LETONICA

Contents

Saturs

Foreword

On Tradition Archives and More

In August 2017, the International Council on Archives' Section on University and Research Institution Archives (ICA-SUV) held its annual conference in Riga, at the building of Latvian National Library. A year before that, the ICA-SUV had welcomed folklore research archives into its constituencies, thus, a logical and meaningful choice was to focus the meeting in Latvia on the folklore archives (or, in the broader sense, tradition archives) and archival methodology regarding the intangible cultural heritage. The conference *Cultural Heritage Materials–University, Research and Folklore Archives in the 21st Century* was organized in cooperation with the National Archives of Latvia and the Archives of Latvian Folklore, Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia.

The topics of the conference offered for further debate were the following: (1) cultural heritage materials: foundations and definitions; (2) born digital materials—appraisal and processing for small archives; (3) description and use of archives—*Records in Contexts* (RiC) standard; and (4) respectful stewardship and engagement with creator communities. A wide variety of theoretical and practical issues as well as relevant case-study experiences were discussed in 17 papers presented by researchers and archivists. Both folklore and 'traditional' archivists provided their intellectual contribution to the debate.

This issue of the journal *Letonica* is a collection of articles based on the papers presented at the ICA-SUV 2017 Conference in Riga. Unfortunately, not all the presentations have turned into research articles. The contributions are of different scopes and lengths, respectively, along with scrutinized academic articles, there are others which are written in a more report-like style. They are arranged in alphabetical order by the authors' names.

Harry Bawono (Indonesia) addresses the question of the role the institutional archives have in protecting and preserving traditional knowledge and reveals the topic through the case-study of Indonesia. The joint article of **Flavio Carbone** and **Francesca Nemore** (Italy) reveals the recent discoveries they have made while examining the archive of the Italian paleographer and diplomat Vincenzo Federici (1871–1953). **Bryan Giemza** (USA) illuminates the complex set of privileges and the challenges of the community-driven archives which he metaphorically compares to gardens. He presents the model of intercourse between community and institutional archive practiced at the Southern Historical Collection, a division of Wilson Special Collections Library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. **Lauri Harvilahti** (Finland) discusses the contextual paradigm in standardization at the tradition archives. The *Records in Contexts* and the Finnish

Conceptual Model for archival description is at the centre of attention in the article by **Pekka Henttonen** and **Jaana Kilkki** (Finland). The RiC Conceptual Model is discussed also in an article by **Karsten Kühnel** (Germany) who questions the concept of authenticity in describing archival materials. Based on the example of Thomas Whittemore's and the Byzantine Institute's archives, **Rona Razon** (France) highlights collections' discoverability and accessibility provided by the contextual approach. **Yanina Hrynevich** and **Iryna Vasilyeva** (Belarus) introduce readers to the history of strategies for collecting and archiving folklore in Belarus, with a special focus on documenting in Vielieŭščyna village. **Anita Vaivade** (Latvia) analyzes a context for archival practice. In her article, she explores the intergovernmental cooperation within UNESCO and international and national regulations in the field of intangible cultural heritage.

Additionally, in the archival theme, readers will find two academic articles included in this issue. Ethnologist **Svetlana Ryzhakova** (Russia) has written on folkloristic and anthropological approaches to the study of ritual and performance in India. Historian **Gustavs Strenga** (Latvia), in his turn, presents a study "Bonding with 'Friends' and Allies. The Teutonic Order's Confraternity and Networking Strategies of the Livonian Master Wolter von Plettenberg" which explores the unique history of medieval Livonia.

On behalf of the editorial team of the journal *Letonica*, we thank all the authors for this incredible variety of contributions. We know readers find these articles both enjoyable and enlightening.

Gatis Karlsons, Rita Treija

Harry Bawono

Encouraging the Participation of Archival Institutions in Protecting and Preserving Traditional Knowledge: a Reflection on the Indonesian Case

Keywords: protecting, preserving, traditional knowledge, national asset, community archives

Indonesia is often described as a megadiverse country. As an archipelago, Indonesia is located in Southeast Asia, flanked by two oceans, the Indian and the Pacific as well as two continents, Australia and Asia. This position makes Indonesia a country that is the home of various ethnic and cultural interactions.[1]

The 2010 census reflected these conditions showing that Indonesia is inhabited by approximately 1,340 tribes.[2] The Javanese tribe is the largest with a total of 95.2 million people or 40.2 percent of the population. It is followed by the Sunda tribe with 36.7 million people or 15.5 percent. The third position is occupied by the Batak tribe with a total of 8.5 million people or 3.6 percent. The fourth position is attributed to the tribe coming from Sulawesi with 7.6 million people or 3.22 percent. While in fifth position is the Madura tribe, with 7.1 million people, or 3.03 percent. These demographics can be seen in Table 1, below.

No.	Ethnic Groups	Amount	Percentage
1.	Javanese	95,217,022	40.22
2.	Sundanese	36,701,670	15.5
3.	Bataknese	8,466,969	3.58
4.	From Celebes (Many variance)	7,634,262	3.22
5.	Maduranese	7,179,356	3.03

Table 1. Statistics of Five Largest Ethnic Groups in Indonesia[3]

While refering to this table, it is only logical to see that the languages spoken in Indonesia are also diverse with about 746 local languages.[4] Although the "official" language used is *Bahasa Indonesia* which is also known as the "language of unity", yet as many as 79.5 per cent of the population of Indonesia speaks their own local language as a colloquial language.[5] This shows that although there is a national language, it does not supercede the existence of local languages.[6]

With such a context it is not surprising that Genome Resources, Traditional Knowledge, and Folklore (GRTKF) have been a massive discussion in the last ten years in Indonesia. This condition is in line with the urgent global trend to continuously dialogue issues on protection and preservation and has been a part of the GRTKF since circa 1990.[7] One of the discussions is about how to protect and preserve the GRTKF through the archiving of traditional knowledge.

Some countries are rapidly responsive in developing archiving methods including New Zealand, Canada, and Australia. Unlike the conditions in Indonesia, the development of discussions on GRTKF issues and archiving methods in Indonesia are not as massive as on the global level. At least until now, the Indonesian National Archives (ANRI) has not discussed the issue of GRTKF in a systematic way, even though ANRI lists ensuring the safety of national assets as one of its aims where one of the national assets is in the cultural form. This goal is stated in the Law on Records and Archives Administration Number 43, 2009. So far, ANRI's role in the issue of traditional knowledge is still limited as the institution that holds some of the recognition certificates given by UNESCO over Indonesia Oral and Intangible Cultural Traditions.

This description indicates that in spite of the policy framework reflected in one of the objectives of the Indonesian national archival system, it is to ensure the safety of national assets in the form of culture. However, the active role of archival institutions (particularly ANRI) that are more intensive have not been able to manifest themselves in empirical reality. This study elaborates on the problems of traditional knowledge and archives in their interests to encourage the active participation of archival institutions (in particular, ANRI) in the protection and preservation of traditional knowledge in Indonesia.

Based on the description in the introduction, the issues to be elaborated in this research can be formulated in the following question: "How do archival institutions in Indonesia deal with traditional knowledge protection and preservation issues?"

Conceptual Framework.
Archives, Archival Institutions, and Community Archive

Archives are evidence of an event or activity recorded in a tangible form that makes it possible to be retrieved.[8] Substantively, the word "archive" in addition to being an object of stored recorded media, also contains the meaning as an institution. Institutions in the sense of the archive are a system of values and norms that are interrelated regarding the management of the archive. In addition, archives are also an organization of archival institutions. Archival institutions in this research are understood as state institutions. Archival institutions as state institutions in the Indonesian archival system are the national archives, the municipal archive (province and district) and the university archives.

Discussing the archives without exploring the concept of archiving is not a complete discussion. Archiving can be defined as the activities performed after the creation of a document or archive that is then filed or collected in a particular system.[9] People who have

expertise and professionals in archive management are called archivists. In its development, ordinary citizens (non-professionals) emerged who have a deep interest to participate voluntarily in the management of community archives or archive management activities conducted by archival institutions; David Ferriero called these people 'citizen archivists.'[10]

Citizen archivists, are not only individuals, but are also institutionalized in the community archives. The community archives is a set of members of society who are independent and manage the archive of their communities without having a relationship directly with the state. Community archives are a form of archival awareness at the grassroots level. The community archive is a collection of archives or evidence that enables citizens to share the importance of their community and how communities are built. They preserve past and present records, processed in such a way as to develop awareness, interest and also activities in the wider community context.[11]

Traditional Knowledge as National Asset

According to Stephen A. Hansen (2003), traditional knowledge is information agreed upon by a group of people, based on experience and adaptation to local culture and the environment, developed over time, and continues to grow. This knowledge is used to defend the society, culture and genetic resources needed for the survival of the community.[12]

While in the context of Indonesia, in Article 1 Sub-Article (1) of the Draft of Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expression Act, the state defines traditional knowledge as a public knowledge gained as a result of real experience in interacting with the environment.

Substantively, all the various definitions of traditional knowledge have some of the following core contents: a group of communities considered and considered themselves as traditional communities, collective, oral-based and transmitted through oral, cross-generational, and contextual methods.[13]

As detailed by WIPO, a number of traditional knowledge types can be seen in Table 2, below:

No.	Forms of Traditional Knowledge
1.	spirituality, spiritual knowledge, ethics and moral values;
2.	social institutions (kinship, political, traditional justice);
4.	games and sports,
5.	dances, ceremonies and ritual performances and practices;
6.	music;
7.	names, stories, traditions, songs in oral narratives;
8.	land, sea and air;
9.	traditional resource management including traditional conservation measures;

10.	all material objects and moveable cultural property;
11.	language;
12.	indigenous peoples' ancestral remains, human genetic materials;
13.	scientific, agricultural, technical and ecological knowledge, and the skills required to implement this knowledge (including that pertaining to resource use practices and systems of classification, medicine);
14.	cultural environmental resources;
15.	all sites of cultural significance and immovable cultural property and their associated knowledge;
16.	all traditional knowledge and expressions of indigenous cultures held in ex situ collections.

Table 2. Forms of Traditional Knowledge[14]

From this description it is not surprising that traditional knowledge is also positioned as a national asset, especially for developing countries, because it has relationships with how sources of income, food, health in a particular community context are protected, nurtured and managed for a much broader interest.[15]

Within the Indonesian legal framework, traditional knowledge is also conceptualized as a part of national identity and a national asset that should be developed, protected, promoted, preserved, and utilized; this message is listed in point (d) of the Draft of Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions Act.

In Article 3 Sub-Article (g), the Law on Record and Archives Administration Number 43, 2009, national assets are defined as the property of the state and society, both economically, socially, culturally, and other aspects of life that are subject to archives such as the list of state assets and proof of ownership protected and safeguarded.

Research Methods

This research is a preliminary research from a study that is planned to be done in 2018. This research was conducted using qualitative methods with literature review and interview as data collecting methods. In this research the discussion is limited to the concept of traditional knowledges in Indonesia.

Archival Institutions in Indonesia and Traditional Knowledge Issue: Unconnected Connections

In Indonesia, the public is given the opportunity to participate in developing the archival field. Community participation in the field of archives, including the terms of the rescue and preserved of archives. Regardless, community participation is not yet optimally explored on the empirical level, particularly regarding volunteer communities or community archives that manage their archives.

The involvement of the public (read: citizen) was brought up with the consideration that the objective of the archival system could not be achieved in a plenary but only with the public's involvement. One of the objectives of the archival system contained in the Law on Records and Archives Administration is the rescue and preservation of national assets. In relation to that, the national asset archive program was rolled out. However, the discussion of the issue of traditional knowledge and the role of public participation as an element that needs to be strengthened have not been explored thoroughly.

The issue of traditional knowledge in a general context is part of the GRTKF issue. The GRTKF issue is tied to the issue of national asset protection as stated in the Draft of Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expression Act.

The position of ANRI in the issue of GRTKF can be tracked via a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) organized by the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs in 2014, incidentally the author was commissioned by ANRI to attend the FGD. Attended by various government agencies, one of the issues that arose was to make ANRI the manager of the database. However, the idea was not agreed upon because of a lack of trust in ANRI's ability to manage the database.

This lack of trust related to the limited role of ANRI itself on this issue. The limited activeness of ANRI on this issue can be seen, up to this time its role is still limited to store certificate of recognition of Intangible World Heritage Culture from UNESCO such as: Wayang (2003), Keris (2005), Batik (2009), and Angklung (2010), which in 2011 was submitted by the Ministry of Tourism.[16] Then, in 2016, the "collections" of this certificate grew with the submission of Certificates on Saman (Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2011), Certificate on Noken (Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2012), Certificate of Cultural Landscape of Bali Province (World Heritage, 2012), Certificate In Babad Diponegoro (Memory of the World, 2013) and the Certificate in Nagarakertagama (Memory of the World, 2013) by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2016.[17]

The lack of public trust in the ANRI's ability can be tracked from the discourse about archival rolls in Indonesia. Broadly there are two dominant archival discourses in Indonesia, a technical administrative discourse and an historical discourse.[18] The technical administrative discourse is the identification of the archives with clerical activities. Meanwhile, the historical discourse perceives archives only dealing with the past. These dominant discourses contribute to the formation of public perception on the archival field. That is why the public trust for ANRI on the context of GRTKF (traditional knowledge) issue has not been strongly developed.

As previously discussed, ANRI has had the concept of "national asset" which is one of the national assets in the form of culture as stated in the Law on Records and Archives Administration Number 43, 2009. But, there is no connectivity between the concept of "national assets" with the concept of GRTKF itself. This can be seen in how the concept is translated into a program at the empirical level. At the empirical level, "national asset" protection is translated into the National Asset Archive Management Program which was rolled out in 2017. Based on the author's analysis of the Speech Opening of the Director

General of ANRI at the Event of Coordination Meeting of the National Asset Archive Management held in Belitung, the concept of National Asset Archive in this program is formulated into two areas: first, all the treasures of the archives that are saved are a national asset; and second, the form of the archives of national assets; for example, the archives of the Belitung island, the archives of the boundaries of the island and the region of Belitung, the archives about the potential of tourism in Belitung, the archives of the deployment of manpower from Mainland China to Mine Tin on Billiton, the archives of the assimilation of Chinese with the Native of Belitung, and the archives about the cultural synthesis in Belitung.[19] From this analysis, the concept of "the national asset archives" is still general and not sharply defined. Whereas, if the concept of "the national asset archives" contextualized by the concept of GRTKF, it will be able to sharpen the concept precisely. So the concept, especially in the form of culture, can be more measured explicitly.

The differences between the concept before and after contextualization can be seen in Table 3, below:

Pre-Contextualization		Post-Contextualization	
Concept	National Asset Archives Concept	Concept	National Asset Archives Concept
Subject	• the archives of the Belitung island; • the archives of the boundaries of the island and the region of Belitung; • The archives about the potential of tourism in Belitung; • the archives of the deployment of manpower from Mainland China to Mine Tin on Billiton.	**Form**	Culture
		Subform	Traditional Knowledge
		Subject	
		Traditional medicine	Archives of Jamu Recipe[20]
		Names, stories, traditions, songs in oral narratives.	Archives of Nandong Smong Oral Tradition[21]

Table 3. Contextualization of the National Asset Archives Concept with Traditional Knowledge Issue

Table 3 shows how the categorization of the national asset archives prior to being contextualized with the issue of traditional knowledge is still general. Meanwhile, after the contextualization of the concept of national asset archives is much clearer.

In fact, the idea that archival institutions can be proactive equally embedded in both the Law on Records and Archives Administration and also on the Draft of Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions Act. The problem is that the lack of connectivity between the "spirit" contained in both policies so that the formulation of concrete programs in ANRI or other archival institutions in Indonesia about the case of protection and preservation of national assets especially in the form of culture is still too general and abstract.

An Alternative Way:
Socio-Cultural Community Archives Movement in Indonesia

A grassroots movement has been formed as a response to the perception that the state is ignorant about the protection and preservation of cultural archives. That is the reason why citizen initiatives arise in the form of community archives. One of the most active community archives is the Indonesia Visual Art Archive (IVAA) located in Yogyakarta. Over the course of time, some of these community archives were established including the Jaringan Arsip Budaya Nusantara (JABN) (Nusantara Culture Archives Network) in 2011. The JABN has six members including the Tikar Foundation, Jakarta Arts Council, East Nusa Tenggara Museum, Studio Audio Visual Puskat, Dayakology Institute, and the Indonesia Visual Art Archive (IVAA). Each of these organizations has been active in archiving work since 2010. The consolidation comes from an awareness of the various obstacles they face. In 2007, a devastating fire at the Dayakology Institute led to the destruction of transcripts and research documents. At the NTT Museum, half of the collection is still stored in the warehouse because of limited showroom space. Because of these conditions, the idea of establishing the JABN came about in the hopes that a consolidated pattern of cooperation could overcome the obstacles.[22]

The JABN focuses on two things, the work of archiving and the dissemination of information about the archives they preserve. It provides greater opportunities for cultural archives to be accessible to the public at large, and also has a goal to increase public awareness about the importance of the archives. To strengthen the position of the movement, the IVAA published a book entitled *Arsipelago: Kerja Arsip & Pengarsipan Seni Budaya di Indonesia* (Archivelago: Archives Work and Archiving Art and Culture in Indonesia) in 2014. Through this book, they would like to affirm that the work of the archive as a political work. This means the community archives movement (JABN) wants to break the perception that has been hardened in the public about the work of archiving. Archiving work during this time has been seen as a technical exercise only collecting and classifying correspondences letters and ancient documents. Archival work is a political work because it is concerned with claims, access, and knowledge.[23] Interestingly, the state's main discourse on archival work is still dominated by administrative and historical technical discourses. Meanwhile, through a new movement, the JABN wants to enliven the discussion of the archival field in Indonesia by rebranding the face of the archives as something related to politics, culture, and society. Archival work is part of the strategy, resistance, and resilience of individuals and communities.[24] The author calls it a sociological discourse.[25]

The case of the JABN is interesting because the movement is consolidated in the community archive which is engaged in the same breath in the issue of archiving cultural archives. According to the author, the JABN is a consolidated community archive and it is also evidenced that the community, even with all its obstacles, is still able to consistently grow to protect and preserve the archives of culture independently.

The potential energy of community archives has not been explored by archival institutions, especially ANRI. This potential energy could basically optimize the achievement of the objective of organizing the archival system itself. The problem is, the trust of the community against the state has not been built in plenary and vice versa.

Constructing the Possibility Collaboration Between Archival Institutions and Community Archives

As previously discussed, public trust in archival institutions (especially ANRI) is not strong enough. This condition is caused by the dominance of the technical administrative and historical discourses. This means archival institutions (especially ANRI) need to encourage the enrichment of archival discourse, and the most relevant one is sociological discourse. Archival institutions can dispute perceptions that have already hardened in the public mind by disseminating this sociological discourse. Besides this, the archival institutions need to prove that they have theoretical frameworks, policies, and methodologies to be able to engage the issue of traditional knowledge.

Consequently, archival institutions must begin to explore this issue of traditional knowledge. An important point of archiving in this issue of knowledge is when such traditional knowledge is documented. As confirmed by Informant Z, who is also one of the conceptors of the Law on Records and Archives Administration, traditional knowledge relates to local wisdom that is usually "orally recorded", and it becomes archived when it documented.[26] In this case, documenting traditional knowledge can be done as well as oral history methods, as it does to fill the void of a certain story or data in the context of history.[27]

The relationship between traditional knowledge and archiving is so complex. However, much research has been done. The archival theoretical framework may refer to the concept of tribal archives or indigenous archives and other similar concepts.[28] Other issues that need to be elaborated also relate to legal aspects such as copyright, trademarks, geographical indication and domain names, risk management strategies, and dispute resolutions.[29] This theoretical and legal framework is important because archival issues in traditional knowledge mainly concern two things: protection, and preservation. Protection includes the legal logic that the documentation and archiving of traditional knowledge is a method to protect it from illegal use or exploitation.[30] Meanwhile, preservation is all about preserving the traditional knowledge from extinction and sharing it with future generations.[31]

Another important issue is that the archival institution needs to construct strong relationships with community archives. These strong relationships are crucial because logically the community archive has socio-cultural ties with the cultural community itself. With these strong relationships, the community archives and archival institutions could do more effective work. As explained before, if there is any cooperation between community archives, such as IVAA with ANRI, it is not yet very intensive.

The coming step is to make efforts to develop the community archives in order to grow as incorporated in the JABN. Other strategic steps that can be done are to provide space for the community archive exhibit the archive collection, to participate in archivist empowerment programs, and keep in mind the national level awards program for the community archives that actually fulfill the objectives of the Indonesia national archival system, especially protecting the national assets in the cultural form.

Conclusions

Based on previous description and analysis, it could be concluded that Indonesia already has a policy framework that enables the active role of archival institutions in the protection and preservation of traditional knowledge, but it has not been running optimally. Under such circumstances, the community archive incorporated in the JABN turns out to play an active role in the protection and preservation of archive culture despite facing many obstacles. This case is real evidence about the participation of the community in the protection and preservation of cultural archives. Furthermore, it is important for archival institutions, especially ANRI to grow community archives as much as possible throughout society. This is a rational step that can be taken so that the protection and preservation of traditional knowledge can be optimized through a synergy between the state (archival institutions) and society (community archives).

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Harijs Bavono (Harry Bawono)

Arhīvu institūciju līdzdalības veicināšana tradicionālās kultūras zināšanu aizsardzībā un saglabāšanā: pārdomas par Idonēzijas gadījumu

Kopsavilkums

Atslēgvārdi: aizsargāšana, saglabāšana, tradicionālās kultūras zināšanas, nacionāla vērtība, kopienas arhīvs

Tradicionālās kultūras zināšanu aizsardzības un saglabāšanas jautājumi jau ilgāku laiku ir starptautisko diskusiju lokā. Arhivāru kopienas tādās valstīs kā Austrālija, Kanāda un Jaunzēlande ir īpaši uzsvērušas tradicionālās kultūras zināšanu nozīmīgumu. To sekmē arī šo valstu kultūras konteksts, jo tajās dzīvo ievērojams skaits pirmiedzīvotāju grupu. Turpretim Indonēzijā jautājumi, kas saistīti ar tradicionālās kultūras arhivēšanu, nav aktuāli. Lai gan Indonēzija ir valsts, kurā dzīvo apmēram 1340 pirmiedzīvotāju grupu, arhivāru kopiena Indonēzijā šai problēmai pievēršas gausi. Arhīvu institūciju iesaistīšanās tradicionālās kultūras zināšanu jautājumos joprojām ir ierobežota. Faktiski arhīvu administrēšanas mērķis Indonēzijā ir nodrošināt nacionālo kultūras vērtību drošību, bet līdz šim brīdim nav vērojami sistemātiski centieni vai ieviesta visaptveroša programma. Apstākļi ir pavisam atšķirīgi, piemēram, Kanādā, Austrālijā un Jaunzēlandē. Šajās valstīs arhīvu institūcijas aktīvi piedalās tradicionālās kultūras zināšanu aizsargāšanā un saglabāšanā. Izmantojot kvalitatīvas metodes, tostarp intervēšanu, kā arī literatūras studijas, raksta autors parāda, ka Indonēzijas arhīvu institūciju darbību nevar optimizēt, ja netiks attīstīti kopienu arhīvi dažādu kultūru kopienās Indonēzijā.

Summary

The issues about protecting and preserving traditional knowledge have long been an international debate. International archival communities welcomed this issue by bringing up the role of archives in order to protect traditional knowledge. Archival communities in countries such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand, paid special attention to the issue of traditional knowledge. It is the implications of their cultural context as the countries inhabited by indigenous groups. In contrast, issues about the archiving of traditional knowledge in Indonesia have not been popular. Even though Indonesia is a country inhabited by approximately 1,340 indigenous groups, the archival community in Indonesia does not intensively deal with this issue. The involvement of archival institutions in Indonesia on the issue of traditional knowledge is still limited. Actually, the objectives of organizing the archives in Indonesia is to ensure the safety of national assets which are in the form of culture, but until now there has been no comprehensive program related to it. This condition is much different with archival institutions, for example, in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. They take a very active role in protecting and preserving traditional knowledge through the method of archiving. Using qualitative methods through literature review and interview, this paper argues that in order to play a role in the protection and preservation of traditional knowledge, archival institutions in Indonesia cannot be optimized without developing community archives in each cultural community throughout Indonesia.

Flavio Carbone
Francesca Nemore

Among the Working Papers of a Paleographer: the Discovery of a Territory and its Culture[1]

1. The Federici Papers: an Overview

During 2014, the authors of this paper were involved in the reorganization of some didactic materials inside the Postgraduate School for Archivists and Librarians of the University of Rome, "La Sapienza" [2], which is a precursor institution of the present Postgraduate School for Library and Archival Heritage.

During these activities we found a small part of the personal archive of Vincenzo Federici[3], presented to the School by his daughter Nora[4] years before.

This small part of the archive was of great impact, as it prompted new research allowing the authors to rediscover two further portions of the archive, i.e. the whole scientific production of Professor Vincenzo Federici[5].

At the beginning, the authors had only a limited knowledge of Federici, and of the history of his papers. The reorganization of an archive is essentially led by the study of the activities of its creator.[6] Only in this way is it possible to reconstruct, in a correct way, the set of series and sub-series of a given archival find, in order to organize the different sections of the archival inventory.

In the experience with the Federici Papers, collecting the basic preparatory knowledge was difficult for two reasons. First, the nature of personal archives[7] is such, that private and public life are densely interwoven, and the border between them is so thin that it is quite impossible to differentiate and categorize the papers. The second reason is strictly connected with the random findings of parts of the archive, scattered in different places inside the School library after the family donated it.

After a moment of great interest for the Federici Papers, their presence at the School had been nearly forgotten. The finding of the first box in the office by a member of the academic staff prompted the authors to begin a new and long research on the history of this archive, and, of course, of its creator, who had not yet been identified at that moment.
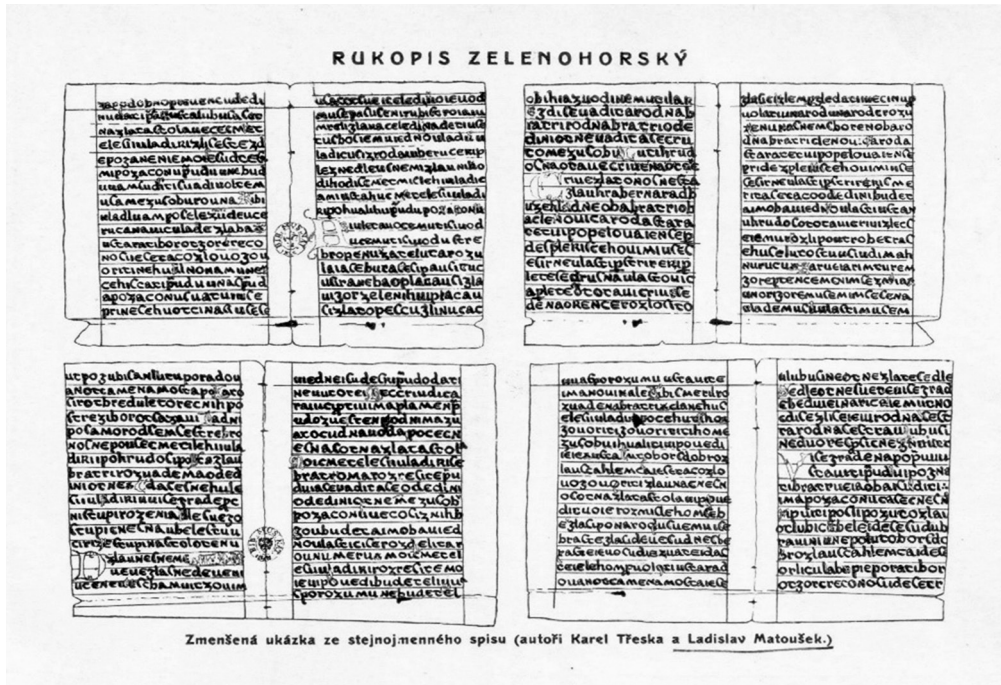
Figure 1. Postcard with writing examples. Archivio Vincenzo Federici, b. 4, f. 4

Only after are analysis of the first few records, did the authors discover that the creator was Vincenzo Federici, one of the most famous Italian paleographers, who taught Latin paleography in the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of Rome University.

Once the creator had been identified and the reason why the archive had been donated to the school, the second issue was to discover the final destination of the other parts of the archive. In fact, the school had moved from its earlier location (not far from the railway station of Roma Termini) to a building in viale Regina Margherita, and later on, in 2016, again to a new location, in the historic building of the Faculty of Letters, inside the Città Universitaria.

It is very important to stress that Federici was one of the founders of the special Section for librarians and paleographer-archivists inside the Paleography institute in late 1927.[8]

After the first part of the archive was discovered, new research was conducted, to find the other two parts in two different library repositories. We can now be certain that the archive is quite complete. In the end, it has been possible to reconstruct the whole archive, and to identify different stages in the earlier process of arrangement, which was never really completed.

After having assembled the documentation at a single location[9], an initial census of the Federici papers was carried out. The census showed that in the archive there are 30 folders containing writings, correspondence, and work material of the paleographer;

10 folders containing facsimiles of medieval documents, which then merged into the Italian Paleographic Archive collection; 1 folder with cards following the death of Federici (condolences and celebrations in honor of the paleographer); 1 folder with working documents by Nora Federici; 1 book fund containing about 20 volumes including works by Federici; 6 collectors of descriptions of individual manuscripts kept in various public and private archives of central and southern Italy.

Currently, the work of reorganizing and inventorying the archive is under way. The inventory, produced according to the international description standards, will be available both in paper form and in digital format.

The final reorganization of the archive, and its opening to researchers, is intended to benefit not only paleographers and diplomats, but also other researchers interested in social and political history at local and national levels.

It is important to stress that the Federici Archive, in addition to being an unexpected finding, has also been a source of surprise, and a great challenge, for the nature of the documents preserved. Only after a careful and detailed reading of the papers has it been possible to attribute them individually to the activities of the creator.

Priests and peasants, mayors and housewives, the simplest people, and even the prince of the Church: this is just a glimpse of the various humanity contained in the correspondence of Vincenzo Federici. Through them, one can enter into direct relationship with the territory, its culture, and its most authentic aspects, allowing the reader to feel the taste, and perceive the smell and colors, of such a distant and yet so close reality, which

Figure 2. Isernia Bagni solfurei, carbonici, ferruginosi. Archivio Vincenzo Federici, b. 4, f. 6

is still possible to observe in some of the rural areas of southern Italy. A reality made of hard work but also ancient customs and traditions, of legends and of high culture, of myths and of realities that are confused in a space-time mix, closely linked to the Abbey of San Vincenzo al Volturno and to the people who lived there. In a few words, it is possible to understand the special relationship between Federici and the territory he studied.

2. Vincenzo Federici: a Short Biography

Born in Monterotondo (Rome) on August 12th 1871, Federici started teaching paleography and diplomacy at Rome University in 1899 where he was in charge of the Paleographic Cabinet, and later he became the director of the Institute of Paleography.[10] In 1898, he had been *alunno* (student) of the *Società Romana di Storia Patria*, and he became a full member in 1902, secretary in 1905, and president from 1943 until his death. From 1918 to 1952 he was the editor of the *Archivio Paleografico Italiano*[11]. From 1920 to 1924, he was a council member in the municipality of Monterotondo. He was also a member of the *Società di Storia Patria dell'Umbria, Abruzzo e Campania*. Starting in 1926, he was a member of the *Istituto Storico Italiano* in Rome, where, in 1935, he was appointed member of the board. From 1936 to 1939 he was a member of the Central Commission for Libraries, and from 1944 he was a member of the *Giunta Centrale per gli Studi Storici*. In 1946, he was elected fellow of the *Accademia dei Lincei*, which he represented in the *Consiglio Superiore degli Archivi* from 1947 to 1949.

He passed away in Rome on November 20, 1953. Monterotondo, his hometown, named a street after him. Rome has also dedicated him a street in the area of Casal del Marmo.

Federici was a tireless and productive researcher. In his studies, a prominent place is occupied by the editions of documents from medieval ecclesiastical and communal institutions. The work that he was mostly engaged in throughout his life, was the edition of the *Chronicon Vulturnense del monaco Giovanni*, published between 1925 and 1940, in the series *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*. The text edited by Federici is based on a detailed analysis of the tradition related to this source and on the issues he had to deal with.

Among his many works some must be mentioned: *Esempi di corsiva antica dal secolo primo dell'era moderna al quarto raccolti e illustrati da Vincenzo Federici,* Rome, D. Anderson, 1908; *L'antico Evangeliario dell'archivio di S. Maria in Via Lata*, Rome, R. Società di Storia Patria, 1898; *Il codice diplomatico della Cattedrale di Aquila*, in «Bullettino della regia deputazione abruzzese di storia patria», a. 1 (1910), pp. 29–45; *Album epigraphique. Supplement au chapitre, epigraphie de l'eglise Sainte Marie antique*, Rome, Tip. Unione Ed., 1911; *Chronicon Vulturnense del Monaco Giovanni* Vincenzo Federici (edited by), Rome, Istituto Storico Italiano, 1925–1940; *La scrittura delle cancellerie italiane dal secolo XII al VII. Facsimili per le scuole di paleografia degli Archivi di Stato (scritture cancelleresche italiane)"*, Vincenzo Federici (ed.), Rome, P. Sansaini, 1934; *Il documento latino privato*, Rome, Officine di Arti Grafiche, 1935[12].

3. Territories, culture, and society in the Federici archive

One of the most interesting results coming from the analysis of the Federici archive is the large presence of materials related to the historical, political, and cultural events of a vast area of central and southern Italy, from Lazio to Puglia.

This area mainly coincides with, but is not limited to, his accurate studies for the *Chronicon Vulturnense.*[13] This is a medieval collection drawn up in the Abbey of San Vincenzo al Volturno, (now an almost forgotten part of the Molise region), that once was the confluence point of the Longobard principality of Benevento whose lands were conquered by the Franks; so much so, that the emperor Carlo Magno set the Abbey under his direct protection. During the Middle Ages, the Abbey was also attacked by Saracens (the worst attack was in AD 881) and began to decline slowly until 1699, when its estates in Molise, Abruzzo, Lazio, Campania, Basilicata and Apulia region were given to the Abbey of Montecassino. All the preparatory work of Federici, including his archival research in Italy and over Europe, is now to be found in the archive, together with a detailed description of each charta contained in the ancient text.

Federici's collection of records from the *Chronicon* manuscripts offers a wide and unusual vision of the different areas included in the Abbey's estates. The deep connection between the Abbey and local communities, and the central role that San Vincenzo al Volturno played in the social, cultural, and economic life of the surrounding areas emerge in the chronicles of the IX–XII centuries, to which the *Chronicon* refers, and also in the narrations that Federici received from the residents of those places.

CASTEL SAN VINCENZO - *Piazza Umberto I*
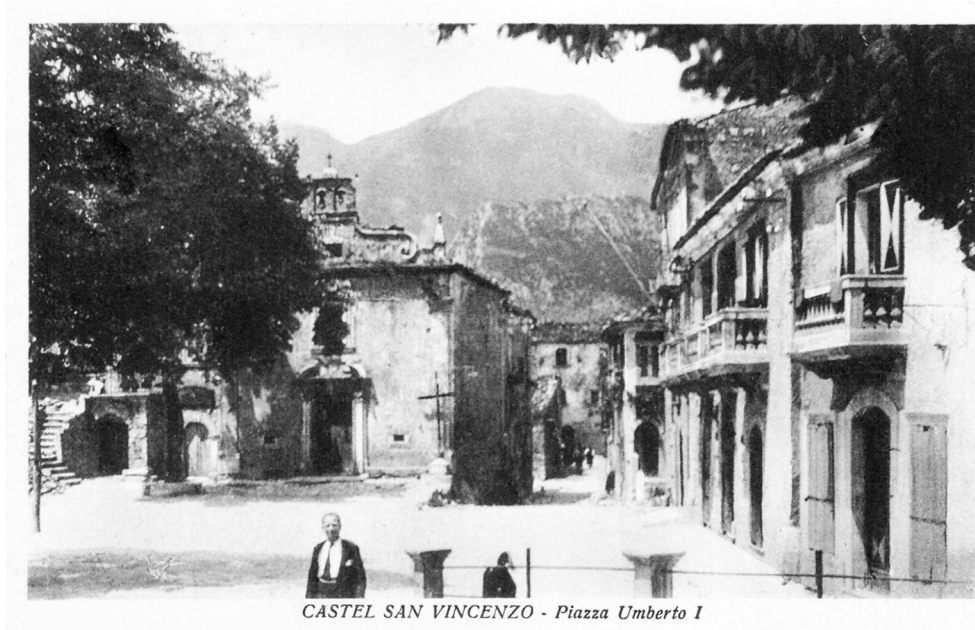
Figure 3. Castle San Vincenzo. Archivio Vincenzo Federici, b. 3, f. 7

Figure 4. Miniatura Cassinese sec. XI. Archivio Vincenzo Federici, b. 8, f. 7

In fact, during his long career as a scholar, Federici dealt with manuscripts from these geographic areas, and his research led him to understand the origins of different ancient writings and the authenticity of some documents. He always had to deal with local social reality and local culture, which constituted the background of his research, and, consequently, influenced his research in one way or another.

From the records, one can understand certain local traditions, customs and uses, coming from the past but still present in everyday life, without even the local population having a clear idea of their origin.
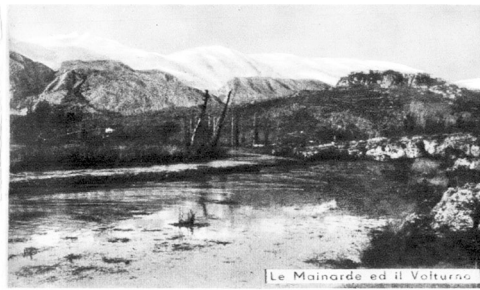
Another important aspect that emerges from the archive is the dense network of Federici's relationship with local notables, or in any case, with the experts of the community traditions of the Abbey's past domains. He notably succeeded in understanding the connection between people and territory.

Two different examples are especially worth noting. In 1890, he had an interesting correspondence focused on the discovery of a medieval inscription in the castle of Gessopalena[14], with the archaeologist Angelo Pasqui (founder, among other things, of the important *Carta archeologica d'Italia*, trying to provide a cartographic restitution of all archeological sites discovered in Italy).[15] In 1909, another correspondence with a roadman in chief of Raiano (we only know his family name, Del Borrio), brought him in touch with a person who, though of a lesser social status, showed a better knowledge of his area than local notables did.

This dense network of relationships, this ongoing exchange between past and present, between traditions and topical interests, is to be found not just in the materials collected for the *Chronicon* edition, but also in all the research carried out by Federici. In the same way, it is not difficult to find the presence of letters with local people in the preparatory materials for the tables of the *Archivio Paleografico Italiano*, or among the documentation

Figures 5–6. Brochure. Archivio Vincenzo Federici, b. 9, f. 10

relating to the editing of the ancient statutes of the Italian municipalities, in which it was necessary to develop a direct relationship with local traditions and uses.

A last example can be seen in the iconographic material we found in the archive. They represent a very interesting aspect of the relationship between the scholar, his research, and the territory. Many illustrated postcards bear the images of the areas touched by Federici's research, as well as brochures, sketches and maps of the thirties, showing a territory that would undergo a strong urbanization during the late 1950s.

Conclusion

Today a scholar who wants to study the Federici Papers is faced by a continuous play of cross-references of millennial traditions passed down from father to son, or even from statute to statute, or manuscript to manuscript, until contemporary age; or even between the countryside and medieval towns, fascist Italy, and the dawn of the Italian Republic.

The archive gives us a multifaceted image of the central and southern Italian territories and traditions, far beyond Federici's intentions. Today, this image allows an analysis of local territory, culture and folklore, stemming from the study of medieval sources and culminating in the descriptions of rural Italy between the 19th and 20th centuries. Visions of an Italy before being swallowed up by World War II, and later by modernization—such is the unexpected and most beautiful gift that Federici has left behind for later generations.

References and Notes

[1] Paragraph 1 is by Francesca Nemore, paragraph 2 and conclusions are the results of the work of both authors, paragraph 3 is by Flavio Carbone.

[2] *Comitato Nazionale per le Celebrazioni del 25° anniversario della Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari*. Ed. E. Lodolini. Roma: Litograph '82 snc tipolitografia, 1993; *Formazione e aggiornamento di archivisti e bibliotecari: problemi e prospettive*. Ed. A. Pratesi. Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1992.

[3] For more information on Vincenzo Federici see *Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica in onore di Vincenzo Federici*. Ed. R. Morghen Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1944; Bartoloni F., Muzzioli G., Re E. *In memoria di Vincenzo Federici*. Roma: Società Romana di Storia Patria, 1953; Pratesi A. La Società romana di storia patria, scuola di critica diplomatica. *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*. 1977. No. 100. P. 200–203; De Donato V. Federici, Vincenzo. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 45. Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995. http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vincenzo-federici_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ (Last accessed September 1, 2017).

[4] For a biography of Nora Federici see scienzaa2voci.unibo.it/biografie/92-federici-nora (Last accessed January 14, 2018); Golino A. Nora Federici. *Note*, 2004. No. 2. P. 189–190.

[5] To better understand all the problems dealt with during the identification of the archives and the restoration of the original order, see Carbone F., Nemore F. Da un ritrovamento inatteso a un archivio dimenticato: le carte di Vincenzo Federici. *Nuovi Annali della Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari*. 2016. P. 145–158.

[6] The creator can be defined as the corporate body, family or person that created accumulated and/or maintained records in the conduct of personal or corporate activity (ISAD(G)), see International Council on Archives. *ISAD(G) General International Standard Archival Description. Second Edition.* 2000. https://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/CBPS_2000_Guidelines_ISAD%28G%29_Second-edition_EN.pdf (Last accessed September 20, 2017).

7   For more information on personal archives see *Archivi di persona del Novecento. Guida alla sopravvivenza di autori, documenti e addetti ai lavori*. Ed. F. Ghersetti, L. Paro. Treviso: Fondazione Benetton Studi e Ricerche, 2012; *Uomini e donne del Novecento. Fra cronaca e memoria*. Ed. A. Aiello, F. Nemore, M. Procino. Roma: Universitas Studiorum, 2015; *Gli archivi di persona nell'era digitale. Il caso dell'archivio di Massimo Vannucci*. Ed. S. Allegrezza, L. Gorgolini. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2016; *Il futuro della memoria. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi sugli archivi di famiglie e di persone. Capri 9–13 settembre 1991*. Ed. I. P. Tascini. Roma: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici, 1997.

8   *Annuario della Regia Università degli Studi di Roma aa. 1927–1928*. Roma: Tipografia ditta Pallotta, 1929, P. 90.

9   The Federici Archives is currently kept in the library of the Department of Scienze Documentarie, Linguistico-Filologiche e Geografiche, Sapienza Università di Roma.

10 *Un secolo di paleografia e diplomatica (1887–1986). Per il centenario dell'Istituto di paleografia dell'Università di Roma*. Ed. A. Petrucci, A. Pratesi. Roma: Gela Editrice, 1988.

11 *La scrittura riprodotta: per il centenario dell'Archivio Paleografico Italiano*. Ed. C. Perrone. Torino: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1983.

12 The volumes mentioned in the text, written and edited by Vincenzo Federici, deal mainly with paleography and ancient writings. There are also critical editions of medieval documents and collections of facsimiles of medieval and modern manuscripts.

13 *Chronicon Vulturnense del Monaco Giovanni*. Ed. V. Federici. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1925–1940; *Chronicon Vulturnense del Monaco Giovanni. Scritto intorno all'anno 1130*. Ed. M. Oldoni. Cerro al Volturno (Is): Volturnia Edizioni, 2010.

14 La Sapienza Università di Roma, Dipartimento di Scienze Documentarie, Linguistico-Filologiche e Geografiche, Archivio Vincenzo Federici, b. 5; Archivio storico della Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma, *Appunti e studi di Angiolo Pasqui*, b. 216.

15 This scientific enterprise unfortunately came to an abrupt end after only to volumes. Their content has been reprinted and re-edited in Cozza A., Pasqui A. *Carta archeologica d'Italia (1881–1897). Materiali per l'Agro Falisco*. Firenze: Olschki, 1981.

Flavio Karbone (Flavio Carbone)
Frančeska Nemore (Francesca Nemore)

Pārskatot paleogrāfa darba dokumentus: teritorijas un tās kultūras atklāšana

Kopsavilkums

Atslēgvārdi: paleogrāfija, teritorija, Itālija, lauku rajoni, universitāte, abatija

Pirms neilga laika šī raksta autori atrada kasti, kurā glabājās daļa Vinčenco Federiči (*Vincenzo Federici*) arhīva. Šis atklājums likumsakarīgi noveda pie izpētes projekta, kas ietvēra lokāciju, analīzi un atlikušās arhīva daļas administrēšanu, kā arī citos arhīvos atrastu avotu izpēti, lai rekonstruētu dažādos daudzpusīgā pētījuma aspektus. Federiči dokumenti ir interesanti arī tā iemesla dēļ, ka, pirmkārt, tie sniedz unikālu ieskatu viņa sadarbībā gan ar vietējā mērogā ievērojamiem cilvēkiem, gan ar vienkāršiem ļaudīm, kas varēja palīdzēt pētnieciskajā procesā. No otras puses, šie dokumenti piedāvā ļoti interesantu Itālijas centrālo un dienvidu reģionu reprezentāciju, sākot no Otrā pasaules kara gadiem un beidzot ar vēlākiem lauku migrācijas un pilsētvides izveidošanās procesiem 20. gadsimta 60. gados. Visbeidzot, Federiči dokumenti sniedz patiešām saistošu iespēju ieskatīties Itālijas centrālo un dienvidu reģionu lauku rajonu kultūras dzīvē pirms un pēc Otrā pasaules kara.

Summary

Not long ago, the authors of this paper came across a box containing a portion of the archive of Vincenzo Federici. This discovery gave rise to a research project that involved the location, analysis, and archival arrangement of the remaining part of the archive, and the study of sources found in other archives to reconstruct the many aspects of the activity of a multifaceted academic character. The Federici Papers are also interesting because on one hand they provide a unique vision of his connection with both prominent local figures and simple folk who could help the researcher in his quest. On the other hand, they offer a very interesting representation of a large part of the Italian central and southern regions, from the years before the Second World War to the later processes of rural migration and urban concreting in the sixties. What is really interesting is the opportunity to look, through Federici, at the cultural life of rural areas in the center and south of Italy before and after the Second World War.

Bryan Giemza

More than Words: Respectful Stewardship and the Balance of Community Archives

Political philosophers have tried to simplify the differences that underpin conservative and liberal worldviews, and perhaps a similar exercise is possible with respect to archives. To conservatives, an archive is essentially a vault or fortress, a place where guardians of history can protect it from the vicissitudes of change, and perhaps even the incursions of outrageous social reversals. In such a view, the archive is the last hope against moth, flood, flame, or the barbarians at the gate. This bulwark-for-defensive-preservation seems to dominate the widely-held public conception of what archives do. These imaginaries are reinforced by the very architecture of archives with forbidding columns and oversized wooden doors. Experts inhabit those walled places, the thinking goes, and so do the scholars who have the best sense of what's important.

At another political pole are those who see the archive as analogous to a garden. Properly tended, it keeps growing, and the measure of its good is both in its sustainability and the measure of nourishment it provides. If food sustains the ability of a community to reinvent itself, which is necessary to the advancement of any civilization, an archive contains the cultural resources that provide the creative sustenance for the process. There is little point in having a fine garden only for aesthetic pleasure. There would be little point to watching the gourd rot on the vine, and time itself dictates that the produce should be consumed if its energies are to be recaptured. The march of time likewise imposes cycles of planting, reseeding, and harvesting.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, that all sides agree to the notion that the archive is indeed an organic, living garden. This analogy has its limitations—as I do not wish to propose, in a literal way, that the contents of an archive are consumables (though it is certainly possible to extend the analogy and to consider the trans-substantive properties of archival materials and how they are consumed). There is a way to synthesize these political polarities that holds intrinsic interest, however. Traditionally, conservatives take a dim view of human "progress," preferring to see the human condition as flawed and in need of restraint. In the conservative view, then, the garden might sit somewhere beyond the portcullis, in the safety of the courtyard. Its essence is that of a seed bank, and its

security is vouchsafed by the most unchanging portion of human events—visions of order, a hierarchy of being, and the quiet footsteps of academe.

Contrast this with the liberal view, which often frames human nature in more optimistic terms, and contemplates something like the perfectibility of society, and the teleology of progress. Holders of this worldview are more likely to envision a community garden in which property rights are diffuse, and the right of access the highest priority.

Two questions that might be put to all archivists, then, are: what kind of garden are you tending? And how does your garden grow? Assuming that archives are a commons—whether your model is of the courtyard or the township—neither side is free of the obligation to consider what environmentalists commonly call "the tragedy of the commons." When a resource is freely available to all, the incentive to stewardship can be diminished in turn. There is an important difference, though. It's hard to think of a kind of archival gold rush, some sort of run on cultural resources. After all, the use of cultural resources, while taxing other resources, is ultimately not extractive. The good to be obtained from making cultural resources available is neither depleting nor limited. So let us test the analogy once again by pointing out that regardless of whether it is a seedbank in a tundra vault or a *milpa* with a lonely scarecrow, the archive is a garden that is often undernourished but rarely overharvested. And one virtue of the community garden is that sweat equity can actually foster more careful stewardship.

If your garden happens to be oriented toward history, as is the case where I work, you know that it is the changing of seasons that provides an interesting harvest, and that varietals offer an innately appealing character. Bottle that wine and its flavor will change with time and still retain the signatures of its origination. This is what, on some level, we hope for: the transmutation of cultural resources from green to gold. But we are humbled in turn with Robert Frost's wise observation that gold is "nature's hardest hue to hold." The alignments of circumstances that drive research, of larger needs and problems within a culture, and of unexpected transformation ensure that old maxim: *no wine before its time*. To offer a tangible example, the Southern Historical Collection was so influenced by Confederate nationalism and the Lost Cause that it was constituted as an apologist collection. The region needed a place to preserve materials that would tell the story of the vindication of white southerners. Little could they have imagined that later harvests would, for example, document the lives and communities of the enslaved—indeed, that it would be one of their main uses. Even the most carefully tended garden has a way of overgrowing its walls in time.

Recently, my work has afforded a number of exciting opportunities to look at the relationship between change, cultural patrimony, and the creative reuse of old spaces. My eye is trained to think of cultural resources, and the documentation of change. The question that always recurs in my mind, then, is: Where are you building your archival garden? Very often these projects strive for a measure of self-sufficiency, insofar as planners imagine that the communities using them will be attracted to experiences and forms of knowledge production and meaning-making that will render the old new again. An

inevitable challenge, then, is the problem of old wine in new skins. So I would extend the analogy one more time: cultural resources are the best guarantee that a garden thrives, and that it is renewable over the course of time. Everyone recognizes the history-in-amber in a dusty diorama, an instant turn-off that if anything raises doubts about the worth of the archival enterprise. In garden terms, it is a withered monoculture. I think that history only talks to us when it speaks our language. History-as-preservation is the smaller part of the story; standing alone, it is a pyrrhic victory in the mode of preservation without access. The human need to create is profound, and especially notable in what might be termed the "wideness" of children (as opposed to the relatively narrow interests of adults). A garden offers some experience of that wonder. Archives function best when every user is a grower. But for those who lack the green thumb or curiosity, there is the creative canvas of the kitchen. And even those who don't like to cook can appreciate a good dish.

If it may be a said that community-driven archives offer some advantages, it is also true that there are many challenges to working in this area, requiring significant institutional agility and considerable change management. The Southern Historical Collection (SHC), a division of Wilson Special Collections Library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is pursuing a methodology premised in meaningful partnerships in which community liaisons translate community and institutional needs.

This is just one of many approaches practices or models for community archives, and it has its limitations. Ultimately, all such projects are beholden to the ethics of participatory research and the wishes of the community. From the Canadian "total archives" movement of the 1980s, to more recent human rights and reconciliation community-driven archives in Australia, South Africa, and Cambodia, community-driven archives offer a powerful counterbalance to the representational inequality that sometimes characterizes the inter-actions between institutional archives and socially stigmatized or marginalized groups. The power disparity between a community collective seeking to preserve its materials and a partner archival institution points to the limited options available to the community. Some communities might be obliged to accept whatever curatorial terms the institution extends, with the only (impractical) alternative being the creation of its own unsupported archive. At the same time, traditional archival institutions that support community-driven archives face many ethical and practical challenges in that role. Beyond the duty to manage expectations, issues of patrimony, creator rights, and the local disposition of material all attach to the post-custodial paradigm.

The Southern Historical Collection is currently engaged in at least four community-driven projects including but not limited to The Appalachian Student Health Coalition, The Eastern Kentucky African American Migration Project, The Historic Black Towns and Settlements Alliance, and The San Antonio African American Community Archive and Museum. The projects' objectives and concerns are as various as the creator communities that fostered them. Drawing largely from the work of Douglas Biff Hollingsworth, my collection co-curator and colleague, as well as Karida Brown, today I will argue for a common lexicon describing community archives (addressing questions of affect and standing),

according to various models of distributed curatorial responsibility, as a starting point for imagining canons of ethical responsibility. I will suggest that we need a new vocabulary for appraisal categories, language reflective of a professional shift from an outcome-driven, commodity based tradition toward the community-driven approach. Along the way, I hope to share some practical experiences regarding community rights and how these projects can evolve.

Most important, we want to foster discussion surrounding practices for community-driven archives and the issues of respectful stewardship endemic to post-custodial approaches. There is no presumption of best practices here, but rather, an interest in discussing practices generally, and their implications for the ways in which archives might serve as commons for promoting social justice and inclusion.

The SHC framework for community-driven archives is at once a model, a methodology, and a program of research and hands-on practice. According to Anne Gilliland and Sue McKemmish, "Participatory archives acknowledge that multiple parties have rights, responsibilities, needs, and perspectives with regard to the record. The archives consequently become a negotiated space in which these different communities share stewardship—they are created by, for, and with multiple communities, according to and respectful of community values, practices, beliefs and needs."[1]

Accordingly, the SHC model places community and institution in a meaningful partnership, often with a shifting balance of curatorial responsibilities, and often with the support of a Community Liaison who serves as an intermediary and community insider. In our model, a typical project life cycle requires three to five years. A time-bound approach encourages clearly identifiable and measurable goals and ensures that archives can equitably distribute resources as new partnerships are phased in. The end goal, however, is to empower communities to move toward archival independence by educating them in archival skills and enfranchising them to make important decisions about curation, representation, and long-term stewardship. Community-driven collections are "those that have been amassed not by one individual but by a collective," and they take a variety of forms.[2] While Michelle Caswell describes community-based archives as emerging from grassroot efforts that arise entirely outside of "mainstream archival institutions," our model is a hybrid one in which community and institutional relationships change over time. Our preferred term of art is "community-driven" because the emphasis is on the community as curator.[3]

Chris Bourg, director of libraries at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, recently presented a report on "The Future of Libraries" at the Educause Annual Conference that envisioned the library as an "open global platform." The report recommends "libraries focus on four 'pillars': community and relationships, discovery and use, stewardship and sustainability, and research and development." Bourg also suggested that libraries "need to consider how they can serve as 'town squares' to promote diversity and social justice."[4]

The SHC model is geared expressly toward a future for libraries based on the pillar of community and relationships, and the ways in which libraries can serve as commons

for promoting social justice. Intrinsic to our framework are notions of human rights and reconciliation, equality-equity, diversity, inclusion, and collaboration. "Given the long trajectory of archival use, in which remnants of the past are preserved in the present for use in the future," Michelle Caswell wrote recently, "the symbolic annihilation marginalized communities face in the archives has far-reaching consequences for both how communities see themselves and how history is written for decades to come."[5] Our community-driven archives model addresses the urgent business of enfranchising communities in the curation of their own history. As R. David Lankes put it in a provocative recent tweet, "Bad libraries build collections. Good libraries build services (of which a collection is only one). Great libraries build communities."[6]

Although the Southern Historical Collection's origins trace to efforts to document a kind of southern aristocracy, it can be argued that a community ethos informed its creation as well. Reflecting on the manuscript collection that he founded in 1930, UNC history professor J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton emphasized the prescient thinking of the people and collectives who gave their materials to the SHC. Hamilton envisioned "a great library of Southern human records" that would be supported directly by the people who contributed to it, and to that extent, presaged the arrival of the community-driven concept.[7] In keeping with that vision, the SHC has embraced the emerging field of community-driven archives. We are already deeply involved in the full span of community-driven collections, including representative projects with ethnic and cultural organizations (for example, the Student Health Coalition), along with diaspora groups active in the documentation of their past (East Kentucky African American Migration Project), and with groups that are themselves collectives representing a broad array of public, academic and memory-based institutions (the Historic Black Towns and Settlements Alliance).[8]

It is no accident that the 2017 Annual Meeting of the Society of American Archivists dedicated an entire day of the conference to *The Liberated Archive: A Forum for Envisioning and Implementing a Community-Based Approach to Archives*. The emergence of community-driven archival collections within formal memory institutions marks a paradigm shift in archival science.[9] This transformation has been attributed to the birth of the Internet, rapid globalization, and the rise (or increased visibility) of social, cultural, and political movements. While the latter two phenomena led to the expansion of actors in the field of knowledge production, the former revolutionized capacity for everyday people to create, describe, publish, and give meaning to such efforts, resulting in the democratized archive.[10]

Consequently, community-driven archives have taken root across the United States, with representative projects hosted by UCLA (The Mazer Lesbian Archives), Washington University in St. Louis (Documenting Ferguson), and the University of Florida (Panama and the Canal).[11] There is growing recognition that professional archivists should move beyond traditional arms-length collecting practices. In the words of the late Canadian archivist Terry Cook, "In this new digital, political, and pluralistic universe, professional archivists need to transform themselves from elite experts behind institutional walls to

becoming mentors, facilitators, coaches, who work in the community to encourage archiving as a participatory process shared with many in society, rather than necessarily acquiring all the archival products in our established archives."[12]

The paradigm shift in archives invites a reconsideration of "archival value" as well. Appraisal in traditional archival practice emphasizes the value that our traditional consumers (patrons, researchers, and scholars) place on the collections that we acquire, i.e., the potential "research value," while it diminishes the value that producers (including donors, creators, and collectors) may ascribe to their collections. The term "research value" itself implies hierarchies of value often premised in notions of high and low culture, privileging the scholar/expert as the curator and disseminator of knowledge. This notion is patently at odds with shared knowledge economies in an information age, and self-evidently in conflict with contemporary models that position the production of knowledge as a process of co-creation. In that model, we might imagine scholars, students, knowledge seekers, and communities working together through extended information commons. "Seekers" is a usefully inclusive term favored by Bethany Nowviskie that reflects non-academic communities' stake in creating, curating, and accessing information, including their own histories.

Despite the widespread acceptance of new knowledge economies, "research value" remains perhaps the single most referenced determiner of archival selection and remains stubbornly informed by what matters to scholarly experts. Communities often value the testamentary power of items that demonstrate the existence of places, movements, and people that are obscured from scholarly view. And because communities bear witness to the flashpoints of change that are often only retrospectively apparent to scholars, if noticed at all, other items might have a measure of value discoverable only after consultation. For example, it has been observed that the southern states have many monuments to the Confederacy, but none commemorating slavery and few if any representing the enslaved. The archives of historic black towns in the story suggest other possibilities. For example, town archives in Mound Bayou, a town of about 1,500 along the Mississippi delta, as well as other historic black towns founded in Booker T. Washington's model of independent self-elevation, reveal that they were not locked in the rural isolation of segregated fiefdoms, as many have assumed. Many contributed leadership to, and were in direct dialogue with, the national civil rights movement. One town resident mentioned that multiple scholarly histories of Mound Bayou had been written, with one thing in common: "they're all wrong." The town's treasury of community history included Booker T. Washington's writings, widely available and not likely to be seen as having high scholarly research. Washington's books, however, hinted at the deeper spirit of in-dependence and the town's long engagement in contesting enslavement and its legacies. The people of the community valued their self-published magazine documenting the Knights of Tabor, a charitable organization that helped provide health care to people of color during the extended Jim Crow era. But the elements of the Taborian story had largely escaped widespread and scholarly notice.

Certainly communities value documentation in ways quite distinct from scholarly value: consider how communal value is intrinsically useful to understanding self-identification. Moreover, items can be selected for the traces they leave, rather than research value per se: placed in context, they may offer cathartic value, accountability value, and reconciliatory value as well. As archivists consider the significance of archival work through a social justice lens they are attempting to shift the profession away from an outcome-driven, commodity-based tradition. The new model measures its meaning to society by its potential to create a place where individuals and groups come to process complex past experiences or emotions, a place for reflection, reconciliation, memorialization, and commemoration.

It is true that everything old is new again, and that some traditional methods of assessment have offered categories of value in different terms; there is reason, however, to be careful of hierarchies of knowledge that impose an invisible framework on collecting practices. As meanings change over time, it is important to have new categories of value and a way to speak of them, and additionally, to consider whether a special projects approach is the right model for community archives. Indeed, the very term "special projects" might cause a community to wonder about the depth of institutional commitment, and does not speak to the hoped-for seamless integration of community contributions to meaningful partnerships. The semantics of hiring bands that populate administrators' tidy spreadsheets or state hiring schedules might not speak adequately to the ethos of community curation, but are perhaps not as important as the substance of community relationships.

To that end, it is possible to conceive many models with varying degrees of curatorial responsibility. Special project librarians could be community members, institutional archivists, intermediaries, or all of the above. In the case of the SHC's community-driven model, Community Liaisons function as indispensable intermediaries who facilitate the development of community-driven archives. They sometimes serve as a community curator-in-chief, sometimes as a field archivist, and sometimes as the main or first point of contact for multiple community champions (individuals who are eager to preserve a community's history). Community Liaisons play a critical role in orchestrating work that is done off-site from the institution and channeling and translating community objectives and institutional responses between the community and institution.

Community Liaisons can emerge from various avenues, and their relationships to institutional archives arise from various directions. Some are experienced preservationists, archivists, or oral historians who perceive a need to preserve an underrepresented history or endangered set of community collections (e.g., Everett Fly and HBTSA/San Antonio). Some emerge from academic field work in relationship to a particular community (e.g., Karida Brown and EKAAMP). Some come forward through the process of community organizing itself, as was the case when the Student Health Coalition created an Advisory Council to channel community feedback (Irwin Venick, the current Council Chair, serves as Community Liaison). Some liaisons emerge from activist projects that recognize a

collective need to preserve legacies that stand outside of institutional archives, or to which conventional archives have been traditionally hostile (e.g., LGBTQ communities).

Working with community liaisons who are trusted community members and in some capacity community experts provides extraordinary opportunities—but what about institutions that do not have access to the streams of human capital that enhance the odds of successful community-institution partnerships? Simple outreach efforts make it possible to cultivate intermediaries from within community groups.

Looking ahead to the term of this grant proposal, the SHC proposes to pursue an emerging partnership with Charles Francis as a Community Liaison. As president of the Mattachine Society, an LGBT organization that was chartered in the 1950s, Francis envisions an archives activism project. The Mattachine archive provided primary evidence for pro bono lawyers who wrote the amicus brief for the landmark Supreme Court decision, *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015), which granted same-sex couples the legal right to marry. The phase-in of a prospective SHC-Mattachine partnership provides an opportunity to document another avenue by which a Community Liaison might emerge. Could lawyers who litigate for social change help to identify new Community Liaisons? As a further example, work that is at the discussion stage with North Carolina Latinx groups will require consideration of the special challenges endemic to vetting liaisons when working with undocumented populations.

In addition to vetting liaisons, charrettes are another important element in setting up successful collaborations. A charrette is a "collaborative planning process […] that harnesses the talents and energies of all interested parties to create and support a feasible plan to bring about community development and transformation" (www.nationalcharrette-institute.org).[13] Charrettes typically take place in the Partnership Cycle of process, but they can be reprised as needed for revisiting and refining goals.

The design of our particular charrette methodology stems from experiences with informal introductory sessions with HBTSA, EKAAMP, and ASHC communities. For the four-hour San Antonio charrette, we incorporated group activities, real-time online surveys completed on cell phones and laptops, PowerPoint presentations, and primary source documents to explore the three main prompts. Our facilitators shared examples and guided discussion in each of these areas and the themes were reiterated in our evaluation forms. Further development of the model might integrate performances, guest speakers, film, music, interactive activities, icebreakers, and other games that would energize stakeholder brainstorming. Written feedback from the San Antonio charrette, as well as notes from the larger discussion, have positioned us to better understand the needs for this particular project and to develop additional strategies for engagement.

A final element that is distinctive to the Southern Historical Collection model is the way it conceptualizes the stages of partnership cycle. Like the scientific method employed in the physical and social sciences, which is used to propose, explore, and test new ideas, we ae developing a method, or pattern of techniques and actions, that is used when developing a new community-driven or participatory archive. The method is iterative and

ongoing so that it ultimately helps to determine the chronology of each project.

In most cases, an entire project life cycle comprises two major phases with secondary stages. The first phase, the Partnership Cycle, is about identifying the needs and wants of the community, developing common resources, and setting the project development process in motion.

Basic stages of the initial cycle
Stage 1: Conception [first 3-6 months]
Stage 2: Partnership formation and visioning [6-9 months]
Stage 3: Gathering starter material [9-12 months]
Stage 4: Demonstrating value of archive [9-18 months]
Stage 5: Documentation and reflection [last 3-6 months]

What results from these stages? Some groups have elected to collect and process archival materials to be held at the SHC, as the scope of their plans does not include creating an archive within the community. Others have used the Partnership Cycle as a significant opportunity to preserve archival starter material and to create promotional materials for attracting more resources, or to formulate plans to establish an independent, freestanding community archive. For some communities the visioning process itself is the goal, and the Partnership Cycle represents the entire life cycle.

For other communities, a project life cycle may include an independent, second major phase: The Independent Community Stewardship Cycle. This phase works towards specific goals identified by the community in the visioning process and includes the development of specific tools, services, processes, and projects. This place in the community-driven archives life cycle marks a point at which communities are empowered and prepared to make informed decisions about the future of their archival materials, acting independently of an archival institution. This independence has an important part to play in ensuring the sustainability of our community-driven model as it permits a community's archival projects to continue apace, even as an institutional archive turns to the development of new partnerships.

Our hope is that these practices will lend a measure of sustainability to our community driven work and be useful to other institutions. The Andrew Mellon Grant that supports the work unfolding over the next three years will help to reveal new practices and address challenges as yet unforeseen. The grant supports five hires to develop community archives projects, including a full-time Community Archivist as the project manager. Already, there are opportunities to internationalize the community-driven paradigm and to integrate it into the institutional culture. Doing so requires a good deal of creativity and change management, but the rewards are many. The landscape of regional depositories is well settled, and community archives offer a way for institutions to rethink their future mission in terms of preservation, outreach, and education. The very nature of the model serves to make the archive a commons for social justice and democracy. Community

archives may have more in common with community gardens than one would think, and the shift toward participatory research opens up new possibilities for decolonizing memory institutions and ensuring that archives are really do speak to their users. This new green, it might be said, is also gold.

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[11] The ARL SPEC Kit 347, *Community-based Collections*, documents at least fifteen academic archive-community partnerships across the country. Archivist Bergis Jules (UCLA) has investigated community needs, as well as the ethics and methods of documenting marginalized populations and their interactions with institutions. As the Community Lead of the Mellon-funded Documenting the Now project he gathered a list of over 120 archives or institutions with an emphasis on preserving community histories. From the digital-only ("Archiving Police Violence") to the geographically-centered ("Archiving South Carolina Women") to the expressly-identified community archive (The Donaldson King, Sue Henry, Blake Brockington Community Archive LGBT archive in Charlotte, NC), the landscape is rapidly changing and evolving.

[12] Cook T. Evidence, memory, identity, and community: four shifting archival paradigms. P. 95–120.

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Braiens Giemza (Brian Giemza)

Vairāk nekā vārdi:
cieņpilna un atbildīga kopienas arhīvu resursu vadība

Kopsavilkums

Atslēgvārdi: pēcuzraudzības, kopienu arhīvi, sociālais taisnīgums, līdzdalības izpēte, kopsapulces

Sākot ar Kanādas "totālo arhīvu" kustību 20. gadsimta 80. gados un beidzot ar daudz nesenākiem kopienu arhīviem Austrālijā, Dienvidāfrikā un Kambodžā, kopienu arhīvi piedāvā spēcīgu alternatīvu redzamajai nevienlīdzībai, kas dažkārt vērojama mijiedarbībā starp institucionāliem arhīviem un sociāli stigmatizētajām jeb marginālajām grupām. Būtiskās varas atšķirības starp kopienas grupu, kas cenšas saglabāt tās materiālus, un iesaistīto arhīvu institūciju norāda uz ierobežotajām iespējām, kas pieejamas kopienai. Dažas kopienas ir spiestas pieņemt noteikumus, kādus attiecīgā iestāde izvirza. Šādā situācijā vienīgais alternatīvais risinājums ir izveidot pašiem savu arhīvu. Tajā pašā laikā, tradicionālās kultūras arhīvu institūcijas, kas atbalsta kopienu arhīvus, sastopas ar daudziem ētiskas un praktiskas dabas izaicinājumiem. Mantojuma tiesības, autortiesības un materiālu izmantošana ir tie jautājumi, ko šīs iestādes risina.

Vilsona bibliotēkas Īpašo krājumu Dienvidu vēstures krātuve šobrīd ir iesaistījusies vismaz četros kopienu projektos (Apalaču Studentu veselības koalīcija, Austrumkentuki Afroamerikāņu ogļraču projekts, Vēsturiski tumšādaino pilsētu un nometņu alianse, Sanantonio Afroamerikāņu kopienas arhīvs un muzejs). Projektu mērķi un uzdevumi ir tikpat dažādi kā kopienas, kas tos attīsta. Šajā rakstā tiek pievērsta uzmanība kopienas dārzu un kopienas arhīvu paralēlēm. Balstoties uz Bifa Holingsvērta (*Biff Hollingsworth*) idejām, autors atbalsta vienota vārdu krājuma ieviešanu kopienu arhīvu aprakstīšanā. Autors iesaka jaunu terminoloģiju vērtību kategorijām un pamato, kā šāda valodas izvēle veicina profesionālas pārmaiņas. Raksta noslēgumā autors apraksta praktisku pieredzi kopienas tiesībās, kā arī kopienu komunikācijas un kopsapulču lomu, vadot kopienu arhīvu projektus.

Summary

From the Canadian "total archives" movement of the 1980s, to more recent human rights and reconciliation community-driven archives in Australia, South Africa, and Cambodia, community-driven archives offer a powerful counterbalance to the representational inequality that sometimes characterizes the interactions between institutional archives and socially stigmatized or marginalized groups. The power disparity between a community collective seeking to preserve its materials and a partner archival institution points to the limited options available to the community. Some communities might be obliged to accept whatever curatorial terms the institution extends, with the only (impractical) alternative being the creation of its own unsupported archive. At the same time, traditional archival institutions that support community-driven archives face many ethical and practical challenges in that role. Beyond the duty to manage expectations, issues of patrimony, creator rights, and the local disposition of material all attach to the post-custodial paradigm.

The Southern Historical Collection (SHC), in UNC's Wilson Library Special Collections, is currently engaged in at least four community-driven projects (The Appalachian Student Health Coalition, The Eastern Kentucky African American Miners Project, The Historic Black Towns and Settlements Alliance, and The San Antonio African American Community Archive and Museum). The projects' objectives and concerns are as various as the creator communities that fostered them. In this paper, I consider the limits of parallels between community gardens and community archives. Drawing from the work of Douglas Biff Hollingsworth, I argue for a common lexicon describing community archives, according to various models of distributed curatorial responsibility, as a starting point for imagining canons of ethical responsibility. We suggest a new vocabulary for appraisal categories (existential value, cathartic value, accountability value, reconciliatory value, and communal value), and how such language supports a professional shift from an outcome-driven, commodity-based tradition. Finally, I will describe some practical experiences regarding community rights and the role of community liaisons and charrettes in orchestrating community-driven archival projects.

Lauri Harvilahti

Tradition Archives and the Challenges of the Digital World: from Exclusive Rules Towards Networks and Contexts

Keywords: tradition archives, collection, context, archival standards, ISAD (G), RiC-CM

Introduction

In 19ᵗʰ century Northern Europe, the process of modernization gave an impulse to creating national institutions and the development of a vernacular cultural life. Among other things, this process included establishing archives, museums, and other memory organizations. The public or state archives were based mostly on historical and administrative documents and other statutory materials, whereas the first folklore holdings came into being mostly through meticulous fieldwork in rural and remote areas, through organized, active collection work of folklore materials.

During the 19ᵗʰ century the first foundations for modern archival theory, methods, and practices were formed. Due to fundamental differences in the process of acquisition and in the main content of material, folklore archives developed separate systems of description and principles of cataloguing, not compatible with the archival rules and practices of the public or state archives. During the first half of the 20ᵗʰ century, a multitude of indexing and cross-referencing type-systems were developed for folklore archiving and research.[1] However, up to now, there have been no general international standards for archival description that could be used in the tradition archives. Furthermore, conceptualizing tradition archives as a special type of archives in the field of cultural heritage has not fully been done.[2]

The key concepts for the birth of the 19ᵗʰ century folklore holdings and the early 20ᵗʰ century tradition archives were "to collect", "collector" and "collection". For numerous nations and ethnic groups, various forms of folk culture and folklore collections have been crucial for the emergence of indigenous identity, cultural life and even fine arts, and in some cases, for the development of written language. The wide-scale collection, publication and archiving has often been the last chance to record the vanishing cultural heritage. The central concepts of *provenance*, and *respect des fonds* of historical archives were not

adaptable to tradition archives. The *provenance* is used to denote "the relationship between records and the organizations or individuals that created, accumulated and/or maintained and used them in the conduct of personal or corporate activity", and *respect des fonds* has been characterized as "the basic principle that records/archives of the same provenance must not be intermingled with those of any other provenance."[3] Arranging folklore materials according to the principle of originating from one common source (*provenance*) would not be possible. The folklore records come into being through an active process of fieldwork and other methods of collecting folklore materials among diverse groups of society or individuals, as a part of their tradition. For folklorists, the provenance concentrated on one individual or particular group of society is not so relevant as is the information concerning the *context* of the tradition: its performance, performers, and other aspects representing cultural processes and phenomena. The items represent a variety of folkloric genres, such as folksongs, folktales, or proverbs. The custodial history, or the conduct of personal activity, was not the primary interest. There was no use for the term *respect des fonds*, either. The idea of keeping the records of different folklore fonds separately would rather have hampered the integrity of the collections of folklore records.

Over time, the differences between the principles of cataloguing and arranging of records have become less fundamental. The archival world has entered the post-custodial era with new interpretations to all central concepts including *provenance* and *fonds*, acknowledging the central role of the *social context* in which the records emerge. As we will show in this article, *context* is a fitting keyword for both the historical or state-level archives and the tradition archives.

Furthermore, tradition archives share with the public, historical, and/or state archives the challenges of the digital age of the 21st century. The challenges include creating compatible metadata models and interoperable archival standards for different types of archives. This urge is motivated by the need to enable integrated access to the cultural heritage repositories held by archives, museums, and libraries. Advanced search portals, digital platforms, and technologies of Linked Open Data have strengthened the cooperation between various cultural institutions.

In this article, I will firstly deal with the problems of conceptualization and definition of tradition archives. Secondly, I will present current archival standards and the problems of using these standards in tradition archives. Further, I will present the plans of the International Council of Archives (ICA) of building up a new archival standard that would, when completed, better suit the requirements of the present digital age. Finally, I will very briefly touch upon the purposes of integration within the collections of archives, museums, and libraries.

The contextual turn in folkloristics and folklore archives in the 1960's

An essential shift was developed in folklore studies in the turn of the 1960's and 70's. Folkloristics was, from that time onwards, focussing on context instead of text, on producers of folklore instead of folklore products.[4] The proponents of the contextual or performance school emphasized that the folklore texts were regarded as folklore only if actually performed in the context. The discipline of folkloristics was radically redefined by American folklorists as an artistic communication in small groups.[5] In addition to the collections of old agrarian tradition, there was living folklore everywhere in society: working place lore, various contemporary tales, legends and anecdotes, rumors, gossip, graffiti, parodies on proverbs and riddles, the abundant children's tradition, jokes, tall tales and jests, and marketplace lore. The birth of the contextual or performance school was, in many ways, connected with the development of modern linguistics and sociologically oriented analysis of discourse. Through the approaches mentioned above, the social variation of the contexts became an important object of study.

The revolution of the methodology of folkloristics in the 1960's was felt in tradition archives, as well. The notable changes included the development of modern field work (in the 1960's and 70's). Maryna Chernyavska has recently noted the importance of this paradigm shift for the new era of tradition archives: "The emergence of contextual and performance-oriented approaches to folkloric materials dramatically altered the locus of fieldwork practice, putting emphasis on the documentation of the folkloric event rather than on the collection of texts. From repositories of recorded tales and songs folklore archives became intricate multi-format collections of various cultural expressions and knowledge."[6] Furthermore, this was the beginning of a rapidly growing tendency of gathering material related to oral history and autobiographical research, a trend that is still topical in many tradition archives.

The tradition archives: a definition

The tradition archives might be defined as follows:

The tradition archives actively collect materials of oral tradition and other forms of intangible cultural heritage. The archives are repositories of material in formats ranging from written collections through photographs, audiovisual materials documenting folklore, folk-life, oral history, and related areas. The tradition archives develop the analog and digital technique as well as platforms used for collection, preservation, and the cataloging of such materials, providing access to the collections.[7]

In this definition, there are some concepts that are problematic for current archival standards. Among them are concepts like "collection" and "collector". Active collection work in tradition archives includes carrying out fieldwork, establishing respondent networks, and

organizing collecting campaigns for acquiring written answers, or organizing nation-wide writing competitions. These kinds of activities do not, as a rule, belong to the functions of historical archives. The difference between public, historical archives, and tradition archives is based on differing mandates, functions, and acquisition policies. Historical archives mostly *receive* historical, public, and administrative documents, whereas the tradition archives *collect* aural, visual and written folk culture materials.[8]

Current trends in cooperation between the tradition archives, and with the archival sector as a whole

In recent years, a network of tradition archives has been actively taking shape. The network consists of institutions called folklore or folk-life archives, ethnographic or ethnological archives, oral history archives, cultural heritage archives. In this article, I refer to these archives as *tradition archives*. The first international network, entitled Folklore Archives Network (FAN) was formed as recently as in 2012 in Estonia, and the following year the Network of Nordic and Baltic Tradition Archives was established. During the 11th International Society for Ethnology and Folklore (SIEF) congress, Tartu (2013), the participants of the panel entitled *The Role of Archives in the Circulation Chain of Traditions* decided to propose to the Board of SIEF a new working group with the title *The SIEF Working Group on Archives*. The group was officially established in January 2014. Subsequently, during the 12th Congress of SIEF in Zagreb (2015), the Working Group decided to explore possibilities to establish a section of folkloristic, ethnological, and culture archives within the International Council of Archives (ICA). The Working Group was invited to join the ICA Section on University and Research Institution Archives (SUV) in 2016.[9]

The main goal of this cooperation is to examine the role of tradition archives in the changing archival world. It is important to understand the processes of producing archival collections in different temporal, social, and geographical contexts. Tradition archives have, for a long time, been an abode for discipline-centered, tailored systems of cataloguing and classification. Therefore, it is time for us to learn to communicate in a terminology that is shared among other memory organizations.[10]

During the conference "Towards Digital Folkloristics. Research Perspectives. Archival Praxis. Ethical Challenges" (Riga, Latvia in September 2016) I summarized some of the tasks for the forthcoming years as follows:

- Cooperation in creating new international standards for archival description and cataloguing
- Developing practices of archiving the born-digital materials
- Utilizing research portals and exploring possibilities of combining research databases
- Using graph technology, semantic web ontologies, and Linked Open Data

In this article, I will mainly address the first of these challenges, touching upon other tasks mentioned above. To begin with, I will make an overview on the archival standards, in order to elucidate the problems of uniting the interests of the different types of archives in the level of archival standards.

The archival standards developed within the International Council of Archives (ICA)

The first expert meeting for developing archival standards for the ICA was organized in 1988 by the National Archives of Canada, in cooperation with the ICA. The meeting of experts in archival description gave a proposal for ICA to establish a working group, whose task was to create international archival instruments. In 1989, ICA presented a resolution that has led to development of four standards: General International Standard Archival Description (ISAD (G); International Standard of Archival Authority Records—Corporate Bodies, Persons, and Families (ISAAR(CPF)); International Standard Description of Functions (ISDF); and International Standard Description of Institutions with Archival Holdings (ISDIAH).[11] The work was fulfilled in twenty years, as can be seen from the graph below:

Standard	Edition	Development Dates	Publication Date
Statement of Principles		(1988) 1989–1992	1992
ISAD	1st	1990–1993	1994
ISAAR	1st	1993–1995	1996
ISAD	2nd	1996–2000	1999
ISAAR	2nd	2000–2004	2004
ISDF	1st	2005–2007	2007
ISDIAH	1st	2005–2008	2008

Table 1. Development of ICA Standards

These four standards were developed in such an order that the first ones (ISAD and ISAAR) were released and revised before the two last ones (ISDF and ISDIAH) were finalized. Among the four standards, ISAD (G) has been used to a considerable extent, whereas ISAAR (CPF) has had some use, whereas ISDF and ISDIAH have not been widely used. In this overview, I will concentrate on ISAD (G), listing some of the features that have made this standard difficult to use in tradition archives.

ISAD (G) and the tradition archives:
Collections, Fonds, and Provenances

The *Glossary of Terms Associated with the General Rules*[12] contains several terms that define the types of documents that belong to the archival holdings proper. The *Collection* does not belong to the category of "proper" documents, defined as: "*Collection*. An artificial assemblage of documents accumulated on the basis of some common characteristic without regard to the provenance of those documents. Not to be confused with an archival *fonds*". The *fonds* are: "The whole of the records, regardless of form or medium, organically created and/or accumulated and used by a particular person, family, or corporate body in the course of that creator's activities and functions." The choice of words in defining a *collection* does not do any justice to materials of the tradition archives. Collections in these archives are not "artificial assemblages of documents", but consciously organized sets of records, arranged **not** on the basis of "some common characteristic", but according to the principles of keeping together documents that represent a certain phenomenon of cultural expression.[13] As has been stated above, another difficulty concerns the use of the term *provenance*. The theory of a single, once-for-all provenance has been criticized in the archival theory as well. According to Luciana Duranti, the principle of provenance has led to a hierarchical "top-down" process, evaluating records owing to the alleged importance of the creator's mandate and functions, excluding the records of the "lower strata" of society from the records of society.[14]

Furthermore, especially in the digital age, archive records might be produced multiple times in the same context (the so called *multiple* and *simultaneous multiple provenance*), or even simultaneously in different contexts (the *parallel provenance*).[15]

The *fonds* is a term that reflects a hierarchical, self-contained and inward-looking understanding of the principle of *provenance*.[16] The classical understanding of *Respect des fonds*, the classical archival principle, is that the records of a person or a group are to be kept together and in the original order. This model comprises a hierarchical description that proceeds from *fonds* down to *sub-fonds* or *series*, *sub-series*, *files* and *items*, as in the graph below. However, even in the ISAD (G) context, this model is explained with certain reservations:[17] "The ISAD (G) hierarchical model shows a typical case and does not include all possible combinations of levels. Any number of intermediate levels is possible between any shown in the model."

The model above is not typical but hypothetical, and the "number of intermediate levels" forms rather a network, not a hierarchy, as above. According to Bailey[18], the approach of *dis*respecting the fonds may help us to understand the possibilities of thinking the *collections* as mutually contextual and interrelated, instead of thinking them to be cloistered and static. The context and meaning are not provided through descriptive, hierarchical details, but through networks, inter-linkages, modeling, and content analysis. Digital archives may enable the users to move within a collection and across collections. Users can build their own patterns and hierarchies by using search and query tools.
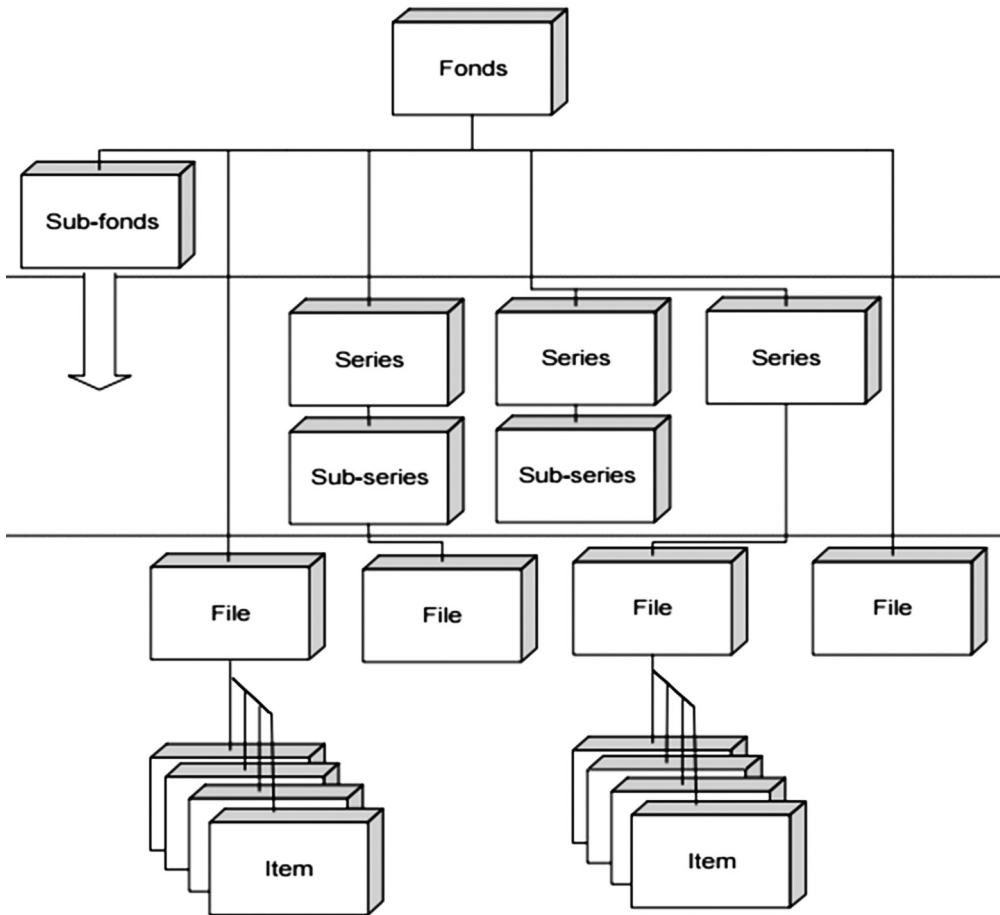
Table 2. Model of the levels of arrangements of a fond

According to the glossary attached to ISAD (G), the *Author* has been defined as: "The individual or corporate body responsible for the intellectual content of a document. Not to be confused with creators of records." The *Creator* is: "The corporate body, family or person that created, accumulated and/or maintained records in the conduct of personal or corporate activity. Not be confused with collector." Thus, *author* is not to be confused with *creator*, and *creator* is not to be confused with *collector*. However, *collector* is not even defined.

Consequently, some key entities relevant for the tradition archives do not occur in this archival standard. The same issue concerns numerous archives in the field of anthropology, ethnology, ethnomusicology, oral history, local history, sociolinguistics, and, in part, collections of literature, cultural history and arts.

Similarly, the Context Area of ISAD (G) forms a hierarchical scheme that is far from real world phenomena. *Context* is defined in ISAD (G) as: "(T)he creators administrative

or biographical history, archival history of the fonds and immediate source of acquisition or transfer":

3.2. CONTEXT AREA

3.2.1 Name of creator(s)

3.2.2 Administrative / Biographical history

3.2.3 Archival history

3.2.4 immediate source of acquisition or transfer

It has been stated in the standard, though, that the use of the term *context* should not to be confused with the same term in other disciplines. This is not the case anymore in the archival theory, since this kind of use of *context* is only limited to the old, hierarchical understanding of the *provenance* and *fonds* in creation of the archival records by an individual or group. Furthermore, in folkloristics, social linguistics, and many other disciplines context refers to a wide range of cultural heritage processes and phenomena.

The same exclusiveness concerns the Content and Structure Area of ISAD (G). This area contains appraisal, destruction, and scheduling information about the records, as well as eventual accruals and the system of arrangement. However, the standard does not presuppose information about the content or structure of the documents, but mainly about the life-cycle treatment of the records.

From the perspective of the digital network society of the present world, the ISAD (G) standard was outdated already by 1999–2000 when the 2nd edition was launched. The critique presented above is not directed against the principles of describing administrative and statutory archival materials. There are certainly documents that still fit into that scheme. The problem is that in tradition archives this standard has never formed the basis for the rules of description, and there was no need to use it for development of cataloguing principles in these archives. Obviously, there exists a need for a standard, applicable within a broader scope of the archival sector, since the ISAD (G) is reserved for limited range of archives.

From postmodern world to network society

When ISAD (G) was created, the old custodial paradigm still had some influence in archival sciences, compared to the role that it has today. The postmodern paradigm sprang up in archival sciences during the 1990's, and the post-custodial paradigm was first envisaged in 1981 by Gerald Ham.[19] According to Cook, the paradigm shift in the archival sciences meant a shift away from regarding records as static objects, towards seeing them as dynamic virtual concepts, a shift from a way of looking at records as passive products of administrative activity towards seeing them as active agents of human and organizational memory, and a shift away from hierarchical organizations towards fluid horizontal networks. Further, Cook presents a new, postmodern interpretation to all classical concepts of archival science, including the *provenance*, *original order*, *record*, *fonds*, *arrangement* and

description, *appraisal*, *preservation*, and *archives*.[20] The following sentences on *appraisal,* make claims for searching oral and visual records to complement the official institutional records:[21] "*Appraisal* establishes 'value' through social theory based on the contextual narrativity of creation rather than on subject content. *Appraisal* will attend as carefully to the marginalized and even silenced voices as to the powerful and official texts. And search for governance rather than government." This is an interpretation of the term *appraisal* that actually corresponds the understanding of the purpose of the tradition archives, as reflected in our definition above on page 3.

The archival and cultural theories have proceeded from the postmodern era towards meeting the requirements of the digital network society. Some of the postmodern theses have maintained their topicality. Flinn uses the term *inclusive national heritage* by listing examples of community histories: Black, women's Jewish, steelworkers, and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender.[22] Cunningham[23] writes about the significance of the inter-institutional cooperation and collaborative access services, and Batt emphasizes the engagement with the users as the most prevalent paradigm shift in the digital world.[24]

This paradigm shift calls for measures to be taken in order to create new standards and rules for the archival world. The ICA is not the only international organization developing archival standards. The World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) is responsible for standards of web-based materials in general, and some standards of the International Standardization Organization (ISO) are applicable in the archival world.

At the national level, professional organizations and recordkeeping institutions are adapting and developing archival standards. In Finland, for example, the project *AHAA* (since 2012), led by the National Archives Service, aims at developing common and compatible rules of archival description for the archives that participate in the project. The present Finnish rules for archival description were created in the late 1990s on the basis of ISAD G), and they do not meet the present requirements, since they have been created for the description of traditional records in an archival institution, not taking into account the metadata of digital records. Further, the rules are applied for the material of the National Archive or public records, whereas other archives use their own systems not often based on ICA or ISO standards.[25] The project has intense co-operation within the Finnish archival sector. The new standards currently planned within the ICA have already been taken into consideration in the work of the project.

Furthermore, this project has cooperated closely with the National Digital Library service developed by the Ministry of Education and Culture in Finland. The National Digital Library has improved the accessibility and preservation of the digital information resources of libraries, archives, and museums, with the final goal of creating a unified structure for contents and services and developing a long-term preservation solution for digital cultural heritage materials.[26]

Records in Contexts (RiC)

In 2012, the ICA formed the Experts Group on Archival Description (EGAD), whose task is to develop a new standard for archival description. The work was originally scheduled to be completed at the end of the year 2016, but it is still in the process of completion. In its initial stage of development, the new international archival conceptual model developed within the ICA was entitled *Records in Contexts* (RiC-CM). The first draft was released for consultation in September 2016.

The standard will consist of two parts: a conceptual model for archival description (RiC-CM), and an ontology (RiC-O). Since the four existing archival standards were created mainly for non-digital records, the RiC addresses description of both analogue and digital records. A central point of the introductory text of the draft is as follows: "archival records do not exist in isolation, but within layers of interconnected past, present and future contexts, in relation to another, and in relation to the people that create, use and keep them. Description of the context is absolutely necessary for preserving the records, since they cannot be understood in separation from the social context in which they emerged".[27]

RiC will take into account the vision of integrated access to the cultural heritage records held by museums and libraries. In this respect, a close attention is paid to the Conceptual Reference Model of the museum sector CIDOC CRM and the extension of the conceptual model developed for the libraries FRBRoo (Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records, object-oriented), a fusion of the CIDOC CRM and the FRBR. Later on, a draft of an ontologized version RiC-O will be published in Web Ontology Language (OWL).

RiC models a "multidimensional" archival description which, rather than a hierarchy, takes a form of a graph or network.[28] In such a way, the communication technology re-envisions the archival description: "Modeling description as a graph accommodates the single, fonds-based, multilevel description modeled in ISAD (G), but also enables addressing the more expansive understanding of provenance" – in broader contexts, and in relation to other collections/fonds.[29]

The entities of RiC-CM include at this preliminary point the following: *Record • Record Component • Record Set • Agent • Occupation • Position • Function • Function (Abstract) • Activity • Mandate • Documentary Form • Date • Place • Concept/Thing.*

From the point of view of tradition archives the *Record*, *Record Component* and *Record Set* are of particular interest, in regard to the collections stored in the tradition archives. The creator of a *record set* might be the same of all or some of the contained records, but the act of creating the *record* is distinct from the act of creating the *record set*. Further, the description of records is divided into two categories: 1) Summary description of the records contained in the record set and, 2) Properties or relations shared by the records contained in the record set, for example the same function, documentary form, or activity.[30] Furthermore, some records may be brought together, although they do not

belong to other designated groups—a "Miscellaneous" series, for example. *Record sets* may also contain other *Record sets*. Both a *record set* and a *record* may simultaneously be a member of more than one *record set*, and over the course of its existence, a *record set* or *record* may be a member of an indeterminate number of *record sets* in number of contexts.[31] The grouping of records is related to the specific context of the *agent*. The relations between the entities include such as: *record/record component/record set* was *collected* by *agent*. The new standard-in-progress is already in its initial phase ideationally adaptable to the typical networks of records held in the tradition archives, organized on the basis of properties and relations such as different roles of collectors, informants, respondents, or various forms of documentation.

This brief chapter is intended to show the dynamic nature of the new RiC-CM. I welcome the openness and inclusiveness of the draft. I sincerely hope that these features will be central in the final version, as well. The first draft of RiC-CM has been criticized on issues like lack of user awareness of the model, lack of the review of the four earlier archival standards, and lack of a higher ontological standard on which RiC-O would be based. There have been critical points of view on particular entities, properties and relations, as well.[32] In this article, I have concentrated on some advantages of the first draft from the point of view of tradition archives - knowing that the standard is still in progress.

The *context* in folkloristics, linguistics, and archival sciences

The welcome novelty that the draft of the *RiC standard* offers from the perspective of *tradition archives* is, quite naturally, the use of the term *context*. Interestingly, the use of the notion of *context* may be compared with the discussion in cultural research dating back to the 1960's. RiC breaks away from the former, limited use of this term in archival sciences, and discusses the emergence of context, and even deals with the use and reuse of the records for discovering, locating, identifying retrieving, evaluating, and understanding it:[33] "Records emerge within a social and documentary context, and the immediate context is itself within a broader spatial and temporal context. Such ongoing use and reuse of the records becomes part of the history of the records; it *re-contextualizes* them. The use and reuse generate other records, thereby extending the social-document network." This may be compared to the discussion on terms like *context* and *contextualization* in the field of folkloristics, anthropology and social linguistics during the 1980's and 1990's. Traditionally *context* in these disciplines meant anchoring an item or form within event structures or as patterns of cultural meaning. During the postmodern period, the term (*re-*, and *de-*) *contextualization* became to denote an active process in which individuals are situated to networks of interrelationships and associated in the act of production of expressive forms of culture.[34]

I acknowledge that there is a difference between the context of archival records and the context of living human interaction. However, in the digital age, context is a most timely keyword for all archival institutions, since in the network society processes of

human interaction and processes of creating archival records are more and more taking place in various digital contexts on the Internet. However, even in the digital age there is a danger of fragmentation of the approaches of management and developing services. For this reason, Batt[35] proposes that developing digital services for all *collecting institutions,* like archives, libraries, museums, should take place within a collaborative framework of *digital knowledge ecosystem*, empowering a shared digital mission.

Concluding points: Towards inclusive cultural heritage

The most important challenge for developing the global archival community is establishing necessary standards and practices for the management and long-term storage of records—from the oldest documents to the management and storage of the documentary heritage of the Internet era. The main task of the tradition archives has traditionally been to collect cultural heritage materials, to protect the collected items, and to make them accessible. The mission is still the same. However, tradition archives are turning digital, since original (analogue) materials should be digitized in order to protect and secure the items. The cost of digitizing the collections is high and the process is time-consuming. For this reason, co-operation is needed in order to create the best practices in this important field of interest. The Internet and solutions of Linked Open Data have opened up entirely new possibilities to make archives accessible for a wide audience. Furthermore, considerable parts of archival materials are created digitally. The urge to develop standards, norms and practices for digital and born-digital material, and the necessity to ensure the storage and access to the growing number of new forms and formats of records requires cooperation in the whole archival sector. Within this co-operation, the tradition archives encompass historical and cultural heritage dimensions and function as important repositories of knowledge in the archival world, as part of the cultural memory of our time.

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[8] Maryna Chernyavska has recently pointed out that folklore scholarship and archival studies could greatly benefit from one another: "Folklore archivists would be able to voice their opinions and participate in the formation of standards and policies. Archivists working in historical archives, in their turn, would have another excellent opportunity to test emerging postmodern definitions of archives, and thus move towards inclusivity of forms, genres, media, as well as context of archival records creation". Chernyavska M. The contested identity of folklore archives: Folkloristics and archival studies at a crossroads. *Visions and traditions,* 2018 (forthcoming).

[9] See: SIEF Working Group on Archives. https://www.siefhome.org/wg/arch/index.shtml (Last Accessed January 24, 2018)

[10] This brings up many concerns including conceptual models. Conceptual model (CM) is a descriptive model or diagram that defines the key entities, properties/attributes, and the hypothesized relationships between the entities. The CM Provides tools to assess the relevance of existing rules for description, formats and data models. CMs develop mediation e.g. between heterogeneous data models. As ontologies, CMs contribute to the development of the Semantic Web of the WWW into a Linked Open Data world (LOD). For the reasons mentioned above, it is necessary for the tradition archives to participate in the international process of developing new archival standards that will be compatible with the records of both the analogue world and those of the digital age.

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Lauri Harvilahti (Lauri Harvilahti)

Tradīciju arhīvi un digitālās pasaules izaicinājumi: no ekskluzīviem noteikumiem uz tīklošanos un kontekstu

Kopsavilkums

Atslēgvārdi: tradīciju arhīvi, kolekcijas, konteksts, arhīvu standarti, ISAD (G), RiC-CM

20. gadsimta sākumā tika izstrādātas starptautiskas indeksēšanas un tipoloģijas sistēmas folkloras arhivēšanai un izpētei. Ar laiku šīs sistēmas tika aktualizētas un saskaņotas ar tradicionālās kultūras arhīvu starptautiskajiem standartiem. Šobrīd, 21. gadsimta digitālajā laikmetā, ir parādījusies nepieciešamība piedalīties savstarpēji saskaņotu arhivēšanas standartu izstrādē. Arhīvistika un kultūras teorijas ir atstājušas aiz muguras postmodernisma ēru un attīstās atbilstoši digitālās tīklošanās sabiedrības prasībām. Šī paradigmu maiņa prasa jaunu arhivēšanas standartu un noteikumu izstrādi un jaunas izpratnes veidošanu attiecībā uz vārdu *konteksts* arhīvu nozares terminoloģijā. Turklāt arhīvu, muzeju un bibliotēku integrēšana meklētājprogrammas funkciju portālu un saistīto atvērto datu risinājumos šobrīd ir ļoti aktuāla. Digitālajā laikmetā krājumu glabātājinstitūciju atslēgvārdi ir: *tīklošanās*, *konteksts*, *sadarbība* un *integrācija*.

Summary

At the beginning of the 20th century, international indexing and cross-referencing type-systems were developed for folklore archiving and research that later advanced to international standards in tradition archives, but they were not compatible with the general archival rules and practices. At present, during the digital age of 21st century, a need to participate in creating interoperable archival standards has emerged. Archival and cultural theories have proceeded from the postmodern era towards the requirements of the digital network society. This paradigm shift calls for measures for creating new standards and rules for the archival world, and a new understanding of the word *context* in the archival terminology. Furthermore, an integration of the archives, museums and libraries in developing search portals and solutions of Linked Open Data is at stake right now. In the digital age the keywords for the *collecting institutions* include: *network*, *context*, *interoperability,* and *integration*.

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"Records in Contexts" and the Finnish Conceptual Model for Archival Description

Keywords: conceptual modeling, description, archives, libraries, museums

Introduction

The International Council on Archives (ICA) formed the Experts Group on Archival Description (EGAD) in 2012 to develop a comprehensive descriptive standard that reconciles, integrates, and builds on ICA's four existing standards: ISAD(G) General International Standard Archival Description (2000), ISAAR(CPF) International Standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families (2004), ISDF International Standard for Describing Functions (2007), and ISDIAH International Standard for Describing Institutions for Archival Holdings (2008). In 2016 EGAD published a first draft of its conceptual model, "Records in Contexts. A Conceptual Model for Archival Description" (in short, RiC).[1] At the same time, in Finland from 2012–2015, a group of representatives from the local archival community worked to create a national conceptual model for archival description (Finnish Conceptual Model, in short FCM).[2] Jaana Kilkki, who is one of the authors of this paper, has been a representative of the Finnish group in the EGAD.

Although both groups developing conceptual modelling have had a similar goal in a broad sense, their ideas are, in part, different. Therefore, it makes sense to ask how the models differ from each other and whether it would be possible to combine them both in the future. This helps to understand strengths of the respective models and to see how they might be developed further. The development of the FCM has been halted to wait for the completion of the RiC model.

Overview

Both the RiC and the Finnish national models strive for an integration of descriptions, but what they want to integrate is different. RiC serves to create a new descriptive standard that will integrate the four[3] archival descriptions of the ICA. Thus, integration

in the framework of the RiC model takes place inside the archival field and the goal is to integrate existing archival standards.[4] The view of EGAD is archives-centric. The group notes that it has:

> focused on describing the world from an archival perspective, that is, a perspective situated in the specific mandate of archives and grounded in the fundamental assumptions and principles that govern the activities performed in fulfilment of the mandate.[5]

Besides a conceptual model, the new standard will include an ontology.[6] To achieve this, the EGAD conceptual model is very precise in comparison to the FCM, although the draft is said to be only suggestive and not complete or authoritative specification of the model.[7] The FCM is more unspecified also because in 2015 it was deliberately left at draft stage to be finalized after the adoption of the RiC model.

The EGAD group says that the RiC model is intended to be of interest to the records management community and allied cultural heritage communities[8], but despite this statement there seems to be no effort at this stage to include either perspective of records management or other cultural heritage communities in the model. The draft for the RiC model discusses principle of provenance and its interpretations at length and notes that the principle of provenance is retrospective and not a records management principle.[9] RiC aspires to reflect the principle of provenance, as these have traditionally been understood and practiced while also recognizing a more expansive and dynamic understanding of provenance ("contexts").[10] The model aspires to address description of not only traditional analogue records but also electronic records.[11]

The FCM also strives to integrate archival description. However, integration is sought in other directions. The goal of the EGAD group was to integrate the ICA's four sets of rules for archival description, but the rules of the ICA have never been applied in Finland as such. Finnish rules for archival description[12] are derived from the ICA's ISAD(G)[13]. Nevertheless, they have been generally considered to be distinct from the ISAD(G) rules and this—together with the lack of following of the other ICA rules for archival description— made the integration intended by the EGAD group irrelevant for the FCM project. However, it was felt that the national rules for archival description were too paper-centric and focused on records produced, especially by governmental organizations[14]. This made it necessary to develop a media-neutral model of archival description which could accommodate other kinds of materials—for instance, audio-visual recordings, oral tradition, folk music, ethnological descriptions, biographies and oral history as texts, images, and sounds—and various forms of digital information, like web pages and blogs. Thus, the idea was to broaden the scope of archival description in terms of what the archives already have in their custody or what they will increasingly be forced to deal with in coming years. The FCM serves as a basis for new rules for archival description which are developed in implementation projects.

At the same time, the FCM sought integration in two other areas. Although records management metadata can be regarded as a form of description, its content has not been aligned with archival description. One of the goals of FCM conceptual model was to create a framework that allows seeing records management metadata and archival description as different sides of the same information. Thus, the conceptual model tries to integrate all the descriptive information through time and within and across domains regardless of its origin and purpose. The expressed starting point of the FCM was a postmodern archival scientific paradigm: all actions that create, use, or manage information are parts of its provenance regardless of the phase of records' life or domain in which creation, usage, or management takes place. Accordingly, all actors who at some point take part in the creation, usage, and management are "records creators" and equal from the point of view of archival description.[15] In addition, the FCM was looking for integration among memory institutions. The development of archival description is a part of a larger project for harmonizing the description models of memory institutions in Finland to ensure semantic interoperability of descriptive metadata. A common portal to collections of Finnish libraries, archives and museums exists today (see www.finna.fi), but it integrates the collections by enabling a joint search via web front-end to descriptive information in the various background systems. The search string is compared to strings in the front-end portal metadata, and when there is a match, the user is thrown to the system in the background. A deeper, more "real" integration would require identification of shared entities in descriptions of archives, museums, libraries. For this reason, the FCM strives for compatibility both with FRBR conceptual model of libraries (Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records)[16] and CIDOC CRM model of museums for cultural heritage[17] which have been linked together in other projects[18]. A logical development of this is the now ongoing creation of RDA compatible rules for archival description of Agents. This is possible, because Resource Description and Access (RDA) is based on the FRBR model[19] and the FCM states how the entities in the FRBR model relate to it. Finnish memory institutions aim at shared ontologies and description rules also for other context entities of the FCM for archival description.

Comparison of the RiC and the FCM models

Entities

Table 1 shows a rough mapping of entities, that is, entities in the RiC and FCM models which seem to have an approximate equivalency. In both models, there are entities that do not have an equivalent in the other model. The last column shows the standard(s) that are in the FCM draft specification mentioned as a source for the definition of or information about the entity.

RiC Entities	FCM Entities	FCM source
RiC-E1 Record RiC-E2 Record Component RiC-E3 Record Set	FCM-E8 Material FCM-E9 Manifestation	ISAD(G), FRBR FRBR
RiC-E4 Agent RiC-E5 Occupation RiC-E6 Position	FCM-E5 Agent	ISAAR(CPF)
RiC-E7 Function RiC-E8 Function (Abstract) RiC-E9 Activity	FCM-E1 Activity FCM-E2 Function FCM-E3 Recordkeeping Func- tion	CIDOC CRM-E7 Activity ISDF, ISO 23081-2 ISO 23081-2
RiC-E10 Mandate	FCM-E4 Mandate	ISO 23081-2
RiC-E11 Documentary Form		
RiC-E12 Date		
RiC-E13 Place	FCM-E6 Place	FRBR
RiC-E14 Concept/Thing	FCM-E10 Subject	FRBR
	FCM-E7 Event	CIDOC CRM-E7 Event

Table 1. A mapping of the entities in the RiC and the FCM models

There are shared entities. "Mandate" and "Place" can be found in the both models. Also, RiC-E14 "Concept/Thing" and FCM-E10 "Subject" have no basic contradiction. Both RiC and FCM share the idea that other entities of the model can appear either as "Concepts/Things" or "Subjects". For instance, the Finnish Communist Party can be either an Actor or Subject depending on its contextual relationship (or lack of it) with the information described. For the moment, the RiC and the FCM differ when it comes to relations: in the FCM the "Subject" may have a relation only with the material described whereas the RiC "Concept/Thing" can have a relation with all the other entities of the model. However, this is likely to be changed when the FCM is finalized after the completion of the RiC model.

Complex structures of entities

Although the EGAD and FCM groups were informed about of each other's work neither model explicitly states what are the corresponding entities in the other model. Therefore, a definition of the mappings between the models depends on the interpretation of entity descriptions. The task is relatively straightforward when definitions of individual entities are compared, but it is still open for misinterpretations.

Descriptive information in record keeping has also more complex—often hier-archical—structures that the models must accommodate. ISO 23081 states that there are generalization/specialization relationships in the metadata of agents, records, business, and mandates[20]. Neither the RiC or FCM model a hierarchy of mandates, but both conceptualize complex structures in the descriptive information about agents, records, and businesses.

In the FCM model question of agent and business hierarchies has been solved in a straightforward way. The FCM model states that there are *FCM-E5 Agents*, *FCM-E1 Activities*, *FCM-E2 Functions*, and *FCM-E3 Record keeping functions*. The FCM model does not limit what kind of agent is in question, e.g. individual, organization, human, or non-human. "Activity" represents agent's intentional action, for instance, political activity of a private person. "Function" is a sub-class of the activity. Functions differ from other activities in that the agent has a formal mandate for taking care of the activity. A "record keeping function" is a further sub-class of the function: it represents mandated actions of an agent that have been taken in the course of the agent's records and archives management.

RiC's conceptualization of agents does not basically differ from the FCM with one exception. Besides RiC-E4 "Agent"—which also is a broad concept covering all kinds agents—the RiC model recognizes RiC-E6 "Position". Position is "a role that may be assigned to a person (or several persons simultaneously) within a corporate body". When it comes to business activities, RiC has also three entities: RiC-E7 "Function", RiC-E8 "Function (Abstract)", and RiC-E9 "Activity". These entities model functions in a particular social and historical context "Function", functions at a more general level "Function (Abstract)", and a set of actions which are performed in fulfilment of a function or an occupation "Activity."

RiC's "Function (Abstract)", "Function" and "Activity" have a resemblance with FCM's "Activity" and "Function", but whether there is a full correspondence is open for interpretation. FCM's "record keeping function" is missing from the RiC.

Pursuance of an occupation in the RiC model is comparable to pursuing a function, and like function, RiC-E5 "Occupation" is an entity of its own in the RiC model. Both various forms of business activity and agents can have relations to other activities and agents. This allows representing *function – sub-function – process – transaction and organization – unit – employee* hierarchies (and non-hierarchical relations as well), for instance, as well as relations between agents and different forms of activity. The FCM has no relations for expressing similar structures, but they will be added later.

Finally, a conceptual model for archival description must solve the problem of archival aggregations and typically hierarchical relations that they have. Here RiC and FCM models have very different approaches. RiC-E1 "Record" represents information in any persistent form. Besides record, the model has entity RiC-E2 "Record Component" for record components, for instance jpgs send as email attachments, or seals attached to historical documents. The third entity, RiC-E3 "Record Set", is formed by one or more

records. A record can belong to multiple record sets at the same time. Records Sets can contain other record sets which solves the problem of representing archival hierarchies.

The FCM has two entities that represent both individual records and aggregations of records. FCM-E8 "Material" is an abstract representation of the information resource, equivalent to "Expression" in the FRBR model. FCM-E9 "Manifestation", on the other hand, represents information resource in a perceptible form. For instance, a map ("material") may have two manifestations, one of which is the original map and the other its digital copy. Both materials and manifestations can contain other expressions and manifestations. Materials and manifestations can be individual records, sets of records, or parts of a record.

Some entities are entirely missing from the other model. RiC-E11 "Documentary Form" (rules that prescribe record's physical or intellectual elements) and RiC-E12 "Date" do not appear in the FCM. On the other hand, the RiC model lacks equivalent for the FCM E7-"Event" which is one of the two entities in the FCM explicitly taken from the CIDOC CRM model.

A more detailed comparison of relations is not meaningful. The FCM model is waiting for the completion of the RiC to finalize its relations and properties are omitted altogether from the model.

Discussion

Jonathan Furner says that in comparison to descriptive information in libraries and museums archival data is (emphasis ours):

> […] typically *collection oriented*, rather than to work or event oriented; it is typically *provenance oriented*, rather than content or location oriented; and core archival entity-types are typically *related to one another hierarchically*, according to their status as parts of wholes, rather than as instances of ideas or as points on a timeline.[21]

A comparison of the RiC and the Finnish conceptual models partly confirms this. Most pointedly, both models include entities for the description of the provenance (origin and context of use) of information. Despite of some differences, the models are not profoundly dissimilar when it comes to describing the context: besides records, they both include entities representing agents and functions of agents. Also, as Furner suggests, both models identify part-whole structures in archival description, albeit not only hierarchical ones.

However, the conceptualization of the structures is quite disparate. The issue of structures also involves the issue of relations. This is novel in archival description and approached in different manner in the RiC and the FCM models. This suggests that here are the moot points of archival description that may require special attention when conceptual models are developed.

Both models differ in one respect from what Furner considers typical: hierarchy is not the sole type of structure acknowledged in the models and description of individual records and record parts is an equal option to description of sets of records. This is a step in a new direction from the traditional archival practice which has codified description of record-sets as hierarchical structures.

The third characteristic Furner takes up as typical of archival description is collection orientation; orientation to resources, records. Here the RiC and the FCM model differ the most. The draft for RiC model begins with descriptions of the three record entities of the model. This can be read as an indication of the RiC's collection orientation: records are taken as the starting point for the conceptualization of archival description. This approach is also stated in the RiC model document by referring to ISAD(G) guided description[22].

On the contrary, the first three entities in the FCM are activity-related. Records-related entities are among the last to be described in the draft. We do not think that this is a coincidence. The FCM is more activity-oriented. It takes activity as the starting point for conceptualization of archival description. This distinction between the models is also seen in the attention to detail that the RiC model has in comparison to the FCM when it describes records and their structures.

The reason for this disparity lies on the one hand in the premises and goals behind the models, and, on the other hand, in how "archival perspective" is understood in the models. Even though both models emphasize an "archival perspective" to description and the professional ethos is in both similar, the models cover different domains.

For the RiC, the archival perspective is limited to "the specific mandate of archives".[23] This means exclusion of records management from its scope. The primary goal of the RiC is to integrate the four ICA standards for archival description. Behind the ICA standards is the traditional understanding of basic archival principles and the function of archival description. The RiC model claims to cover novel grounds as well, but this is hampered by the constraints set by its origin and primary goal of integrating the existing ICA standards for archival description. The natural outcome of this is that for the RiC archival description is an endeavor carried out retrospectively by archivists in archival or other cultural heritage institutions; records have different contexts over time, but these contexts are all covered by this retrospective description. Subsequently, the RiC's answer to the challenge of electronic records is a conceptualization of archival description as metadata that is produced in the archival context, and not in the other contexts of records.

On the contrary, the aim of the FCM is to break away from the traditional premises of the archival description and take the new interpretations of archival theory as the point of departure. Based on these new interpretations and the "continuum" approach to record-keeping—which was adopted in the Finnish public sector as a course of action decades before the concept emerged into theoretical discussion—the FCM conceptualizes archival description as an on-going metadata production process which begins when records are created and continues through time and within and across the domains of records'

existence. The FCM does not aim to be a foundation for a new description standard but a conceptual model defining the entities when contexts are described. The description of contexts is seen as the defining characteristic that separates the archival description from other forms of description.

The records themselves are in different states "of becoming" through time, and their description may vary in different domains. Accordingly, it was thought that it would be possible for the FCM to represent records only on a very abstract level, whereas in RiC—which covers description only in one defined domain—it is possible to conceptualize records in precision and detail which represents their status in this domain.

Jonathan Furner analyzes typical archival descriptive data in relation to comparison of descriptive information in archives, museums, and libraries. This comparison is also at the heart of the FCM. The FCM model identifies, in addition to the area which takes the archival perspective as the point of departure, also the shared area of descriptive information in archives, museums, and libraries. Because of this, and unlike the RiC model, the FCM model positions itself not only in relation to the archival description standards, but also to the conceptual models of other cultural heritage domains by making explicit its relationship with the FRBR and CIDOC CRM models. Thus, when the RiC and FCM models are developed further, the FCM may offer a bridge between the archival description and the description of other memory institutions.

A comparison of the RiC, FCM, FRBR, and CIDOC CRM models suggests that the most unique area of archival description is the description of mandates and business activities. It is the area which is either entirely missing or far from prominent in the non-archival models. Entities in the other areas of archival description can be found also in the descriptions of libraries and museums, although professionals in other memory institutions conceptualize and describe resources under their control differently. In other words, description of agents, places, events, and subjects is not a privilege of the archivists only. In these areas, there are clear possibilities for integration and harmonization of descriptions while in the area of mandates and business activities the archivists can bring to the common table something that the others do not have.

Conclusion

One of the themes of this conference is *Respectful Stewardship and Engagement with Creator Communities*. This relates to the more general "participatory discourse", which is gaining footing within archival as well as the broader cultural heritage community. In Finland, the Ministry of Education and Culture is preparing a new policy of participatory, innovative, and open research data and cultural heritage as the framework for co-operation of cultural heritage and research communities and institutions. The goal of this new policy is to enable a democratic, diverse, and thriving society based on participatory inter-action of individuals and communities in research and culture. In discussions to identify

and define the concrete actions that are needed to carry out this goal, the policy has been linked to the need to support all citizens in gaining an understanding of the complex and rapidly changing global reality we live in. As it is, this is the national context for developing recordkeeping in Finland, and the future social role for Finnish public sector archives is to be participatory, innovative, and open as a means of defending the Western democratic values.

Greg Rolan has explored the concept of "participatory recordkeeping".[24] Rolan suggests that "participatory engagement with records needs to be considered in terms of networked and interoperable recordkeeping infrastructure". In Rolan's words, this requires abandoning the traditional Archival Universe approach in favor of a new Archival Multi-verse approach; this means moving from the fonds-centered custodial model towards a model that includes "both the multiverse of records and metadata as well as the pluralities of participatory archival practice". The Archival Multiverse approach allows a multiplicity of perspectives on recordkeeping, rather than singular, institutional viewpoints. The records continuum theory makes this leap from the traditional, artefact-oriented archival theory. However, the Archival Multiverse covers temporal, space-time distinction not only from records but also from the activity that records represent. In his article Greg Rolan introduces a continuum model of participatory recordkeeping, which represents "the attitude of participants in relation to the activities represented by records".

It is evident that the finalized version of the Finnish conceptual model for archival description must support participatory, innovative, and open recordkeeping as well a cultural heritage. In relation to its compliance with the RiC-model, the dilemma then is that RiC, as it is interpreted in this paper, does not represent or reflect records continuum theory, let alone the Archival Multiverse ideal. As this paper points out, the entities of the RiC-model are not problematic and in this comparison RiC and the FCM are quite compatible. The differences begin to surface when looking at the construction of relationships between the entities and the specifications of these relationships and the entities themselves. In our experience, this is also true for the conceptual models of different cultural heritage sectors; diverse world views are not discernible in conceptualization of the descriptive entities but in how their relationships are constructed. As a result, our conclusion is that the core issue of the incompatibility of the RiC and the Finnish conceptual models is the RiC's stated point of departure as the established archival description principles and practices. These traditional principles and practices are so far apart from the ideal of participatory engagement with records (in the context of the broader cultural heritage community) that it would be a challenging task to come up with a conceptual model embracing both world views. At the moment, it is an open question whether this goal is achievable and how it might be achieved.

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Peka Hentonens (Pekka Henttonen)
Jāna Kilki (Jaana Kilkki)

"Dokumenti kontekstā" un Somijas arhīvu aprakstīšanas konceptuālais modelis

Kopsavilkums

Atslēgvārdi: konceptuālā modelēšana, apraksts, arhīvi, bibliotēkas, muzeji

Starptautiskās arhīvu padomes dokumentu kontekstualizēšanas modelim (*Records in Contexts*) un Somijas arhīvu aprakstu konceptuālajam modelim ir daudz kas kopīgs. Neskatoties uz dažām atšķirībām, šie modeļi nav ievērojami atšķirīgi attiecībā uz konteksta aprakstīšanu: līdzās ierakstiem abi ietver aģentus reprezentējošās vienības un aģentu funkcijas. Taču vispārējā pieeja padara šos modeļus atšķirīgus: Starptautiskās arhīvu padomes ierakstu kontekstualizēšanas modelī apraksts ir retrospektīvs un uz pabeigtiem ierakstiem centrēts, savukārt Somijas arhīvu aprakstu konceptuālajā modelī apraksts tiek uzskatīts par nepārtrauktu, ar aktivitāti saistītu procesu, kas sākas ar ierakstu veikšanu. Vēl viena galvenā atšķirība ir tā, ka ierakstu kontekstualizēšanas modeļa mērķis ir integrēt Starptautiskās arhīvu padomes esošos arhivēšanas standartus, kamēr Somijas konceptuālais modelis meklē kopīgo ar aprakstiem bibliotēkās un muzejos. Abiem modeļiem primārais ir uzdevums un darba aktivitātes. Uzdevums un darba aktivitātes nav bibliotēku un muzeju modeļos un ir unikāli arhīviem.

Summary

ICA's "Records in Contexts" (RiC) and the Finnish Conceptual Model for Archival Description (FCM) have many similarities. Despite of some differences, the models are not profoundly dissimilar when it comes to describing the context: besides records, they both include entities representing agents and functions of agents. What makes the models different is the general approach: in the RiC description is retrospective and records-centric whereas the FCM sees the description as a continuous activity-related process that starts with the record creation. Another main difference is that the goal of the RiC is to integrate ICA's existing archival standards while the FCM seeks a common interface with the description in libraries and museums. Both models suggest that the description of mandates and business activities is in the core of archival description. Description of mandates and business activities is missing from the models of libraries and museums and is unique for the archives.

Yanina Hrynevich
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Folklore Heritage of the Local Community and Archives

Keywords: Belarus, intangible cultural heritage, folklore, local community, preservation, the Collection of Folklore Records.

The collecting and studying of folklore often focuses on a particular location, typically a village, town, district, etc. Folklore as a component part of a local history has been documented not only by professional researchers and archivists with an appropriate background, but also by local historical or ethnographical societies that were formed to preserve the folklore heritage of the local community (a group of interacting people living in a common location).[1] In addition, collecting work has also been done by individual amateurs. Many of these have been non-specialists without any folklore or ethnographic education. During certain historical periods, an interest in collecting folklore was supported by the media. Calls for collecting folklore have appeared in the popular Belarusian newspapers and magazines since the beginning of the 20th century.[2] Correspondents sent materials describing local life from different settlements to the research institutions, local lore organizations, and folklore competitions.

Individual elements of local community folklore may have national or world importance. For example, the Belarusian rite "Kaliadnyja Cary" ("Christmas Tsars") from the village of Siemiežava (Kapyĺ district, Minsk region) was added to the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2009.[3] The list of historic and cultural heritage of Belarus includes 111 intangible elements.[4]

At the beginning of the 21st century there was an intensified threat toward elements of intangible cultural heritage, and their transformation in accordance with the new circumstances of social and cultural reality have been provoked by a number of dangers to the vital activities of the intangible cultural heritage.[5]

Archives play an important role in safeguarding folklore heritage of the local community. They are stored and provide access to different types of folklore materials from different locations collected at different times by professional folklorists and amateurs alike.

The largest and the oldest folklore archive in Belarus, The Collection of Folklore Records, began in 1957, when the the Institute of Art, Ethnography and Folklore named after K. Krapiva was established in the Belarusian Academy of Sciences. Originally, The Collection was conceived as a repository of manuscript folklore texts.

Now The Institute is a part of The Center for the Belarusian culture, language, and literature research of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus. The Collection belongs to the Department of folklore and culture of the Slavic peoples. Therefore, there are not any professional archivists; only researchers are engaged in collecting folklore and ethnographic data, development of methodological principles for the collection, digitalization of archival materials, and the creation of publicly available information and archival repository.

In 2001, the Collection obtained heritage status for its contribution to National Sciences (Decree of the Council of Ministers of August 2, 2001 №1137).

The Collection is the so-called tradition archive that has the following structure:

- Manuscript folklore texts: The overwhelming part of the collection is songs: calendar, family songs, folk songs lyrics (love, work, recruiting), children's songs, ballads, couplets, etc.); folk prose (tales, legends, stories, anecdotes, jokes, etc.); lamentations, spells, riddles, proverbs, idioms, ethnographic descriptions of calendar and family rituals, folk games, materials for mythology, folk medicine, oral history and others);
- Sound recordings: cylinders, reels, plates and cassettes. The unidentified part of The Collection is wax cylinders (26 units);
- Musical note transcripts: 3379 units (cards) of musical note transcripts of folk songs;
- Photographs;
- Videos: the collection began in 2016.

The main body of The Collection is constituted by Belarusian folklore, but there are also collections of Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Jewish, and Gypsy folklore. It contains more than seventy thousand sound recordings and four-hundred thousand folklore texts of ethnic folklore, which were made in field expeditions throughout Belarus and neighboring countries from the beginning of 20th century to the present day. Another part of data was sent to the contest "Best Folklore collector" and donated from personal and university archives. Since 2012 folklore from the Belarusian state pedagogical university, Mahileu state university and Hrodna state university were added to The Collection.

Folklore materials were collected under different conditions in accordance with different aims and standards. The formation of archival collections directly influenced by such factors as:

- Political ideologies and limitations of historical periods;
- Collection strategies;
- Individuals;
- Technical equipment.

Political ideologies and limitations of historical period

Certain genres of folklore drop out of sight or deliberately ignored by folklore researchers and collectors because of the limitations of certain political ideologies. Under the influence of romantic ideology collection of folklore was perceived as "the patriotic duty in the age of nation-building"[6].

In Soviet times, on the forefront was the new Soviet folklore that depicted a kolkhozes life, the struggle against the landlords, etc.; while religious folklore, spells, and anti-Soviet folklore (ideologically unsuitable jokes and anecdotes) were ignored. For instance, folklore collections published in the Soviet period usually began with the section "Soviet folklore" or "Modern folklore" that was dedicated to kolkhozes and laborers songs, couplets, folklore of World War II and such. Moreover, the first volume of "Soviet folklore" of the multi-volume edition "Belarusian Folk Art" was a tribute to the times. The following volumes have been devoted to the various types and genres of traditional folklore. The edition "Belarusian folk art" was awarded the State Prize of the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic (1986) and currently has 47 volumes in total.

In the post-Soviet times there are also some "unspoken" ideological limitations. Researches don't collect and preserve political folklore.

Collection strategies

Since the establishment of The Institute of Art, Ethnography and Folklore named after K. Krapiva and the Department of Folklore were created, folkloristic became an academic discipline. The main strategy at that time was to collect folklore in all areas of Belarus. During the Soviet period, complex field expeditions were organized in every region of the country. In general, greater attention was focused on villages with well-preserved traditional heritage or with talented singers and storytellers.

Thus, in 1969 the main number of folklore materials were collected in the Brest region (Stolinski, Ivacevicki, Pinski, Luniniecki districts); in 1970—in the Hrodna region (Astraviecki district); in 1971 and 1989—the Vicebsk region (Pastaŭski, Braslaŭski, Šarkaŭščynski districts and Dokšycki, Rasonski, Viciebski, Šumilinski districts); in 1972—in the Minsk region (Krupski, Liubanski, Maladziečanski, Viliejski, Uzdzienski districts); in 1973—in the Mahileŭ region (Asipovicki, Bychaŭski, Babrujski, Kiraŭski, Kličaŭski, Horacki, Škloŭski, Mahilioŭski districts). There were several expeditions in all districts of the Homel region from 1960–1969 and 1972–1984.

Nevertheless, practically in every region there were "white spots" – several unexplored districts (for example, in Brest, Hrodna, Mahileŭ and Vicebsk regions of Belarus).

Sometimes attention was also focused on border areas, but it was not a systematic interest. Expeditions on the territory of the neighboring former Soviet republics (Chernihiv region, Ukraine; Bryansk, Pskov, Smolensk regions, Russia) were made. Systematically studying of borderlands started only in 21st century in a framework of international grant program.

Research topics

At the same time, folklore materials were grouped around specific topics of research that obeyed general trends. Throughout the 1960s–1970s, academic folklorists started intensive collecting work on the preparation of a multi-volume edition of Belarusian folklore. A huge amount of folklore records were added to the archive in that time.

During the Soviet period, the most popular research topics were genres of kolkhozes and laborer folklore as well as folklore of World War II. In the 1990s the most popular trend was to collect of pieces of different folklore genres, recording rituals, folk traditions and melodies. During this period, kolkhozes and laborer folklore, partisan songs and some other genres (for example, heart-rending romances) were left unregistered. In the 2000s, for a short time under the influence of Russian folklorists, the strategy was to collect urban folklore. Nowadays, traditional rural folklore continues to be the main research topic of academic folklorists while urban, internet, student, soldier, criminal, political, and other folklore still remains a closed area for the Belarusian researches because of its ideologically unsuitable character or Russian-speaking nature.

Individual aims and approaches of the collectors and its changes over time have a significant influence in the formation of archival collections. In spite of different factors, individuals make the final decision about what and how to collect.

Technical equipment

Undoubtedly, the collection of folklore materials at different times depends on available technical equipment. In The Institute of Art, Ethnography and Folklore named after K. Krapiva recording on magnetic tapes started in 1960. Special reel-to-reel recorders, microphones, and tapes allowed the creation of high-quality recording. However, the problem was the limited number of reels or tapes that were given for an expedition.

With limited technical resources, ideological priorities significantly influenced the selection of items that are recorded in full. As a result, archaic melodies and texts often gave way to popular kolkhozes, military, partisan songs.

In 1974, a cassette recorder began to be used. The quality of cassettes of different periods of time was different and the safety of records is different as well. In addition, with a lack of clean compact cassettes, cassettes with studio recordings of music were purchased, the native records were deleted, and the folklore material was recorded instead.

These factors directly influenced the processes for collecting work of both professional researchers and amateurs. By examining one example of folklore and ethnographic data from Vielieŭščyna village, Liepieĺ district, Vicebsk region, Belarus, we can see how the folklore of the local community was documented in accordance to these factors.

Vielieŭščyna is located on the outskirts of Liepieĺ district in the south-west of the Vicebsk region. Materials from Vielieŭščyna village in The Collection of Folklore Records consist of two parts:

- Folklore materials collected in 1980 by professional researchers Halina Bartaševič and Larysa Barabanava;
- Data from the personal archive of famous Belarusian artist and restorer Mikola Zalatucha collected from the 1980s till 2015.

Data collected by professional researchers

Basic amounts of folklore data gathered by professional researchers were obtained during field work studies. Field expeditions began in 1960 in The Institute of Art, Ethnography and Folklore named after K. Krapiva. The 1960s–1970s was the period of the most intensive collecting work.

The "Winter Expedition" to Vielieŭščyna village, Liepieĺ district, Vicebsk region was organized in 1980 by Halina Bartaševič and Larysa Barabanava. They were professional folklorists with a special educational background and appropriate experience.

The result of the expedition was a reel with 39 records and a notebook that containing 64 folklore units. Academic collectors recorded ethnographic data on the calendar holidays important to the local community. One example was the unique Belarusian Christmas game "The Marriage of Ciareshka" (*"Žanićba Ciareški"*). Another included the rites of spring period—Trinity and Easter as well as summer rites—Midsummer and harvest. In addition, the traditional wedding ceremony is described in detail. Content of the recorded material allows highlighting features inherent to this local community. The interview begins with a description of the characteristic features of a local northern Belarusian wedding such as wedding lamentations. Moreover, family and calendar ritual songs, folk song lyrics, and couplets were recorded.

In the audio recordings, professional researchers' questions to informants were saved, but gaps in the conversation do not allow us to trace how the speech develops. The absence of a conversation between the collectors and informants in the record is a typical characteristic of that historical period, but in interviews, researchers have included comments on the facts that the informants offer. In the expeditionary diary, collectors recorded circumstances that influenced the interviews.

Attention of the academic collectors was focused on folklore texts and melodies but not on informants. The problem of materials collected by professional researchers is that there was very little biographical data of informants. It is impossible to say how many people were interviewed during the "Winter Expedition", only those informants who offered the greatest number of recordings are identified.

These are high-quality sound recordings, but the collectors did not aim at the "studio" purity of the recordings. The collectors did not require re-recording when the purity of the record was violated by other voices. When the song was performed in the wrong sequence, they just clarified the text, but did not re-write or add a separate stanza on which they strayed. It is not known why. Perhaps it was either limited time, or they were afraid of tiring out the women without recording other folklore materials.

During the conversation, the collectors periodically interrupt the recording and do not have time to turn on the recording before the beginning of the song. So the beginning of some songs on sound recordings are lost, and they can be restored only with the help of expedition diaries.

Data collected by an amateur

In 1978, Mikola Zalatucha, a famous Belarusian artist and restorer, started collecting work in his native Vielieŭščyna village located in the Liepieĺ district of the Vicebsk region. He was not a professional folklorist with a special education or experience, nor did he have special questionnaires or instructions for collecting work. Like many other folklore amateurs, he recorded folklore from different people (mostly old women) in Vielieŭščyna. Zalatucha recorded texts that were sung by women and men on their own initiatives and impulses.

He handed over a personal archive with folklore and ethnographic materials that was collected from the 1980s through 2015 to The Collection of Folklore Records in 2016. His motivation was to make the information about his native village Vielieŭščyna (folklore, traditions, ways of life and inhabitants) open, accessible, and available.

His private archive contains different types of material:

- Audio records;
- Video records;
- Transcripts (as electronic data text files);
- Photographs;
- Manuscripts;
- List of villagers;
- Family trees;
- Information about the village from the Internet.
- Sketches with comments.

The main body of the amateur's archive consists of photographs and folk songs. The photographs are dedicated primarily to the village planning and landscape. An analysis of the photographs shows that the collector was interested in village planning, its landscapes in different seasons; planning of courtyards and architecture of the houses; and interior and household utensils. In all, the photographs give a good overview of the countryside as an ethnographic object. Moreover, the private archive contains photographs of the village Vielieŭščyna from a helicopter. These photographs also illustrate the daily life of rural residents, both during work and holidays. The main problem with this part of the collection of is the lack of context of well-presented photographs from family archives of villagers. There isn't any information on what is depicted on the scanned old black and white photos, when and by whom were the photographs taken.

Zalatucha's main focus was on the folk songs. He made audio and video records of holiday (Christmas, Shrovetide, Easter, Midsummer and harvest) and family (christening,

wedding) ritual songs and song couplets. But the main body is constituted by folk songs lyrics (love, family, social and humorous songs). Folk songs lyrics persist as one of the most widespread genres of Belarusian folklore. In addition, he recorded popular heart-rending romances that are not typical for that period of time. Moreover, because he lost the original tapes, Zalatucha rehashed songs recorded by him from various singers from Vielieŭščyna village from 1978–1987. Narratives fell out of the attention of the collector. The recording quality is low (noise, background voices, etc.) and these tapes need extra processing.

The private archive contains digitized sketches of village landscapes made by Zalatucha. Almost all the sketches are accompanied by remarks and comments of the collector, which carry information that covers a variety of aspects of local community's life: flora and fauna in the village, a description of various tools and utensils; history of the village, and others.

Part of the data that has a great importance for the local and family history, a list of villagers and family trees, needs additional comments from the collector.

Information about the village of Vielieŭščyna from the Internet (articles, comments, etc.) show that the collector has actively popularized his personal archive in social networks "Facebook". These materials require verification and definition of their place in the structure of The Collection of Folklore Records. Nowadays, materials collected by amateurs like Zalatucha require structuring, processing, systematization and additional conversation with a collector. In 2017, the book "Songs of Vielieŭščyna" was prepared on the base of materials collected by the Mikola Zalatucha.

Conclusions

The archive of one village can be a valuable scientific and historical document that allows seeing not just a collection of stories, songs and melodies but the systematic unit that reflects the demands of the village inhabitants. Folklore materials collected in one locality such as Vielieŭščyna village, Liepieĺ district, Vicebsk region by professional researches and amateurs differs in content, methods and quality. The archive of an amateur is a set of materials that characterize the culture, way of life and the history of the village and its inhabitants. Materials collected by Zalatucha and his comments and remarks lets us see what traditional knowledge is considered important, preserved and transferred in the local community.

Data documented by professional researchers completely describes the current state of folklore in a certain locality. The interest of researchers is focused on folklore units, and not on the personalities of informants, the history of a particular locality. Sometimes folklore units are out of the context of existence.

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Janīna Hrineviča (Yanina Hrynevich)
Irina Vasiļjeva (Iryna Vasilyeva)

Vietējās kopienas folkloras mantojums un arhīvi

Kopsavilkums

Atslēgvārdi: Baltkrievija, nemateriālais kultūras mantojums, folklora, vietējā kopiena, saglabāšana, Folkloras materiālu krātuve

Raksta centrā ir vietējās kopienas nemateriālā kultūras mantojuma materiālu dokumentēšana un saglabāšana, pētot folkloras un etnogrāfiskos datus no Velevščinas ciema (Ļepjeļas apgabalā, Vitebskas reģionā) Baltkrievijā. Folkloras materiālu krātuvē – lielākajā folkloras arhīvā Baltkrievijā – tiek glabāti dažādi materiāli, tostarp audio un video ieraksti, fotogrāfijas, rokrakstu manuskripti un nošu pieraksti, ko gan profesionāli folkloras pētnieki, gan amatieri ir savākuši vienā noteiktā lokācijā (ciemā, mazpilsētā utt.) dažādos laika posmos. Ievērojama daļa šo daudzveidīgo folkloras materiālu tika apkopoti lauka pētījumos, kurus kopš 20. gadsimta 60. gadiem veica Baltkrievijas Zinātņu akadēmijas K. Krapivas vārdā nosauktā Mākslas, etnogrāfijas un folkloras institūta folkloras pētnieki. Vēl daļa materiālu tika iesniegta konkursā "Labākais folkloras krājējs", ko vēlāk uzdāvināja Folkloras materiālu krātuvei. Matēri apkopoti, piemērojot dažādas klasifikācijas kategorijas (vēsturiskos periodus, krājumu veidošanas stratēģijas, tehnisko aprīkojumu utt.). Šie folkloras un etnogrāfijas dati ļauj raksturot vietējo tradīciju un tās izmaiņas laika gaitā.

Summary

The article focuses on documenting and preservation elements of intangible cultural heritage materials of the local community using of folklore and ethnographic data from Vielieŭščyna village (Liepieĺ district, Vicebsk region) in Belarus. In The Collection of Folklore Records—the largest folklore archive of Belarus—different types of materials are stored including audio and video records, photos, manuscripts and musical note transcriptions which were made in the one location (village, town, etc.) at different times by professional folklorists and amateurs. Substantial parts of these materials covering all aspects of folklore were accumulated during field expeditions of folklorists from The Institute of Art, Ethnography and Folklore named after K. Krapiva of The National Academy of Science of Belarus since 1960s. Other parts were sent to the contest "Best Folklore Collector", donated to The Collection of Folklore Records from personal and university archives. Materials were collected under different conditions (historical periods, collecting strategies, technical equipment, etc.). These folklore and ethnographic data allow for the characterizing of local traditions to see how they have changed over time.

Karsten Kühnel

Authenticity in Describing Archives – Standardisation vs. Institutional Mandates?

Keywords: archives, archival description, standard, authenticity, RiC-CM

Conceptual models of archival description can deliver frameworks in order to inform about authentic contexts and contents of players, products and other entities within a multi-dimensional world. The ISAD(G) standard decided to accept the identification of a monohierarchic context of origination and the reference to creators to be the central relevant chain of information that is able to give the predicate of authenticity to archival description. However, there are a lot of institutions, less classical archives, but primarily archives of special scientific and non-scientific institutions with collections or archival holdings, that do not follow this rigid idea of ISAD(G).[1] Nevertheless, if you ask them why they do not like to give authentic information about their material, many of them would protest and postulate the term "authenticity" for their archival description.

The factors that cause a disagreement over which information is necessary in order to be called "authentic", depend on the institutional mandates. The mandates and functions archives and similar institutions have determine the focal points within the several entities of a conceptual model and provide indications about what authenticity of archival description means in the eyes of each of collections holding institutions.

Objects of description	Subjects of describing	Toolkit for describing	Perception
• Archival Artefacts • Archival Agents • Archival Functions • Other archival entities (places, events …) • Repository • Relationships	• Descriptive Artefacts • Descriptive Agents (Descriptors) • Functions of Description (incl. Methods)	• Methodologies • Descriptive Infrastructure	• Audience • Evaluators (Quality control, Self-assessment)

Figure 1. Conceptual Model Archival Description

The main entities of a conceptual model of archival description can be divided into four sections:

1. Objects of description,
2. Subjects of describing,
3. Toolkit for describing,
4. Perception.

This is a model, that answers to:
– What shall be described,
– by whom and through what shall it be described,
– in which methodological and technical context shall description happen,
– which influence is caused by audiences and evaluators?

1. Objects of description

Under objects of description, I understand the entities which are being described during the processes of archival description. The descriptions of these entities become materialised in the form of descriptive artefacts, like finding aids, for instance (artefacts, which describe archival material). The synopsis of the objects of description is exactly what archivists call a descriptive metadata model of archival description. The ICA metadata model is divided into the four entities, which should be described according to the standards ISAD(G), ISAAR(CPF), ISDF and ISDIAH.[2]
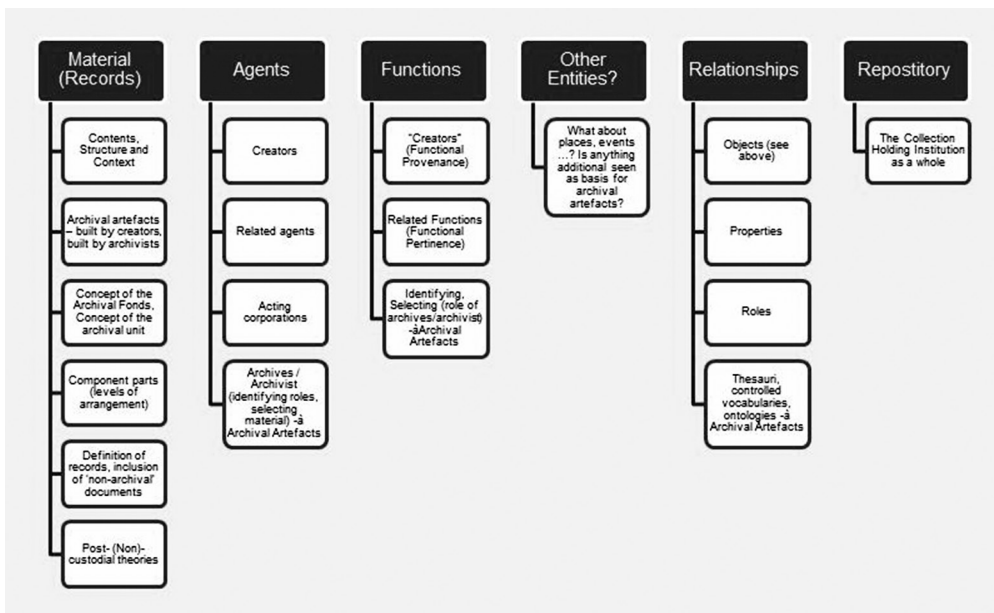
Figure 2. Objects of Description

When collection holding institutions select certain objects or entities, in order to describe them, the institutions make a decision as to which entities are necessary to be looked at in order to get a meaningful kind of description or of descriptive contents. This is an important step to what authenticity of archival description shall mean within the finding aid system of an institution with archival holdings.

As objects of descriptions I want to identify the following:
1. Archival Artefacts,
2. Archival Agents,
3. Archival Functions,
4. Other archival entities like Places or Events,
5. Repositories,
6. Relationships.

This traditional system is well-known in the context of the traditional usage of the principle of provenance. The entities and relations of the RiC-CM standard draft enable a look on these entities in a broader sense, closer to the many-faceted real world.

1.1 Archival Artefacts

"Archival Artefacts" are everything which has been created by agents and has been appraised by archivists to become archival material. There shall not be a distinction between so-called artificial collections and organic fonds. In practice the arrangement of archival artefacts is not completely inherent to their origin, but mostly to the composition of the descriptive artefacts, i.e. the artefacts that contain the descriptions of the archival material. Geoffrey Yeo wrote: "if there is a critical difference between collection and fonds, it lies in the understanding that collections are physical or material, whereas fonds are conceptual entities whose membership need not be physically brought together"[3] Whereas we need not fear that a differentiation between fonds and collection would lead to remarkable influences on descriptive methodologies in general; there is another point which may cause different opinions regarding descriptive practice as well as questions of authenticity: it is the question of whether archival artefacts should be seen as archival material or as archival information. In other words, whether archival artefacts can be described by specifying them as information media or as the information itself. Can we find the paradigmatic change of understanding archival artefacts in the framework of digital archives represented within reflections about authentic approaches to the process of archival description?

The Records in Contexts Conceptual Model (RiC-CM) finally leaves administrative and legal aspects for defining archival artefacts.[4] This might lead to a lot of discussions. From a scientific standpoint, it was a welcome decision to introduce a differentiation between Record, Record Component and Record Set. Perhaps, this will be the beginning

of the end of the hierarchical, multi-level description system according to ISAD(G) (means: of the rigid sequence of the levels collection, series, file and item) and will open the exchangeability of the different levels in a free array. At the same time, the more abstract terminology of RiC-CM may help to bring a better order into the meanings of archival structure, archival composition, and level of description that sometimes had been terminologically intermingled in the past.

1.2 Archival Agents

"Archival agents" are these agents who are represented or reflected within the archival artefacts in any way. This can happen in the roles of creators, co-creators, users and re-users during the pre-archival phase, and in the roles of subjects of the archival artefacts or in the roles of related persons, natural or legal ones. Non-archival agents, in contrast, are those agents in particular, who create the related descriptive artefacts, as well as those, who use the archives. Archivists do not only describe archival artefacts, but also appraise them before collection. This interactive process makes archivists relevant to becoming archival agents, too. The entity "Agent" of the RiC-CM and its property chapters is conducted by a delightful abstractness. Thus, you cannot read anywhere that agents should be primarily creators of archival material. It is consistent, that this possible information shall be expressed under another entity, within the description of the properties of certain relevant functions the agent performs.

1.3 Archival Functions

"Archival functions" are functions which are reflected within archival artefacts in any way. This could happen, when they were performed by creators, co-creators, users and re-users during the pre-archival phase. The definition of the term 'function', given in the International Standard for Describing Functions (ISDF), includes also sub-functions, tasks, activities and business processes. It has to be taken into regard, that institutional mandates and missions need to be comprehensively considered by describing the functions of an archival agent, in particular, if he was a creator. This description, in combination with the other information from an ISAAR(CPF) compliant authority record for an archival agent, is the key for the users' understanding of who the creator was.

Functions as an entity of a descriptive metadata model should be described not as depending on certain agents only, but primarily in an abstract manner. Functional provenance teaches that administrative agents came into existence as soon as a society had identified the requirement of regularising an identified functional lack of societal coexistence. So, functions were being derived in a *first* step, agencies were being established *secondly*.[5]

Functions can be very specific and limited, but also very general and without temporary boundaries. "Electricity supply of open air concert events" can be a very specific

function of a municipal agency, whereas "Teaching" or "Research" are very broad functions, for instance of universities. However, they had been identified as important tasks already in the societies of ancient antiquity. They can be described even without necessary regard to any certain agents. Such a kind of generality should be a proprium of a good function authority record.

The Records in Contexts Conceptual Model (RiC-CM) distinguishes between "Function" and "Function (Abstract)". This is a welcome offer in order to solve this problem the ISDF didn't deal with sufficiently.

1.4 Other Archival Entities

The use of additional entities depends on what archivists need to describe in order to call their descriptions authentic and useful for their audience. Archives dealing with the Holocaust, for instance, might need to refer to events like transports. The War Indemnity Archives within the German Federal Archives have a focus on resident places.[6] Places and events can be treated as entities within a metadata model of archival description. They can be described by authority records according to adequate standards. The RiC-CM identifies the following additional entities:

– Occupation,
– Position,
– Activity (beside Function!),
– Mandate,
– Documentary Form,
– Concept/Thing.

Event as an entity is missing, the rules for describing the entities are outlined in the RiC-CM chapter 3 "Properties".

1.5 Repositories

"Repositories" are another entity that has to be described. The repository as well as the archivist may be seen as a special kind of agent. However, it is exactly the entity that gives the most information about matters of authenticity and about the lenses which users have to choose in order to understand the composition of archives and the content and context of the descriptive artefacts (the artefacts that are being produced) means to better understand the description of the archival artefacts (the archival material).[7]

Archives and collection holding institutions can expound their special mandates and functions as well as the effects and special aims of their archival descriptions by using the relevant chapters of ISDIAH or EAG authority records.[8]

1.6 Relationships

Entities of a metadata model of archival description are such items that need to be described by any kind of a descriptive artefact, i.e. an authority record. Relationships, however, mean the statement about how elements of those entities are related to each other; and this less in abstractness or theory, but in the living world of function performance, agents' actions, records contents or of event happenings and of many more contexts that can be found documented within records and other archival artefacts. The triad of subject, object, and the relation between both is called a "triple", and can be described by using the Resource Description Framework standard, abbreviated as RDF. Relationships are like predicates between the subject and object of a sentence. Modern archival science has emphasised the importance of flexible relationships as identifiers of realities also in archival metadata systems. Sentences can be expressed in different languages. In order to exchange sentences, to compose them to texts and to get an audience of readers who can understand words and grammar, a commonly accepted and well-known language corpus is inevitably necessary. The extensive set of relations that are listed in chapter 4 of the Records in Contexts Conceptual Model (RiC-CM) is a very welcome offer to archivists to implement a standardised grammar together with a standard vocabulary. This enables archivists to build up semantic-based finding aid systems. Such kinds of finding aids are flexible systems of interrelated elements of entities. Users can search and deal with their search-results in a flexible manner of organising and reorganising, of arranging and rearranging, of contextualising and re-contextualising on the basis of a semantic grammar instead of a static and hierarchic tree model statement of a single archivist. Nevertheless, relationships are not an entity of a metadata model of archival description, but they are the connection lines between entities.

Traditionally, the aspiration for authenticity in archival description has been closely connected with the aspiration for lighting the filaments of the so-called "archival bond". Kenneth Thibodeau argued at the annual conference of the Association of Canadian Archivists in 2014 that lightening "archival action-links"—as he called them—would comply much more with the multi-faceted system of relationships which records are bound in when they are being created and used. He combined the role of relationships with a definition of original order. This definition may give insights that the understanding of authenticity among archives, archivists and users might differ widely according to methodologically dressed up priorisations of selected relationships by pursuing their aims of reaching certain outcomes, that archival description is mandated to produce, in their eyes. Original order, according to Thibodeau, is:

> redefined as the set or graph of relationships that an actor establishes and maintains among the records it produces, acquires and uses in its activities. It includes any filing arrangement that the actor may impose on the records, but it can and should also encompass any relationships the actor expresses in a persistent manner.[9]

Describing relationships (beside of others) enlightens parallel and multiple provenances that are keywords for authentic archival description.[10]

2. Subjects of Describing
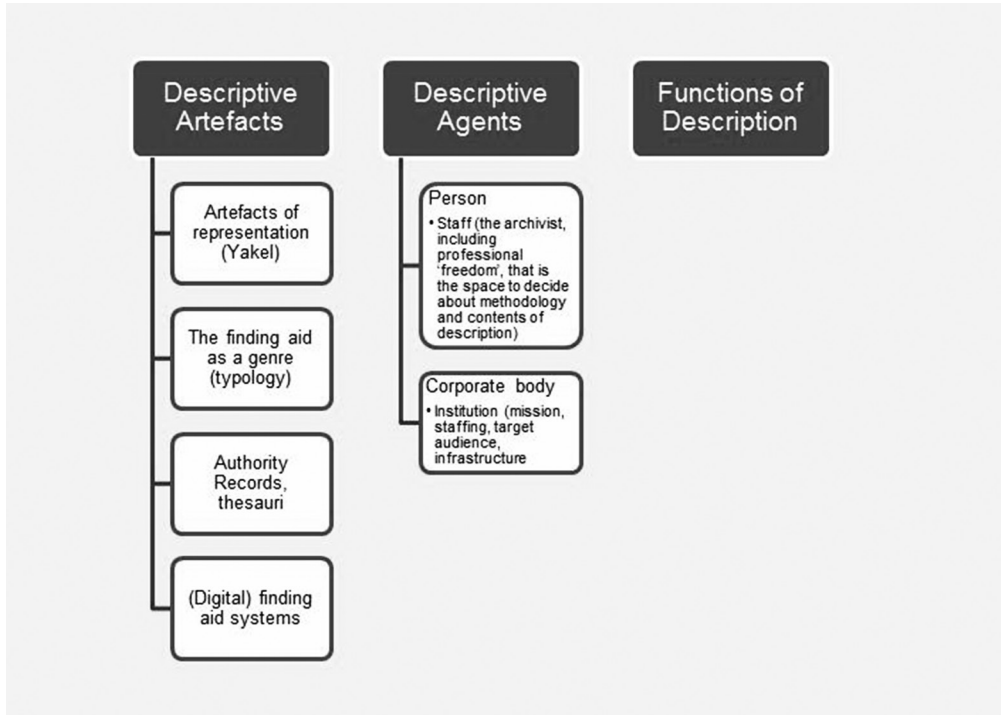
Figure 3. Subjects of Describing

I would like to stop here to examine what archivists should have to describe, and start to see what or who prepares descriptive information for user audiences. The three entities that I want to subsume under "Subjects of Describing" are the following:

1. descriptive artefacts,
2. descriptive agents and
3. descriptive functions.

This paper deals with the first two subjects, only.

Descriptive Artefacts and Descriptive Agents

Descriptive artefacts characterise finding aids, in particular. "The content of such [...] descriptive records must reflect the work they are intended to perform."[11] In this sentence, David Bearman says that finding aids or descriptive records can each perform different functions. When archivists talk about finding aids or archival information

retrieval systems, they almost always think from "the point-of-view of potential researchers and their methods of formulating queries."[12] In the 2012 volume of the journal *Archival Science* about genre studies in regard to archival finding aids, Gillian Oliver, Wendy Duff, Heather MacNeil and others have shown what space this reflection of the work finding aids are intended to perform can look like.

In December 2012, a workshop about Archival Finding Aids as a Genre took place at the International Tracing Service in Arolsen within the framework of the European Holocaust Research Infrastructure project. The workshop was led by Peter Horsman. Finding aids from three different collection-holding institutions on the field of Holocaust research were compared: from the International Tracing Service, the Netherlands Institute for War and Genocide Documentation (NIOD) in Amsterdam, and the Yad Vashem Archives in Jerusalem. It became very clear that this genre is very heterogeneous. Content and structure of descriptive artefacts or finding aids are affected both by the mandates archival institutions have and by the methodological freedom archivists have in order to perform their business.[13]

Archivists and information specialists from Belgium and the Netherlands have evaluated the outcomes of the mentioned EHRI-workshop in an essay from 2016 titled "Authorship as subjectivity in finding aids". The comparison of finding aids of those three institutions have shown that in one case, the finding aids are products of archival description as well as of deeper archival research and "furnish readers with a story that is both *about* and *developed from* the described documents."[14] In the case of another institution, the kinds of descriptive artefacts illustrate the change of the institution's mandate from a humanitarian agency to a place of research and memory, whereas the third institution brings memorial and research mandates together by interlinking provenance-oriented finding aids with personal-related databases in a way that reveals that one of the key aims of the finding aids "is to relate information contained in its archives to the names and person-related central database."[15]

Modern archival theory talks about "narratives". Descriptive artefacts have the function of identifying narratives and telling the stories which can be found documented through archival artefacts about records. Archival description is a business of selecting parts of information, in order to put them together as a narrative that tells a story which is included in the archival material. Archival description is storytelling. The open question is: Which role do archivists measure out to authenticity in identifying narratives and telling stories?

Descriptive artefacts are authority records along with thesauri and ontologies, too.

Descriptive agents (who are mainly the archivists themselves) can also be the so-called "crowd" (crowd-sourcing).
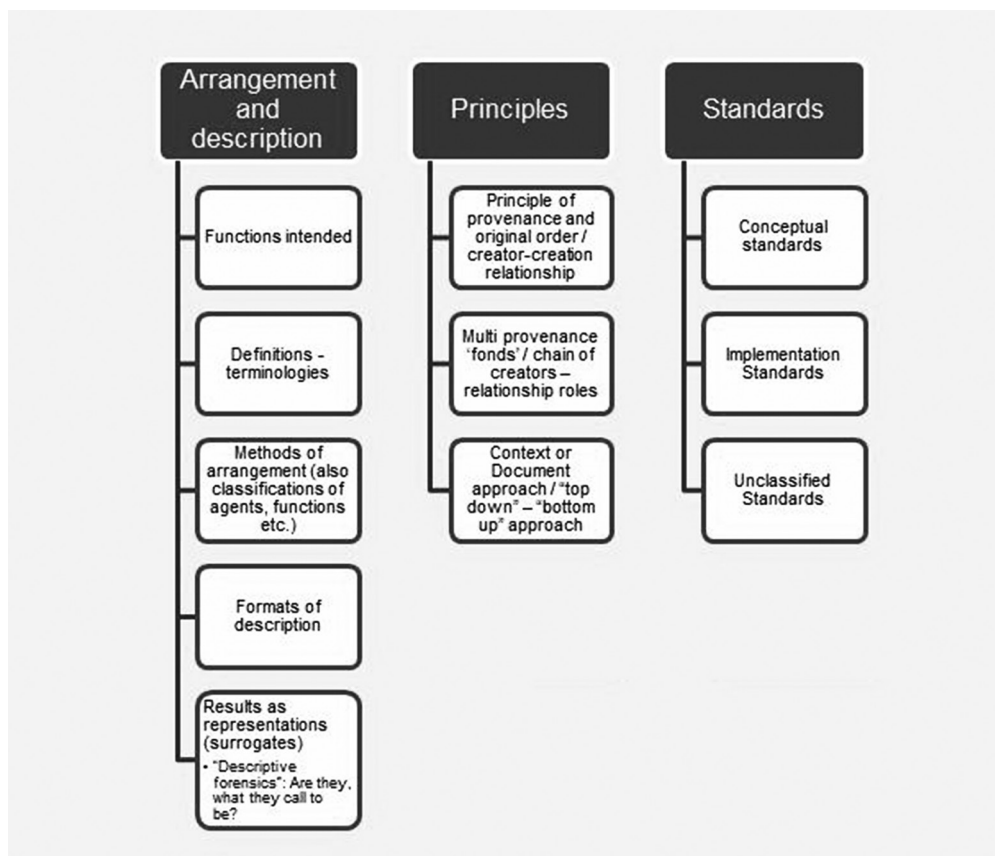
Figure 4. *Methodologies*

3. *Toolkit for Describing* – Descriptive Methodologies

The toolkit for describing archives consists in the descriptive methodologies and the infrastructure. Infrastructure means institutional services and facilities, implementation, technology and technical standards.

3.1 Arrangement and Description

'Arrangement' is a term that depends very much on what a fonds or collection shall be. What is the definition, the understanding, the concept? And what is reflected within arrangement, which role do finding aids, descriptive artefacts perform, in order to make arrangements visible and useful? If we look on the fonds definitions in the tradition of Peter Scott, Terry Cook, Peter Horsman, and Geoffrey Yeo we finally have to state, that describing is arranging, and in consequence: to ask, whether descriptive artefacts are really that what they claim to be?[16] This is the central question when we ask what authenticity

shall mean in regard to descriptive artefacts. Deeper insights into arrangement questions are "descriptive forensics". We can recognise among archival institutions with special mandates that arrangement questions even lead down (in)to file level. Descriptive methodologies make the decision whether descriptive artefacts become representations or even surrogates of a conceptual fonds. Within a conceptual model, arranging loses the determinacy of prior archival practice, because arrangement is being replaced by relationality. Relation-based description is storing a lot of contexts without the necessity of prioritising the one or the other contextual chain, what hierarchic arrangement trees do, in contrast. The RiC-CM is a toolkit for identifying and storing contextual lines and chains for being used in a flexible technical front-end system.

3.2 Principles and Standards

Through the title of this paper one could conclude that there may be conflicts between standardisation matters and mandates of archival institutions. Such conflicts could rise, in particular, when archivists focus on information that is kept in archival artefacts about stories that do not represent the original contexts of creation or origination. Any divergence from provenance aspects leads to a conflict with widely accepted standards like ISAD(G). Respect of parallel provenance, multiple provenance, multi-level provenance, chain of creators and relationship-roles becomes much easier through using a conceptual model like RiC-CM offers now. RiC-CM is able to include a lot of special requirements of unclassified descriptive standards which are in use in several archives.

Returning to Kenneth Thibodeau and his aforementioned "archival action-links" opens the view on the necessity of suitable standards in order to perform cognitions of archival theory. For the term of "archival action-links" he gives the definition as follows:

> An Archival Action-Link first arises when a record is connected to another in the course of action by an actor, but Archival Action-Links are incremental, because, as the connective tissue that join a record to those used together with it, they are in continuing formation and growth until the record is no longer used by the actor... Action-links that are implemented by an actor in its records should be considered as archival links; that is, parts of the archival network of relationships that a records creator establishes among its records.[17]

Working with Thibodeau's "archival links" theory is a big challenge for the archivist's toolkit of describing records. Identifying narratives and telling stories seem to be grounded on rather selective methodologies, based, however, on identified and lightened 'archival links' on a very complex network of relationships. It is a challenge for standardisation and methodological approaches to make such networks identifyable and useable. Thibodeau says that capturing and preserving such "archival action-links" needs to be done by "automated techniques".[18] Such techniques can work with graphs and triples and need to have a kind of common grammar as is offered by the RiC-CM.

Conclusion

It can be stated that the Records in Contexts Conceptual Model offers an extended set of entities as well as properties and relationships which can be used for a normalised and exchangeable archival description; it also allows for collaboration with other archivists, institutions, and the crowd. It is a welcome synthesis of the former ICA standards and opens many more possibilities on the fields of how to describe fonds as concept, in particular. RiC-CM overcomes the image of a fonds as a physical unit and gives a toolkit for working with fonds as conceptual units. This opens the view that archival description will never become a surrogate of the many stories archival materials contain. The authenticity of archival description becomes a concept of storytelling. It is the reduction to certain genres of stories archives prefer to tell that makes finding aids being or being not what they are called to be by their producers. This reduction, however, is essentially influenced by the functions and mandates of the separate collections' holding institutions. Functions and mandates determine the understanding of authenticity of an institution with archival holdings. And despite the abundance of possibilities as to how collections and fonds can be described by using RiC-CM, this new toolkit will not be able to change the aims and the contents that descriptive artefacts shall have in the different institutions according to their mandates and functions. Accepting RiC-CM as a methodologically improved and extended new descriptive standard does not affect which contents shall be described by the archivists and which stories shall be told. Standardisation does not stand against performing mandates and functions of special archives institutions, but it also does not say much about authenticity.

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Karstens Kūnels (Karsten Kühnel)

Autentiskums arhīvu aprakstīšanā – standartizēšana pretstatā institucionālam norādījumam?

Kopsavilkums

Atslēgvārdi: arhīvi, arhīvu aprakstīšana, standarti, autentiskums, RiC-CM

Ietekme, kāda ir institucionāliem norādījumiem uz arhīvu aprakstīšanas aktivitātēm un rezultātiem, varētu būt riskanta aprakstošā autentiskuma vērtības dēļ. Dažādība terminoloģijas, aprakstīšanas procesa un kontekstuālo modeļu izpratnē noteikti ietekmē autentiskuma konceptu attiecībā uz arhīva aprakstu krājumu glabājošajā iestādē. Ja kāds jautās par autentiskuma jautājumiem, arhivāra apraksta modelis nebūs pietiekams, lai sniegtu ieskatu faktoru aprakstā un rezultātos. Tāpēc šī pētījuma mērķis ir izstrādāt konceptuālā modeļa projektu, kas sastāv no apraksta objektiem un aprakstīšanas subjektiem, kā arī aprakstīšanas un uztveres rīkiem. Šis raksts aktualizē konkrētus punktus un segmentus. Viens no apskatāmajiem jautājumiem ir dokumentu kontekstā (*Records in Contexts*) konceptuālais modelis kā jauns standarts attiecību prioritātēm, tāpat, vai šis modelis tuvina standartizēšanas un autentiskuma centienus.

Summary

The influence institutional mandates have on the activity and results of describing archives could be risky for the value of descriptive authenticity. Different understandings of archival terminology, descriptive processes, and context models certainly influence the concept of authenticity in regard to archival description within a collection holding institution. If one will ask for authenticity matters, a model of archival description will not be sufficient in order to give insights into the factors description and its results are influenced by. Therefore, the basis of this investigation shall be the draft of a conceptual model consisting of models regarding objects of description, subjects of describing, toolkit for describing and perception. As conference proceedings, this essay highlights certain points and parts. One question is the role of "Records in Contexts Conceptual Model" (RiC-CM) as a new standard which enables priorizations of relationships, and whether it can help to put standardization and authenticity efforts closer together.

Rona Razon

Improving archival collections' discoverability, accessibility, and usability through contextual information[1]

Introduction

Archivists' efforts to improve the discoverability, accessibility, and usability of archives through the use of archival information, are, of course, nothing new. Various approaches, standards, and schemas to develop and revise descriptive practices have been proposed, created, and applied throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, as well as discussed and/or questioned in international conferences, workshops, articles, and blog posts.

Recently, in September 2016, the Expert Group on Archival Description (EGAD) of the International Council on Archives (ICA) released a draft of the conceptual model Records in Contexts (RiC).[2] Their objective is to develop a:

> comprehensive descriptive standard that reconciles, integrates, and builds on the four existing [and widely applied] standards: General International Standard Archival Description (ISAD(G)); International Standard Archival Authority Records—Corporate Bodies, Persons, and Families (ISAAR(CPF)); International Standard for Describing Functions (ISDF); and International Standard for Describing Institutions with Archival Holdings (ISDIAH).[3]

The new conceptual model "aspires to reflect both facets of the Principle of Provenance [(i.e., *Respect des fonds* and Respect for original order)] and at the same time recognize a more expansive and dynamic understanding of [it]," which means to enable a fuller description of the contexts where the intrinsic, evidential, and access values of records really emerge and exist.[4] After all, "records emerge not in isolation, but within a context, and within that context, in relation to one another and in relation to the people creating, using, and keeping them."[5]

Many archivists would agree that descriptive practices often depend on the institution (or its function), or the skills, knowledge, past experiences, and personalities of the archives staff. For the former, according to Ciaran B. Trace and Andrew Dillon, "the

history of the finding aid is bound up with the development and the relationship between two archival traditions: the historical manuscripts tradition […] and the public archives tradition […]. These two traditions adopted different approaches to archival arrangement and description."[6] With the latter, archivists who have worked in public archives (or government archives) opted for a classification system to describe and represent their records to their end-users, who were primarily staff members within an agency or agencies. Since records in public archives were (and still are) administrative in nature, the main priority for archivists was to capture principal categories or access points such as names, subjects, dates, and the functions within the arrangement of records, rather than the historical value or context of the materials. On the other hand, archivists who manage historical manuscripts, fieldwork documents, or personal papers tend to serve the needs of historians, subject specialists, or students in research and/or academic institutions, and have relied more on contextual information to describe and represent their collections.[7]

The historical manuscript tradition referenced by Trace and Dillon has been the practicing trend for many archivists, especially since the initial release of various descriptive or content standards such as the *Archives*, *Personal Papers*, *and Manuscripts (APPM)* by the Library of Congress in 1983,[8] *Describing Archives: A Content Standard (DACS)* by the Society of American Archivists in 2004,[9] and ISAD(G) by ICA in 1994.[10] Mark A. Greene and Dennis Meissner, on the other hand, questioned the traditional methodology of archival processing and description. In particular, they reconsidered the approach to archival description through their 2005 article (or call for change) "More Product, Less Process: Revamping Traditional Archival Processing."[11] While Greene and Meissner agree with and support the value and importance of the two principles of Provenance, especially when it comes to archival arrangement, description, and representation, they criticized "the creation of a substantial, multilayered, descriptive finding aid. These finding aids may include descriptions of folders rather than just folder lists, descriptions of series, and extended biographical or administrative history notes."[12] They suggested that archival descriptions "needn't be long-winded, laborious, or minutely detailed to be effective. A crisp, simple presentation with minimal verbiage often provides the most effective representation of collection materials."[13]

So, what do these different approaches mean for the future of archival discoverability, accessibility, and usability? Are archivists reverting to traditional processing practices that Greene and Meissner speak of, especially with the new conceptual model RiC? Or, should archival professionals re-realize the significance and added value of analyzed or contextualized descriptions when making collections more discoverable, accessible, and usable? Is there a standard formula for most archives?

Context(s) matters

In the case of university and research archives with cultural heritage collection materials, I argue that archival arrangement and description based on both data and contextual information are essential archival functions because they serve both the needs

of the archives management team and users. This type of approach is particularly necessary for collections that have been physically and/or intellectually separated from other related archival holdings in the same repository or in another institution, as is often the case in university and research archives, as well as historical societies and museums.

An excellent example of this situation can be found in the multilayered archives of Thomas Whittemore and the non-profit organization he founded, The Byzantine Institute, Inc. (Byzantine Institute). During the time of their creation and period of active use, Whittemore's personal papers, as well as the Byzantine Institute's administrative records and fieldwork papers, were kept and/or used in three different countries—the United States, France, and Turkey. Currently, they are preserved, described, and accessible in the Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives (ICFA) of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (Dumbarton Oaks) in Washington, DC[14] and in the Bibliothèque byzantine of Collège de France in Paris, France (Bibliothèque byzantine).[15] In total, there are four independent yet interconnected archival collections that document Whittemore's professional development, as well as the establishment and dissolution of the Byzantine Institute (Figures 1 and 2).

To virtually and/or intellectually reunite and emphasize their underlying and forgotten "contextual and documentary relationships,"[16] archivists at both Dumbarton Oaks

Figure 1. Thomas Whittemore (center, in a double-breasted suit) with Lord Kinross (left) and unidentified men, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, ca. 1940s. Source: Fonds Thomas Whittemore – Institut byzantin, ca. 1890–1960. BYZ-WHI 13. Bibliothèque byzantine. Collège de France. Paris, France

Figure 2. The Byzantine Institute fieldwork staff working in the bema soffit, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, 1937. Source: The Byzantine Institute and Dumbarton Oaks Fieldwork Records and Papers, ca. late 1920s–2000s. MS.BZ.004-03-01-02-015-002. Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Trustees for Harvard University. Washington, DC

and the Bibliothèque byzantine re-examined and re-described the archival collections, particularly the physically separated fieldwork documents. They also gathered all of the existing guides, lists, and catalog records, which have mixed descriptions and arrangement methods. The process included additional attention to the archives' provenance and acquisition history, materials' contents and contextual relationships, and the collections' classification by name.[17] The objectives were: to improve and expand the collections' access and use, to restore and respect the principles of provenance, and to intellectually reunite the physically dispersed but related archival materials through contextualized descriptions and standardized name taxonomy.

Collection background

Like other cultural heritage archival materials, Thomas Whittemore's and the Byzantine Institute's archives illustrate not just one but multiple stories or narratives that are contextually, geographically, and physically fluid and interconnected.[18] The archival narrative starts with Whittemore as a young schoolboy in 1876.[19] Twenty years later, he

was appointed Instructor of English at Tufts College, where he initially focused his career in teaching English Composition, English literature, and theatrical plays.[20] In the late 1890s, Whittemore began to explore the field of Fine Arts and offered courses on "The History of Greek Art with Egypt, Assyria, and Phoenicia" and "Fine Arts of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance."[21] This early period of Whittemore's life can be detected through the Tuftonian journals that have survived in the *Fonds Thomas Whittemore – Institut byzantin (ca. 1890s–1960s)* in the Bibliothèque byzantine, as well as in the notes, lists of class readings, student essays, and letters in the collection called *Thomas Whittemore Papers (ca. 1875–1966)* in ICFA. Ephemeral items (e.g., pamphlets, receipts, menus, etc.) are also valuable sources for obtaining evidential or contextual information, although they are often ignored or simply described (or labeled) as "miscellaneous" in finding aids. For example, in the Bibliothèque byzantine, there is a box called "CONSTANTINOPLE / SUNDRY / KAHRIE-DJAMI / CHORA / PAMMAKARISTOS / SS SERGIOS & BACCUS / St. EUPHEMIA," which primarily contains items documenting the Byzantine Institute fieldwork campaigns in Istanbul between the 1930s and 1940s. However, in a folder labeled "Varia, ca. 1910s-1930s," there is "a July 1894 pamphlet about The Egyptian Research Account of the University College"[22] tucked in between the other "miscellaneous" items. While this item may seem insignificant at first glance, it serves as one of the many pieces to Whittemore's narrative puzzle.

Between the 1910s and the early 1920s, Whittemore's career took a new direction. Eventually leaving his teaching responsibilities in Boston permanently, he divided his time and attention between fundraising and archaeological activities with the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) in Amarna and Abydos in Egypt[23] and humanitarian efforts in the former Russian Empire, as the Liaison Officer or the American representative for the Relief of the Russian Refugees,[24] during the First World War and the October Revolution of 1917. With EES, he was responsible for bringing supplies to the archaeological team, contributing to the publications, and communicating the team's efforts and findings in Egypt to American subscribers. Proof of this chapter in Whittemore's life can be located in the letters in the Bibliothèque byzantine and in the collection called the *Early Archaeological Projects Associated with Thomas Whittemore (1910s–1930s)* in ICFA, where some of the surviving fieldwork papers from Egypt are preserved and described. In the same period, Whittemore also traveled between the United States, the former Russian Empire, and Turkey during and after the turbulent and devastating events of World War I and the Russian Revolution in order to deliver food or provide education to the young Russian refugees—adding yet another layer to his narrative.

In the late 1920s, Whittemore's interests shifted to early Christian and Byzantine art and architecture. While letters in both repositories provide a plethora of contextual information about Whittemore's professional growth, the black-and-white photographs, like the ephemeral items, also offer a more nuanced viewpoint on Whittemore's timeline. For instance, in the Bibliothèque byzantine, there is a box labeled "RUSSIE/ICONES," and clearly the majority of the photographs in this box contain images of Russian icons. Yet, after a closer look, there is a folder labeled "ARCHITECTURE/RUSSIA" that contains

Figure 3. Example of a damaged Russian church during the Russian Revolution. Source: Fonds Thomas Whittemore – Institut byzantin, ca. 1890–1960. BYZ-WHI 12-3/3. Bibliothèque byzantine. Collège de France. Paris, France

photographs "of various Russian churches, damaged church towers, landscape, and crowns."[25] While this may be insignificant or unsurprising since it is not uncommon to encounter folders or items that do not necessarily correspond to the rest of the materials in the box, this folder is one of the understated pieces in the archives that also contributes to the creator's layered history. It contains images that are contextually connected with the letters and other photographs in the collection—indicating that Whittemore's shift to Byzantine art preservation may have stemmed from the damage and destruction to cultural heritage that he witnessed in Russia and in other parts of Eastern Europe between the mid-1910s and early 1920s (Figure 3).

A decade later, Whittemore's past efforts, activities, and interests came together when he became the director of the Byzantine Institute and the Paris Library of the Byzantine Institute. A large portion of the archival materials in both repositories document the Byzantine Institute's administrative and fieldwork activities in Turkey, as well as the Library's responsibilities and contributions to French and American Byzantinists and art historians and the Institute's fieldwork staff. A significant portion of the archives in the United States and in France also include information about the Byzantine Institute's and the Library's futures, particularly during the Second World War and after Whittemore's unforeseen death in 1950. Administrative records offer explanations on how the Paris Library of the

Byzantine Institute managed to survive the German military occupation in Paris in the 1940s and the Institute's administrative uncertainties and financial drawbacks in the 1950s. They also document the administrative transfers of the Byzantine Institute to Dumbarton Oaks in the early 1960s, and the Paris Library of the Byzantine Institute to the École nationale des Langues orientales vivantes[26] in the late 1950s and, eventually, to Collège de France in the early 1970s—an important detail for the collections' custodial history.

It is clear, from this example, that cultural heritage materials or archival collections in research institutions naturally contain complex contextual information that reconnects and reenacts the past for the present and future researchers. Without context, archival materials simply become abstract and disjointed groupings of items, making them incomprehensible, inaccessible, and unusable to everyone. So, how was contextual information useful in this archival situation? What were the issues with the existing access descriptive sources (e.g., finding aids, inventories, etc.) and how were they improved? What approaches and/or descriptive methods did the archives team use during reprocessing?

Issues with legacy descriptive sources

In ICFA of Dumbarton Oaks, the new archive team carried out a reprocessing initiative in 2010, when all archival collections were re-analyzed, re-arranged, re-described, and re-housed for better collection access and use of its archival holdings.[27] The archivist and processing assistants evaluated all of the existing access tools (e.g., old inventories, finding aids, catalog records, etc.), including the legacy administrative records from the department's predecessors. The initial objective was to have a clear and/or sufficient understanding of the materials' acquisition and processing history, so the team could determine which level and aspects of the archival processing needed to be applied and improved. The team's detective-like work led them to find various versions of inventories, catalog records, and finding aids with varying levels of descriptive information and types of collection arrangement that were carried out by their predecessors. These included: an unpublished 1982 inventory written by an intern that contains descriptive summaries about the field-work projects led by the Byzantine Institute and Dumbarton Oaks, organized by country but not by provenance; catalog records, found on varying types of databases (e.g., Microsoft Access, EmbARK, and Harvard's VIA) that are specific to the photographic sources, which have been physically and intellectually separated from their document counterpart; and finding aids in Word format that have different collection arrangements and descriptive information.

The same method was also used in the Bibliothèque byzantine of Collège de France, when an archivist was hired for the first time in 2016 to process the Whittemore collection.[28] For the same reasons, the fonds was revisited in order to improve the collection's access and use, as well as to intellectually reunite its context with the associated archival collections in the United States. The archivist examined all of the existing legacy inventories, such as the box and folder lists for the photographic documentary sources that were

created by the staff of the Paris Library of the Byzantine Institute; an enhanced version of the aforementioned box and folder lists that was carried out by a Byzantinist in the 1990s; and a succinct finding aid that was published in 2013 in Collège de France's collection management system Salamandre, which also included the newly transcribed correspondence.

After reviewing the documents, it became evident that the existing descriptive sources had served a double purpose: the archival or administrative need to gain intellectual and physical control of the items, while for researchers, they had functioned as guides to the collection materials. Additionally, starting in the late 1990s, many scholarly publications were published about Whittemore and the Byzantine Institute's preservation projects in Turkey, particularly the Institute's fieldwork campaigns in Hagia Sophia and Kariye Camii—illustrating the diverse archival materials of Whittemore and the Byzantine Institute.[29]

However, as the Experts Group on Archival Description states in their consultation draft of Records in Contexts, "archival description is not and never will be perfect."[30] In this case, the legacy descriptive sources still lacked information that could really allow users to actively engage with the collections independently. Previously, researchers usually had to depend on the archivist's or the subject specialist's knowledge about the contents and history of the archival materials, since the old collection guides did not contain adequate information that could actually guide them through their research process— thus, hindering the process of independent discovery and open access to information. This also meant that because only certain elements of the collections had been described, other items in the archives, though equally significant, remained unidentified and unused, as well as hidden to researchers and in their publications. For instance, in the past, processing, preservation, and access in ICFA primarily focused on the photographs, as part of an effort to build the world's leading image archive for the study of Byzantine art, while related documents were physically separated and minimally pre-processed and described. In doing so, little consideration was given to the evidential value of the archival documents— undermining the historical and intrinsic relationships between the two types of records, and notably the possibility for scholars to see and use the archival materials in multiple perspectives. Therefore, context needed to be restored.

Restoring context for better collection access and use

Starting in 2010, the archives team in ICFA decided to divide Whittemore's and the Byzantine Institute's archives into three separate but related collections, so they could be clearly arranged and described based on provenance in chronological order by format, rather than just by location in no particular order, by author in alphabetical order, or by abstract subject categories as was the case before. With the old collection guides, it was too difficult to determine how the diverse archival materials correlated with each other and how they all connected with Whittemore's and the Byzantine Institute's narratives. For

this reason, the new arrangement followed the creators' timeline in order to fully highlight the archives' manifold and multilayered narrative, starting from Whittemore's academic past at Tufts College (*Thomas Whittemore Papers, ca. 1875–1966*), Whittemore's early archaeological activities in Egypt and Bulgaria (*Early Archaeological Projects Associated with Thomas Whittemore, 1910s–1930s*), to Whittemore's and the Byzantine Institute's preservation projects in Turkey (*The Byzantine Institute and Dumbarton Oaks Fieldwork Records and Papers, ca. late 1920s–2000s*).

Following the standards DACS by the Society of American Archivists and ISAD(G) and ISAAR(CPF) by ICA, the archives team sought to add and/or enhance the existing descriptions with a standardized level of description, including Scope and Content, Biographical Note, System of Arrangement, Custodial History, Immediate Source of Acquisition, Existence and Location of Originals and Copies, lists of Related Archival Materials, and the Collection Description and Inventory in folder-level. The multilevel descriptive approach offered more room for contextual descriptions, which allowed the team to explain and clarify the similarities and differences between the three collections within the repository, as well as to illustrate their contextual documentary relationships with other collections in ICFA and in other archive institutions. Restoration of context also made it possible for the archive's staff to identify and remove unrelated papers that were previously assumed to be part of the Byzantine Institute fieldwork records since the primary author of the papers became the next field director of the Byzantine Institute after Whittemore's death in 1950.[31] So, while the author is clearly an associated individual to the Byzantine Institute archives, additional context revealed, clarified, and corrected this error.

The same descriptive methodology and standards were also applied in the Bibliothèque byzantine, with the aim of presenting and highlighting its long hidden and understated past from its origins through the Paris Library of the Byzantine Institute. While efforts to improve the archive's discoverability, accessibility, and usability began in 2005, when the library staff began to transcribe the 500+ letters written to both Whittemore and to the Head Librarian Boris Ermoloff, and they continued the process in 2011 with the publication of a catalog for the collection's Byzantine objects,[32] the majority of the items in the collection still remained undisclosed and their history untold. For this reason, the archivist was tasked to re-evaluate all of the archival materials, revise the existing finding aid on Salamandre, and enhance the archive's access and use through contextualized descriptions. Special attention was given to the library's legacy administrative records and research materials since they were not described in connection with the photographs, letters, and objects, which had all been individually identified, examined, and described in the past. The aim was to distinguish and uncover the buried context from the documents, which became the foundation for the Historical Note, Acquisition and Custodial History, System of Arrangement, Collection Inventory, and name index terms. The re-evaluation process revealed that Whittemore's and the Byzantine Institute's materials were, in fact, divided into two archival records immediately after Whittemore's death in the early 1950s.

According to the annual reports and administrative correspondences between the Head Librarian and the Institute's Board of Directors, all fieldwork related activities and materials were transferred to Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., while the Paris Library—its staff, administration, and collections—were intended to remain and continue its research and library services in France.[33] Hence, the arrangement and contextual descriptions for the *Fonds Thomas Whittemore – Institut byzantin* are different from the related materials in ICFA and in the way they have been organized. Instead, its arrangement and contextual information follow its historic functions and services, rather than the Institute's fieldwork history.

Initiatives in both repositories were further enhanced when the revised finding aids were made available online in two collection management systems: AtoM in Dumbarton Oaks and Salamandre in Collège de France. In both repositories, archivists structured the findings aids in a way that enabled the collections to exist in a broader context or in relation to other collections, echoing the multidimensional model of Records in Contexts.[34] Concise and contextualized archival descriptions were added in the records and series groups, as well as in the folder units when necessary. The Notes Area and the Complimentary Source Area were also used extensively, where additional contextual information or related online sources were added. With these elements, along with the advantages of standardized name access points, archivists were able to link and show related contextual information or items across ICFA and the Bibliothèque byzantine (or sometimes with other repositories), which were not available in the past. For example, by using the authority name Dimitri Ismaïlovitch as a name access point in ICFA's AtoM, a researcher can find a letter from the author that is written to Thomas Whittemore, dated September 1926 (Figure 4).[35] Similarly, if a researcher uses the same authority name as a global search term in Salamandre, she will find two additional related letters by Ismaïlovitch to Whittemore, dated November 1926 and December 1926 (Figures 5 and 6).[36] When consulted and examined together, the letters document the author's conversation with Whittemore concerning his painted copy of the mosaic panel of Theodore Metochites in Kariye Camii, which is now hung in the physical spaces of ICFA in Washington, D.C. (Figure 7). In this example of intellectual reunification of separated but related items, the combination of context and standardized name access points surely improved the way researchers can see and engage with information, although the letters are physically disconnected and described in two different places—thus enriching the research process.

Staff time and expertise were also used to examine and describe other directly or indirectly related archival collections. In the case in ICFA, the creation of online exhibits and the publication of a processing blog or promotional articles were also part of the overall initiative, where contextual information was repurposed in order to highlight the collections' visual materials, as well as the archives' "hidden" treasures or narratives.[37] The objectives were to re-promote the collections' existence and to extend their reach beyond the usual target audience, echoing, once again, RiC's aim for multiple avenues of access and use of archival collections.

Figure 4. Letter from Dimitri Ismaïlovitch to Thomas Whittemore, September 23, 1926. Source: The Byzantine Institute and Dumbarton Oaks Fieldwork Records and Papers, ca. late 1920s–2000s. MS.BZ.004-01-01-01-001. Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Trustees for Harvard University. Washington, DC

5/VIII⁻ 26.

D. ISMAÏLOVITCH
Péra, 30 Rue Bekiar
CONSTANTINOPLE

Dear Mr. Whittemore.

During your last stay in Constant you saw my collection of pictures and you were especially interested with my reproductions of Kahrie Djami works. Up-to-date I have finished 9 of such reproductions, the photos of which I am herewith enclosing.

I intend to reproduce everything that has most value in the frescoes room and I hope to have that task ended about the last days of September next.

If at that time I shall not have had the pleasure of seeing you personally in Constant, I shall send you the re= mainder of the photos of those repro= ductions.

Owing to the financial stress in France I have decided not to visit Paris, but to leave for the States instead.

I remain Dear Mr. Whittemore
yours sincerely D. Ismaïlovitch.

P.S. Even the ornamentations of the frescoes will be reproduced, being used as a kind of framing or details.

Figure 5. Letter from Dimitri Ismaïlovitch to Thomas Whittemore, November 05, 1926. Source: Source: Fonds Thomas Whittemore – Institut byzantin, ca. 1890–1960. BYZ-WHI 8 (Kariyé Djami). Bibliothèque byzantine. Collège de France. Paris, France

December 23, 1926.

Dear Mr. Whittemore.

I am sending you herewith 10 photos of my last series of Kahrie Djami works.

My departure for the States is postponed till January, because I am waiting for an answer from Marshall Field of Chicago with whom I shall probably come into an agreement regarding my future exhibition in America.

With my best wishes to you for this new year, I remain dear Mr. Whittemore yours very sincerely

D. Ismaïlovitch.

Péra, 32 rue Bekiar
Constantinople.

Figure 6. Letter from Dimitri Ismaïlovitch to Thomas Whittemore, December 23, 1926. Source: Source: Fonds Thomas Whittemore – Institut byzantin, ca. 1890–1960. BYZ-WHI 8 (Kariyé Djami). Bibliothèque byzantine. Collège de France. Paris, France

Figure 7. Image of Dimitri Ismaïlovitch's painted copy of Theodore Metochites (1925), displayed in ICFA. Photographed by Jessica Cebra on September 26, 2017

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, without context, it would have been a constant challenge for both the archives' staffs and researchers to understand or see the associated documentary relationships of Whittemore's and the Byzantine Institute's archival materials in the United States and in France. The contextualized descriptions clarified many unanswered questions especially with regards to the collections' provenance and transfer history, as well as Whittemore's actual role in Byzantine scholarship.

The golden rule is that "good processing is done with a shovel, not with tweezers."[38] This means that archivists "should strive first and foremost to provide general descriptive information about all of [the] archival holdings, rather than minute descriptions about a few."[39] On the other hand, this should not mean that archivists should simply provide generic descriptions or lists of box or folder titles to researchers for the sake of Greene's and Meissner's call for "more product, less process." Often, when archivists "produce finding aids with less information for researchers [the question arises whether they] are simply

transferring costs from the processing room to the reference desk."[40] For instance, in the beginning, archivists in ICFA had to constantly deal with the recurring questions of "what do you have?" or "do you have this?" instead of questions that could elicit productive collaboration between the two professionals—the archivist and the scholar (i.e., historian, archaeologist, etc.). Furthermore, researchers in ICFA were usually not local, which meant that normally they only had limited time to examine the archival materials. Thus, minimizing the amount of time needed to interact with the archivist about the repository's holdings had the effect of maximizing time on the research desk. From this experience, archivists learned that in order to optimize researchers' time and productivity in the archives, it was necessary to have finding aids that could actually guide them to what they were looking for, as well as lead them to other items that related to their research needs. As a result, it was necessary to have archival descriptions that were detailed but concise, as well as verified and standardized.

It is also clear that while archivists acquire and process archival collections in order to serve the needs of their target audience (among many other reasons), it is also imperative for archivists to be aware of and understand the collections' contexts. This is particularly true and necessary for archival collections with complex, problematic, or multilayered narratives, provenance, or acquisition history, for awareness or recognition of context(s) contributes to proper or ethical representation of archival holdings, regardless of type, format, or historical value. Archivists, again, should not easily settle with the comforts of 'more product, less process,' for this may result in passive archiving, where the keeper responsible for the archival materials is oblivious to the sensitive nature of the collection(s) and of the possible consequences for the noncontextualized archival descriptions.[41]

Surely, there are many factors to be considered when processing a collection within an ideal standard: budget, time, staffing (including staff's expertise), collection's size, backlog, and target audience.[42] In particular, there is also the question about the use and importance of old or legacy finding aids in connection with the revised versions. What happens to them when they are replaced with new or updated collection guides? Should archivists keep the old access tools (i.e., finding aids, inventories, catalog records, etc.)? If yes, why and how? Most often, these questions are left disregarded. However, this became the discussion topic, in response to this paper, during the ICA/SUV Conference at Riga, Latvia, in August 2017.[43] While the call for improving descriptive practices and how to do it has been an ongoing conversation amongst archival professionals since the 20th century, archivists at the conference pointed out that it is also important to note the value and significance of keeping and making old finding aids part of the new descriptive sources. Although legacy finding aids may be outdated or deemed unusable or insufficient, archivists should be aware of and understand that they still hold evidential or contextual value that could be useful and relevant for anyone who had used or are using them. Unfortunately, it is becoming more common for many scholars, as well as archivists, to have disconnected, unfindable, or unlinkable citations in their work, especially for finding aids or other types of descriptive sources that were published 5 or 10 years ago. Since the emergence

and increased use of online descriptive tools, revising or replacing old collection guides has been the objective for many repositories, which has had a direct impact on users—an issue that has not yet been fully addressed among archivists. At both ICFA and the Bibliothèque byzantine, archivists kept copies of the old finding aids, inventories, and catalog records, and made sure that they are, at the very least, documented in the new finding aids and made available for use when needed. After all, contexts do not only exist within the collection's immediate past, but they also exist within the collection's secondary past in the archives, which is thus also "an important facet of the context necessary for evaluating and understanding records by users."[44] For this, archivists must preserve and present all avenues of contexts—whether the account presented by the creator from the existing archival evidence(s), or the narrative re-interpreted or perceived by the processing archivist—for they all contribute to how narratives or events were and are understood by the people creating, using, and keeping them and to the reliability of information.[45]

References and Notes

[1] The author wishes to thank the Steering Committee and members of the ICA Section on University and Research Institution Archives, Anne Chatellier, Guillaume Lebailly, Claire Guttinger, Christophe Labaune, Fani Gargova, Shalimar Fojas-White, Jessica Cebra, and Robin Pike.

[2] See Clavaud F., Pitti D., Stockting B. *Records in Contexts (RiC): a standard for archival description developed by the ICA Experts Group on Archival Description.* ICA International Congress, Seoul, Republic of South Korea, September 08, 2016. https://www.ica.org/en/presentation-standard-records-context-thursday-8-september-1500 (Last accessed September 21, 2017)

[3] Experts Group on Archival Description. *Records in Contexts: A Conceptual Model for Archival Description.* International Council on Archives, 2016. Consultation Draft v0.1. P. 1. http://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/RiC-CM-0.1.pdf (Last accessed September 21, 2017)

[4] Experts Group on Archival Description. *Records in Contexts*. P. 9: 'RiC-CM aspires to reflect both facets of the Principle of Provenance, as these have traditionally been understood and practiced, and at the same time recognize a more expansive and dynamic understanding of provenance. It is this more expansive understanding that is embodied in the word 'Contexts.' RiC-CM is intended to enable a fuller, if forever incomplete, description of the contexts in which records emerge and exist, so as to enable multiple perspectives and multiple avenues of access.'

[5] Ibid. P. 7.

[6] Trace C. B., Dillon A. The evolution of the finding aid in the United States: From physical to digital document genre. *Archival Science.* 2012. Vol. 12. No. 4. P. 504.

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[13] Ibid. P. 246.

[14] Early Archaeological Projects Associated with Thomas Whittemore, 1910s–1930s. MS.BZ.017. Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives. Dumbarton Oaks. Trustees for Harvard University. Washington, D.C.

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[15] Fonds Thomas Whittemore – Institut byzantin, ca. 1890-1960. Bibliothèque byzantine. Collège de France. Paris, France. https://salamandre.college-de-france.fr/ead.html?id=FR075CDF_BYZ-WHI (Last accessed September 21, 2017)

[16] Kühnel K. Visualizing the Multiplicity of Relationships: Changing Nature of Archival Description in a World of Digital Representations. *Archive 2.0*. 2013. http://archive20.hypotheses.org/825 (Last accessed September 21, 2017)

[17] On this topic, see e.g. Van Ness C. Much Ado about Paper Clips: 'More Product, Less Process' and the Modern Manuscript Repository. *American Archivist*. 2010. Vol. 73. No. 1. P. 143: 'If we lack consensus on appraisal, we also lack hard data on the totality of the national backlog. We have no clear idea of its size, how it got there, the rate at which it accrued, or what is in it. Most everything we know is anecdotal and largely confined to our own holdings. What Greene and Meissner failed to contemplate in 2005 was the possibility that the backlog is, in itself, an appraisal decision.'

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[22] Fonds Thomas Whittemore – Institut byzantin, ca. 1890–1960. BYZ-WHI 8, Box 20.

[23] See the finding aid for Early Archaeological Projects Associated with Thomas Whittemore, 1910s–1930s and the online exhibit *Before Byzantium: The Early Activities of Thomas Whittemore (1871–1931)*. http://www.doaks.org/resources/online-exhibits/before-byzantium (Last accessed September 21, 2017).

[24] See RG 200 National Archives Gift Collection. Records of the American National Red Cross, 1917–1934. World War I. Box 873, Folder 948.62 Russia, Turkey, refugees in 1920–1921. National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

[25] Fonds Thomas Whittemore – Institut byzantin, ca. 1890–1960. BYZ-WHI 12-3/3.

[26] Now known as the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO).

[27] From September 2010 to February 2013, the author managed the archival processing of Thomas Whittemore's papers and the Byzantine Institute's and the Dumbarton Oaks' fieldwork materials in ICFA of Dumbarton Oaks, with the help of Laurian Douthett and Elizabeth Bayley.

[28] In April 2016, the author joined the team of the Bibliothèque byzantine of Collège de France, and she was assigned to improve the access and use of Whittemore's and the Byzantine Institute's archives. The project was completed in October 2017.

[29] For example Teteriatnikov N. *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul: the Fossati restoration and the work of the Byzantine Institute*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998; Labrusse R., Podzemskaia N. Naissance d'une vocation: aux sources de la carrière byzantine de Thomas Whittemore. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 2000. Vol. 54. P. 43–69; Klein H. A., Ousterhout R. G. *Restoring Byzantium: the*

Kariye Camii in Istanbul and the Byzantine Institute restoration. Ed. D. S. Angelov. New York: Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University, 2004; Nelson R. S. *Hagia Sophia, 1850–1950: Holy Wisdom Modern Monument.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

[30] Experts Group on Archival Description. *Records in Contexts.* P. 6.

[31] See the Archivist's Note for The Byzantine Institute and Dumbarton Oaks Fieldwork Records and Papers, ca. late 1920s-2000s, MS.BZ.004. The material that was removed resulted in the collection Paul Underwood Research Papers and Project Materials on the Reconstruction of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, ca. 1936-1950s, MS.BZ.019, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C. http://atom.doaks.org/atom/index.php/research-papers-of-paul-atkins-underwood (Last accessed September 21, 2017).

[32] Jolivet-Lévy C., Garidis M. *Bibliothèque byzantine (Fonds Thomas Whittemore-Institut Byzantin): Tissues coptes et icones.* 2nd ed. Paris: Collège de France, 2011; Collège de France. *Le Dialogue des Civilisations. Institut des Civilisations.* Paris: Collège de France, 2015.

[33] Fonds Thomas Whittemore - Institut byzantin, ca. 1890-1960. BYZ-WHI 1-1 (Annual Report, 1952).

[34] Experts Group on Archival Description. *Records in Contexts.* P. 10.

[35] The Byzantine Institute and Dumbarton Oaks Fieldwork Records and Papers, ca. late 1920s–2000s, MS.BZ.004-01-01-01-001. http://atom.doaks.org/atom/index.php/correspondence-from-dimitri-v-ismailovitch-to-thomas-whittemore (Last accessed September 21, 2017)

[36] Fonds Thomas Whittemore – Institut byzantin, ca. 1890-1960. BYZ-WHI 8, Box 20.

[37] For example, see the blog posts: Bayley B. Ephemera in the Archives, Part 2: Thomas Whittemore's Travels. *ICFA.* October 7, 2013. https://icfadumbartonoaks.wordpress.com/2013/10/07/ephemera-in-the-archives-part-2-thomas-whittemores-travels (Last accessed September 21, 2017); Razon R. Setting the Stage: Background on the Byzantine Institute. Ed. B. Bayley. *ICFA.* May 10, 2013. https://icfadumbartonoaks.wordpress.com/2013/05/10/setting-the-stage-background-on-the-byzantine-institute/ (Last accessed September 21, 2017), or the online exhibits *Before Byzantium* and *A Truthful Record: The Byzantine Institute Films.* https://www.doaks.org/resources/online-exhibits/a-truthful-record (Last accessed September 21, 2017).

[38] Greene M. A., Meissner D. E. More Product, Less Process: Revamping Traditional Archival Processing. P. 240.

[39] Ibid. P. 216.

[40] Van Ness C. Much Ado about Paper Clips: 'More Product, Less Process' and the Modern Manuscript Repository. P. 140.

[41] Duff W., Harris V. Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings. *Archival Science.* 2002. Vol. 2. P. 276–277: 'Archivists, then, should come to terms with the reality of story telling in their descriptive work. Attempting to deny it, by insisting that they merely marshal facts rather than construct a narrative with a selection of facts, or by insisting that they are merely a conduit for a story which tells itself, leads to sterility and professional disingenuousness, and makes them vulnerable to the dangers of story.'

[42] Van Ness C. Much Ado about Paper Clips: 'More Product, Less Process' and the Modern Manuscript Repository. P. 138–139.

[43] For more information about the ICA/SUV Conference in Riga, Latvia, in August 2017, see: http://icasuv-2017-conference.mozello.com/ and https://icasuvblog.wordpress.com/2017/09/13/ica-suv-2017-conference-summary/ (Last accessed September 2017).

[44] Experts Group on Archival Description. *Records in Contexts.* P. 6.

[45] Duff W., Harris V. Stories and Names. P. 275: 'What we choose to stress and what we choose to ignore is always and unavoidably subjective, and the value judgements that archivists make affect in turn how our researchers find, perceive, and use records.'

Rona Razona (Rona Razon)

Arhīvu kolekciju atklāšanas, pieejamības un izmantojuma uzlabošana ar kontekstuālas informācijas palīdzību

Kopsavilkums

Atslēgvārdi: arhīvu apraksti, konteksts, atklāšana, Tomass Vitmors (*Thomas Whittemore*), Bizantijas institūts

Rakstā aplūkots, kā jaunais dokumentu kontekstā (*Records in Contexts*) konceptuālais modelis, kuru ir izstrādājusi Starptautiskās arhīvu padomes Arhīvu aprakstu ekspertu grupa, varētu uzlabot piekļuvi vēstures un kultūras mantojumam un tā izmantošanu, uzsverot konteksta informāciju. Raksts atklāj, cik svarīgu lomu kontekstualizēti arhīvu apraksti spēlē attiecībā uz virtuālu vai fizisku krājumu apvienošanu, kā tas, piemēram, vērojams Amerikas Savienotajās Valstīs – Dambārtonoukas Pētniecības bibliotēkas un krātuves Attēlu un lauka pētījumu arhīvos Vašingtonā – un Francijā – Bizantijas bibliotēkā (*Bibliothèque byzantine*) Parīzē.

Lai gan informācijas atrašanas iespējas arhīvos un pētniecības iestādēs ir uzlabojušās kopš meklēšanas rīku un tiešsaistē pieejamu datubāžu izveidošanas, arhīvu informācijas pieejamība un izmantošana ir jautājumi, kurus daudzi arhīvāri joprojām cenšas uzlabot un attīstīt. Jomā strādājošie profesionāļi saskaras ar šādiem jautājumiem: cik daudz informācijas jāvelta katram krājumam; vai arhīvāriem nepieciešams sniegt kontekstuālu informāciju, lai uzlabotu piekļuves un krājuma materiālu izmantošanas iespējas; varbūt pietiek tikai ar lakoniskiem aprakstiem? Lai ilustrētu ierakstu kontekstualizēšanas priekšrocības, šī raksta autore analizē, kā fiziski nošķirtie, bet citādi saistītie Tomasa Vitmora (*Thomas Whittemore*) un Bizantijas institūta arhīvi tika apvienoti, lai gan tos glabā un apraksta divas atšķirīgas iestādes. Uzsverot ierakstu kontekstualizēšanas modeļa ietekmi, mērķis bija uzlabot informācijas atrašanas iespējas un koncentrēties uz informācijas piekļuvi un noderīgumu, lai nodrošinātu labākas primāro jeb arhīva avotu izpētes iespējas.

Summary

This paper examines how the new conceptual model Records in Contexts (RiC) by the Expert Group on Archival Description (EGAD) of the International Council on Archives (ICA) could improve access and use of historical or cultural heritage collections through its emphasis on contextualized information. It also shows how contextualized archival descriptions play an important role in virtually or intellectually reuniting physically dispersed but related archival collections, as in the case of the Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Washington, D.C., United States, and the Bibliothèque byzantine of Collège de France in Paris, France.

While *discoverability* of information in archives and research institutions has increased since the emergence of finding aids and online databases, the *accessibility* and *usability* of archival information are issues that many archivists are still struggling to improve and perfect. Lingering questions among archival professionals include: how much information should be given to each collection; should archivists provide contextual information for enhanced access and use of collection materials; or are minimal descriptions sufficient? To illustrate the advantages of putting records in context, this paper investigates how the physically separated but associated archives of Thomas Whittemore and the Byzantine Institute came together, although they are preserved and described in two different institutions. Through the efforts of restoring *Respect des fonds* to its original order, echoing RiC's stress on the principles of Provenance, the aim was to enhance the discovery of information and to focus on the approachability and usefulness of information for better scholarship of primary or archival sources.

Svetlana Ryzhakova

A Folkloristic and Anthropological Approach to the Study of Ritual and Performance in India: Cases of Daiva-nyama (Bhoota-kolam) and Yakshagana[1]

Keywords: Performance studies, folklore studies, folkloristics, methods of anthropology, local traditions, Tulunadu, Coastal Karnataka (India)

The two disciplines, cultural anthropology and folkloristics, do not have very different agendas in Indian studies. Both arrived with the British Empire, both deal with local cultures and vernacular traditions, and both largely were partially inspired by scholars-pioneers of Indian Studies based in Bengal: Sir William Jones, Charles Wilkins, William Carey, and George Grierson.[2] Being originally a "colonial discipline" in the sense of serving administrative needs, cultural/social anthropology focused on society, the social make-up of culture, the economic activities of the population, their politics and their power. Some basic terms used in English literature during the 19th century up to the first part of the 20th century (especially *caste*, *Hinduism*) were later criticized;[3] many *emic* Indian terms have now appeared in ethnographical descriptions (like *jati*, *gotra*, *sadhana*), making analysis of the cases sometimes more finely detailed, and more complex.

Understanding anthropological and folkloristic practices necessarily requires intensive fieldwork—contacts with living persons; however, they have different aims. The main task of a folklorist is to collect the texts created by a given culture, be they epic ballads or a tiny riddle or whatever. These need to be recorded and preserved. By contrast, an anthropologist attempts to understand and delineate the pre-established view of a society it carries and projects about itself through its culture. This holistic view is always a generalization and a reconstruction. This abstraction, provided through anthropological study, is always a more explicit expression of these ideas than the one the culture itself provides. Of course, such abstractions are always open to modification and dispute by others. But what they often do achieve is the discovery of semi-hidden ideas and correlations not generally noticed and articulated. The question is always about developing a suitable "architecture" for modern fieldwork materials.[4] The long history of these two disciplines, anthropology and folklore has many complexities, but the main idea is that both "*action-based*" and "*text-based*" approaches remain relevant, even today. As B. Malinowski argued, keeping field notes and writing ethnographies is a rather unfortunate necessity: "An anthropologist cannot banish

his few patient readers for a couple of years to a South Sea atoll, and make then live for themselves; he has to, alas, write books about his savages and lecture about them."[5]

However, a number of research topics require a special methodology, where both anthropology and folkloristic techniques are combined; we need a multidimensional outlook that integrates *emic* and *etic* approaches. This is especially true in the case of ritual and performance studies. These are quite often tightly connected with religion, day-to-day life and politics.[6]

Performance itself is a category with quite a few definitions and outlooks.[7] I argue here, that one of the most important aspects of performance is communicative: although it has texts, plots, set of codified actions, etc. (rehearsal is an important element in the performance studies), it's real core lies in the phenomenon of an actual *event*.[8] *A performance contract*, where a number of conditions aimed at creating a mutual under-standing between performers and their immediate audience combine, makes that entire performance possible.[9]

Performance, worship and social application

I'm going to discuss here a variety of ways to study a regional tradition of folk-theatre known as *yakshagana*, and a ritual-performance tradition known as *daiva-nyama*, *kolam* (or *bhoota-kolam*), both popular in the Tulu-speaking region of coastal Karnataka, South India.[10] These are living, orally transmitted traditions that, in different ways, "mirror" many of the local social conventions connected to religious culture in this area (temple festivals, spirit worship, possession and impersonation). From 2013–2015 I conducted extended fieldwork in coastal Karnataka (Uttar Kannada and Dakshina Kannada) and also in the Kasargode district of Kerala.[11] I used participant observation along with numerous inter-views of performers, villagers, organizers of the events, independent actors, scriptwriters, educated spectators, admirers and art critics. Some of the results of this research, as well as a *thick description* of my ethnography, are published in Russian.[12] Here I will address the distinctions between different research methods, as well as the necessity for combining these methods, when studying this kind of complex reality.

The co-existence of various *performative practices* (dance, music and drama, as well as a broad class of rituals with strong theatrical elements), which lie between religious activity and entertainment, is one of the most significant features of Indian society in general, and of the area of my study, in particular.[13] Performances have many local variations and stratifications—from tiny village customs to today's huge mass-media events, TV shows, national festivals with strong political agendas, and more. Enactments of myths and legends occur during local agricultural and domestic festivals, and are tightly connected to various rituals. The invocation of various gods and the narration of numerous divine stories found in epic texts are customs that are very well known in all Indian regions. Divine stories and epic narratives, intertwined with the actual life of communities and local

social groups, exist in almost all Indian traditional folk theatres. Their cultural functions combine those of a religious event, an act of donation, the exchange of gifts, entertainment, a degree of social interaction and integration and also function as a channel for individual creativity.

Spirit-cults involving the worship of semi-divine spirits—*bhoota* or *daiva* (or *teyyam* in Malayalam[14]) appear to be the most important feature of the Tuluva performance culture of coastal Karnataka.[15] These local spirits are worshipped periodically with great pompousness and festivity by the entire community of an area, usually once or twice in a year. This periodically organized worship is called *kolam*, meaning "embellishment, decoration, pantomime, festivity, beauty or gorgeous attire." These events can be either quite simple and short, or long and elaborate. The core of the worship is the same: it entails an overnight ritualistic performance complete with the impersonation of the gods-spirits. The whole event happens near the *bhootasthana* places where the gods are installed (usually small huts) or in front of that shrine, or just a little ways away, in an open yard. However, each spirit and "his" or "her" ceremony deserve a special attention: dresses, colours, make-up, headgear, ornaments, types of oracles, etc. These can vary significantly. *Kolam* is a complex institution, vibrant, well-guarded and fully patronized by villagers whose ranks include a variety of different castes and social groups.

In the absence of a properly documented history a researcher has to fall back on folklore as the only available local resource (Tulu is a language with a long history, but it has only very recently been written down). Valuable studies have been undertaken by Lauri Honko and a group of Finnish and Indian folklorists; as a result, one orally

Figure 1. Discussion between impersonators and organizers of the festival: ritualistic exchange of speeches". Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, 2014

transmitted Siri epic was published by the Finnish Academy of Science in 1998.[16] However, to understand the Siri story, one needs to take into consideration not only the existing text of this ballad, but also its context, or rather contexts. Siri is a ritual but it can also be a kind of "psychodrama"[17], a tool to deal with family and personal problems,[18] and today it can also consist of a stage performance.

Spirit worship involves a number of spectacular actions and rites. These include the singing of an epic, or ballads called *paaddanas* (which depict the story of the spirit, his adventures, and associated miracles, struggles, love affairs, etc.). The worship event is an all-night mystery presented and enacted by medium-impersonators who become possessed by the spirits. These mediums are given roles that lie at the centre of this spectacular ritual. The event includes music, dance, dialogues, exchange by gifts and many other activities.[19] Performers wear gorgeous costumes, head-dresses, make-up (and also masks for *teyyam*), make awe-inspiring utterances, enact the story of the spirit, and deliver its divine messages.

I participated in many *kolam* events near Udupi and Mangalore between 2013 and 2015. Below I describe one thing I learned regarding how to watch such a performance.

Once, while sitting near the open-air "green-room" and shooting the make-up of the impersonator as well as the beginning of the ritual dances and acting, I was suddenly surrounded and blocked by some of the audience, mostly womenfolk. Initially I was quite irritated by this fact, for I could no longer move. I was limited in my actions, but after some time I realized: this was not an ordinary audience, these women belonged to the impersonator's own large family. Although it was not very clear to me in the beginning, women did play an important role in assisting a male medium. Those women became

Figure 2. Dayananda, impersonator from Pambada community. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, 2014

valuable informants for me, right there, in that very place: they commented during the whole event and shared with me their interpretations of some of the elements of *kolam*. This reminded me of the fact that an anthropologist must attend, not only to the events "on the stage," but also to the "stage plus audience-hall," the attitudes, the connections and the various contacts between the people involved in the whole affair. As a result, I later realized that *kolam* is a dispersed event. A myth is being explored and brought into life in various ways, not only by the medium but also by comments and gestures occurring amongst members of the audience. Apart from enacting the story, *kolam* was a kind of holistic, joint performance, providing an opportunity for inter-caste communication, mantic practices, etc. *Kolam* also communicates a strong aesthetic idea.

The study of another performing tradition of Tulunadu, *yakshagana*, also needs a special methodology that combines folkloristic and anthropological approaches.[20] The confusing issue concerns the very definition of *yakshagana*. It has several "identities." *Yakshagana* in Karnataka is first and foremost a musical (in particular, a vocal) genre, with distinct tunes, rhythms and patterns. On the other hand, it is also a traditional form of dance drama, which is popular in the coastal districts of Karnataka, Dakshina Kannada and Malenadu, with some influence from adjoining areas also apparent. But the performing tradition of the *bhagavatulu* community in Andhra (transformed in 1950–1960s into

Figure 3. Oddolagu, the beginning of the Yakshagana performance. Presentation on the occasion of seminar in Keremane Yakshagana Mandali. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, 2013

a *kuchipudi* dance style) also has *yakshagana*—although not as music, but as theatre-set-to-*karnatic*-music. So, *yakshagana* appears to be a genre of theatrical performance. It is known throughout the entire South India (except in Kerala, probably because *kathakali* occupies its cultural space there). However, in the extreme North Kerala districts, and in Kasargode in particular, one finds one of the most important historical of all *yakshagana* centres. It adheres to the *tenku* style.

Being non-ritualistic theatre, *yakshagana* is spread across a large cultural and religious context, and this lack of ritual rigidity allows space for the development of various new symbolic readings and interpretations. The *yakshagana* themes presented on the stage are taken from the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the puranas, but always received through the medium of a script, called a *prasanga*, written by various authors. The art of script-writing has been known here since at least the 18th century. Traditionally *yakshagana* was performed in the open air. *Bayalata* is another name for this the whole genre, an event where an entire village witnesses the performance. Of course, this genre provides aesthetic pleasure. It is also an expression of moral virtue, based on stories about gods and heroes. But to understand the meaning of *yakshagana* more deeply one has to apply a semiotic approach. Semiotic inquiry allows one to discover the "social semantic" (the term used by anthropologist Clifford Geertz) of a given event. His well-known analysis of the Balinese cockfight in an essay "Deep play" is one of the best examples of this interpretive approach.[21] The main task of semiotic interpretation is to make explicit the ways in which meanings are related to symbols. The relationship between the signified meaning and the symbol should be established with a certain degree of reliability. Symbols are part of a representational process, where meanings emerge, and they are dependent upon a culturally pre-existing social milieu. That is why this relationship must be explored only within a large, but defined, social context.

Today one can find various ways and motivations of presenting *yakshagana*. One is known as *Harake-atta*, a vow-performance that is sponsored by a person who has taken a vow to perform this specific ritual act only if a wish he has previously made is fulfilled first. This kind of show is free of cost and open to everyone. This is the way all *yakshagana* performances were organized until about the 1940s. Another type is a temple-based performance, a one-night show at a temple festival (like the *Mahganapati Idagunji utsav* held in early February). In this variant the troupe (*mela, mandali*) associated with a particular temple considers their task of conducting a performance to be an honour, a *seva*. As a ritualistic service presented to the main deity the troupe is dedicated to, such events are free of cost for the spectators. Furthermore educational *yakshagana* activities have increased since the 1950s, in particular after the establishment of the Sangeet Natak Academy, a Yakshagana Academy hosted by MGM College in Udupi, and the *yakshagana* School in Gunawante. Now many institutes, colleges, and municipalities organize presentations of *yakshagana* during the day as part of school festivals. Usually such a performance is announced in the local newspaper and everyone is invited. Also commercial troupes,

called "tent-troupes" (from their use of temporarily erected tents, or hired halls) are known in Karnataka. These troupes charge admission.

Apart from the above types of *yakshagana*, there is one more very recent trend. *Yakshagana* troupes are sometimes invited by various government and private organizations, like hospitals, banks or social institutions, to participate in meetings, educational events, advertising, training courses, or conferences. These venues can also be used to respond to various sensitive issues regarding the medium and the usage of theatre language. In some cases new texts are composed for these performances, or actors are welcomed to make impromptu dialogues spontaneously. One of the *yakshagana* actors from Bengaluru, Radhakrishnan Urala (MA from the Department of Performance Arts from the Bengaluru University), described a few such cases in discussion and explained to me in detail this new *yakshagana* troupe challenge. He referred to his own experience in performing at the bank manager's meetings. The traditional costume (very generalized), the way of singing and the way of speaking are the only traditional characteristics left in this particular case. In terms of other features, the whole *yakshagana* scenario here is rather different. And, I discovered the same trend in *kuchipudi*. For instance, in one private school in Hyderabad, where a *kuchipudi* dance was organized by a teacher from a *bhagavatulu* family (he was a man who belonged to a family of traditional performers from Kuchipudi village itself). I visited his dance class at a time when a new production was being staged, a composition, which described various hormones acting in the human body. The text (in Telugu) was composed by the parents of one of the students whose father was an endocrinologist. The whole play was to be presented at a forthcoming medical conference. Technically it was a pure traditional *kuchipudi* dance, with all the basic steps and lines, but the message was very different from the traditional one that references myths and divine stories. There are many more examples of this kind.

These different performance styles or types are not formally codified; *yakshagana* now is being used as a vehicle for a variety of distinctly different messages. Guru Rao Bapat has stressed the fact that there is difference between the symbolism used in open-air performances and in "tent *yakshagana*"[22]. There is no sudden and complete break between the various "types" of *yakshagana* presentation, but rather one can observe a different shade of meaning in each specific case.[23] It can be questioned how to describe this contemporary interest in addressing a local population's encounter with modernity. Is this a strong new trend in the history of this particular art form, or are we describing what is basically the continuation of an age-old tradition? Are *yakshagana*, *kuchipudi* and other traditional ways of performing nothing but simple tools for explaining old ideas in the modern context of particular events, or is this part of a larger pattern of modern folk education? Furthermore, are these trends mixed in with new marketing policies, etc.? In all these cases we cannot just speak of an art, or even of a folk text. There is also a dimension of social instrumentation to be noticed, or at least an interactive text at work that combines a variety of (possibly competing) social strategies engaged in by different participants. Below

I discuss a few aspects of these old performance traditions which seem to be important for understanding both *kolam* and *yakshagana* identities that we see so clearly evolving today.

The Performative Context: society, sponsorship, patronage

Traditionally both *bhoota-kolam* and *yakshagana* enjoyed rather little royal patronage; mostly they received support from landlords and rich farmers living in outlying villages. As Martha Ashton and Bruce Christie have written for *yakshagana*, the patron usually is a wealthy landlord who, for various reasons, has commissioned a performance that anyone is welcome to attend.[24] The whole economy of the region was and still is agriculture-oriented. Great prestige was attached to the ownership of land, and usually social and political power was associated with such ownership. In costal Karnataka, for example, the Bunt, Jain and Brahmin castes have occupied the upper rung of the local caste hierarchy for many centuries. The other people of the villages are their tenants, or else, they are landless labourers and artisans. Patrons could invite a troupe and choose the script, *prasanga*. A group of patrons invited *bhoota-kolam* performers, people from the *pambada*, *parava* or *nalke* communities, to do their job. A *bhagavat*, a singer of *yakshagana,* used to sing in the house of his patron and also in the temple of his own family deity before beginning a public performance.

Elevation to the position of a patron can happen either in the ritualistic space of a *kolam* or on stage.[25] The themes of the *yakshagana* always focus on divine personages, so becoming the patron of a given performance is regarded as a type of gift. In exchange for the gift of sponsorship the patron enjoys a kind of divine sanction. He and his family are allocated a symbolic status of being the local authority that presides over the rest of the villagers. Having witnessed the performance by courtesy of their landlord, the audience imbibes a message regarding the relatively greater power and position of the patron.

The modern idea of making *yakshagana* into an indoor performance probably comes from the discourse of the so-called "classical styles", well-known elsewhere in India. *Yakshagana* is very similar to *kathakali* in many respects, but it has not enjoyed the "classical" status that *kathakali* does. Today, along with the commercial use of *yakshagana* ("tent troupes" and closed-door performances), it has been turned into an entertainment product that is enacted in front of an audience. Taken out of its traditional performance context, *yakshagana* is now a knowledge-sharing medium. It can now be viewed during the day as part of various social and educational activities, which is a clear mark of our modern time. Commercialization and the impact of pop-culture have brought some of my informants to make this bitter statement: "Wrong patronage, wrong tastes, wrong pampering," (mentioned once upon a time by Gururao Bapat as well), that is how people describe the contemporary situation around *yakshagana*. *Bhoota-kolam* still has not stepped outside the ritualistic context, and is not yet regarded as entertainment, but some modernization in the neighbouring tradition of *teyyam* has already happened. This

change has been shown in the recent research of G. De Martino.[26] Compared to *teyyam*, *kolam* remains a little bit more conservative. Nonetheless, it will likely follow the same trends, just seen above, and the inevitable changes that come with this. These changes relate to major social shifts now being experienced by entire communities. But in any event, individual and family performance energies, and also individual participation, remain vital to the continuation of these core traditions, over the long term.

Official and unofficial ideologies

For both performers and the audience, *kolam* and *yakshagana* traditionally served as a moral school. These performances depicted stories that were strongly infused with the theme of *dharma,* namely, the issues of rightness and correct behaviour patterns. This knowledge was spread to the low castes and to women through these stories, as these people were not exposed to a Sanskritic education. Many folk artists, although uneducated in the formal sense, were capable of speaking about complex issues concerning various fields of Indian knowledge through drama performances and also through their improvised dialogues. Studying *yakshagana* spiritually elevated ordinary villagers, and at the same time provided them with a traditional education.

The purpose of *yakshagana* was pronounced as *dharmaprasara,* spreading ideas about dharma, moral virtue, and understandings about a righteous way of life. The various purposes of kolam included learning traditional myths and gaining a deeper understanding of the connection between the immediate social set-up and various divine stories.

The content of *daiva / bhoota* stories and *yakshagana* scripts mirror patterns in the regional society that encompasses them, but in different ways. *Paaddanas* or epic ballads, focus on local gods and tell the stories of various non-Brahmin communities. Yakshagana deals predominantly with gods and goddesses (almost exclusively Brahmanic, pan-Indian ones), plus they include various tales about demons, kings, and Brahmins; people of other castes appear rarely and then, only in minor roles such as soldiers, servants, or gatekeepers.[27] The world of *yakshagana* describes an unequal hierarchical social set-up. It offers a "sanctification of social

Figure 4. The sculpture of Yakshagana actor in Badagu style. Keremane Yakshagana Mandali. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, 2014

inequality," to use C. Geertz's terminology. But, at the same time, *yakshagana* can be analysed by applying Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of a "polysemy of voices," and added to this, both "official and unofficial ideologies."[28] The Mahabharata and Ramayana provide excellent Indian examples of this polysemy, the clash of different strategies, opinions and reasons. In *yakshagana*, complex and often conflicting messages manifest themselves in a single cultural text; *yakshagana* is a drama *par excellence*. Many examples can be brought to mind: the story of Sita provides a wide range of emotions, "colours" and "shades," and Rama's own behaviour as an ideal husband is easily debated. The story of Karna can be looked at from different perspectives, too. In today's Indian theatre he is obviously a tragic hero. The Brahmins sometimes appear there not only as respected figures, but also as people who are constantly greedy and ready to break their moral code for personal benefit; minor Brahmins are depicted in *yakshagana* by *hasyagaras*, clowns and other funny figures. Many different messages are thus symbolically transmitted, simultaneously, alongside "official" descriptions of their highly respected status, as heard in political discourse. Alongside a strong thread of discipline that requires adherence to the story enacted, actors and performers do enjoy certain freedom and sometimes can behave spontaneously.

Another point has to do with theatre as a socially-sensitive but also ritualistic art form: an artist, who is both an impersonator of *daivas* and *bhootas*, and a professional actor in a theatrical troupe, is understood to transcend his normal social status during his performance. That event provides artists with what Van Gennep and Victor Turner call "liminality", including a special freedom: when actors take on the role of a god or

Figure 5. Guru Sanjeeva Suvarna, great teacher from Yakshagana Kendra, Udupi. Photo by Svetlana Ryzhakova, 2015

hero, they became "superior" to everyone else, and are allowed to be unpredictable. In the coastal areas of Malabar public opinion dictates that when an actor puts a ribbon on his head, even a king cannot order him; a similar attitude towards a performer can be observed in many other cases of Ramlila, Raslila, etc.

The costume, make-up and decorations of *yakshagana* have some correspondence with the *kolam* tradition. These dimensions of the performance appear to be historically quite stable. At the same time, the instrumental aspects of a performance (plots, duration of parts, order of segments of the play, etc.) can be understood to be parts of a semiotic index. They can vary and change significantly within in a very short time period. Today, when a theatre format is often used for scientific discussions, political campaigning and/or advertising, messages can sometimes appear to be very superficial and simple. In cases of *yakshagana's* commercial and representational use, it is no longer a drama but rather serves as a modern morph, a social statement that has its own outlook and an attractive, easily recognizable visual image. One can almost compare some of this modern "theatre" to an attempt to brand a product idea.

Today, within framework of sanskritization of *kolam*, there are also attempts to enhance its sophistication. According to one of my informants, Dayananda G. Kathalsar from the *pambada* community of Mangalore, this is done by using a new vocabulary (*sadhana*, *yoga*, etc.): Even the traditional name "*bhoota-kolam*" *is sometimes* replaced, in full, by the term "*daiva-nyama*," which serves to lend the whole institution greater respect.

Linguistic and Cultural Hegemony, including Acculturation

Local spirit worship in Karnataka has always been rooted in vernacular languages and cultural patterns. Such worship traditionally enacted the Brahmanic stories; it did not deal with any other theme, either stories of folk origin or even specific historical episodes. In Karnataka the Kannada language dominates, although Dakshina Kannada is predominantly the territory of Tulu-speaking people. Yakshagana performances in the Tulu language seem to be a fairly recent invention. But under the influence of the Karnataka rulers, Kannada remains the language of greater prestige. In Karnataka *yakshagana* has always reflected the reality of strong influences on local culture of a much wider pan-Indian Vaishnava *bhakti* movement. Thus, the stories of the ten incarnations of Vishnu, Rama and Krishna in particular, have always been especially popular. One of the most important features of *bhakti* is the idea of spreading a message or sermon using a local language.

The local ritualistic practices of Dakshina Kannada, traditionally, were never featured in *yakshagana* performances. Nor did any of the themes stemming from Jaina sources appear in *yakshagana* (even though Jaina chieftains were and still are patrons of *yakshagana* troups). People who perform *yakshagana* are also engaged in other types

of religious activity, especially *bhutaradhana* (spirit worship). There one sees spirits of various origins: they can be deified ancestors, heroes, totemic spirits, and/or protectors of various kinds. One can also observe *nagaradhane* or snake worship. While observing how *kolam* is performed one can notice similarities with *yakshagana* in the music, in the dance steps and also in some of the acting stylistics; there is clearly continuity between the body language and aesthetic practices of both. But the hegemony of the religion of the "great tradition" (to use Robert Redfield and Milton Singer's well-know term), as opposed to the "spirits" of the "little tradition," is clearly manifest in *yakshagana* discourse.

In many contemporary situations, religion and the re-enactment of myths do not seem to play an important role in *yakshagana*. Both Kannada and the Tulu languages are used. It is interesting to note, furthermore, that the formal boundary between other folk performances and *yakshagana* still remains very clear. The invention of Hindu gods and goddesses, epic narratives and their enactment has not (yet) disturbed the range of fully-fledged local practices that are based on the local spirit worship or *bhootaradhane*.

Gender issue

Male and female roles clearly differ when it comes to spirit worship; only male members of particular communities can be impersonators. However, womenfolk do play a crucial role in the case of Siri worship. As with many other traditional theatres, *yakshagana* was and is a male-dominated art form. A few exceptions can be mentioned. There is a group called "Karnataka Mahila Yakshagana" in Bangalore, for example, where women of different ages and professions who are all amateurs, devote themselves to *yakshagana*. The founders and teachers of this group are K. Gowri Srinivas and her husband, a family from Dakshina Kannada. However, all the musicians in their performances are still male. This group also retains the traditional visual image of male actors and hence the female actors all dress accordingly.

The image of the *yakshagana* artist highlights masculine qualities. Female roles, *stri-vesham*, are predominantly subdued and have a less elaborate costume (the heart-touching story of demoness Shurpanakhi may be the only exception). The reason for this may be of social origin. Dancers Manjushri Chaki-Sirkar and Parbati Sirkar, in the case of Kathakali of Kerala, and Guru Rao Bapat in the case of Yakshagana, have both noted matrilineal and matrilocal social context of their two traditions: "Thus the birth of Kathakali may be considered very significant in relation to the prevailing social exigency. The Nairs were losing their glorious status in the community, and the dance theatre was one way to channel the ethos of their masculine pride. In a matrilineal society, in the absence of a male physiological priority in the lineage system, masculine pride perhaps needed to be affirmed. The selection of heroic themes for Kathakali's dance dramas probably reflects the need of the performers to assert the male ethos. Kathakali is violent, acrobatic, and athletic. The Nairs chose the themes from the mythical past, not from the historical

past, to create a supernatural aura of ritual dancing."[29] This is also true for yakshagana. But the encryption of new meanings in the traditional yakshagana characters and new ways of presentation have brought this whole art form to the global scene,[30] simultaneously making it more rigid and also creating a space for re-reading and re-interpreting various ideas found embedded in this age-old folk theatre form. Yakshagana has now become a cultural brand for the entire Karnataka state.

Both the ritualistic spirit-worship *kolam* favoured in the interior, and the dance-drama style called *yakshagana,* more popular in coastal Karnataka, provide good examples of a rich tradition in this area of India of multifunctional theatrical performances. *Kolam* is a religious performance, *yakshagana* has a secular character, but both are performed in an open-air stage or in a temple yard for the broader public. In both cases the whole content of the scenes depicted derive their inspiration from epic texts, local in one case and pan-Indian in the other. *Bhoota-kolam,* or *daiva-nyama*, is an enactment of a divine story that involves the help of participating villagers. *Yakshagana* tells stories about gods, demons, kings and heroes, supernatural forces, and moral problems. *Yakshagana* seems to be self-sufficient as an art form. But, as an event, *yakshagana* is presented for the gods and before the gods as a gift. Thus *yakshagana* performances are understood to be a certain type of worship (*seva* or service) and also of (*dana* or gifting).

The traditional emphasis on the spiritual and divine, in a word, the timeless approach of the whole *yakshagana* presentation, can be contrasted with a more modern interest in addressing today's social problems: issues such as deforestation of the land, hygienic and health backwardness, illiteracy, violence, social inequality, the need for women's empowerment, commercialization, consumer society, social and economic competition, etc. As a drama, *yakshagana* is based on a written text (*prasanga*) and has many orally transmitted elements. It can clearly be an object of folkloristic studies: nobody can deny the huge role of the text in *yakshagana. Kolam*, on the other hand, enacts strong ritualistic vernacular plot lines that are particular to a certain place and deity. Both forms enjoy certain spontaneity and both are pregnant with certain unpredictable turns. Both play a role as instruments of socialization. Both are forms of preserving and enacting local historical memories, they are ways of overcoming difficulties, etc. Because both are cultural tools with multiple purposes, both require study from a wide variety of angles and perspectives.

Notes

[2] See: Islam Mazharul. *Folklore, The Pulse of the People: In the Context of Indic Folklore*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing House, 1985; Korom Frank J. Inventing Traditions: Folklore and Nationalism as Historical Process in Bengal. *Folklore and Historical Process*. Ed. by D. Rihtman-Augustin and M. Povrzanovic. Zagreb: Institute of Folklore Research, 1989. P. 57-84.

[3] See, for instance: Goodwin Raheja G. India: Caste, Kingship, and Dominance Reconsidered. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol. 17. 1988. P. 497–522; *Hinduism Reconsidered*. Ed. by Kulke H., Sontheimer G.-D. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 2001.

[4] See, for instance: Claus Peter J., Korom Frank J. 1991. *Folkloristics and Indian folklore*. Udupi: Regional Resources Centre for Folk Performing Arts; *Beyond Boundaries: Understanding, Translation and Anthropological Discourse*. Ed.by Gisli Palsson. Oxford: Berg Publishers Ltd, 1994.

[5] Malinowski B. *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia. An Ethnographic Account of Courtship, Marriage, and Family Life Among the Natives of the Trobriand Islands, British New Guinea*. London: The Sheldon Press, 1929. XXVI.

[6] Friedman J. Beyond Otherness: The Spectacularization of Anthropology. *Telos*. 1987. N. 71. P. 161–170.

[7] Carlson M. What is Performance? *The Performance Studies*. Ed. by H. Bial. Reader. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2007. P. 70–75; *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual*. Ed. by R. Schechner, W. Appel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991; Schechner R. *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2002. See also: Рыжакова С. И., Сироткина И. Е. Перформанс как новая парадигма в гуманитарных и социальных науках. [Ryzhakova S., Sirotkina. Performance studies: one conception, several approaches] http://www.antropya.com/articles/main/100/ (viewed 2.02.2017).

[8] Cremona V. A., Hoogland R. Conventions and Extensions of Performance. *Theatrical Events—Borders, Dynamics, Frame*. Ed. by V. A. Cremona et. al. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004. P. 5–13.

[9] Foster S. L. *Choreographing Empathy: Kinestesia in Performance*. London: Routledge, 2011.

[10] See: Bhatt G. P. *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture*. Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975. 452 p.; Upadhyaya U.P. Bhuta worship. *Coastal Karnataka. Studies in Folkloristic and Linguistic Traditions of Dakshina Kannada Region of the Western Coast of India*. Ed. by Dr. U.P. Upadhyaya. Udupi: Rashtrakavi Govind Pai Samshodhana Kendra, 1996. P. 197–228.

[11] Karanth K. S. *Yakshagana*. New Delhi: IGNCA and Abhinav Publications, 1997; Gururao V. Bapat. *Yakshagana. Performance and meaning. A Semiotic Study*. Udupi: Regional Resources Centre for Folk Performing Arts, 1998; Gururao V. Bapat. *Re-scribing Tradition: Modernization of South Indian Dance Drama*. Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 2012.

[12] Рыжакова С. И. «Песни якшей» и игры людей: социальные и культурные особенности традиции якшагана Карнатаки (Южная Индия). *Этнографическое обозрение*. 2016. № 6. С. 136–155 [Ryzhakova S. I. "Pesni yakshei" i igry liudei: sotsial'nye i kul'turnye osobennosti traditsii yakshagana (Karnataka, Yuzhnaia India) ["Yakshas' Songs" and People's Plays: Social and Cultural Aspects of the Yakshagana Tradition (Karnataka, South India)]. *Etnograficheskoje obozrenije*, 2016, N. 6. P. 136–155]. Рыжакова С.И. Одержимость, служение, лицедейство. О границах культового и художественного в традициях колам (*дайва-нема*) Южной Каннады и *калияттам* (*тейям*) Северной Керaлы (Индия). *Антропологический форум*. 2017. В печати. [Ryzhakova S. I. Oderzhimost', sluzhenije, licedejstvo. O granicah kultovogo i hudozhestvennogo v tradicijah kolam (daiva-niyama) Yuzhnoj Kannady i kalijattam (teyyam) Severnoj Keraly (India) [Self-possession, holy service, performance. On border of ritualistic and artistic approach in traditions of kolam (daiva-nyama) in South Kannada and kaliyattam (teyyam) in North Kerala, India]. *Antropologicheskij forum*. 2017. In print].

[13] The connections between theatre, medicine practices, religious cults and martial arts are the best example of that; see: Zarrilli P. B. *When the Body Becomes All Eyes*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

[14] Tradition of Teyyam is described in details in literature: Ashley W., Holloman R. From Ritual to Theatre in Kerala. *The Drama Review*. 1982. # 26 (2). P. 59–72; Ashley W., Holloman R. Teyyam. *Indian Theatre: Tradition of Performance*. Ed. by F. P. Richmond, D. L. Swann, P. B. Zarrilli. 2nd ed. Delhi:

Motilal Banarasidas Publishers Private Ldt., 1993. P. 131–150; Nambiar B. Gods and Ghosts – teyyam and bhuta rituals. *The Performing Arts.* Bombay: Marg Publication Guest Ed. Dr. N. Menon. Ed. S. Doshi. 1982. P. 62–73; Nambiar S. K. *The ritual art of Teyyam and Bhutaradhane.* New Delhi: IGNCA, Navrang, 1996; Chandran T.V. *Ritual as ideology. Text and Context in Teyyam.* New Delhi: IGNCA, D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd, 2006; Kurup K.K.N. *Teyyam.* Trivandrum: Department of Public Relations, 1986; Kurup K.K.N. *The Cult of Teyyam and Hero Worship in Kerala.* Calcutta: Indian Publications, 1972.

[15] Claus P. J. Spirit Possession and Spirit Mediums from the perspective of Tulu Oral Traditions. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry.* 1979. Vol. 3. P. 29–52; Freeman J. R. The Teyyaṃ Tradition of Kerala. *The Blackwell Companion to Hinduism.* Ed. by G. Flood Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003. P. 307–326; Freeman J. R. Performing Possession: Ritual and Consciousness in the Teyyam Complex of Northern Kerala. *Flags of Flame: Studies in South Asian Folk Culture.* Ed. by H. Brückner, L. Lothar, M. Aditya. New Delhi: Manohar, 1993. P. 109–138. The elements of animistic beliefs can be observed here in quite a few cases.

[16] The Siri Epic as performed by Gopala Naika by Lauri Honko in collaboration with Chinnappa Gowda, Anneli Honko and Viveka Rai. Helsinki: Academia Scientarum Fennica, 1998. Part 1–2. It is worth to compare it with the very different methodological approach of European study of ballads, see: Atkinson D. *The English Traditional Ballad. Theory, Method and Practice.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.

[17] According to Brenda Beck, this most interesting issue deserves a special attention and proper investigation. Here I can only point the context of future study and to compare the way of Siri enactment with that of Mahabharata, as in "Pandava-lila" in Garhwal, see: Sax W.S. *Dancing the Self: Personhood and Performance in the Pandav Lila of Garhwal.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, or Draupadi cult based ritualistic drama form various localities in India, see: Hiltebeitel A. *The Cult of Draupadi. Mythologies: from Gingee to Kuruksetra.* 1st Indian ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas Private Lt., 1991.

[18] Carstairs G. M., Kapoor R. L. *The Great Universe of Kola: Stress, Change and Mental Disorder in an Indian village.* Berkeley, C. A.: University of California Press, 1976.

[19] Brückner H. *Fürstliche Feste: Texte und Rituale der Tuḷu-Volksreligion an der Westküste Südindiens.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995; Brückner H. *On an Auspicious Day, at Dawn. Studies in Tulu Culture and Oral Literature.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009. Compare with: Smith F. M. *The Self Possessed: Deity and Spirit Possession in South Asian Literature and Civilization.* Columbia University Press. 2006; Wikan Unni. *Managing Turbulent Hearts: A Balinese Formula for Living.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

[20] Binder K. A. World of Many Colours: yakṣagāna raṅgabhūmi. *Cracow Indological Studies.* Vol. XVIII (2016). P. 3–21.

[21] Geertz C. Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight. *The Interpretation of Culture.* Basic Books, 1973.

[22] Gururao V. Bapat. The Symbolic Significant of Yakshagana. *Sangeet Natak.* 1996. N. 121–123, July-December. P. 15.

[23] Gururao V. Bapat. The Symbolic Significant of Yakshagana. *Sangeet Natak.* 1996. N. 121–123, July-December. P. 15.

[24] Ashton Bush M., Christie B. *Yakshagana: A Dance Drama of India.* New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1977.

[25] This process in case of Ramlila of Ramnagar was described in detail by Richard Schechner: Schechner R. *Performative Circumstances: From the Avant-Garde to the Ramlila.* Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1983.

[26] De Martino G. Between Local and Global. Teyyam Goes Cyber and Beyond. *Cracow Indological Studies.* Vol. XVIII (2016). P. 23–54.

[27] Kirata the hunter, one of the incarnations of Shiva, as Mahabharata says – is probably the only exception.

[28] See: Bakhtin, M.M. *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. Trans. Vern W. McGee. Austin, Tx: University of Texas Press, 1986.

[29] Chaki-Sirkar M., Sirkar P. Indian Dance: Classical Unity and Regional Variation. *India: Cultural Patterns and Processes*. Ed. Allen G. Noble and Ashok Dutt. Boulder, Colorado, 1982. P. 158.

[30] Compare with: De Martino G. Between Local and Global. Teyyam Goes Cyber and Beyond. *Cracow Indological Studies*. Vol. XVIII (2016). P. 23–54.

Svetlana Rižakova

Folkloras un antropoloģijas pieejas rituāla un performances izpētei Indijā: *Daiva-nyama* (*Bhoota-kolam*) un *Yakshagana* gadījumi

Kopsavilkums

Atslēgvārdi: performances pētījumi, folkloras studijas, folkloristika, antropoloģijas metodes, lokālās tradīcijas, Tulunadu, Karnatakas piekraste (Indijā)

Rakstā aplūkota darbībā un tekstā balstīto antropoloģisko un folkloras metožu nozīme, pētot divas vietējās tradīcijas Indijā, Karnatakas piekrastē, – teātra tradīciju *yakshagana* un rituālo uzvedumu *daiva-nyama* vai *kolam*, *bhoota-kolam*. Šīs dzīvās, mutvārdos nodotās tradīcijas ir saistītas ar reliģisko kultūru dažādos veidos (tempļa svētkos, garīgajos dievkalpojumos, apsēstībā, iemiesojumā) un sniedz vietējās sabiedrības struktūras atspoguļojumu. Tās ir balstītas episkajā tradīcijā – ar Indiju saistītā *yakshagana* un vietējā *kolam*. Pētījums balstīts autores veiktajos lauka pētījumos, kas izdarīti laikā no 2013. līdz 2015. gadam. Tajā aplūkota atšķirība starp dažādajām pētniecības metodēm un uzsvērta nepieciešamība tās apvienot, pētot šo sarežģīto realitāti.

Autore apskata atsevišķus *yakshagana* un *kolam* analīzes sociālos un kultūras aspektus, tostarp izcelsmi, klasifikāciju un noslāņošanos. Viņa piedāvā repertuāra un darbības kultūras interpretāciju, raksturo dažas no sociālajām īpašībām, kas izriet no trupas un izrādes konteksta, pēta to savstarpējo savienojamību un skaidro sabiedriskās funkcijas. Tāpat tiek aprakstītas arī problēmas, kas saistītas ar mecenātismu, patronāžu un dzimumu. Autore pierāda, ka *yakshagana* un *kolam* uzskatāmas par "starpnieka" kultūras fenomenu, kas saista apgabala mantojumu ar vietējās performances praksi. Šī performances tradīcija ir izteiksmīga arī ar vietējām muzikālajām, literārajām, poētiskajām, teatrālajām zināšanām. Kā dramatisks uzvedums yakshagana balstās rakstītā tekstā (*prasanga*) un daudzos mutvārdos pārnestos elementos. *Kolam* tiek uzvests saskaņā ar stingru, rituālā balstītu vietējo sižetu un ir saistīts ar konkrētu vietu un tās dievību. Neatkarīgi no vēstījuma atkārtošanās *kolam* šķiet kā īpaša sociāla kopīgu interešu izpausme, rīks komunikācijai starp dažādām kastām un dievišķo prakšu piekopšanai u. c. ar spēcīgu estētisku iespaidu. Jebkurā gadījumā abas tradīcijas gūst prieku zināmā stihiskumā un piedāvā iepriekš neparedzamus pavērsienus, tās kalpo kā socializācijas instruments, kā vietējās vēsturiskās atmiņas

saglabāšanas un ieviešanas forma, veids, kā pārvarēt nesaskaņas u. c. Būdamas kultūras instrumenti ar vairākiem mērķiem, gan *yakshagana*, gan *kolam* var tikt pētītas no dažādiem skatpunktiem un perspektīvām.

Summary

The article deals with the relevance of both anthropological and folkloristic methods as *"action-based"* and *"text-based"* approaches in the study of two regional traditions in Coastal Karnataka, India – the theatrical tradition *yakshagana* and the ritual-performance *daiva-nyama* or *kolam, bhoota-kolam*. Both are living, orally-transmitted traditions. They are interconnected to religious culture in different ways (temple festivals, spirit worship, possession, impersonation) and both provide "mirrors" of the local social set-up. Both are based on epic traditions—pan-Indian in case of *yakshagana* and local in case of *kolam*. The paper is based on the fieldwork conducted by the author in the time period from 2013 to 2015. It addresses the distinction between these different research methods and the need to combine them when applied to this complicated reality.

The author discusses some of the social and cultural aspects of *yakshagana* and *kolam* analysis, including their origin, classification and stratification. She offers a cultural interpretation of repertoire and action, describes some of the social characteristics of troupes and of the performance context, explores their interconnection, and enquires into their social functions. The related problems of sponsorship, patronage, and gender are also described. The author argues that *yakshagana* and *kolam* appear to be an "intermediary" cultural phenomenon that connects the area's pan-Indian heritage with local performing practices. This performance tradition is also expressive of local musical, literary, poetic, theatrical and expressive knowledge. As a drama, *yakshagana* is based on a written text (*prasanga*) and many orally transmitted elements. *Kolam* is enacted according to strong ritualistic vernacular plot lines and is particular to a certain place and deity. Apart from re-enacting the story, *kolam* appears as a peculiar social expression of joint concerns, an institution for inter-caste communication, mantic practices, etc., with a strong aesthetic overderlay. However, both enjoy certain spontaneity and both are pregnant with unpredictable turns. Both serve as an instrument of socialization, as a form of preserving and enactment of local historical memory, as a way to overcome difficulties, etc. Being cultural tools with multiple purposes, both *yakshagana* and *kolam* need to be studies from a range of different angles and perspective.

Gustavs Strenga

Bonding with 'Friends' and Allies.
The Teutonic Order's Confraternity and Networking Strategies of the Livonian Master Wolter von Plettenberg

Networks are forged by complex, multilateral relationships that bind multiple partners.[1] Networks have a practical and symbolical value. They provide the ones involved with ties that strengthen mutual loyalty and allow them to gain a certain assurance that the other party would help in a moment of uncertainty and need. The creation and sustention of a network is a time and resource-consuming process in which in exchange for loyalty one should provide valuable material goods—gifts, services, and symbolic benefits desired by the other party.[2] The ties of mutual loyalty between the ones involved in a network can form in closer relationship—a friendship, and vice-versa—existing bonds of a friendship can become part of a network. The Middle Ages were no different from the modern world—friends and networks of friendship were needed to ensure that social, economic, legal, religious, and political interests of an individual or a group were better implemented.[3]

Medieval religious communities needed support from the surrounding political and social elites to develop and succeed in their mission. For successful existence and maintenance they needed material support—bequests and donations, as well as political support and patronage in order to retain their rights and privileges. A network of lay supporters, "friends", was a tool that helped to reach these aims. In this respect, the Military Orders were not different from the monastic communities and religious Orders—they also needed lay donors, patrons and clients, who would deliver services and get involved in a religious life of an Order.[4] The group of supporters every Military Order had usually consisted of noblemen—local gentry, but frequently emperors, kings, princes and dukes posed themselves as patrons.

During the Middle Ages, in order to sustain relationships between laymen and religious communities in a long term, special institutions were established. Since the early Middle Ages in the Western Europe confraternities of prayer (*Gebetsbrüderschaften*) bonded laymen (mostly noblemen) and monastic communities.[5] For these groups the exchange of gifts and services was essential for their existence; there the material

gifts of a lay benefactor—member of a confraternity—were exchanged for immaterial countergifts—prayers delivered by monks or nuns.[6] The confraternity of prayer was a tool of social, religious, economic and political bonding that in case of crises could provide support for the individuals and communities involved and it lasted into perpetuity, also after the death of those involved.

The Teutonic Order, founded in 1190 in Acre, during the thirteenth century developed into a corporation that had its houses, possessed properties and ruled over territories from Sicily and Holy Land in the south and east, to the Holy Roman Empire, Livonia and Prussia in the north.[7] The Teutonic Order sought to create bonds of "friendship"—a network of political, economic and religious relationships that would serve as a basis for the Order's influence in regions where it had houses. In the Teutonic Order, as in other Military Orders, there were many levels of affiliation and some of them enabled to forge closer bonds with lay people. Besides the knight brethren and priests, in this religious group there were also sisters (nuns), half-brothers (lay brothers), half-sisters, and *familiares*.[8] *Familiares*[9] were the lay people who became associated with the Teutonic Order and in such a way they joined the Order's confraternity. By help of through confraternity ties, the Order could create its own system of clientele which helped to reach political, economic, military and spiritual goals.[10] If the *familiares* offered their services and material support for the order, the Teutonic Order among many benefits offered these laymen *memoria*—commemoration of the dead and also living—in return.[11] In the case of *familiares memoria* there was not only a religious act, but also a symbolical tool of bonding laymen with the corporation in eternity. During the initial stages of the Teutonic Order the memorial issue seems to have dominated the confraternity, but later (after the fifteenth century), although the lay people did not join the confraternity because of *memoria*, it still played a symbolical role in creating and strengthening the ties between the Order and its *familiares*.

It can be stated that with the help of the confraternity the Teutonic Order attempted to weave a political, economic, religious and commemorational network of the supporters. This article aims to show how the Teutonic Order used the confraternity in bonding with their lay "friends" and will shed light on the usage of *memoria* as a symbolical entity in the affiliation process of the lay people. The focus will be on the development of the institution of the Order's confraternity and bonding with its lay supporters in the imperial bailiwicks during the thirteenth and fourteenth century, and the usage of the same institution in very different circumstances—by the Livonian Master Wolter von Plettenberg during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. As an additional aspect, the article will attempt to reveal the role of *memoria* as a "countergift" promised by the Teutonic Order to the laymen, who joined the confraternity both in the imperial bailiwicks and centuries later in Livonia.

The confraternity of the Teutonic Order.
Its origins and development

The mission of the Military Orders was not only to spread and defend the Christian faith by military means, but, at the same time, they were religious institutions taking part in care for the souls of their contemporaries. Involvement of lay people in the Order was not only possible by becoming a lay brother or sister and joining the Order's brethren in their houses, but also by keeping a secular lifestyle and social positions. Becoming a *familiaris* was an option for lay people who wished to have their part in spiritual benefits the Military Orders could offer, but were not eager to abandon their previous lifestyles.

There existed no limitations for prospective *familiares* in the Teutonic Order and married or unmarried men and women could attain this status.[12] In contrast to the Order of Temple, where the *familiares* "as unfree serfs were bound to the Order by law,"[13] in the Teutonic Order *familiares* had comparatively "loose ties" with the Order and did not live within the Order's houses.[14] An endowment of property for the Order and a blameless moral stance were the only preconditions to become a *familiaris*.[15] Until the last days of life the property could be used by an endower and after the death it was handed over to the Order.[16] By entering the confraternity the *familiares* enjoyed the Order's privileges and came under the Order's patronage.[17] Although the Order's statutes did not specify that, the *familiares* who joined the Order's confraternity, were promised a funeral, and a commemorative anniversary.[18]

In the thirteenth century, the *familiares* could be admitted by the land commanders.[19] Thus every commandry could create their own social and commemorative networks of *familiares*. There is rich evidence on how the Order's houses of Beuggen (bailiwick Alsace-Burgundy), Weissenburg (bailiwick Alsace-Burgundy), and Marburg (bailiwick Hessen) admitted their own *familiares*. For example, in Beuggen in 1266 *familiares eiusdem domus* are mentioned;[20] in Weissenburg numerous noblemen and their wives were admitted as *familiares*;[21] in Marburg in 1274 a certain knight and his wife were admitted *in suam confratriam*.[22] The commanders of these houses admitted as *familiares* mostly local aristocrats: dukes, barons, ministeriales; in the commandry Beuggen even some townspeople were among the *familiares*.[23]

The Teutonic Order and its *familiares*, as Hans Limburg has put it, were bound with "amicable ties" and "friendship" that had various forms.[24] Existing "friendship" between the Order and local aristocracies or other elites rarely created new social bonds between individuals, but rather reflected the existing ones. On numerous occasions the endowments of noblemen were instigated by a kinship between the brethren of a certain house and *familiares* or benefactors and their political or economic interests.[25] Moreover, support of *familiares*, besides commemorative and religious effects, had significant social and economic consequences; endowments made by the *familiares* and benefactors aided the Order financially and created social and political networks that strengthened the Order's positions in a certain region. The institution of the *familiares* was used as a profitable

financial instrument by the Order, acquiring substantial incomes, but as he claims, there was a risk of abusing this institution.[26]

The existing source material from numerous commanderies in the Empire—charters and necrologies—shows that next to the *familiares* there were benefactors, who were not officially associated with the Order; they actively supported the Order's houses with endowments and requested commemoration in return. The two groups—benefactors and *familiares*—are indistinctive, and usually benefactors appear side by side with the *familiares* in the sources.[27]

For example, in the necrology of the Order's house in Mergentheim (mid-14th century) the names of benefactors composed the largest part of individuals whose names were recorded into it.[28] The necrology of Mergentheim mentions only a handful of *familiares*, who had to be commemorated,[29] but the rest of the lay people recorded in the necrology were benefactors of the Order. Similarly, in the necrology of bailiwick Hessen (Marburg) most of the lay people recorded were benefactors and not *familiares* or half-brothers.[30] The affiliation to the Order meant that one was bound to it not only through gift-giving, but also by legal ties. Benefactors legally were not part of the institutional confraternity; together with *familiares* they belonged to the spiritual community (*Gebetsgemeinschaft*) of the Order.[31]

If the role of the *familiares* in the Order during the thirteenth century seems to be well researched,[32] then the development of the Order's confraternity during the fourteenth century is less clear. In the fourteenth century there were still lay people, who became *familiares* and were bound to the bailiwicks or individual houses of the Order, but it appears that the number of *familiares* declined.[33] From the fourteenth century on, the *familiares*, who entered the confraternity by making endowments, are difficult to find. In the mid-fifteenth century version of the statutes (1442) there still was a paragraph on admission of *familiares*, being only slightly altered from the previous versions.[34] Although the rejuvenated version of the statutes required endowments from the *familiares*, Johannes Voigt claims that the Order's confraternity in the fifteenth century Prussia admitted individuals without requesting any bestowal of properties from them.[35] The membership in the confraternity was no longer a source of a direct financial income for the Order, and eventually the Order and its high standing officials in the late Middle Ages distributed the membership to those whom they wished to include in their social and political networks.

Meanwhile, the process of admission in the confraternity had also changed; if in the thirteenth century the commanderies could admit new confraternity members, then during the later period only the Order's Grand Masters, who since 1309 resided in Marienburg, Prussia, had a privilege to admit individuals into the confraternity.[36] Although in the late Middle Ages the admission was centralized—performed by the Grand Masters of officials empowered by them, the real extent of the confraternity cannot be estimated, because only a handful of late medieval confraternity charters have survived. The number of members must have fluctuated according to the willingness of the Order's officials to use the confraternity for specific political, religious or social aims.

The purpose and use of the Order's confraternity also experienced considerable changes. The late medieval confraternity no longer resembled an institution for which the main aim was to intercede between lay people and God by praying for its deceased members. During the late Middle Ages the Teutonic Order with a help of the confraternity created bonds with European ruling elites in order to strengthen its military and political positions in Prussia and Livonia where they had secular power and where the Order had political or economic interests. Since the mid-fourteenth century the Grand Masters received in the confraternity numerous European late medieval rulers and aristocrats of high status: kings and princes, dukes, and bishops.[37] The admission of the rulers in the confraternity reflected the Order's gratitude for offered military or political support and a wish to keep existing bounds for future cooperation.

At the same time the Grand Masters kept creating networks in the territories where it had a secular power, namely Prussia and Livonia, admitting into the confraternity the Order's own vassals and other noblemen.[38] By involving local noblemen in the confraternity, the Order pursued inner-political prospects in order to strengthen their positions within Prussia and Livonia, where towns and bishops constantly challenged the Order's secular power internally. Involvement in the confraternity created even closer bonds between the noblemen and the Order, fostering mutual trust and cooperation. Prussian and Livonian noblemen, who joined the Order's confraternity, through admission became semi-members of the Order, kept their secular status, but were under full patronage of the Order.

Gerhard Müller has described all individuals admitted in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as "honorary *familiares*" (*Ehrenfamiliaren*), because they, in Müller's opinion, were not supposed to endow anything or to offer regular services to the Order.[39] A distinction between "common" and "honorary" *familiares* could be applied hypothetically only for the thirteenth century, when admission into the confraternity without an endowment was an exception, but not for the later Middle Ages, when such practice was a predominant trend. The late medieval confraternity of the Order was still in the form of an exchange of gifts and countergifts, but instead of endowments and prayers for the souls of deceased confraternity members, the Order's patronage and services of its confraternity members were exchanged for prayers and political, legal, military or economic support.

As with many medieval institutions, the confraternity of the Order also experienced decline at the brink of the Middle Ages. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the confraternity was used more rarely and for the early sixteenth century there were only Livonian confraternity charters left. The last known member admitted into the Order's confraternity was a Livonian nobleman Ludolf Fürstenberg in 1504.[40] Formidable crises of the Order that followed the Reformation brought this three-hundred-year-old Order's institution to a complete halt.

Confraternity in the Livonian branch during the leadership of Wolter von Plettenberg

In the thirteenth century, while the institution of *familiares* was popular in the Imperial bailiwicks of the Teutonic Order, in Livonia there are no traces of lay people associated with the Order. This could be explained partly by the fact that the Order arrived in Livonia comparatively late, only in 1237, and for the whole thirteenth century Livonia underwent an intensive process of formation; stable local nobility had not yet emerged, because of the on-going crusading. Also, there is very little known about individual relationships between Livonian townspeople and the Order because of poor preservation of Livonian archives.

In neighbouring Prussia, which experienced similar processes of Christianization and urbanization, the Order managed to gain a leading role from the very beginning. There, too, the aristocracy was formed during the thirteenth century, but the Order had a firm control over the towns. The first members of the Order's confraternity in Prussia were not the noblemen like in the Empire, but elite townspeople, who requested commemoration from the Teutonic Order.[41] In Prussia there were also some urban benefactors, who never joined the confraternity, but gained *memoria* from the Order.[42]

Moreover, Piotr Oliński suggests that the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century was a popular recipient of memorial endowments, because the townspeople evaluated highly its role in crusades against the pagans in Prussia and wanted to participate in these "good deeds" in some form.[43] However, in the beginning of the fourteenth century memorial donations for the Teutonic Order in Prussia gradually decreased and the Order lost its role as a popular commemorational institution.[44] As a consequence of this, the Order's confraternity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was dominated by noblemen and clergymen.[45] The scarce Livonian sources show that the Order's confraternity there followed the Prussian trend by admitting only noblemen. Although, the Order and the Livonian Masters in particular, in number of occasions had close relationships with members of urban elites and regarded them as "friends",[46] it seems that despite this respect these faithful townsmen never admitted into the Order's confraternity.

The Order's confraternity in Livonia was mentioned for the first time 250 years later than the Prussian one, called *geselleschafft*[47] *gesellschop*,[48] and *bruderschafft*,[49] an equivalent for *hemeliken vrende* or *familiares* named in the Order's statutes.[50] Also in contrast to Prussia the confraternity's history in Livonia covers only a bit more than a decade, between 1490 and 1504.[51] In the Livonian case the confraternity was centred on politics of Wolter von Plettenberg (circa 1450–1535), the commander of the Order's Livonian forces (*Landmarschall*) (1489–1494) and the Master of the Livonian branch (1494–1535).[52] Plettenberg became the Master right after the end of civil war in which the Order under his military command defeated (1491) its inner opponents—the city of Riga and the archbishop, and in time when hostility of Muscovites lead by Ivan III (1440–1505) grew

against Livonia. All the Order's confraternity members in Livonia at this stage were admitted by the Master Plettenberg.

Right after the election in the office of the Livonian Master, in July 1494, Plettenberg immediately began to work on expansion and development of the confraternity within Livonian branch. Already in October 1494 the Grand Master Hans von Tieffen (1489–1497) sanctioned Plettenberg's rights to admit new confraternity members.[53] The initiative of this sanction apparently came from Plettenberg himself, who sent commander of Goldingen Heinrich von der Brüggen as his envoy to Konigsberg.[54] Von der Brüggen humbly "asked and begged" (*begert unnd gebetenn*) the Grand Master to grant this privilege.[55]

However, it seems that Plettenberg had started establishing a network of faithful allies and clients before acquisition of the Master's office, four years earlier, still being a commander of the Order's forces in Livonia.[56] In 1490 the Grand Master von Tieffen in a letter addressed to Plettenberg, mentioned that he could admit someone into the confraternity of the Order, with the consent of the Grand Master.[57] Additionally, had Plettenberg sent silver and the office fee (*Kanzleigebuhr*), he could have admitted into the confraternity one or two Order's supporters.

As the Grand Master himself defined in the sanction issued to the Livonian Master in 1494, the confraternity of the Order should have "a small number" (*eine kleine czall*) of members.[58] A large number of confraternity members could have had an inflationary effect, endangering the group's exclusivity; this was experienced when von Tieffen's predecessor, Ludiwg von Erlichshausen (1450–1467)[59] distributed confraternity membership generously.[60] Therefore the privilege given to the Livonian Master instructed that only ten respectable, noble, pious and obedient noblemen (*erbarenn, rittermeszigenn, frommenn, unnd wol erdientenn czehenn guttemannen*) could be received by Plettenberg in the Order's confraternity.[61]

These instructions prevented Plettenberg from admitting a large number of members into the confraternity, but the Livonian master was not limited in his choice of prospective confraternity members. It seems that the Grand Master, by authorizing Plettenberg to admit members into the Order's confraternity, presupposed that the local vassals (*wol erdientenn* [..] *guttemannen*) would be the prospective members. However, more specific demands for the prospective confraternity members were lacking and Plettenberg later may have used his freedom to involve individuals from outside of Livonia in the confraternity.[62]

The advantages received by the confraternity members also were not clearly defined by the Grand Master. According to the charter, the noblemen entering the Order's confraternity would have received all benefits (*herlikeitenn*) and freedoms (*freiheitenn*) according to the instructions of the confraternity charters (*brieffe*).[63] Exact kind of benefits and freedoms granted by the membership in the confraternity are not mentioned. Nevertheless, the confraternity letters given by Plettenberg himself, show that *memoria* was among the benefits promised.[64]

Another description of the Order's confraternity dates from 1497, when amid the tense political and military situation in which Livonia had found itself regarding its eastern

neighbour, the Order's confraternity experienced unexpected crisis. Several ships on their way from Livonia (Riga and Reval), carrying important (*wichtigen*) goods, sunk near Hel peninsula (Prussia) because of a heavy storm. On 10 November 1497, Plettenberg wrote a letter to the city of Danzig, asking for a return of stranded objects, if they were washed ashore, and promised a compensation for rescuers.[65] These wrecked ships carried something that had not only great material, but more importantly, a symbolical value. Plettenberg, by addressing the city council of Danzig, lists valuable objects that were stored in three or four oilcloths (*wasdoke*): numerous smaller objects (*clenodia*) decorated with sable furs (*sabelenn*), cloaks (*suben*) decorated with furs and white, black and blue damask, pieces of silk (*sidenstucke*), marten furs (*marten*), and six golden rings with stones (*suss andere guldenn ringe myt stenthenn*) and also one gilded and one not gilded chain of the confraternity (*unnszes ordenns geselschoppe*).[66] All these extremely expensive valuables were part of the Order's gifts for the confraternity members.

As the Master openly informed the city councillors of Danzig, objects listed here had to serve for the prosper and good (*tho gedie* [..] *unde beste*) of Livonia as the gifts to the lords (*heren*), princes (*forstenn*), knights (*ritter*) and noblemen (*gudemans*).[67] The Master in a return awaited support (*trost*), help (*hulpe*) and assistance (*bystands*) for the Christian land oppressed (*bedruckedenn cristenlande*) by the nonbelievers (Russians). By distributing these "small acknowledgments" (*cleyne derkentnissze*) Plettenberg wished to stimulate (*anreysigenn*) and make willing (*willigenn*) the noblemen to help Livonia, which was suffering from the Russians (*van den affbsunderdenn Russzenn lidende*).[68] Moreover, the letter notes that next to the numerous gifts, letters of confraternity (*scrifftenn unnde breven*) had been sent to the noblemen, admitting them into the confraternity of the Order.[69]

Seeking for political and military allies by the help of the confraternity was not anything unusual for the Teutonic Order in the late Middle Ages. Numerous Grand Masters admitted high-ranking noblemen in the confraternity of the Order, in such a way expressing their gratefulness for their services or wishing to create a bond between the Order and the political elites. Most of the confraternity charters were issued to the European rulers, who had taken part or supported the Order's continuous struggle against the pagan Lithuanians. After the campaigns in Lithuania, numerous dukes and princes were admitted into the confraternity: Boleslaw III of Silesia, Heinrich VI of Breslau (1294–1335) and Wladislaw of Liegnitz (1296–1352) in 1329,[70] Albrecht III of Austria (1349/50–1395)[71] between 1393 and 1395,[72] prince Ruprecht III of Pfalz (1352–1410) (later German king Ruprecht I) in 1398,[73] and also the duke of Bari and constable of Naples Raimondello Orsini (1361–1406) around 1400.[74]

There were some other political actors, which through admission in the confraternity were gratified for their political, diplomatic or spiritual support. Arnestus (Ernst) of Pardubiz (around 1300–1364), archbishop of Prague, was admitted in the confraternity in 1343, marking his intended role in the Christianization of the Lithuanians, although this mission had failed.[75] The Emperor Sigismund I (1368–1437) and his wife Barbara of Cilli (around 1390–1451) became members of the Order's confraternity in 1429; Sigismund had been a

long-time political patron of the Order and after the dramatic defeat at Tannenberg (1410) he offered the Order vital political alliance in a standoff with the Polish king—Wladislaw II Jagiello (1352/1362- 1434).[76]

If the admission of these rulers into the Order's confraternity came as a gratification for their support offered to the Order, then Plettenberg's confraternity policies were different. Although the addressees of the gifts and confraternity letters sent by Plettenberg are unknown, it seems that by involving "lords, princes, knights and noblemen"[77] in the confraternity, the Livonian Master did not want to reward them for the previous support, but to gain new political and military allies for his struggle against the Russians.[78] In the late 1490s Livonia was in desperate need for external support and in these circumstances the admission within the confraternity was not only an act of religiosity and piety, but, more importantly, the creation of political network, intended to strengthen the Teutonic Order and Livonia as such.

Although it is not known where the ships from Riga were precisely heading, the letter of Plettenberg sent to the town council of Danzig reveals his strategy to admit in the confraternity of the Teutonic Order in Livonia not only locals, but also unnamed noblemen from Northern Germany or Prussia, or even Poland and Lithuania.[79] Wolter von Plettenberg was limited in his authority to recruit a large number of supporters for the confraternity of the Order. The privilege issued by the Grand Master in 1494 instructed that the number of the individuals admitted in the confraternity by Plettenberg must not exceed 10.[80] It is not known whether this quota included also those individuals whom Plettenberg was allowed to admit in the confraternity in 1490, when he still was a commander of the Order's forces in Livonia.[81] If the two quotas were summed up, then Plettenberg could have established a network of 11–13 members of the confraternity. However, it is not known whether Plettenberg fulfilled the quota set by the Grand Master, but at least formally he was not allowed to exceed it.

From the confraternity charters issued by Wolter von Plettenberg, only three have survived, and they all are dated from the first ten years of the Master's reign, when the Russian threat was eminent. The Master Plettenberg admitted into the confraternity three noblemen: Dionysius von Sacken (1496),[82] Guntram (Guntermann) Schenk von Schweinsberg (1498),[83] and Luleff (Ludolf) Furstenberch (1504).[84]

These surviving confraternity charters show two trends of creating or strengthening relationships between the Order and the lay noblemen. The first one shows that the confraternity was used to acknowledge and strengthen the loyalty of certain Order's vassals. The Order's vassal from Courland, Dionysius von Sacken,[85] received the confraternity charter from Plettenberg in 1496.[86] As the charter reveals, Dionysius von Sacken was seen by the Master as trustworthy and faithful subject. Moreover, after his admission into the confraternity, Plettenberg entrusted Sacken with an important and complicated diplomatic mission. In 1500, after the cathedral chapter of bishopric Courland elected provost Ambrosius into the bishop's office without the Master's consent, Plettenberg accompanied chaplain Christoffer Storm, who was sent to Rome by the chapter in order to prevent the

elect's consecration, with von Sacken as a second envoy.[87] By sending von Sacken together with Storm to Rome, Plettenberg wished to keep a close control over the process. Von Sacken, as Plettenberg explained the choice of the envoy to the Grand Master, was a sworn and faithful associate of the Order (*unszers ordens gesworenn und leven getruwen*),[88] indicating that he had tight bonds with the corporation.

Von Sacken's involvement in the confraternity resembles the admission of another Order's vassal from Courland, Johannes Brinke (Brynke, von den Brincken),[89] who was admitted into the confraternity in 1464 by the Grand Master Ludwig von Erlichshausen (1450–1467).[90] Next to his vassalage that bound him with the Order, Johannes Brinke since 1455 had been in the service of the Livonian branch as an envoy.[91] As was common for the confraternity charters, besides the formulaic praise of individual's reputation, it does not reveal the actual reason why the Grand Master issued it for Brinke, but Oskar Stavenhagen argued that Brinke was taken in the confraternity of the Order for his outstanding diplomatic services during the Thirteen Years' War in Prussia (1454–1466).[92]

The confraternity fostered mutual trust between the Order and its vassals and made the chosen vassals part of the Order. This was a process in which also the relationships between individual Masters and their faithful vassals were created and strengthened, as it follows from the next two examples.

The second trend shows, that the confraternity was used by the Order's Master to bind his relatives to himself and to the Order, consequently strengthening the positions of his relatives in Livonia and also his own position in the Order. Kinship in these two cases was the main precondition of admission into the confraternity.

In 1498 Plettenberg admitted Guntermann Schenk (1488*–1524) into the confraternity of the Order, addressing him as *swagere*.[94] *Swagere* (literally- a brother-in-law) like *vetter* (a cousin) were equally used to describe all distant male relatives with whom consanguinity or affinity still could be traced.[95] Friedrich von Klocke suggests that Guntermann Schenk had married a distant female relative of Plettenberg,[96] denying a speculation about Schenk's marriage with Plettenberg's sister Elisabeth von Plettenberg (1492–1533).[97] It is not known whether Guntermann Schenk ever moved to Livonia, because his confraternity charter was held by the Order's commandry of Marburg, in Hessen.[98] Despite uncertainty about his actual presence in Livonia, Schenk's involvement in the confraternity was part of Plettenberg's strategy to use the Order's resources in support of his relatives (clients) in Livonia.

Next to Guntermann Schenk, Plettenberg admitted another relative into the confraternity of the Teutonic Order; Luleff Fürstenberg, became a confraternity member in 1504.[99] Fürstenberg, a nobleman of Westphalian origin, had moved to Livonia in the late fifteenth century. At the time when Plettenberg rose to power, he was in Wenden and later, in 1506, received from the Order a fief in Harrien-Wierland.[100] After the acquisition of the fief, Fürstenberg gained an important political position among the local nobility, becoming a *mannrichter* (judge) and representative of Harrien-Wierland's aristocracy in the Livonian Landtags between 1510 and 1545.[101] Luleff Fürstenberg, similarly as Guntermann Schenk,

was a distant relative of Wolter Plettenberg; the Fürstenberg and Plettenberg families were bound by affinity or consanguinity in Westphalia.[102] However, in the confraternity charter there are no references to the kinship of Fürstenberg and Plettenberg.[103]

Plettenberg apparently wished to grant special privileges in Livonia not only to Luleff Fürstenberg and Guntermann Schenk, but also to other relatives and associates. The envoys of the Grand Master, who were sent to Livonia for an inspection in 1502, reported that the Master Plettenberg had brought to Livonia "his friends" (*siner frunde*) with their families providing them with fiefs and therefore was accused of ignorance against the local nobility, which was denied these benefits.[104] Plettenberg, although pictured in this report as a nepotistic ruler, however, was following a trend set by the predecessors in the office.[105] In the fifteenth century the Masters of the Livonian branch invited their relatives from the Empire to Livonia, primarily to strengthen the Order's role within the local nobility, but also to reinforce their own positions within the province and the Order's branch itself.[106] Also later, during the sixteenth century, the networks of patronage between the Masters and their Westphalian relatives existed, as in case of the Master Johann von der Recke (1549–1551), who during his time in office exchanged expensive gifts and favours with his relatives in Westphalia by accepting his kinsmen in the Livonian branch.[107] Mutual exchange of services and favours was a norm rather than an exception in relationships between the Masters and their relatives both in the Empire and Livonia.

For Wolter Plettenberg the confraternity was an important tool for securing social positions of his relatives and creating a new type of relationship with them. In the late Middle Ages distant kinship was used as a basis for creating trustworthy client-patron relationships.[108] Plettenberg pursued to strengthen his own positions during the turbulent times and establishment of faithful entourage in the territory, where he had no permanently residing relatives. It was possible only through involvement of distant relatives or "friends" from the Empire, whom he was entitled to care for.[109] The remembrance offered by the confraternity served as an instrument for integration of faithful vassals and relatives in the community of the Teutonic Order in Livonia.

The spiritual benefits of the bonding. The confraternity of the Teutonic Order and the promised commemoration of its members in the Livonian branch

It would not be an overstatement to claim that *memoria* was one of the core components of the confraternity. *Memoria* was one of the main reasons why noblemen during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries joined confraternities of the Military Orders.[110] The members of the confraternity could expect regular prayers for their remembrance and in case of the Temple, also the burials within the Templar cemeteries.[111] The Teutonic Order, however, did not have a firm tradition of offering the confraternity members burials in the Order's churches or cemeteries.[112]

Although, the Order's statutes thoroughly regulated admission of *familiares* and the extent of the endowment that had to be made in order to grant the membership, *memoria* of deceased confraternity members was not mentioned in the statutes.[113] The remembrance was set by individual confraternity charters that granted *familiares* a long-term commemoration with annual anniversaries and prayers.[114] However, in the thirteenth-century confraternity charters remembrance was also requested without specifying the exact commemorational services that should be performed by the brethren of the Teutonic Order.[115] From its very beginning the confraternity with the Order meant having part in its good deeds, which would benefit souls of deceased confraternity members. Later, in the fourteenth century, the confraternity charters stated that already during the lifetime members would spiritually take part in the good deeds of the Order: prayers, masses, vigils, almsgiving, deeds (*laborum*), fasting (*abstinenciarum*), penitence (*disciplinarum*), and other beneficial deeds.[116]

The confraternity charters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from the Empire indicate that at the time engagement in the Order's good deeds during the lifetime (*memoria* of living) was distinguished from *memoria* of the dead. In the charters post-mortem remembrance was usually discussed in the final section, setting its performance after the death of the confraternity member. The commemoration offered by the Order frequently was commonly described as *memoria* granted to all brethren or supporters and benefactors.[117] Some confraternity charters disclose that the promised *memoria* had to consist of regularly celebrated masses, vigils, prayers and anniversaries.[118] In some cases the confraternity members were promised funerals,[119] however, it is not clear whether these promises granted burials in the Order's churches and chapels, or just performance of the funeral liturgy, with the body buried somewhere else.

The confraternity of the Teutonic Order created relationship between the Order and an individual and therefore both the confraternity bonds and *memoria* were not hereditary. After the death of a confraternity member all objects given by the Order were expected to be returned by the heirs.[120] For example, in the Temple, the confraternity members could extend benefits of *memoria* to their family members or associates.[121] It was not the case in the Teutonic Order. This practice of the Teutonic Order's confraternity contradicted usual practices of *memoria*. The medieval remembrance of an individual tended to integrate in itself commemoration of deceased predecessors and future successors, family and friends. Separation of the confraternity member's remembrance from *memoria* of his kin has to be considered as a late medieval development that reflected the growing social and political purposes of the Order's confraternity and which dominated over initial memorial role of this institution.

The remembrance depended on the resources invested into it. Regular masses, vigils and anniversaries had certain costs. If in the thirteenth century commemoration of the confraternity members and benefactors provided the Teutonic Order with additional financial resources,[122] then the confraternity's late medieval *memoria* demanded resources

from the Order. Lack of endowments made by confraternity members meant that during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Order had to cover all the expenses of post-humous remembrance of the confraternity members.[123] The confraternity charters issued in the late Middle Ages did not demand any additional financial contributions from the members. Free *memoria* apparently was one of the privileges, which demonstrated that the Order considered its lay associates as integral part of it, and therefore the confraternity members like the brethren received free commemoration.

The members of the confraternity and other individuals associated with the Order were regularly commemorated, both individually and collectively. From the surviving necrologies it can be seen that individual *familiares* and benefactors had annual anniver-saries, but there were also feasts when all of them had to be commemorated collectively. The supplementing laws issued by the Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf (1422–1441) in 1422 mention the celebration of anniversaries by the Order's priests in remembrance of the deceased brethren, sisters, *familiares*, and benefactors buried in the Order's churches and chapels.[124] The day when all the deceased "friends" of the Order were commemorated, differed from a bailiwick to a bailiwick or from a branch to a branch.[125]

The surviving necrologies show that the confraternity had a territorial character. Individuals were admitted by local commanders, and later by the Grand Masters or individuals empowered by them. Thus the confraternity members were bound to the Order and its officials in a certain territory. *Memoria* equally was performed at the local level; commanderies and bailiwicks commemorated only their own deceased brethren and confraternity members. There is a lack of information about the commemorational practices in Prussia and Livonia on the branch level, but most likely each branch commemorated the confraternity members accepted only by their own highest officials— the Grand and Land Masters. There had to be an exceptional reason to commemorate the confraternity members outside the Order's institution they were admitted in. Even "friends" and benefactors of the Order, evocated in prayers attached to the statutes, differed—the Order's Prussian branch commemorated different benefactors than the Livonian one.[126]

To a significant extent, the confraternity of the Order in the late Middle Ages was transformed from the commemorational institution into a political network of kinship and patronage, preoccupied with creating alliances of loyalty. However, *memoria* had not lost its important role within this institution of the Order. *Memoria's* role had changed. The commemoration of the dead was no longer an aim of the confraternity; in the late Middle Ages remembrance offered by the Order's confraternity served as an instrument for the establishment or strengthening of relationships between the Teutonic Order and the laymen.

Although formal in its appearance, the remembrance of newly admitted confraternity members was the main issue discussed in the confraternity charters. The membership in the confraternity was spiritual and its physical forms remain disguised; the confraternity

charters were not demanding any services or obligations from the members apart from non-specified readiness to struggle against the enemies of the Holy Cross, the Teutonic Order and Christ endangering Livonia.[127] Lay people by admission in the confraternity did not have to make any vows; the commemoration next to the formal signs of the confraternity membership: a chain (in exceptional cases also a cloak) given to the members,[128] and weekly recitation of prayers–paternosters and Ave Marias—on one or numerous occasions—as a sign of participation in the Order's confraternity.[129] These prayers were a tie that bonded the Order with the confraternity members.

Memoria was offered as an exclusive privilege for the confraternity members (von sunderlichen genaden).[130] With the help of memoria they were integrated in the community of the Order. Moreover, remembrance was important to seal and legitimize the affiliation of the Master's clients involved in the confraternity. Detailed description of the remembrance in the confraternity charters manifested that the alliance between the Teutonic Order and the selected lay people was meant to exist for eternity, during the lifetime and also after the death, when the Order's brethren would care for their remembrance.

Livonian confraternity of the Order is of a special interest—the three confraternity charters issued by the Livonian Master are the last surviving confraternity charters of the Teutonic Order. Therefore, these are the last three examples of the remembrance offered to the individuals admitted in the confraternity of the Order.

The commemoration of the confraternity members was centralized and organized by the Livonian Master. In the event of a confraternity member's death, the charter as well as the chain and the garments had to be returned in possession of the Order, namely reverted to the issuer—the Livonian Master. In all three confraternity charters issued by Plettenberg, it was specified that the confraternity chain (selschapp, geselschop) should be sent "back in to the country" and returned to the Livonian Master's "main chapel" (oversten cappellen),[131] the chapel of the Master's residence. The Livonian Master in the late fifteenth century had his residence in Wenden,[132] where also the confraternity charters to Guntermann Schenk and Dionysius Sacken were issued. As the case of the sunken ship in 1497 shows,[133] the confraternity charters and chains could have been granted to individuals not present in the admission ceremony. As the objects representing the confraternal ties were sent to the recipients through the Order's messengers, they were also received via messengers (gewisszen boden) after the confraternity member's death.[134]

The return of the objects belonging to the confraternity had a very important role for memoria. By the return of the issued charter and chain, the Order and its Master were officially informed about the death of the confraternity member and right after the objects and charters were received in the residence of the Master, the remembrance ceremony of the confraternity member had to be initiated.[135] Transfer of the objects initially created the confraternal ties between the Order, its Master and the layman and then after the death the following return of the objects marked the second phase in the relationship of the confrater and the Order—memoria.

The Livonian Master granted that the confraternity members after their death would be commemorated in "all Order's houses of this country" (*dorch duth gantze lant up all unszers ordens huiszen*).[136] *Memoria* offered to the confraternity members and benefactors of the Order's bailiwicks and branches was exceptionally regional and lay people affiliated to the Livonian branch could not expect a commemoration from other institutions of the Order.[137] However, there were exceptions; for example, the Order's Livonian vassal from Courland Johannes Brynken was admitted into the confraternity by the Grand Master Ludwig von Elichshausen in 1464, and therefore could await commemoration performed in the Order's houses in Prussia.[138]

The commemorational benefits promised to the Livonian members of the confraternity by Plettenberg were the usual ones: liturgical ceremonies and prayers of the brethren. Although, the late medieval confraternity of the Teutonic Order was not granting burials in the Order's houses and churches, all confraternity members were promised a celebration of the funeral liturgy in all Livonian houses of the Order.[139] Likewise, the regular soul masses, vigils, prayers and commemorations performed by the brethren had to follow. All these promises of remembrance were loose, not being defined in time and space; it was not set where *memoria* had to be primarily performed and also the time and regularity of the commemoration was not specified in the confraternity charters. The Master admitted individuals into the confraternity and guaranteed them a commemoration. However, the charters do not reveal how the remembrance was implemented and performed and who was responsible for that. The promises of the remembrance made by the Master were general and symbolical, testifying the Order's patronage over the confraternity member's soul after he deceased, but not giving precise guarantees, just promising to commemorate the deceased confraternity members according to the memorial practices of the Order.

Although all confraternity charters follow a certain model, the texts of the charters are not identical and also the formulation of the remembrance granted to the confraternity members differs in each of the charters. If Guntermann Schenk and Dionysius von Sacken were promised commemoration according to an old tradition reserved for "the brethren of the Order" (*unszers ordens brodern*),[140] then Luleff Furstenberg, had to be memorialized as a benefactor and supporter of the Order (*besunder leiffheber und gonner in unsen orden*).[141] Similarly, Curonian Johann Brynken, faithful vassal of the Order, admitted into the confraternity by the Grand Master decades earlier, was promised a remembrance of a benefactor and supporter.[142]

These differences of *memoria's* description seem to be formulaic ones, because the promised commemorational services for these confraternity members remained the same. However, the different formulations could signal various types of relationships between the Order, respectively, the Livonian Master and these selected noblemen. As shown earlier, Guntermann Schenk and Dionysius von Sacken were closely bound with Plettenberg and played important roles in the Master's diplomatic and internal policies.[143] Therefore commemorating them as the members of the Order would only confirm their intimate

relationships with the Master and the Order. Luleff Furstenberg, a distant relative and client of Plettenberg, and a leader of the noblemen in Harrien-Wierland,[144] if commemorated, had to remain among "benefactors", although it is not known whether he was evaluated as a less close associate of the Order. The different *memoria's* descriptions used in the confraternity charters, illuminate a more general problem; it has remained unknown whether there was any difference in attitude between the commemoration of the Teutonic Order's brethren and the remembrance granted for benefactors.

Although remembrance was promised and planned by the Order and the Livonian Master, most likely, *memoria* mentioned in the three Livonian confraternity charters, never took place. All three noblemen admitted in the confraternity by Plettenberg, namely, Dionysius von Sacken, Guntermann Schenk, and Luleff Furstenberg, were active in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and had reached maturity at the time when the charters were issued. Luleff Furstenberg, admitted in the confraternity in 1504, one of the leader's of the local nobility in Harrien-Wierland, had died between 1540 and 1545, after the Reformation.[145] Guntermann Schenk, a distant relative of Plettenberg, died in Hessen around 1524.[146] The fate of Dionysius von Sacken after 1506, when he for the last time was mentioned in the Curonian charter, is unknown.[147]

These individuals deceased when the Teutonic Order was in decline and experienced inner disturbances because of the Reformation. If in Prussia the Teutonic Order was secularized already in 1525, in Livonia the Order continued to exist, although, because of an abandonment of the Catholic faith, the Teutonic Order had suffered certain erosion of legitimation.[148] The Teutonic Order in Livonia kept its institutional form until 1561, when it was dissolved, but it is difficult to evaluate the influence of Lutheranism on the structures and practices in the period between the beginning of the Reformation and 1535. It is believed that in the latter years of Plettenberg's rule, many brethren had openly converted into Lutheranism, but the Master himself remained faithful to the Catholic faith. A major change took place when Plettenberg's successor Herman von Brüggenei (1535–1549) began to foster Lutheranism not only in Livonia, but also within the Order's Livonian branch itself.[149] Therefore, it can be claimed that the continuation of the commemorative practices under the rise of Lutheran influences must have been problematic and no longer had any symbolical or religious value.

Despite the historical consequences of the Reformation and the following abandonment of the remembrance, in the moment when the relationships between the Order and the three laymen were created, *memoria* was intended as a perpetual process. Plettenberg issued the three confraternity charters under the circumstances of increasing military threat caused by the Muscovites at the turn of the century;[150] the eventual involvement of these Order's associates in the military activities against the invaders cannot be ruled out. In these circumstances the promise of a remembrance had an additional value and persuaded the confraternity members that the Order would take care of their *memoria* if they had to lose lives on the battlefield or while on other missions.

Conclusion

The social bonds of the Teutonic Order with its lay supporters and allies have been frequently overlooked. The Order was not an army that depended only on actions of its knight brethren. In order to operate successfully, it created networks of relationships that included laymen—both influential rulers and modest noblemen—and lasted in perpetuity.

The *familiares* by admission in the confraternity not only came under a protection of the Teutonic Order, they became members of the Order's "spiritual community". These lay people, as friends and benefactors, were integrated in the Teutonic Order also with the help of *memoria*. Although during the centuries the character of the Order's confraternity changed, *memoria* retained its importance in creation of the ties between the Order and its supporters and clients. The "gift exchange" taking place in the confraternity of the Teutonic Order also transformed during the Middle Ages; by the late fifteenth century individuals admitted in the confraternity no longer made endowments, however, remembrance still remained as one of the main "goods" the Order offered its lay associates.

The whole institution of the Order's confraternity underwent transformations during the centuries of its existence. If, in the thirteenth century imperial bailiwicks, the confraternity was important not only as a bonding tool, but also as a significant source of incomes, in the late fifteenth century Livonian branch the confraternity was used exceptionally for bonding, creating alliances and attracting clients. The late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Livonian admissions in the confraternity were part of a campaign carried out by Master Wolter Plettenberg. It was done for a special purpose—to consolidate the Order's forces and integrate in the Teutonic Order the Master's supporters within and outside Livonia during the wars with Muscovites. The promise of the institutional remembrance created mutual trust and bonds between the Order, its Master and numerous laymen, desperately needed in the period of a crisis. Yet it is clear that because of the Reformation, the promises of *memoria* were not carried out and it remained an unused token in the mutual gift-exchange.

Notes

[1] Schmidt H.-J. Einleitung: Zentrum und Netzwerk. Metaphern für kirchliche Organisationsformen im hohen und im späten Mittelalter. *Zentrum und Netzwerk. Kirchliche Kommunikationen und Raumstrukturen im Mittelalter*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008. pp. 7–40, at p. 8.

[2] On the role of the gifts in sustaining medieval networks of friendship, see Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft. Gabentausch und Netzwerkpflege im europäischen Mittelalter. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums Münster, 19. - 20. November 2009. Ed. M. Grünbart. Münster: LIT, 2011.

[3] On the medieval friendship and bonding, see Haseldine J. Friendship Networks in Medieval Europe: New Models of a Political Relationship. *Amity. The Journal of Friendship Studies*. 2013. No. 1. P. 69-88; Althoff G. *Family, friends and followers political and social bonds in early medieval Europe.* Transl. by C. Carroll. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; *Freundschaft oder 'amitie'? Ein politisch-soziales Konzept der Vormoderne im zwischensprachlichen Vergleich (15–17. Jahrhundert).* Ed. K. Oschema. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2007.

⁴ See Schenk J. Forms of lay association with the Order of the Temple. *Journal of Medieval History*. 2008. No. 34. pp. 79-103.

⁵ Schmid K. Gebetsgedenken und adliges Selbstverständnis im Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Beiträge. Sigmarigen: J. Thorbecke, 1983. p. 638; Althoff G. Amicitiae und Pacta. Bündnis, Einung, Politik und Gebetsgedenken im beginnenden 10. Jahrhundert. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1992.

⁶ Schmid K., Oexle O. G. Voraussetzungen und Wirkung des Gebetsbundes von Attigny. *Francia*. 1974. No. 2. pp. 71–122, at. p. 74; Bijsterveld A.-J. *Do ut des: Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries.* Hilversum: Verloren, 2007. p. 25.

⁷ Militzer, K. *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens.* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005; Arnold U. Entstehung und Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens. *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas.* Ed. Josef Fleckenstein. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980. pp. 81–108; *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia: the political and ecclesiastical structures 13th–16th c.* Eds. R. Czaja, A. Radziminski. Torun: TNT, 2015.

⁸ Müller G. Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens. Marburg: Elwert, 1980; Militzer K. Von Akkon zur Marienburg. Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1309. Marburg: Elwert, 1999. pp. 53-78; Tumler M. Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400. Wien: Panorama, 1954. pp. 377–389.; Limburg H. Schwestern, Halbschwestern und Halbbrüder des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter. Dargestellt am Kommendenverband Koblenz. Von Akkon bis Wien: Studien zur Deutschordensgeschichte vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Ed. U. Arnold. Marburg: Elwert, 1978. P. 14.

⁹ A literary translation of the term would be- individuals belonging to the household.

¹⁰ Toomaspoeg K. Der Deutsche Orden als Grund- und Kirchenherr in Italien. *Die Ritterorden als Träger der Herrschaft: Territorien, Grundbesitz und Kirche.* Eds. R. Czaja and J. Sarnowsky. Toruń: UMK, 2007. P. 196.

¹¹ On *memoria*, see Oexle O. G. Die Gegenwart der Toten. *Death in the Middle Ages.* Eds. H. Braet, W. Verbeke. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983. P. 19–77; Schlip T. Totengedenken des Mittelalters und kulturelles Gedächtnis. Überlegungen zur Perspektive der Memorialforschung für das Frauenstift Essen. *Pro remedio et salute anime peragemus. Totengedenken am Frauenstift Essen im Mittelalter.* Ed. T. Schilp. Essen: Klartext, 2008. P. 19-38;

¹² *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften.* Ed. M. Perlbach. Halle: Niemeyer, 1890. No. 32. P. 52; von Planta P. C. Bemerkungen zu den Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens im Elsaß und in der Südpfalz während des 13. Jahrhunderts. *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins.* 1997. No. 145. P. 439.

¹³ Schenk, J. Forms of lay association. P. 79.

¹⁴ Militzer K. Von Akkon zur Marienburg. P. 74.

¹⁵ '[..] alleyne vormyden openbaren zunde [..].' Perlbach M. *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*. No. 32. P. 52.

¹⁶ von Planta P. C. Bemerkungen zu den Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens im Elsaß. P. 439.

¹⁷ Braasch-Schwersmann U. *Das Deutschordenshaus Marburg. Wirtschaft und Verwaltung einer spätmittelalterlichen Grundherrschaft.* Marburg: Elwert, 1989. P. 203; von Planta P. C. Bemerkungen zu den Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens im Elsaß. P. 440.

¹⁸ Perlbach, *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*, No. 32, P. 52; von Planta P. C. Bemerkungen zu den Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens im Elsaß. P. 440.

¹⁹ Perlbach M. *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens.* No. 32, p. 52; Militzer K. Von Akkon zur Marienburg. P. 74.

²⁰ Heim P. *Die Deutschordenskommende Beuggen und die Anfänge der Ballei Elsaß-Burgund. Von der Entstehung bis zur Reformationszeit.* Bonn-Godesberg: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1977. P. 60.

²¹ von Planta P. C. Bemerkungen zu den Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens im Elsaß. P. 440–442.

²² Braasch-Schwersmann U. *Das Deutschordenshaus Marburg.* P. 203.

²³ Heim P. Die Deutschordenskommende Beuggen. P. 60.

²⁴ Limburg H. Schwestern, Halbschwestern und Halbbrüder des Deutschen Ordens. P. 22.

²⁵ Heim P. Die Deutschordenskommende Beuggen. P. 60–61.

[26] Tumler M. *Der Deutsche Orden.* P. 388.

[27] Heim P. Die Deutschordenskommende Beuggen. P. 60.; Braasch-Schwersmann U. Das Deutschordenshaus Marburg. P. 204.

[28] Perlbach M. Deutsch-Ordens Necrologe. *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte.* 1877. No. 17. P. 363–367.

[29] Nekrolog und Anniversar des Deutschordenshauses Mergentheim aus der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts, StA Ludwigsburg B 280 U 1, fol. 3, 5.

[30] *Hessisches Urkundenbuch.* Vol. 1/3. Ed. A. Wyss. Leipzig, 1899. No. 1290.

[31] von Planta C. P. Bemerkungen zu den Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens im Elsaß. P. 440.

[32] Heim P. *Die Deutschordenskommende Beuggen.* P. 58-64; Braasch-Schwersmann U. *Das Deutschordenshaus Marburg.* P. 200-205; von Planta C. P. Bemerkungen zu den Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens im Elsaß. P. 439–447;

[33] Limburg H. Schwestern, Halbschwestern und Halbbrüder des Deutschen Ordens. P. 28; Müller G. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens.* P. 52–53.

[34] Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach dem Originalexemplar von 1442 im Archiv zu Königsberg. Ed. E. Hennig. Königsberg, 1806. No. 34. P. 70.

[35] Voigt J. Über die Halbbrüder des Deutschen Ordens. *Beiträge zur Kunde Preußens.* Vol. 7. Königsberg, 1825. P. 172; Perlbach M. *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens.* No. 32. P. 52.

[36] Stavenhagen O. Die Mitbrüder des Deutschen Ordens in Livland und das von ihnen getragene Abzeichen der Ordens-Mitbrüderschaft. *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga aus dem Jahre 1895.* Riga: W. F. Häcker, 1896. P. 124; *Liv-, est- und kurländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten.* Vol. 2, 1. Ed. L. Arbusow sen. Riga: J. Deubner, 1900. (hereinafter LUB 2/1) No. 74.

[37] Voigt J. Über die Halbbrüder. p. 166; Müller G. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens.* P. 57–68; Schmid B. Ein Urkundenfund in der Marienburg. *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte von Ost- und Westpreußen.* 1927/28. No. 2. P. 66–68.

[38] Müller G. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens.* P. 45, 69–70; Voigt J. Über die Halbbrüder. P. 169–170; Stavenhagen O. Johann von den Brincken (1454–1483) und die 'Gesellschaft' des Deutschen Ordens. *Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik* 1911/1913. P. 618-620; No. 6. HM. Ludwig von Erlichshausen nimmt Johann Brynke in die Mitbrüderschaft des D.O. auf. D. D. Königsberg, Montag nach Palmarum (26. Maerz) 1464. *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands.* Vol. 3. Riga: N. Kymmel, 1845. P. 108–110. LUB 2/1 No. 379; *Liv-, est- und kurländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten.* Vol. 2, 2. Ed. Arbusow, L. sen. Riga: J. Deubner, 1905. (hereafter LUB 2/2) No. 836; LUB 2/2 No. 683.

[39] Müller G. Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens. P. 55-56.

[40] LUB 2/2 No. 683.

[41] Oliński P. Die Stiftungen in den grossen preussischen Städten des ausgehenden 13. und des 14. Jahrhunderts. *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 2003. No. 121. P. 76, 81.; Oliński P. *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach Pruskich w okresie Średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych (Chełmno, Toruń, Elbląg, Gdańsk, Krolewiec, Braniewo)* [Urban Foundations in the Prussian Towns in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period (Kulm, Thorn, Elbing, Danzig, Königsberg, Braunsberg)]. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2008; *Preußisches Urkundenbuch.* Vol. 1/2. Ed. A. Seraphim. (hereafter PUB 1/2) Marburg: Elwert, 1909. No. 37.

[42] Oliński P. Die Stiftungen in den grossen preussischen Städten. P. 78.

[43] Ibid. P. 76-77.

[44] Oliński P. Die Stiftungen in den grossen preussischen Städten. P. 79; Oliński P. *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach Pruskich.* P. 53.

[45] Oliński P. Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach Pruskich. P. 56.

[46] Kreem J. The town and its lord. Reval and the Teutonic Order (in the fifteenth century). Tallinn: Kirjastus Ilo, 2002. P. 109.

[47] LUB 2/1, No. 74.

[48] LUB 2/2 No. 836.

[49] 'No. 6. HM. Ludwig von Erlichshausen,' P. 108–110.

[50] In the Livonian sources the name *familiares* never appears, but *hemeliken vrende* mentioned in the Livonian version of the statutes can be seen as an equivalent for the term. Perlbach M. *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens*. P. 119.

[51] Stavenhagen O. Die Mitbrüder des Deutschen Ordens in Livland. P. 124; LUB 2/2 No. 683.

[52] *Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig des Deutschen Ordens*. Eds. L. Fenske, K. Militzer. Köln: Böhlau, 1993. No. 676.

[53] *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190-1994*. Ed. U. Arnold. Marburg: Elwert, 1998. P. 150–155; LUB 2/1, No. 74.

[54] Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig, No. 119.

[55] LUB 2/1, No. 74.

[56] Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig, No. 676.

[57] Stavenhagen O. Die Mitbrüder des Deutschen Ordens in Livland. P. 124.

[58] LUB 2/1, No. 74.

[59] Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens, P. 131-138.

[60] Müller G. Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens. P. 45.

[61] LUB 2/1, No. 74.

[62] LUB 2/1, No. 614.

[63] LUB 2/1, No. 74.; Müller G. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens*. P. 45.

[64] LUB 2/1 No. 379.; LUB 2/2 No. 683.; LUB 2/2 No. 836.

[65] LUB 2/1, No. 614. Müller G. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens*. P. 45.

[66] Leonid Arbusow senior purposed that these confraternity chains were carried by the foreign princes. See, *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga aus dem Jahre 1896*. Riga: W. F. Häcker, 1897. P. 105; LUB 2/1, No. 614.

[67] LUB 2/1, No. 614.; Müller G. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens*. P. 45.

[68] LUB 2/1, No. 614. P. 447.

[69] It appears that the letters have been sent using the Order's servants (*unnszenn denerenn*) and did not perish in wreckage of the ships. LUB 2/1, No. 614; Müller G. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens*. P. 45.

[70] Müller G. Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens. P. 58.

[71] Werner Paravicini. Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels. Vol. 1. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989. P. 152; Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus. Urkundensammlung zur älteren Geschichte Preussens aus dem königlichen Geheimen Archiv zu Königsberg nebst Regesten. Vol. 5. Ed. Voigt J. Königsberg: Wilhelm Koch, 1857. No. 69; Voigt J. Über die Halbbrüder. P. P. 162–163.

[72] Müller G. Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens. P. 58–59.

[73] Ruprecht, however, never took part in military action in Lithuania, but was rather gratified for his readiness to take part in planned campaign against Lithuanians in 1386, which failed because of Jagiello's baptism. Müller G. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens*. P. 61.

[74] Voigt J. Über die Halbbrüder. P. 162.; Müller G. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens*. P. 62.

[75] Schmid, Ein Urkundenfund in der Marienburg. P. 71.

[76] Müller G. Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens. P. 64.

[77] LUB 2/1, No. 614.

[78] Plettenberg succeeded by entering political and military alliance with the Grand prince of Lithuania, Alexander, in 1501, however, it is not known whether Alexander was also admitted in the confraternity of the Order. Norbert Angermann, 'Livländisch-rußische Beziehungen im Mittelalter,' in: *Wolter von Plettenberg und das mittelalterliche Livland*. Eds. N. Angermann, I. Misāns. Lüneburg, 2001. P. 141.

[79] LUB 2/1, No. 614.

[80] LUB 2/1, No. 74.

[81] The Grand Master allowed Plettenberg to admit one individual in the confraternity, but under special circumstances one or two more. Stavenhagen O. Die Mitbrüder des Deutschen Ordens in Livland. P. 124.

[82] LUB 2/1, No. 379.

[83] LUB 2/2, No. 836.

[84] LUB 2/2, No. 683.

[85] LGU 1, No. 642; Stavenhagen O. Die Mitbrüder des Deutschen Ordens in Livland. P. 125.

[86]   LUB 2/1, No. 379.

[87]   LUB 2/2, 944.

[88]   LUB 2/2, 941.

[89]   *Liv-, est- und kurländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten.* Vol. 12. Ed. H. Hildebrand. Riga: Deubner, 1910. No. 458; Stavenhagen O. Johann von den Brincken (1454–1483). P. 618-620; Stavenhagen O. Die Mitbrüder des Deutschen Ordens in Livland. P. 123.

[90]   'No. 6. HM. Ludwig von Erlichshausen,' P. 108-110.

[91]   *Liv-, est- und kurländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten.* Vol. 11. Ed. H. Hildebrand. Riga: Deubner, 1905. No. 482 (1455).

[92]   Stavenhagen O. Die Mitbrüder des Deutschen Ordens in Livland. P. 123–124.
       First mentioned in the sources, see von Klocke F. Die Westfälische Herkunft des livländischen Ordens-meisters Wolter von Plettenberg. *Westfälisches Adelsblatt* 1926. No. 1/2. P. 204

[93]   LUB 2/2, No. 836.

[94]   Von Klocke F. Des livländischen Ordensmeisters Wolter von Plettenberg Verwandtschaft und Ahnenschaft. *Westfälisches Adelsblatt* 1927. No. 5. P. 57; von Klocke F. Die Westfälische Herkunft des livländischen Ordensmeisters Wolter von Plettenberg. P. 204–205.

[95]   Von Klocke F. Die Westfälische Herkunft des livländischen Ordensmeisters Wolter von Plettenberg. pp. 204–205; von Klocke F. Des livländischen Ordensmeisters Wolter von Plettenberg Verwandtschaft und Ahnenschaft. P. 58.

[96]   *Jahrbuch Genealogie, Heraldik, und Sphragistik.* (1902). p. 219; Freiherr Schenk zu Schweinsberg G. Die Abstammung des Wolter von Plettenberg, Meisters des Deutschen Ordens Livland (1494–1535). *Der Deutsche Herold. Zeitschrift für Wappen-Siegel und Familienkunde.* 1902. No. 23. P. 110.

[97]   LUB 2/2 No. 836; Jahrbuch Genealogie, Heraldik, und Sphragistik. 1902. P. 219.

[98]   LUB 2/2, No. 683.

[99]   Fürstenbergsche Geschichte. Die Geschichte des Geschlechtes von Fürstenberg von 1400 bis um 1600. Vol. 2. Eds. F. von Klocke and G. Theuerkauf. Münster: Aschendorff, 1971. P. 80-81.

[100] Stavenhagen O. Die Mitbrüder des Deutschen Ordens in Livland. P. 125–126; *Livländische Güterurkunden aus den Jahren 1207 bis 1500.* Vol. 1. Eds. H. von Bruiningk, N. Busch. Riga: Jonck & Poliewsky, 1908. No. 1162.

[101] von Klocke F. Des livländischen Ordensmeisters Wolter von Plettenberg Verwandtschaft und Ahnenschaft. P. 68-69.

[102] LUB 2/2, No. 683.

[103] von Klocke F. Des livländischen Ordensmeisters Wolter von Plettenberg Verwandtschaft und Ahnenschaft. p. 54; LUB 2/2 No. 230, P. 161.

[104] For example, the Livonian Master Heidenreich Vincke von Overberg (1439-1450) brought to Livonia his brother Engelbrecht and secured him with numerous fiefs. Neitmann S. *Von der Grafschaft Mark nach Livland. Ritterbrüder aus Westfalen im livländischen Deutschen Orden.* Köln: Böhlau, 1993. P. 291.

[105] Militzer K. Reinländer im mittelalterlichen Livland. *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter.* 1997. No. 61. P. 88; Neitmann S. *Von der Grafschaft Mark nach Livland.* P. 91.

[106] Kreem J. Wie landfremd war der Deutsche Orden in Livland? Regionale und interregionale Beziehungen des Deutschen Ordens im 16. Jahrhundert. *Herrschaft, Netzwerke, Brüder des Deutschen Ordens in Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Vorträge der Tagung der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens in Marburg 2010.* Ed. K. Militzer. Weimar: VDG, 2012. P. 152.

[107] Fouquet G. Das Speyerer Domkapitel im späten Mittelalter (ca. 1350–1540). Adelige Freundschaften, fürstliche Patronage und päpstliche Klientel. Mainz: Selbstverl. d. Ges. für Mittelrhein. Kirchengeschichte, 1987. P. 206.

[108] Fouquet G. Verwandtschaft, Freundschaft, Landsmannschaft, Patronage um 1500. Das Speyerer Domkapitel als Instrument politischer und sozialer Integration. *Europa 1500. Integrationsprozesse im Widerstreit. Staaten, Regionen, Personenverbände, Christenheit.* Ed. F. Seibt. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987. P. 357.

[109] Schenk J. Forms of lay association. P. 83; Braasch-Schwersmann U. *Das Deutschordenshaus Marburg.* P. 203.

[110] Schenk J. Forms of lay association. P. 83, 85.

[111] There are some exceptions. Hugo von Winzeln in 1247 requested from the brethren of the commandry Beugen burial in the Order's house in return for a donations of his armour. *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberreins* 1878. No. 28. P. 103.

[112] Perlbach M. Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens. No. 32. P. 52.

[113] Braasch-Schwersmann U. *Das Deutschordenshaus Marburg*. P. 203.

[114] Example of Kunigunde (1257), wife of Conrad von Posen in Prussian Thorn shows that the remembrance was requested through general formula of taking part in all good deeds that take place in the Order. PUB 1/2. No. 37; Gerard Müller has identified altogether nine confraternity charters from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Müller G. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens*. P. 48–53.

[115] Voigt J. Über die Halbbrüder. P. 159–160.

[116] Müller G. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens*. P. 70–71, footnotes: 286, 288, 289; LUB 2/1 No. 379; LUB 2/2 No. 836.

[117] Müller G. Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens. P. 79, footnote 286.

[118] In the confraternity charter issued by Ludwig von Erlichshausen Johannes von den Brinken (1464) was promised a *beigrafft*. No. 6. HM. Ludwig von Erlichshausen nimmt Johann Brynke in die Mitbrüderschaft des D.O. P. 109.

[119] Müller G. *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens*. P. 70–72; Voigt J. Über die Halbbrüder. P. 173; LUB 2/1 No. 379; LUB 2/2 No. 836; LUB 2/2 No. 683.

[120] Schenk J. Forms of lay association. P. 85.

[121] Surviving necrologies of the Order show that commemoration brought large number of endowments and annual payments of rent. Necrology of Mergentheim, *Nekrolog und Anniversar des Deutschordenshauses Mergentheim aus der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Landesarchiv Baden Württemberg, Abt. Stadtarchiv Ludwigsburg (StAL) B 279 II U 1; Necrology of bailiwick Hessen (Marburg). *Hessisches Urkundenbuch* Vol. 1/3. No. 1290.

[122] Voigt J. Über die Halbbrüder. p. 172.; Perlbach M. *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens.* No. 32. P. 52.

[123] In the Livonian Low German version of Rusdorf's laws the memorial masses, vigils and prayers are not mentioned. Perlbach M. *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens.* P. 157; Heim P. *Die Deutschordenskommende Beuggen.* P. 60.

[124] *Hessisches Urkundenbuch* Vol. 1/3. No. 1290. p. 254, 260; StA Ludwigsburg B 280 U1.

[125] Perlbach M. Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens. P. 132, No. 10.

[126] LUB 2/1 No. 372; LUB 2/2 No. 683.

[127] Commentary of Leonid Arbusow sen. on article by Steffenhagen O. Die Mitbrüder des Deutschen Ordens in Livland. *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga aus dem Jahre 1896.* Riga: W. F. Häcker, 1897. P. 105.

[128] No. 6. HM. Ludwig von Erlichshausen. P. 109.; LUB 2/1 No. 379.

[129] No. 6. HM. Ludwig von Erlichshausen. P. 109.

[130] LUB 2/1 No. 379.; LUB 2/2 No. 683; LUB 2/2 No. 836.

[131] Neitmann K. Riga und Wenden als Residenzen des livländischen Landmeisters im 15. Jahrhundert. *Stadt und Orden. Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preußen und im Deutschen Reich.* Ed. U. Arnold. Marburg: Elwert, 1993. P. 59.

[132] LUB 2/1 No. 614.

[133] LUB 2/2 No. 836.

[134] LUB 2/1 No. 379.; LUB 2/2 No. 836.

[135] LUB 2/2 No. 863; LUB 2/1 No. 379.

[136] *Hessisches Urkundenbuch* Vol. 1/3. No. 1290.; StA Ludwisburg B 280, U1.

[137] No. 6. HM. Ludwig von Erlichshausen. P. 109.; LUB 2/1 No. 379.

[138] LUB 2/1 No. 379.; LUB 2/2 No. 683; LUB 2/2 No. 836.

[139] LUB 2/2 No. 836; LUB 2/1 No. 379.

[140] LUB 2/2 No. 683.

[141] No. 6. HM. Ludwig von Erlichshausen. P. 109.

[142] Stavenhagen O. Die Mitbrüder des Deutschen Ordens in Livland. P. 125; von Klocke F. Die West-fälische Herkunft des livländischen Ordensmeisters Wolter von Plettenberg. P. 204–205; von Klocke F. Des livländischen Ordensmeisters Wolter von Plettenberg Verwandtschaft und Ahnenschaft. P. 58–59.

[143] Fürstenbergsche Geschichte, P. 80–81.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Von Klocke F. Die Westfälische Herkunft des livländischen Ordensmeisters Wolter von Plettenberg. P. 204.

[146] *Online Datenbank Kurländische Güterurkunden*, Herder Institut, No. Bauer356. http://www.herder-institut.de/bestaende-digitale-angebote/datenbanken/kurlaendische-gueterurkunden/urkundentext.html?nr=670 (viewed 16.01.2017)

[147] Kreem J. Der Deutsche Orden und die Reformation in Livland. *The Military Orders and the Reformation. Choices, State building, and the Weight of Tradition*. Eds. J. A. Mol, K. Militzer and H. J. Nicholson. Hilversum: Verloren, 2006. P. P. 51; Arbusow L. jun. *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland*. Leipzig: Heinsius, 1921. P. 826.

[148] Kreem J. Der Deutsche Orden und die Reformation in Livland. P. 51–52.

[149] Angermann K. Livländisch-rußische Beziehungen im Mittelalter. P. 141.

Gustavs Strenga

Veidojot attiecības ar "draugiem" un sabiedrotajiem. Vācu ordeņa garīgā brālība un Livonijas mestra Valtera fon Pletenberga sociālo tīklu veidošanas stratēģijas

Kopsavilkums

Atslēgvārdi: sociālie tīkli, Vācu ordenis, mirušo piemiņa, Livonija, garīgā brālība

Spēja izveidot attiecības ir būtiska katrai sociālajai grupai, lai īstenotu savas ilgtermiņa intereses. Garīgā brālība kā institūcija palīdzēja Vācu ordenim kā militārajam ordenim izveidot saikni ar saviem atbalstītājiem un labvēļiem – aristokrātiem – un veidot politiskās alianses ar valdniekiem. Šīs institūcijas mērķis bija gūt finansiālu un politisku atbalstu, kā arī izveidot garīgu kopību starp iesaistītajām pusēm. Saites starp Vācu ordeni un tā laju "draugiem" un sabiedrotajiem tika veidotas no 13. gadsimta; Livonijas atzarā garīgā brālība avotos pirmo un vienīgo reizi tika pieminēta tikai vēlā 15. gadsimtā – laikā, kad Valters fon Pletenbergs bija ordeņa mestrs (1494–1535). Šajā rakstā pētīts, kā Valters fon Pletenbergs izmantoja ordeņa garīgo brālību, lai nostiprinātu savu pozīciju ordeņa atzara vadībā un iegūtu atbalstītājus krīzes laikā – brīdī, kad norisinājās karš ar maskaviešiem.

Summary

The Ability to create a network of relationships is essential for every group in order to pursue its long-term interests. The institution of *familiares* or the spiritual confraternity of the Teutonic Order helped this Military Order to create bonds with their supporters and benefactors, lay noblemen, and to create political alliances with rulers. The aim of this institution was to gain financial and political support, and, moreover, to create spiritual bonds between those involved. In the Teutonic Order bonding between the Order and its lay "friends" and allies was practiced since the 13th century; in Livonia, where the Order had its branch, the confraternity of the Order in the sources appears only during the late 15th century—the time when Wolter von Plettenberg was the Master (1494–1535). This article shows how the institution of the confraternity was used by Wolter von Plettenberg to strengthen his own position and to gain supporters during the crisis—the war with Muscovites.

Anita Vaivade

Inventorying the Intangible:
an International Context for Archival Practice

The professional vocabulary of archival work currently does not necessarily include terms such as "inventorying" or "intangible". These words may legitimately remain outside professional terminology in the archival practices of different countries around the world. However, they have been intensively promoted lately by setting international policies in the cultural heritage field, and by afterwards transposing these policies at a national level. International and/or national policy discourses transform professional discourses of cultural institutions and of scholarly disciplines, and *vice versa*. Therefore, exploring the named words, related terms and respective policies is relevant regarding the professional discourse and practice of archival institutions, in particular the ones dealing with cultural identities, traditions and practices as their major fields of competence.

Archives as institutions have their histories, which may date back several decades and even centuries. There are different contexts for change in archival practice in the field of cultural traditions, such as scholarly developments, shifts in theoretic paradigms, international professional cooperation and exchanges of experiences, as well as broader social developments of the time, etc. Policy developments, whether at a local, national or international level, form a context that has its influence on archival work.[1] In this paper, the relatively recent intergovernmental cooperation within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is a focus of interest,[2] as it deals directly with the issues of safeguarding cultural identities and cultural traditions, having gradually established at international level a separate heritage domain named "intangible cultural heritage".

Regarding the archival practice, the questions to explore further are: 1. What is the conceived role of archives, if any, in development of international policy on intangible cultural heritage (ICH) safeguarding? 2. What are the internationally envisaged connections, if any, between archives and ICH inventorying? 3. What are the present national ICH inventorying practices performed in connection to archival work? 4. What partnerships with archives for inventorying initiatives could be elaborated (inter)nationally in such a policy context?

Debating Archival Practice Internationally

There are two UNESCO standard-setting instruments that are of particular relevance to be studied in more detail here: the *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* adopted by UNESCO in 1989[3] (Recommendation), and the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* adopted in 2003[4] (Convention).[5] The Recommendation as an international legal instrument has the status of soft law, serving as a suggestion, thus no direct obligations were set by its adoption. It was up to the countries to follow the Recommendation or not. As observed and assessed soon after its adoption, the Recommendation had a rather limited influence globally.[6] Such a critical observation, together with parallel processes within UNESCO that stimulated further developments of policy-making in the field, led to the adoption of another, and this time a contractual instrument—the Convention—that set obligations for its States Parties.

Despite differences to be explored further, both documents had a similar general objective—preservation of the diversity of cultural identities worldwide. This affected the way their key concepts—folklore (or traditional and popular culture) and intangible cultural heritage—were defined, both referring to identity concerns. It was stated in the 1989 Recommendation:

> Folklore (or traditional and popular culture) is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity […] (Article A. Definition of folklore); Folklore, as a form of cultural expression, must be safeguarded by and for the group (familial, occupational, national, regional, religious, ethnic, etc.) whose identity it expresses […] (Article B. Identification of folklore).

This inclination towards the importance of group identities was brought forward in the 2003 Convention.[7] It states:

> […] This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. […] (Article 2. Definitions).

Despite conceptual similarities and shifts in terminology,[8] there was a significant transformation regarding the understanding on how such identity-reflecting (Recommendation) or identity-providing (Convention) heritage is to be identified. Formerly, it was to a large extent in the hands of researchers and scholarly experts. At present, it is expected to be done by practitioners and heritage bearers, relying primarily on their self-identification and thus the meaning and function of the heritage as it relates to their cultural identities.

Although the 1989 Recommendation and the 2003 Convention were adopted with only slightly more than a decade between them, they bear witness to a significant shift inter alia in how the role of archives (and other memory institutions) has been perceived

or continues to be seen in the context of safeguarding "folklore" or 'traditional and popular culture' (terms used in the Recommendation) versus "intangible cultural heritage" (the term used in the Convention). There are several observations regarding the work of archives that may be drawn from a closer comparison of these two international normative instruments—the Recommendation and the Convention. Regarding archival practices, three major aspects may be emphasized: a. positions and competencies of documentation institutions (from centralised national archives to decentralised documentation institutions), b. research methodologies developed and applied (from harmonising archiving methods to diversifying research methodologies) and c. training practiced (from specialists trained in conservation to communities trained in safeguarding and training institutions developed for ICH management), see Figure 1.
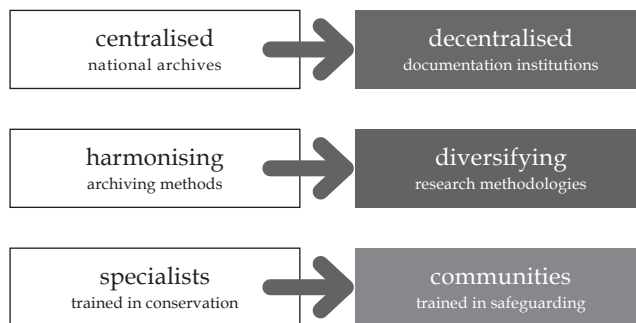

Figure 1. *Developing International ICH Policy (1989–2003)*

Documentation institutions. The 1989 Recommendation invited governments to "establish national archives where collected folklore can be properly stored and made available" (Article C. Conservation of folklore, part (a)), giving archives one of the central roles in safeguarding traditional culture and folklore. The 1989 Recommendation, as for its terminology and major lines of content, witnessed a strong impact of folklore scholars in intergovernmental debates. Experience acquired in folklore archives served as reference for decisions taken at that time. For instance, the folklore archives of the Nordic countries were emphasized as good example for the way traditional culture and folklore should be safeguarded, namely through archival work.[9] In contrast, the 2003 Convention invited its States Parties to adopt appropriate legal, technical, administrative and financial measures aimed at "establishing documentation institutions for the intangible cultural heritage and facilitating access to them" (Article 13. Other measures for safeguarding, part (d), point (iii)). Thus, the Convention opened up interest into diverse documentation institutions, be they archives, other memory institutions (e.g. museums), or others. Also, such institutions may be established at different levels, in a centralized manner at the national level, or as decentralized institutions working, for instance, at regional or even more local levels within a State. Overall, States Parties to the Convention are free to choose which institutional frame would be most appropriate for its situation and needs regarding the safeguarding of ICH.

Research methodologies. The change of emphasis may also be witnessed, passing from harmonization of methods of archival work, towards possibly developing diverse research methodologies. In the 1989 Recommendation, countries were invited to "establish a central national archive function for service purposes (central cataloguing, dissemination of information on folklore materials and standards of folklore work including the aspect of safeguarding)" (Article C. Conservation of folklore, part (b)), as well as "harmonize collecting and archiving methods" (Article C. Conservation of folklore, part (e)). This emphasis on common scholarly standards which was to be applied in the work of archives was changed later on and replaced by an inclination towards diversifying the research work. The 2003 Convention stipulates that each State Party shall endeavour to "foster scientific, technical and artistic studies, as well as research methodologies, with a view to effective safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, in particular the intangible cultural heritage in danger" (Article 13. Other measures for safeguarding, part (c)). There is equal attention paid to scientific, as well as technical and artistic studies. And the overall objective of research methodologies is remembered here—to serve for effective safeguarding of the ICH, in other words, for its further transmission.

Training in safeguarding. The 1989 Recommendation placed emphasis on preparing expert specialists in conservation work, inviting countries to "train collectors, archivists, documentalists and other specialists in the conservation of folklore, from physical conservation to analytic work" (Article C. Conservation of folklore, part (f)). The 2003 Convention, in its turn, invites States Parties to adopt appropriate legal, technical, administrative and financial measures aimed at "fostering the creation or strengthening of institutions for training in the management of the intangible cultural heritage and the transmission of such heritage through forums and spaces intended for the performance or expression thereof" (Article 13. Other measures for safeguarding, part (d), point (i)). Thus, the interest in transmission and living practice became dominant, and different expertise was necessary. Viability of cultural traditions and community engagement in continuing their practice became central, while research interests became secondary. Also, the Convention suggests to its States Parties to "ensure recognition of, respect for, and enhancement of the intangible cultural heritage in society" (Article 14. Education, awareness-raising and capacity-building, part (a)) and in such a context speaks of "specific educational and training programmes within the communities and groups concerned" (Ibid., point (ii)). Thus, on the basis of this international policy approach, training activities should be primarily developed for the communities—ICH bearers, while training for experts—specialists in this context becomes a secondary issue.

In addition to these general stances expressed in the 2003 Convention, in some respects there were fundamental differences of approach among various countries. When debating ICH policy-making internationally, the listing and inventorying of the ICH became an issue of an intense international debate, both before and after the Convention was adopted.

International Policy on Inventorying Intangible Heritage

During international discussions on the draft Convention in early 2003, there were various opinions expressed as to whether the identification of ICH should necessarily lead to establishing international and national lists and/or inventories of such heritage. In other words, whether methods already applied for tangible heritage (as recognition through inscription in heritage lists) should be applied to the ICH. Or maybe there would be some specificity to recognise and elaborate a different approach. In these discussions, strong criticism had been expressed, in particular concerning the proposal to establish international lists. Nordic countries were among those who were objecting the adoption of the Convention, mainly because of the initiative to establish international ICH lists. And there were countries from other regions that were joining these concerns, while others were trying to defend the interest in the listing approach.

For example, the delegation of Norway acknowledged that "a [international] list of items of the intangible heritage runs the risk of creating very unfortunate contests between different forms of the intangible cultural heritage."[10] The delegation of Sweden recognised that this approach might contribute to a "[…] competition, e.g. between cultures in close geographical proximity […]. The dangers of any attempt to rank cultural expressions […]."[11] It was mentioned by the delegation of Saint Lucia that listing "[…] would create an inappropriate hierarchy and a fossilisation of living culture",[12] and the delegation of Switzer-land indicated a "[…] risk of political exploitation of the intangible cultural heritage."[13] The position that sums up these concerns and gives a proposal of a solution, was expressed by the delegation of Finland, "if anything at all is listed, the focus should rather be on compiling an international catalogue of best practices for safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage. […] The lists, if drawn up, would only mean wasted effort and resources."[14] There were also opposite opinions defended, expressing interest in such international lists. For instance, the delegation of Azerbaijan highlighted the observation that similar ICH expressions could be present in different States, but this should not be seen as an obstacle for developing internationally the listing approach. This delegation expressed position that "[…] it should be permissible to include in these lists the same or similar items of the ICH proposed by two or more States which consider such items as their national property. This does not call into question the sovereignty of the States Parties […]".[15]

Despite the criticism described, international lists of ICH were established on the basis of the Convention. However, criticism towards listing was expressed even after the adoption of the 2003 Convention, indicating some of the risks that such a listing approach brings.[16] And there is a growing number of scholarly works critically evaluating the process of preparing nominations to international lists,[17] as well as consequences that those international nominations and inscriptions inflict on concrete cultural traditions and their communities of practice. Although during the drafting of the Convention there was a strong criticism towards the listing approach, there was also a general consent regarding the necessity to establish or further develop national inventories of ICH. This stance can

be illustrated by the position expressed by Switzerland, "However, it does not question the usefulness of national inventories of the intangible cultural heritage."[18] Inventory-making thus became one of the few strong and clear obligations of States Parties to be fulfilled at national level (establishing one or several ICH inventories).

Later, critical analyses have been expressed regarding the establishment of national inventories of ICH.[19] After the adoption of the Convention and after numerous States joining the Convention,[20] processes of national inventorying of ICH were undertaken or continued in a number of countries worldwide.[21] Besides this inventory-making obligation as such, there is a set of principles that States should follow in their decisions on the establishment and functioning of national inventories of ICH. Some of these principles were already stipulated in the 2003 Convention, and some considerations were stated later, in the *Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (hereinafter – Operational Directives) first adopted in 2008 in order to explain and further elaborate some of the general principles or obligations stated in the Convention. The Operational Directives have been later amended by the General Assembly of States Parties to the Convention every second year. The decisions of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereinafter – Committee), namely on national inventorying, as well as on ethical principles of ICH safeguarding, also reveal some further specificity.

The internationally established approach to ICH safeguarding, including its inventorying, according to the Convention and its related documents, can be characterised as having an overall emphasis on a participatory approach to safeguarding, and inventorying may be based on community driven research, and various activities of ICH safeguarding can be carried out in cooperation with cultural brokers[22] who are trained in management of safeguarding activities, including inventorying, see Figure 2.

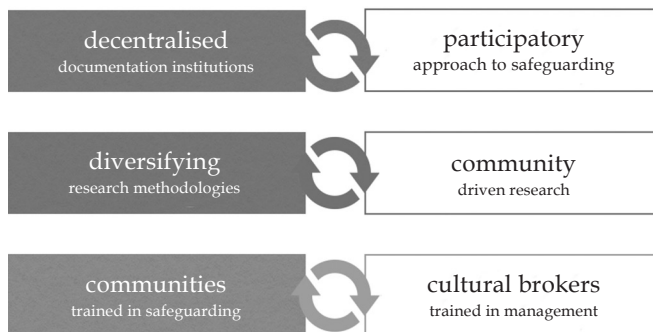Figure 2. *Present Stance on International ICH Policy*

These principles are explored in more detail in the Convention and its related documents. Regarding the aspects that would deal with archival work; there are several references to accentuate here. Content-wise, issues of interest to archival practice are revealed in those parts of documents that deal with: **a.** identification and definition of

ICH, **b.** awareness-raising functions of various institutions (including mentioning archives explicitly), and **c.** dealing with ethical concerns and respect for moral and material interests.

Identification and definition. The text of the Convention sets obligation that each State Party shall:

> […] identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations (Article 11. Role of States Parties, part (b)).

> […] to ensure identification with a view to safeguarding, each State Party shall draw up, in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory. These inventories shall be regularly updated. (Article 12. Inventories, point 1).

Within the Convention's text there is nothing said about a concrete institutional framework in which such inventorying shall or should take place. It is purposely left as a national decision—to see what approach would be most appropriate. Concerning identification and definition, previously relying on the authority of scholarly research was replaced by a clear indispensable demand to follow the principle of community participation. It means a demand for active involvement of respective communities in the inventorying process regarding their ICH, thus potentially diminishing (or changing) the role of archives in the undertaking of documentation. Regarding the involvement of archival institutions in these processes of identification and definition, it may also be that ICH inventory-making in some countries could be entrusted to archives. In any case, it comes with a clear understanding on the importance to follow the principle of community participation regarding the inventorying process, as well as further updating of such inventory or inventories, knowing that there may be several ICH inventories within a country.

The Operational Directives deal also with the issue of national inventorying of ICH and institutional frameworks for ICH identification and definition. It is stipulated therein:

> States Parties are encouraged to create a consultative body or a coordination mechanism to facilitate the participation of communities, groups and, where applicable, individuals, as well as experts, centres of expertise and research institutes, in particular in: (a) the identification and definition of the different elements of intangible cultural heritage present on their territories; (b) the drawing up of inventories […] (Paragraph 80).

Specialists of archival work could be seen as "experts" in this regard, and archives could be considered as part of the "centres of expertise and research institutes". Again, no specification is given as for the institutions to be involved in national inventory-making, and it is up to the States to decide upon the most appropriate approach.

In addition, there is also an evolving practice of the interpretation of the Convention, and at the international level, decisions of the Committee are among the sources

that demonstrate such evolution. These decisions need to be duly considered, in particular regarding (future) nominations to international lists. This is due to the fact that inscription on national inventory (respecting all the nuanced principles and obligations in this regard) is among the evaluation criteria for inscription on international lists of ICH. Regarding national ICH inventories, there is one Committee decision that needs to be highlighted, which is Decision 10 COM 10 adopted in 2015. It provides a list of additional expectations regarding national inventory-making that are examined in case if a nomination is submitted for an international ICH list. Whenever a State is considering future nomination to any of UNESCO international ICH lists, these expectations need to be fulfilled. By consequence, this influences the way countries choose to set up and maintain their ICH inventories, and the way they choose to involve institutions, including memory institutions as archives, or other. By the named decision, the countries are asked to demonstrate *inter alia* that: "the inventory concerned […] has been elaborated and updated with participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations and if necessary, research institutes, and centres of expertise […]" (Paragraph 20, point b)). As it may be seen, research institutes, and centres of expertise are mentioned only as additional actors that join the primary attention given to the participation of communities, groups and also relevant non-governmental organizations.

Awareness-raising functions. Archival work may be seen clearly present in the part of the Operational Directives that deals with "Raising awareness about intangible cultural heritage" (part IV.1). It pays particular attention to various institutions and their competencies in this regard, including explicitly mentioning archives. The Operational Directives stipulate:

> Research institutes, centres of expertise, museums, archives, libraries, documentation centres and similar entities play an important role in […] collecting, documenting, archiving and conserving data on intangible cultural heritage, as well as in providing information and raising awareness about its importance. In order to enhance their awareness-raising functions about intangible cultural heritage, these entities are encouraged to: (a) involve practitioners and bearers of intangible cultural heritage when organizing exhibitions, lectures, seminars, debates and training on their heritage; (b) introduce and develop participatory approaches to presenting intangible cultural heritage as living heritage in constant evolution; (c) focus on the continuous recreation and transmission of knowledge and skills necessary for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, rather than on the objects that are associated with it; (d) employ, when appropriate, information and communication technologies to communicate the meaning and value of intangible cultural heritage; (e) involve practitioners and bearers in their management, putting in place participatory systems for local development (part IV.1.2 Local and national levels, Paragraph 109).

> […] the Committee encourages and supports the widest possible dissemination of the Lists through formal and non-formal means, in particular by: […] (b) community centres, museums, archives, libraries and similar entities […] (part IV.1.3 International level, Paragraph 118).

Thus, archives as institutions are primarily seen, in the Operational Directives, as having awareness-raising functions, which can manifest through "collecting, documenting, archiving and conserving data", "providing information" and others. Such functions, although they could be seen as complementary in regard to the inventory-making, are an important part of the ICH safeguarding. In that sense, archives can have a significant role at national level for the ICH safeguarding, as it is stipulated by the 2003 Convention and its Operational Directives.

Respect for interests. Among the Committee decisions, there is an additional reference to be mentioned here. Regarding the institutional work, which may include the archival practice, also *Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage* are to be referred to. They were adopted by a decision of the Committee in 2015.[23] Among the 12 principles defined, there are several that could be related to archival work, however one could be highlighted in particular, as it deals with the issues of documentation:

> The communities, groups and individuals who create intangible cultural heritage should **benefit from the protection**[24] of the moral and material interests resulting from such heritage, and particularly from its use, research, documentation, promotion or adaptation by members of the communities or others. (Principle 7)

Thus, research and documentation activities (involving eventually the ones carried out by archives) should follow the principle of respecting moral and material interests of those who may be recognised as creators (or re-creators) of their ICH. Ethical issues have also been explored in scholarly literature,[25] and a discussion on the issues of ethics is still continuing, including within the framework of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) Forum (ICH NGO Forum),[26] that unites NGOs accredited to the Convention, as well as other interested NGOs. This forum unites organizations of various scales of activity, and some are also involved in research work, bringing together scholars working with ICH issues, including ICH documentation.

Archives in National Intangible Heritage Policies

Archives can have different roles in national ICH inventory-making and awareness-raising policies as well as concrete activities. This primarily depends on the decisions taken and approaches adopted at national level. Of course, archives can take an active position in order to propose their contribution to ICH policies, and to eventually defend their views on the most appropriate manners how such policies should be developed. Although there are various issues of national ICH policies, inventory-making seems to be among the ones most closely linked to archival practice. In order to learn about various national experiences of inventory-making, in 2014 UNESCO carried out a cumulative in-depth study of periodic reports submitted by the States Parties to the 2003 Convention concerning the implementation of the Convention at national level. This study provides a detailed insight into different experiences, and also reveals some aspects of the involvement of

archives into the national ICH inventory-making policies and practices. However, there are only few examples that directly relate to the work of archival institutions, and each of these reveals some aspects of archival practice and its existing or potential contribution to ICH inventorying that is taking place in relation to the Convention.

For instance, the case of Cyprus is named regarding existing archival collections that have been established previously, and have their role in the ICH inventorying. The involvement of various cultural institutions is mentioned in the case of Kyrgyzstan. "In a number of cases, a national ICH inventory is built upon pre-existing datasets, often gathered during ethnographic field research. For example, the Cypriot inventory is based on the Oral Tradition Archive of the Cyprus Research Centre (material collected 1990–2010) and in Kyrgyzstan documentation has been carried out since the late 1980s sporadically and locally by various cultural organizations […]."[27] The role of archives as depositories for novel documentation outcomes is mentioned in the case of Namibia. As described in the in-depth study, "Inventory-making may be an urgent priority for States Parties, as in Namibia […]. Of course, an arrangement has to be made for any documents and items collected and recordings made during surveying and in Namibia, for example, these are temporarily deposited with the National Archives."[28] In this case, archives have a central role in documentation initiatives. In addition, archives are named in this in-depth study regarding informal inventorying activities. "[…] An inventory is viewed in other reporting States as an open list, starting from all data and recordings preserved in informal archives and continuously updated through different synthetic documents (e.g. Ethnographic Atlas of Romania and National Folklore Collection, the typologies and taxonomies of folklore and popular art, etc.)."[29]

These examples, of course, give only an insight into some of the approaches that States Parties have reported in relation to the 2003 Convention, and there are also other approaches to be named. Examples concerning the explicitly recognised importance and role of archives in ICH safeguarding policies and activities can be observed when taking a look at inscriptions in the UNESCO Register of Good Safeguarding Practices of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Register), the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding (Urgent Safeguarding List), and the Representative List for the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (Representative List). By the end of 2017, all three taken together included 470 elements in 117 countries.[30] Although this is just a particular sample, it can serve as an illustration of various national approaches to ICH safeguarding. Out of these elements, there are 3 elements that may be given as examples of the recognition of the importance of archival work.[31] These are: "Call for projects of the National Programme of Intangible Heritage" (Brazil, inscribed in the Register in 2011); "Georgian polyphonic singing" (Georgia, inscribed in the Representative List in 2008, initially recognised as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2001) and "Suiti Cultural Space" (Latvia, inscribed in the Urgent Safe-guarding List in 2009). These three examples reveal specific and yet interconnected issues

regarding the contribution of archives to ICH safeguarding, namely dealing with issues of: **a.** documentation and depositary, **b.** the long-term preservation of records, and **c.** the revitalisation of cultural traditions, and in all of these, archives play a significant role.

Documentation and depositary. According to the description of the *Call for projects of the National Programme of Intangible Heritage (Brazil)*, "each year, a national call for projects from the *Programa Nacional de Patrimônio Imaterial* encourages and supports safeguarding initiatives and practices. […] Most projects include activities such as mapping, inventories and ethnographic research; information systematization and database creation and/or implementation; production or preservation of documentation and ethnographic archives […]."[32] These yearly calls for projects have thus been recognised as a good practice of ICH safeguarding, and there the documentation and archival work has one of the central roles. "In 2006, seven projects of documental mapping of cultural references at Brazilian states level were selected; […] the projects also performed a diagnosis of the deposit conditions within the researched institutions (public and private archives)."[33] As can be seen from this example, awareness of the deposit conditions of the documented material is of particular concern when thinking of its preservation, as well as future accessibility.

Long-term preservation of records. The concern for a long-term preservation of ICH related records has also manifested in the nomination of the *Georgian polyphonic singing (Georgia).* According to the nomination, "in many archives, one finds recordings of polyphonic songs from the beginning of the twentieth century; these recordings are, however, not secure enough to guarantee the long-term preservation."[34] Concrete examples of these concerns are also given. "Songs recorded on old plates and wax Cylinders rollers from 1907 until the end of 50s have been restored and re-issued. International projects are carried out in this direction, in 2006–2008, such project has been carried out with the Vienna phonogram-archive […]."[35] Thus, restoration of archival material has been particularly highlighted as significant for studying past practices of traditional cultural expressions.

Revitalisation of cultural traditions. In the nomination of the *Suiti Cultural Space (Latvia)*, the role of archives as a source of information for revitalisation of cultural traditions is indicated. Within the nomination, it is recognised that "this period of strong interest in the Suiti community must also be used to recover the elements preserved only in written documents, film archives and museum depositaries."[36] Archives are also mentioned within the description of the safeguarding measures, namely among implementing institutions and partners. For instance, the competencies of the Archives of Latvian Folklore[37] are described as relevant information from archives should be compiled and made available. For the Suiti community, archival materials are of particular interest to "restore traditional ways of celebrating Midsummer", and to "restore ancient wedding traditions in present-day weddings in the Suiti community."[38]

Archives thus may serve as depositary for documentation initiatives, support for long-term preservation, sources for revitalization of cultural traditions, and much more. These few examples demonstrate that archival practice, and most significantly experience

of archival work can be of importance for those activities, which are currently taking place within the framework of ICH policies.

Archives and Inventorying: Possible Partnerships

Either for the initiatives of ICH inventorying, or for broader awareness-raising, archives are institutions whose long experience and specific knowledge, expertise and know-how can be a valuable resource for policy-making and policy-implementation in the field of ICH safeguarding. The emphasis of the international policy in this field has shifted over the last decades, from attention specifically drawn to the documentation and archival work, to a different concern, namely the one of the safeguarding of living cultural traditions, with particular attention to their transmission. Nevertheless, archives may and should be heard and possibly involved (which can take place in various forms) in an exchange of experiences and eventually also in decision-making on certain aspects of ICH policy, namely the ones which are most closely related to the field of expertise of archival practice. At the moment, the work of archival institutions seems to be mostly happening in parallel to numerous ICH inventorying initiatives in a great number of countries. Also, these inventorying activities often may miss a proper and timely consideration about the future long-term preservation and accessibility of records of documentation carried out for inventorying purposes. These records may be kept by public administration institutions dealing with ICH policy-implementation, or some by one community organization or another. These situations may vary considerably, and, according to the 2003 Convention, there can be several inventories established in one country. Regardless of the solution adopted, archival practice and experience could be instrumental for taking decisions on the preservation and accessibility of such records.

Archival specialists, at present, are mostly absent in international debates on the implementation of the 2003 Convention, and thus on ICH safeguarding policies. Their involvement could take place *inter alia* through professional non-governmental organizations, becoming involved in the work of the ICH NGO Forum, where archival specialists could have their say about internationally topical issues. Depending on their status, some archives (e.g. community-lead archives that are functioning as NGOs) could be directly involved in the named NGO Forum, or archival professionals as individuals could be part of organizations that are active in there. This can be accomplished, for example, if the International Council of Archives decides to apply to become accredited to the 2003 Convention, which can further provide possibility to fulfil advisory functions for the intergovernmental debate on the implementation of the Convention. This is a format for international cooperation that still could be explored by archival specialists.

The past criticism towards the concentration of archives on the conservation of documented material, and the criticism regarding the listing approach established by the Convention, may be overcome considering novel and possibly fruitful partnerships with archives as institutions (with the knowledge, experience and know-how of archival

specialists) on the one hand, and for inventorying activities and respective communities and institutions involved on the other. This may also mean that, in order to develop sustainable community-based ICH inventorying initiatives, members of the community may be in need of learning from experienced archivists and developing partnerships with archival institutions.

Archives are also developing their approaches and experiences for society involvement in heritage identification and documentation, as well as in making archival collections more accessible (to mention digital accessibility, crowdsourcing initiatives, among others). These approaches and experiences can become a source for both learning and inspiration regarding the further developments of ICH safeguarding policies, including on ICH inventorying. Thus, it would be most welcome if, particularly at the national and even more so at local levels, the archival knowledge, as well as the experience of collecting, and making material available (including in its digital forms) could be put to use by institutions involved in ICH inventorying (if different from the archives), and directly by communities active in the safeguarding of their intangible cultural heritage.

References and Notes

[1] For example, on the historic policy context for the work of the Archives of Latvian Folklore in the 1920s and 1930s, see: Vaivade A. Folklore in the National Educational and Cultural Policies. *Latvian Folkloristics in the Interwar Period.* Ed. D. Bula. Helsinki: Folklore Fellows Communications, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 2017. P. 56–75.

[2] There are other forms of intergovernmental cooperation, which are of relevance for archival work, for instance, regional cooperation. An example of a regionally significant document concerning archival work would be the *Recommendation on a European policy on access to archives*, adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 2000. However, this or other such policy documents will remain outside the scope of the present paper.

[3] *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore.* Paris, General Conference of UNESCO, 1989. The term 'folklore' was used in the official English version of the Recommendation, while in the official French and Spanish versions this term is not used.

[4] *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.* Paris, General Conference of UNESCO, 2003.

[5] More generally, archives are mentioned within UNESCO standard-setting instruments also earlier, as well as later. In the *Recommendation for the Protection of Movable Cultural Property* adopted in 1978, archives were defined as one category within the definition of the term 'movable cultural property'. Also, the *Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Preservation of Moving Images* adopted in 1980, dealt with television archives, and other archives.

In 2003 the *Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage* was adopted by UNESCO and dealt with digital heritage protection. It stipulated; for instance, 'As a key element of national preservation policy, archive legislation and legal or voluntary deposit in libraries, archives, museums and other public repositories should embrace the digital heritage' (Article 8). The *Universal Declaration on Archives*, which was accepted by the International Council on Archives in 2010, and later endorsed by the 36th session of the General Conference of UNESCO in 2011, recognized *inter alia* a vital necessity of archives for 'establishing individual and collective memory'.

There were also two recommendations adopted by UNESCO in 2015 that dealt with issues of interest and relevance for archival work. The *Recommendation concerning the preservation of, and access to, documentary heritage including in digital form* named archives as belonging to memory institutions that

the recommendation is dealing with. The *Recommendation concerning the protection and promotion of museums and collections, their diversity and their role in society* defines 'collection' as 'an assemblage of natural and cultural properties, tangible and intangible, past and present' (point 5) and, although without mentioning archives, it may be seen as relevant also for archival work, recognizing that '[…] museums and collections constitute primary means by which tangible and intangible testimonies of nature and human cultures are safeguarded' (point 1).

All these documents, however, will remain outside the scope of the present article.

[6]   A global debate was carried out during the 1990's to evaluate the impact of the 1989 Recommendation, and the experience of archival work, different roles, functions and importance of archives were among the issues debated. See: *Safeguarding Traditional Cultures: A Global Assessment*. Ed. P. Seitel. Washington, D.C.: Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage Smithsonian Institution, 2001; in particular, see: Koch G. (Archives Manager, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, Australia) Cultural Conservation: A Two-way Consultation. Ibid., P. 159–165.

[7]   About legal aspects of identity issues in relation to intangible cultural heritage, see: Vaivade A. Intangible Heritage as Source of Identity: International Law and Deontology. *Research Handbook on Contemporary Intangible Cultural Heritage: Law and Heritage*. Eds. C. Waelde, Charlotte et al. Edward Elgar Publishing, *in print*.

[8]   On the fading use of term 'folklore' in international policy discourse, see: Vaivade A. Discursive Legacies of Folklore in International Law. *Mapping the History of Folklore Studies: Centers, Borderlands and Shared Spaces*. Eds. D. Bula, S. Laime. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017. P. 306–335.

[9]   Folklore scholar, professor Lauri Honko from Finland, at that time Director of the Nordic Institute of Folklore, was serving as the President of the Special Committee that worked on preparing the 1989 Recommendation. His publications in that regard provide valuable insights into the issues that were, according to his observations, most vividly discussed. See: Honko L. UNESCO Work on the Safeguarding of Folklore. *Nordic Institute of Folklore Newsletter*. 1982. Vol. 1–2: 1–5; Honko L. The Final Text of the Recommendation for the Safeguarding of Folklore. *Nordic Institute of Folklore Newsletter*. 1989. Vol. 2–3: 3–12; Honko L. Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore adopted by UNESCO. *Nordic Institute of Folklore Newsletter*. 1990. Vol. 1: 3–7.

For a historical overview on the work to prepare the 1989 Recommendation, see: Sherkin S. A Historical Study on the Preparation of the 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore. Paris, Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit, Division of Cultural Heritage, UNESCO. folklife.si.edu/resources/Unesco/sherkin.htm (Last accessed December 15, 2017)

[10]   Delegation of Norway. Compilation of amendments from Member States concerning the Convention for the Safeguarding of the ICH. Ref. CLT-2003/CONF.203/3 Rev, 2003 Feb-Mar. *Excerpts of discussions and documents leading to the elaboration of the 2003 Convention and its Operational Directives concerning the nature of the intangible cultural heritage lists*. Expert meeting on the 2003 Convention. Paris, UNESCO Headquarters, 15 March 2010. Ref. ITH/10/EM1/6 Rev., P. 16.

[11]   Delegation of Sweden. Ibid.

[12]   Delegation of Saint Lucia. Ibid. The concerns of 'fossilisation' of living cultural expressions were raised also by delegations of other countries, as Austria and Barbados.

[13]   Delegation of Switzerland. Ibid.

[14]   Delegation of Finland. Ibid., P. 14.

[15]   Delegation of Azerbaijan. Ibid., P. 16.

[16]   For an early international debate on inventorying practice after the adoption of the Convention, see: *Report of the Expert Meeting on Inventorying ICH*. Paris, UNESCO, 17–18 March 2005. For examples of scholarly work on international ICH listing, see: Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. Intangible Cultural Heritage as Metacultural Production. *Museum International*. Special Issue – Intangible Heritage. No. 221/222: 52–65; Hafstein V. Tr. Intangible heritage as a list: from masterpieces to representation. *Intangible Heritage*. Eds. L. Smith, N. Akagawa. London: Routledge, 2009. P. 93–111.

[17]   For example, see: Bodolec C. The Chinese Paper-Cut: From Local Inventories to the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. *Heritage Regimes and the State*. Eds.

R. F. Bendix, A. Eggert, A. Peselmann. Göttingen: Göttingen University Press, 2013. P. 249–264; Tornatore J.-L. Anthropology's Payback: "The Gastronomic Meal of the French". The Ethnographic Elements of a Heritage Distinction. Eds. R. F. Bendix, A. Eggert, A. Peselmann. Göttingen: Göttingen University Press, 2013. P. 341–365.

[18] Delegation of Switzerland. Compilation of amendments from Member States concerning the Convention for the Safeguarding of the ICH, P. 18.

[19] For example, see: Bortolotto C. The French Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Domesticating a Global Paradigm into French Heritage Regime. *Heritage Regimes and the State*. Eds. R. F. Bendix, A. Eggert, A. Peselmann. Göttingen: Göttingen University Press, 2013. P. 265–282.

[20] By the end of 2017, there are 175 States Parties to the 2003 Convention. UNESCO, ich.unesco.org/en/states-parties-00024 (Last accessed December 15, 2017). In comparison, this is close to the level of ratifications of the UNESCO 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, its States Parties at that time being altogether 193. UNESCO, whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties (Last accessed December 15, 2017)

[21] For a comparative in-depth study on national approaches towards inventorying, see: Inventory-making: an in-depth study. *Examination of the reports of States Parties on the implementation of the Convention and on the current status of elements inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.* Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. 9th session. Paris, UNESCO Headquarters, 24 to 28 November 2014. Ref. ITH/14/9. COM/5.a. Pp. 14–23. Inventory-making: a cumulative in-depth study of periodic reports, Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, ich.unesco.org/en/focus-on-inventory-making-2014-00876 (Last accessed December 15, 2017)

[22] Term 'cultural brokers' is not mentioned in the Convention but was introduced in the Operational Directives with amendments done in 2016, when a separate chapter VI was added, with title 'Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development at the National Level'. This chapter states in its beginning, that regarding the issues dealt with in this chapter, States Parties shall 'facilitate cooperation with relevant experts, cultural brokers and mediators through a participatory approach' (Paragraph 170). Also, States Parties shall endeavor to 'facilitate cooperation with sustainable development experts and cultural brokers for the appropriate integration of the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage into plans, policies and programmes, both within and outside the cultural sector' (Paragraph 171, point (d)).

On some practical experiences regarding the involvement of culture brokers in ICH safeguarding activities, see: Brokers, Facilitators and Mediation. Critical Success (F)Actors for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Special Issue. *Volkskunde*. Eds. M. Jacobs, J. Neyrinck, A. van der Zeijden. 2014. Vol. 3.

[23] Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Culturel Heritage. Annex. *Expert meeting on a model code of ethics.* Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. 10th session. Windhoek, 30 November to 4 December 2015. Ref. ITH/15/10.COM/5.a. P. 5–6.

[24] Bold is used in the original document.

[25] For example, see: Jacobs M. The Spirit of the Convention – Interlocking Principles and Ethics for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage.* 2016. Vol. 11: 72–87.

[26] ICH NGO Forum, www.ichngoforum.org (Last accessed December 15, 2017)

[27] Inventory-making: an in-depth study.

[28] Ibid., P. 16.

[29] Ibid., P. 15.

[30] Browse the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of good safeguarding practices, Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, ich.unesco.org/en/lists (Last accessed December 15, 2017)

[31] These elements are identified by online search engine as having the term 'archives' used in the nominations' texts, and only 3 examples appear when using the 'full text search' option (Ibid.). These results, although could be seen as indicative, need to be considered as having some limitations. The functioning of the search engine provided at the named website is a work in progress, thus the results of the search does not exclude that there might be some other examples.

[32] Call for projects of the National Programme of Intangible Heritage. Brazil. Selected in 2011 on the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices. Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, ich.unesco.org/en/BSP/call-for-projects-of-the-national-programme-of-intangible-heritage-00504 (Last accessed December 15, 2017)

[33] Ibid.

[34] Georgian polyphonic singing. Georgia. Inscribed in 2008 on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (originally proclaimed in 2001). Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, ich.unesco.org/en/RL/georgian-polyphonic-singing-00008 (Last accessed December 15, 2017)

[35] Ibid.

[36] Suiti Cultural Space. Latvia. Inscribed in 2009 on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, ich.unesco.org/en/USL/suiti-cultural-space-00314 (Last accessed December 15, 2017)

[37] Within the Intangible Cultural Heritage Law of Latvia, there is specific attention given to the Archives of Latvian Folklore. It also highlights a connection between ICH and documentary heritage. Article 7 titled 'Collection of the Archives of Latvian Folklore' stipulates: 'The collection of the Archives of Latvian Folklore (hereinafter – the Collection) is a part of the intangible cultural heritage with a cultural, historic and scientific value. It includes recorded items of intangible culture – manuscripts, documents, audio and visual materials, as well as printed materials collected, preserved and added by the Archives of Latvian Folklore since 1924. The Archives of Latvian Folklore is a structural unit of the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia [...]'. See: *Intangible Cultural Heritage Law*, Saeima, Parliament of the Republic of Latvia, adopted on September 29, 2016, entered into force on December 1, 2016, likumi.lv/ta/en/id/285526-intangible-cultural-heritage-law (Last accessed December 15, 2017)

[38] Suiti Cultural Space. Latvia.

It may be observed that Suiti community members, and some non-governmental institutions, have explored various collections of memory institutions in Latvia, as well as abroad, in order to study their history and to use it as a reference to revitalise interrupted cultural traditions.

Anita Vaivade

Nemateriālā kultūras mantojuma inventarizēšana: starptautisks konteksts arhīvu praksēm

Kopsavilkums

Atslēgvārdi: arhīvi, ētika, nemateriālais kultūras mantojums, starptautiskās politiskās nostādnes, inventarizēšana, UNESCO

Raksts skar vienu no arhīvu prakšu kontekstiem, t. i., starpvaldību sadarbību starptautisko, kā arī nacionālo politikas nostādņu izstrādi un ieviešanu UNESCO organizācijā un nemateriālā kultūras mantojuma (NKM) jomā. Lai gan ne *inventarizēšana*, ne *nemateriālais kultūras mantojums* nav starp biežāk lietotajiem jēdzieniem mūsdienu arhivāro prakšu terminoloģijā, tie tomēr ir ļoti nozīmīgi arhīvu darbā. Raksts sniedz vēsturisku ieskatu starpvaldību debatēs attiecībā uz, pirmkārt, folkloras jeb tradicionālās un populārās kultūras saglabāšanu un, otrkārt, NKM saglabāšanu. Debašu gaitā uzmanība pievērsta akcentu maiņai no centralizētiem nacionāliem arhīviem uz decentralizētām dokumentācijas institūcijām, no arhivēšanas metožu saskaņošanu uz pētniecības metodoloģijas dažādošanu, no speciālistiem, kas izglītoti kultūras mantojuma materiālu konservācijā, uz kopienām, kas izglītotas kultūras mantojuma saglabāšanā.

Analizētas pašreizējās starptautiskās nostādnes un principi attiecībā uz nacionālo NKM sarakstu veidošanu, salīdzinot ar starptautisko NKM sarakstu veidošanas praksi, kā arī dažādās lomas un funkcijas, kas arhīviem ir vai varētu būt šajā ziņā, piedāvājot tuvāk aplūkot atsevišķus piemērus. Raksta noslēgumā piedāvātas dažas partnerattiecību attīstības iespējas, kuros arhivārās zināšanas, ekspertīze, metodes un pieredze varētu tikt piemērota NKM inventarizēšanas aktivitātēs gan valsts institūciju, gan kopienu nevalstiskajās iniciatīvās.

Raksts sniedz vairākas norādes uz starptautiskiem normatīvajiem instrumentiem, kas šobrīd ir starptautiskās sadarbības pamatā attiecībā uz NKM saglabāšanu, t. sk. tā inventarizēšanu, ietverot sabiedrības informēšanu, ētikas principus un citus. Šīs norādes var praktiski izmantot, apsverot arhīvu iespējamo iesaistīšanos politikas nostādņu ieviešanā NKM jomā. Turklāt šīs norādes var sniegt ieguldījumu politikas nostādņu attīstīšanā gan nacionālā, gan starptautiskā līmenī.

Summary

The paper explores a context for archival practice, namely the intergovernmental cooperation within UNESCO and international as well as national policy-making and policy-implementation in the field of intangible cultural heritage (hereinafter – ICH). Although neither "inventorying", nor "intangible" are among the most frequently used words in the present-day vocabulary of archival practice, they are nevertheless of high relevance for archival work. The paper provides some historical insights into the evolution of intergovernmental debates during the previous decades, in relation (initially) to safeguarding folklore or traditional and popular culture, and (later) to safeguarding ICH. Such evolutions include, for instance, shifts from an emphasis on centralised national archives to decentralised documentation institutions, from harmonising archiving methods to diversifying research methodologies, from specialists trained in conservation to communities trained in safeguarding.

The paper further explores the present international stances and principles for national ICH inventorying (in relation/comparison to international ICH listing), and the various roles that archives have or could have in that regard, with some national cases as examples. The paper concludes by exploring some prospects for partnerships where archival knowledge, expertise, know-how and experience could be put into practice for the initiatives of ICH inventorying, whether carried out by public institutions, or accomplished as community-driven non-governmental initiatives.

The article provides some international standard-setting references, which currently ground the international cooperation on ICH safeguarding, including (in relation to inventorying): awareness-raising, ethical principles, and others. And such references, in their turn, could be practically used for considering possible involvement of archives in policy-implementation in the field of ICH, as well as potentially contributing to on-going policy-development in this same field, both at the national as well as international levels.

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