjunct Senior Research Fellow. From the foundation, in 2001, of *Archival Science*, he was one of the editors-in-chief. Since 2014 he is a member of the Editorial Board. Eric served the International Council on Archives during twenty years in various positions, before being appointed Honorary President of ICA in 2000. He has served the Royal Society of Dutch Archivists as Vice President, and President. He has been president of the Records Management Convention of The Netherlands, and chairman of the DLM Forum Foundation. Bibliography on www.archivistics.nl.

Jelena Lakuš is Associate Professor at the Department of Information Sciences at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of J. J. Strossmayer in Osijek, Croatia. She obtained her PhD in Comparative History of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe at the Central European Uni-

versity, Budapest, Hungary, with the thesis entitled *Books, Society and Culture: Religious and Political Order in Dalmatia (1815-1850)*. From 2008 she was the main coordinator of the scientific project „Book heritage in Croatian libraries: challenge of research and interpretations“, funded by the Croatian Ministry of Science, Education and Sport. She has published a number of scientific papers on book history and one monograph (bibliography) “Publishing and Printing Activity in Dalmatia (Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik) in the first half of the 19th century: bibliography of monographic and serial publications” (2005.). Her areas of interest are primarily history of books and reading as well as old books and bibliographies as the source of data on book history and the history of reading.

Rimvydas Laužikas was born in the historic city of Trakai, near Vilnius, capital of Lithuania. His education is in the interdisciplinary fields of educology, archaeology, and communication and information science. Rimvydas's research interests cover medieval archaeology, the use of computers in humanities, the digitization of cultural heritage, and the standardization and communication of cultural heritage. From 1998 to 2008 he worked in the field of museology and also as an editor of history textbooks for secondary school. In 2008 Rimvydas became an Associate Professor of digital humanities and the vice-dean for Strategic Development in the Faculty of Communication of Vilnius University. Between 2008 and 2013 he was the Director of the Institute of Library and Information Science, and has been the head of the Department of Museology in the Faculty of Communication of Vilnius University since 2013. For the past several years he was actively involved in many national projects in the fields of his interests and also participated in several international projects such as „Digital Preservation Europe“, „The European Preventive Archaeology Corpus“, „Connecting Archaeology and Architecture to Europeana“, „Food and Drink for Europeana“ and „Local content in a Europeana cloud“. He also was involved in the activity of international organizations and expert groups serving as a member of the IT expert group for developing the European Skills, Competences and Occupations taxonomy, as a member of the Review College for Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology and as a board member for the Nordic Research School in Information Studies (NORSLIS).

Sue McKemmish is Professor and Associate Dean of Graduate Research in the Faculty of Information Technology, Chair of Archival Systems, and Director of the Centre for Organisational and Social Informatics at Monash University. Since 1990, she has worked with Monash colleagues to develop and teach Australia's leading professionally accredited graduate programs in recordkeeping and archives. She has made a significant contribution to the development of records continuum theory. Her research relates to recordkeeping metadata standards and schema; the development of information resource discovery and smart information portals; archives, social justice and human rights; Indigenous, community and participatory archiving; and archival research design and methods. She is also engaged in the development of more inclusive recordkeeping and archival educational programs to meet the needs of diverse communities.

Robert Parnica graduated in history and archaeology from the History Department at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, Croatia. He continued his education at the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary where he completed an MA in History, and an MPhil in Comparative History of South East Europe. Recently, he earned his MA in International Relations from Budapest Corvinus University. He joined the Open Society Archives (OSA) at the Central European University in 1997. Between 1997 and 2005 he was charged with coordinating daily activities in the archival research room, and was involved in the processing of analog and digital collections. Since 2005, when he was appointed as Senior Reference Archivist he serves as a mediator between archival collections and international academic public. His main duties concern physical and on-line users, their research needs and access requirements. Robert has been drafting a set of rules and procedures designed for all users. His professional areas of interest include crowdsourcing, collaborative archives, participatory archives, users' studies, as well as cultural, social and anthropological positioning of archives today.

Erich Renhart graduated in liturgical studies in 1991 after which he obtained his habilitation in the same research area working on both Eastern and Western medieval manuscripts focusing mainly on Armenian and Syriac, and Latin and Greek liturgical manuscripts. In 2005 Erich Renhart founded the VESTIGIA ("traces") which is a research

centre devoted to the manuscript heritage where its emphasis is on the scientific edition of texts, on creating access to sources by digitisation technologies, and on conservation issues. From its very inception this research centre has taken a slant towards Eastern libraries and their collections. These have included Yerevan, Sofia, Ohrid and Tirana. In 2009 he became director of the vast manuscript and rare book collection of Graz University Library where he works mostly on matters related to book and library history as well as cataloguing. Working for the University Library has meant that he works on collections that are of a predominantly Latin tradition. Erich Renhart is also involved in a series of international projects. He is a member of worldwide institutions such as the Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes or Société d'études syriaques.

Tamara Štefanac earned a Masters' Degree in Art History and Comparative Literature and a Masters' Degree in Archivistics at the University of Zagreb, Croatia. Currently she is a postgraduate candidate at the University of Zadar, Croatia in the field of Archival Science. Tamara is employed as Director of Croatian Railway Museum. Her professional development began, however, while she was working as a museum archivist at this museum and started questioning the relationships between information and archival theory and their application in daily practice

Marijana Tomić is Assistant Professor at the Department of Information Sciences, University of Zadar, Croatia. She graduated in Croatian and Russian languages and literature and in Library and Information sciences and obtained her PhD in Mediaeval Studies. She teaches courses in theory and practice of information organisation, book history and digital humanities at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Marijana is an associate on the project: *Digital library of Croatian heritage printed until 1800* and has been working as a coordinator in organizing and cataloguing library collections of the monasteries of St Francis in Zadar and St Marija Petković in Rome. In 2010 she spent three months at the Vestigia Manuscript Research Centre, University of Graz, Austria as a research fellow. Her research interests are cataloguing of manuscripts, old and rare books, digital humanities, palaeography of Glagolitic manuscript books, the transition from manuscript to print culture, book history, the terminology of manuscripts and early printed books and the

usage of semantic web technologies in the field of old and rare books. She published a book, several scientific articles and gave presentations and lectures at national and international conferences. As a member of the Croatian Library Association she was awarded for the intercession of work, innovations and promotion of librarianship in Croatia.

Kelvin White, Ph.D., is Associate Professor, School of Library and Information Studies, University of Oklahoma, Norman, USA. Using social justice as a framework, Dr. Kelvin White's research examines the interconnections between the social, cultural, and historical contexts in which recordkeeping activities exist and the implications they have for marginalized or underrepresented communities; critically interrogates contemporary archival theory and other constructs such as archival education and practice; and develops ways in which education and pedagogy might contribute to cultural relevancy and sensitivity in archival practice and research. His current research includes understanding how tribal culture influences recordkeeping activities in Osage and Comanche nations of Oklahoma.

Dr. White is a co-principal investigator of the Archival Education and Research Institute (AERI), which is a collaboration of archival education programs that aims to educate a new generation of academics in archival education who are versed in contemporary. He is also the Vice President of the International Council on Archive's Section of Archival Education and Training (SAE) and is the Co-Chair of the Society of American Archivists' Cultural Heritage Working Group (CPWG).

Mirna Willer is Professor at the Department of Information Sciences, University of Zadar, Croatia since 2007. She teaches courses in theory and practice of information organisation at the undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate levels. She worked from 1980 to 2007 as systems librarian, standards officer and senior researcher at the National and University Library in Zagreb, Croatia. Among other international body memberships, she was a chair of the Advisory Task Group of the Consortium of European Research Libraries (1999-2007) responsible for the development of the Heritage of Printed Book Database, a standing member of the IFLA Permanent UNIMARC Committee from its establishment in 1991 until 2005 (chair of Committee from 1997 to 2005), since then she has been its consultant and honorary member. She was also a member of the IFLA Working Group on Minimal Level

Authority Records and ISADN (WG on MLAR and ISADN) and the Working Group on FRANAR, the Working Group responsible for the conceptual model FRAD, as well as the ISBD Review Group, and ISBD Future Directions Working Group. She was a chair of the ISBD/XML Study Group (2008-2011), and since 2011 its member. Since 2011 she is a chair of the ISBD Review Group. She wrote books *UNIMARC in Theory and Practice* and *Bibliographic Information Organization in the Semantic Web* co-authored with Gordon Dunsire, published widely, and edited the 3rd edition of *UNIMARC Manual: Authorities Format*.

Recommended sources on records, archives and memory studies

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ZADAR, CROATIA
6 to 10 May, 2013

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Archival & Library Information Science Ideas; Ideas about the Archive

Monday, 6 May 2013

9.00 – 12.30: LECTURES

Professor **Anne J. Gilliland**, PhD, Department of Information Studies, Graduate School of Education & Information Studies, University of California Los Angeles, USA. **Archival and Recordkeeping Ideas and Theories: Past, Present and Future**

10.00 – 10.30: COFFEE BREAK

Professor Emeritus **Eric Ketelaar**, Amsterdam University, Faculty of Humanities, The Netherlands. **The Archival Turn in other Disciplines and the Archival Return into Archival Science**

Michael Buckland, Emeritus Professor, School of Information, University of California, Berkeley, USA. **Library and Information Science Approaches to Culture and Cultural Heritage**

12.30 – 14.00: LUNCH BREAK

14.00 – 15.30: LECTURES

Vlatka Lemić, Chief Archivist, Croatian State Archives, Zagreb, Croatia. **APENet and EUROPEANA: Digitization Issues in the European Context**

Professor **Erich Renhart**, PhD, Karl-Franzens-University of Graz, VESTIGIA – Manuscript Research Centre, Austria. **Information on Vanished Libraries – Materials Buried in the Archives**

15.30 – 16.00: COFFEE BREAK

16.00 – 17.30 WORKSHOPS

Professor Emeritus **Eric Ketelaar**, Amsterdam University, Faculty of Humanities, The Netherlands. **Archives, Memories, and Identities. Part I**

Associate Professor **Hrvoje Stančić**, PhD, Department of Information and Communication Sciences, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, Croatia. **3D Technologies in Preservation of Cultural Heritage**

18.30: RECEPTION

Conceptual and Metadata Modelling & Implementations

Tuesday, 7 May 2013

9.00 – 12.30: LECTURES

Professor **Maria Guercio**, PhD, Sapienza University of Rome, Digilab, Italy. **The Contribution of the Archival Principles to a Meta-Science Methodology for Digital Heritage**

10.00 – 10.30: COFFEE BREAK

Professor **Sue McKemmish**, PhD, Director, Centre for Organisational and Social Informatics (COSI), Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. **Records Continuum Theory**

Associate Professor **Hrvoje Stančić**, PhD, Department of Information and Communication Sciences, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, Croatia. **The Postcustodial Paradigm and Trends in Digital Preservation**

12.30 – 15.00: LUNCH BREAK

Exhibition Tour

15.00 – 16.30: LECTURES

Mag. **Daniel Jeller**, MAS, ICARUS – International Centre for Archival Research, Vienna, Austria, **An Introduction on the Use of the Metalanguage XML and the CEI-Schema**

Gabriella Ivacs, Chief Archivist, Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. **The Political Economy of Digital Archives, Copyright and Commons in the Digital Landscape**

16.30 – 17.00: COFFEE BREAK

17.00 – 18.30: WORKSHOPS

Dr. Karl Heinz & Mag. Daniel Jeller, ICARUS – International Centre for Archival Research, Vienna, Austria. **MOM CA – Digital Data Processing for Medieval Charters**

Sue McKemmish, PhD, Director, Centre for Organisational and Social Informatics (COSI), Monash University, Melbourne, Australia & **Gordon Dunsire**, Independent consultant, Edinburgh, Scotland & Professor **Mirna Willer**, PhD, Department of Information Sciences, University of Zadar, Croatia. **Conceptual Models of Cultural Heritage Sectors: Possibilities of Harmonization in the Semantic Web and Linked Open Data Environment**

Wednesday, 8 May 2013

9.00 – 12.30: LECTURES

Gordon Dunsire, Independent consultant, Edinburgh, Scotland. **The Web of Data for Archival Materials: Semantic Web and Linked Open Data**

10.00 – 10.30: COFFEE BREAK

Professor **Mirna Willer**, PhD, Department of Information Sciences, University of Zadar, Croatia. **Name Authority Data Interoperability: Conceptual Model FRAD and ISAAR(CPF)**

Robert Parnica, MPhil, Senior Reference Archivist, Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. **Collaborative or Crowd-sourcing Archives with Special Reference on Parallel Archive**

12.30 – 15.00: LUNCH BREAK

Exhibition Tour

15.00 – 16.30: WORKSHOPS

Professor Emeritus **Eric Ketelaar**, Amsterdam University, Faculty of Humanities, The Netherlands. **Archives, Memories, and Identities. Part II**

Gordon Dunsire, Independent consultant, Edinburgh, Scotland & **Predrag Perožić**, PhD Student, Department of Information Sciences, University of Zadar, Croatia. **Conceptual Models and the Semantic Web**

16.30 – 17.00: COFFEE BREAK

17.00 – 17:45 PRESENTATION

Assistant Professor **Kelvin L. White**, PhD, School of Library and Information Studies, University of Oklahoma, Norman, USA. **Charting Your Course: Course Preparation, Syllabus Construction, Classroom Dynamics, and Assessment**

17.45 – 19.15: PhD Forum

**PHD PROGRAMME KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY
AND INFORMATION TRANSFER**

Professor **Srećko Jelušić**, PhD, Department of Information Sciences, University of Zadar, Croatia

&

Professor **Anne J. Gilliland**, PhD, Department of Information Studies, Graduate School of Education & Information Studies, University of California Los Angeles, USA

&

Professor **Sue McKemmish**, PhD, Director, Centre for Organisational and Social Informatics (COSI), Monash University, Melbourne, Australia

Document & Document Analysis

Thursday, 9 May 2013

9.00 – 12.30: LECTURES

Michael Buckland, Emeritus Professor, School of Information, University of California, Berkeley, USA. **Introduction to Document Theory**

10.00 – 10.30: COFFEE BREAK

Assistant Professor **Rimvydas Laužikas**, PhD, Faculty of Communication, Vilnius University, Lithuania. **Reading the Document: Middle Age and Renaissance Geography**

Associate Professor **Jelena Lakuš**, PhD, Faculty of Philosophy, J. J. Strossmayer University in Osijek, Croatia. **Thinking Like a Historian: Searching in the Archives for the Evidence of Book Ownership**

12.30 – 14.00: LUNCH BREAK

14.00 – 16.15: LECTURES

Ute Bergner, Karl-Franzens-University of Graz, VESTIGIA – Manuscript Research Centre, Austria. **Researching Watermarks in Handmade European Papers**

Dr. Karl Heinz, MAS, ICARUS – International Centre for Archival Research, Vienna, Austria. The International Centre for Archival Research (ICARUS) and its Projects: Monasterium.net and Other Examples

Goran Pavelin, PhD, Department of Tourism and Communication Science, University of Zadar, Croatia. Archival Outreach: Media PR Communications of Archival Institutions

16.15 – 16.45: COFFEE BREAK

16.45 – 18.15 WORKSHOPS

Ute Bergner, Karl-Franzens-University of Graz, VESTIGIA – Manuscript Research Centre, Austria. Making Watermarks Visible: Training in New Technologies

Goran Pavelin, PhD & Ana Gusić, Graduate student & Sanja Tabori, Graduate student, Department of Tourism and Communication Science, University of Zadar, Croatia. Archival Institutions and Relationship with Media

Record Keeping, Identity & Memory

Friday, 10 May 2013

9.00 – 12.30: LECTURES

Professor **Anne J. Gilliland**, PhD, Department of Information Studies, Graduate School of Education & Information Studies, University of California Los Angeles, USA & Professor **Sue McKemmish**, PhD, Director, Centre for Organisational and Social Informatics (COSI), Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. **Archives and Records in a Post-Conflict Context**

10.00 – 10.30: COFFEE BREAK

Nermina Bogićević, Senior Archives and Records Assistant, Digital Archives Records and Library Unit, Special Tribunal for Lebanon (STL), The Netherlands. **Archives and Records Management in Practice: Preserving the Record of International Judicial Proceedings**

Assistant Professor **Kelvin L. White**, PhD, School of Library and Information Studies, University of Oklahoma, Norman, USA. **Archival Approaches to Remembering, Forgetting, and Excavating Memory**

12.30 – 14.00: LUNCH BREAK

Archival Research Design & Methods

14.00 – 15.30: PRESENTATION

Professor **Anne J. Gilliland**, PhD, Department of Information Studies, Graduate School of Education & Information Studies, University of California Los Angeles, USA & Professor **Sue McKemmish**, PhD, Director, Centre for Organisational and Social Informatics (COSI), Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. **Archival Research Design and Methods**

PROMOTION of the book: Kirsty Williamson & Graeme Johanson (eds.). **Research Methods: Information, Systems and Contexts.** Prahran: Tilde University Press, 2013

http://www.tup.net.au/publications-new/Research_Methods.aspx

15.30 – 16.00: COFFEE BREAK

16.00 – 17.30: ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION

Scholarly & Professional Publishing

Closing of the Conference and School

LIST OF LECTURERS

	Lecturer	E-mail	Affiliation
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2	Nermina Bogičević	bogicevicnm@gmail.com	Digital Archives Records and Library Unit, Special Tribunal for Lebanon (STL), The Netherlands.
3	Michael Buckland	buckland@ischool.berkeley. edu	School of Information, University of California, Berkeley, USA.
4	Gordon Dunsire	gordon@gordondunsire.com	Edinburgh, Scotland
5	Anne J.Gilliland	gilliland@gseis.ucla.edu	Department of Information Studies, Graduate School of Education & Infor- mation Studies, University of California Los Angeles, USA
6	Maria Guercio	mc9468@mclink.it	Sapienza University of Rome, Digilab, Italy
7	Ana Gusić	anags30@gmail.com	Graduate student, Department of Tourism and Communication Science, University of Zadar, Croatia
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9	Gabriella Ivacs	ivacsg@ceu.hu	Open Society Archives at Central Euro- pean University, Budapest, Hungary
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18	Goran Pavelin	gpavelin@unizd.hr	Department of Tourism and Communication Science, University of Zadar, Croatia
19	Predrag Perožić	pperozic@gmail.com	PhD Student, Department of Information Sciences, University of Zadar, Croatia
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22	Sanja Tabori	sanjatabori@gmail.com	Graduate student, Department of Tourism and Communication Science, University of Zadar, Croatia
23	Kelvin L. White	kwhite@ou.edu	School of Library and Information Studies, University of Oklahoma, Norman, USA
24	Mirna Willer	mwiller@unizd.rh	Department of Information Sciences, University of Zadar, Croatia

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Name and surname	E-mail	Affiliation	Fields of interest
Evgenia Arh	evgeniaarh@gmail.com	University Library Rijeka	digitization, heritage in libraries
Lidija Ban	lidija.ban@outlook.com	Department of Information Sciences, University of Zadar, Croatia	old manuscripts; medieval and renaissance croatian literature; teaching Croatian as foreign and second language
Sandra Begonja	phelgor@yahoo.co.uk	Croatian Institute of History	medieval urban history, social topography, medieval military history, medieval art and architecture, medieval notary documents
Vera Blažević Krezić	blazevicvera@gmail.com	Filozofski fakultet u Osijeku	Old church Slavic language and Croatian glagolitic period, philological analysis of old Slavic texts, philosophical and symbolic in Glagolitics, Croatian Cyrillic heritage
Boris Bosančić	bbosancic@ffos.hr	Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences	theory of information, document theory, digital repositories
Tanja Buzina	tbuzina@nsk.hr	National and University Library, Zagreb	cataloguing rules and standards for bibliographic description of all types of material and media, legal deposit issues concerning non-print content
Ivica Buzov	ibuzov@gmail.com	University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences	-analysis of medieval charters/documents and medieval diplomatics, digitization of medieval charters/documents and published; diplomatic material - knowledge management and 10 databases - e-learning - multimedia and hypermedia
Marie Claire Dangerfield	marie-claire.dangerfield@kb.nl	Europeana	Oral history and folklore archives, minority and community memory, conflict archives, metadata models, records management theory, digitisation and preservation of digital born records

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Emilia Domazet	emiliadomazet@gmail.com	University of Zadar	Cataloging, old and rare books Participation on projects monasteries libraries: St. Francis in Zadar and Figlie della Misericordia del TOR di San Francesco in Rome
Mirko Duić	miduic@unizd.hr	Department of Information Sciences, University of Zadar	multimedia, metadata, library collection building, digital libraries
Gabrijela Gavran	gabrijela.gavran@zg.t-com.hr	Faculty of Law Zagreb, Library	retrospective digitalization of different documents
Božidar Jancić	bjancic@arhiv.hr	Croatian State Archives	IT
Mate Juric	mjuric@unizd.hr	University of Zadar	user studies, psychology, research methodology, statistics
Tinka Katić	tkatic@nsk.hr	National and University Library, Zagreb	printed heritage standardization
Dubravka Kolić	dubakolic@gmail.com	Croatian State Archive, Zadar	preservation and conservation records, administrative bodies, classification schemes and systems, records menagment standards in the period 1797-1918.
Martina Kovac	martina.kovac@min-kulture.hr	Ministry of Culture, Republic of Croatia	Monitoring process of digitization of Libraries, Archives and Museums, cooperated with Council and Croatian Cultural Heritage Project office, Central State Administrative Office for eCroatia on a e-culture projects, promote digitalization on national and crossboard level, collaborate in EU digitalization projects.
Lucija Krešić	lucijakresic01@gmail.com	Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb	Latin Medieval Paleography, Literature and Language; book history; Croatian Latinism; Roman literature, Latin language, librarianship, codicology;

Name and surname	E-mail	Affiliation	Fields of interest
Kristijan Kuhar, fra	kkuhar@stin.hr	Old Church Slavonic Institute – Zagreb	Medieval liturgy; Old Church Slavonic liturgical tradition in Croatia; Medieval glagolitic and other manuscripts in Heritage of Third Order Regular of Saint Francis in Croatia; Medieval church history
Gordana Marčetić	gmarceti@student.unizd.hr	Department of Information Sciences, University of Zadar	
Ivan Missoni	ivan.missoni@yahoo.com		pasionaly poetry, Croatian Mediaeval Church theater
Nataša Mučalo	nmucalo@dasi.hr	Croatian State Archive, Šibenik	Theory and practice of archival science, new methodologies, digitization
Predrag Perožić	pperozic@gmail.com	OŠ Fran Krsto Frankopan, Krk	Semantic Web technologies bibliographic ontologies; transformation of bibliographic data in RDF; bibliographic data as Open Linked Data
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Branka Poropat	poropatbranka@gmail.com	Poreč and Pula Diocese	paleography, diplomatics, translation, church records, modern archivists, today's researchers-users, digitalisation projects
Branka Radić	branka.radi7@gmail.com	University of Zadar	Music librarianship
Ana Raspović	araspovi@student.unizd.hr	Department of Information Sciences, University of Zadar, Croatia	
Ivica Ražov	ivica.razov@gmail.com	Croatian State Archive, Zadar	Archive produced during the 2nd Austrian goverment in Dalmatia

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Jelena Rubić Lasić	jelena.rubic-lasic@min-kulture.hr	Ministry of Culture, Republic of Croatia	processing public call application form, monitoring process of digitalization of Libraries, Archives and Museums, cooperated with Council and Croatian Cultural Heritage Project office, Central State Administrative Office for eCroatia on a e-culture projects, promote digitalization on national and crossboard level, collaborate in EU digitalization projects
Tamara Štefanac	Tamara.stefanac@gmail.com	Croatian Railway Museum	archival heritage, appraisal of archival material in heritage institutions, collections of archival material in memory institutions
Sanja Tabori	sanjatabori@gmail.com	University of Zadar, Department of tourism and communication sciences	tourism, culture, archives, communication, ethnology, cultural heritage, subcultures, folk dance, music
Marijana Tomić	mtomic@unizd.hr	University of Zadar, Department of Information Sciences	organization of text in Glagolitic books, grapholinguistics, codiology, organization of information, cataloguing of old and rare books, book history, digital humanities
Senka Tomljanović	stomljan@svkri.hr	University Library Rijeka	building the rare books collections; integration of the workflow with digital material in the general library procedures Integration of the digital collection metadata in the library catalog
Ante Trošeljac	ante.trošeljac@dazd.hr	Croatian State Archive in Zadar	archive produced during Venetia (Serenissima) government in Dalmatia
Ana Vukadin	avukadin@nsk.hr	National and University Library, Zagreb	knowledge organization, indexing, subject headings, subject analysis, ethics in subject representation



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Tisk
Redak d.o.o.

Naklada
200 primjeraka

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Argirdiškés village “island” near Dubingiai,
from a map of the Baranava forest, 1807, Central Archive of
Historical Records in Warszawa, ZK, teka 415, 27